

THE
ROMANE
HISTORIE

WRITTEN BY

T. LIVIUS
of PADUA.

Also,

The Breviaries of L. FLORVS:
with a Chronology to the vvhole Historie;
and the Topography of ROME in old time.

*Translated out of Latine into English, by PHILEMON HOLLAND,
Doct̃or in Pbyſick.*

To which is now added,

A Supplement of the Second Decad of LIVI
(which was lost.)

Lately written in Latine by

I. FREINSHEMIVS,
and now newly Translated into English.

LONDON,

Printed by W. Hunt, for Ioseph Kirton, at the Kings Arms in St
Pauls Church yard. 1659.

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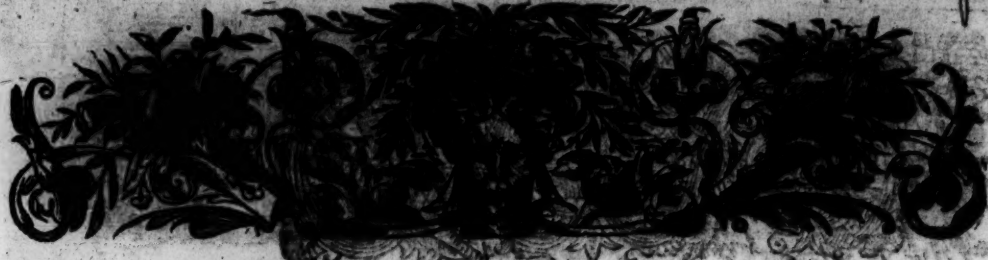
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JOHN DODD

Printed by W. Hall, for Robert Kinne at the Kings Arms in St.
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To the most High and Mighty Monarch, ELIZABETH,
(my dread Sovereign) by the grace of God, Queen of England,
France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

IL my labour whatsoever, in translating another mans work, I present here unto your Highness, and consecrate to the happy and immortal memory of your most sacred Majesty. An attempt (I confess) in regard of mine own imperfections, venturesome and overbold; as the first enterprise, right hard and exposed to perill. Yet, most Worthy and Powerfull Empress; Who is there so unsufficient, that by the favourable aspect of your countenance, may not be graced and enabled? What so difficult and dangerous, which under the fortunate auspices of your Majesty, cannot be effected with ease and pass in safety?

Accept then, most gracious Lady, the first fruits of a few years study, for the benefit enjoyed of life and liberty. An offering, as well in that respect, as of myself the meanest of many thousands; under all proportion; but considering either the argument or the first Author, not much unfitting. He, in penning the History of the greatest State in his time, for exquisite eloquence had not his equal; no more than your Highness in glorious government at this day any second: Such are the incomparable perfections resplendent in your Royall person; the wonder of the world.

Vouchsafe also, of your accustomed clemency shewed to aliens, of your fervent zeal to learning and good letters, wherein (among other rare virtues and singular gifts seated in your Heroick mind) no Prince cometh near unto your Excellency, to reach forth your gracious hand to T. Livius: who having arrived long since and conversed as a meer stranger in this your famous Island, and now for love thereof learned in some sort the language, humbly craveth your Majesties favour to be ranged with other free denizens of that kind: so long to live under your Princely protection, as he shall duly keep his own allegiance, and acquaint your liege subjects with religious devotion after his manner, with wisdom, policy, ver-
true, valour, loyalty, and not otherwise.

And the Almighty guard your Majesty alwaies with his holy Angels; prolong your life among us in perfect health, adorn your noble heart with divine graces, maintain your Regall estate in all honour: blest the rest of your daies (and infinite may they be) with sweet repose and firm peace, to the joy of your true-hearted and loving people; and finally, accomplish all your desires, for present prosperity and future felicity.

Your sacred Majesties most humble
and obedient subject,
Philemon Holland.



Ad Anglicam Livianæ Historiæ versio-
nem, Interpretis Protopopæ.

Nate (decem decies sensu fastidia monfer,
Longa nimis; matris duri gravipondus erat)
Quid lucem refugis? (neculis pudor iste parentis)
Atria quid fugiens regia? fuge pudum.
si sospitem, audieris sequatur fortunas; una ausis
adire & magnis dedecus esse quor.
Hæc dulum perierit si rustica Nympha; paternum
Te genus aut virtus nobilitare potest.
Nempe Decus Patavi genuit te Livius ingens:
Soma animam, tanta ex qui genitorasatur.
Et, qua fovit opemque tulit Lucina vocanti,
Rhoisqua potens, dea Diana mihi;
Hæc oculis, hac remanibus refovedis aleisque:
audis, ipsa legit, fassaque verba dabis.
Agnosce proprias, Princeps ser maximo, laudes,
Sive artes pacis, seu fera bella refera.
Quid si paup'quid, quid si non? & orbis
Mirandum Decus, hæc Elizabetha renes,
Qua totis in Latium Patavinus, transfusus inde
Tentoria, Hetrusum, Gallus, Iberum, Arabs?
At patrias mavult audire & reddere voces,
Qua patria princeps, alma parensque sua est.
(Scilicet ille Ithacus sapiens optavit Ulysses
Vatsumum & patriam posse videre fœd.)
Illius affectu vitalis, numini tantum,
Auspiciu salix atque beatum eris.
Autam siue colas, seu Sacra, aut Castra sequari:
Sanctior (ecce) vocat Curia; gratior eris.
Sive regna legat gens ingentisfa, placet:
Sua magis civilis turba frequensque poli.
Aulicum, Antistes, Mules, prudensque Senator,
Causidicus, Civis, semina, virgo, puer,
Hinc documenta potent: discet juvenisque senexque
Vir bonus, & patria commodus esse sua.
Ergo molle animi; nec te gens Critica lades:
Candidior, quo quis doctior, esse soles.

Σὺ δὲ χαλκίδα (τὸ γὰρ δὲ τιμὸς ἀρετῆς)
Τίμωρ, οὐ μαγιστὰ, οὐδὲ δεινὰ, οὐδὲ κακὸν
οἷς τὰ καὶ οἱ τὸ χαλκίς, οἱ μὲν μὴ χαλκίς, οἱ μὲν
τὸ καὶ τὴν τὴν ἀλλοδὲν ἀλλ' ἀρετῆς.



TO THE READER.

THE Rue is that Axiome received from Philosophy, *τὸ ἐκ τῆς φθορᾶς γίγνεται ἄλλο*. i. The corruption of one thing is the generation of another. Thus out of the ashes and ruines of *Troy* sprung the City of *Rome*: and by the woful fall of that one state, arose not only the most glorious empire of the Romans, but also the best writer of their history, *Titus Livius*. For whereas after the fatal destruction of *Troy*, two principal men of name remained alive, *Aeneas* and *Antenor*: the one with his fleet arriving in that coast of *Italy* where *Tybre* runneth, built *Lavinium*, and became the first father of the Romans, according to *Virgil* in the first *Aeneid*:

— *genus unde Latinum,
Albanique patres, ab aenea Romae?*

— from whence are Latines come,
The noble Albanes eke, and walls of stately *Rome*.

Antenor entered the Venice gulf, & founded the City of *Padua*, the native place of *Livy* their historiographer; as the same Poet writeth a little after:

*Hic tamen ille urbem Patavum sedesque locavit
Tentorum, &c.*

Yet here the City *Padua* built he: therein to plant
His Trojanes, left when *Troy* was lost, who resting seat did want.

And I wot not well, whether they were more beholden to that fortune of theirs, (whereof so much they boasted) for *Aeneas* the author of their beginning and admirable greatnes: than for this writer *Livy*, who commended their deeds to everlasting fame. For from their very first rising [even with *Aeneas*] unto their sensible declining and decay, were not 1200 years compleat: but since *Livy* enchronicled their acts, sixteen hundred are come and gone: yet continue they as fresh this day as at the first, and spread stil far and neer into all parts of the world. So much more durable and permanent are the memorials recorded by learned Historians, than either any Monarchy be it never so great, or all those wonderful Pyramides and Obeliskes, reared by most magnificent Kings, and mighty Emperors, to immortalize their name and memory. This *T. Livius* then, was born at *Padua*, in the year 694 after the foundation of *Rome*, when *L. Afranius* and *Q. Cæcilius Metellus Celer* were Consuls. He flourished

To the Reader.

lived all the time of *Augustus Caesar*, and died in the fourth year of *Tiberius*. By which account, he lived full *LXXVI*. years: as appeareth by an ancient Epitaph upon his tomb at *Padua*, (where it is thought he died) with the pourtrait of his visage: whereof the one is represented here, and the other immediately before the beginning of the History.



TITVS LIVIVS, PATAVINVS,

**Cujus invicto calamo, invicta Romanorum
facta scripta sunt.**

TITE LIVI OF PADVA.

*Who wrote long since with peer-less pen,
The acts of Romans, match-less men,*

To the Reader.

Other evidences there be concerning the same, which needless it were to call to witness: for no Epitaph nor inscription either enchaſed in ſtone or cut in braſs, is there left, better than the monuments of his own writings (if they had come entire to our hands) and the testimony of good and approved authors. For during the time of *Augustus*, he wrote the worthy deeds of the Romans, and continued the narration thereof, from the very foundation of the City of *Rome* unto the one and twentieth year of his Empire. A story of 750 years, and a peece of work for the artificall frame and elegant setting out, comparable to the best in that kind. My purpose is not here, to enter into a large field and Rhetorical discourse of his praises in regard of any gifts of fortune wherewith he was plentifully enriched: namely, the place of his nativity, a City more ancient by 400 years than *Rome*; flourishing in martial puifſance, able to set out and maintain 100000 fighting-men for the wars; in stately port at home, having a nobility of 400 in number; in gorgeous and costly buildings; in traffique and frequent affluence of Marchants thither; as also, that *Venice* was a Colony deducted and drawn from thence; and, which is not the least, how at this day the famous Vniversity there, affordeth excellent Professors in all kind of learning: nor his happiness and felicity to live and die with the glory and beauty of *Rome*, and not to behold with his eyes those daies of her declining state & deformity, which in great wisdom he foresaw in his spirit, and denounced accordingly: ne yet the special favour wherein he stood with his Prince *Augustus*, and *Livia* the Empress: much less then mean I to set forth the singular qualities and perfections of his mind, and namely his rare and passing eloquence, which my pen is more able now to describe and amplify to the worthiness thereof, than it was to imitate and expresse the same in translating of his story. Moreover, if I should set into his commendation, besides that I must needs come far short of his merit, the thing it self would but renew the just grief, that all learned men have taken for the piteous maim and defect of that notable peece of work & uniform composition which he left unto posterity. For having digested the whole history into an hundred and two and forty books, as *Petrarch* was of opinion, and as *Sigonius* therein well collecteth: like as also it is evident by the Breviaries of *L. Florus* the Epitomist, wherof we have 140, with an evident flaw and default of twain, to wit, the 136 and 137: see the partial injury of the time, the crooked and malignant destiny of the man! Books of far less moment and importance, yea, & those of greater antiquity, have been spared & remain safe: but of that work of his, one fourth part hath not escaped the envy of fortune: and that which now is extant, hath been delivered unto us either by fragments of old copies unperfect, or by the over-curious meddling of some busy *Aristarches* of late daies depraved, who with their correcting have corrupted; and in stead of reforming words, have deformed the natural sense and primitive construction. Where, by the way, I must advertise the Reader of that which *Pettus Crinitus* hath observed, even against the common opinion proved by those who otherwise

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To the Reader.

are well learned, namely that our Author dispensed not this history into Decades: that is to say, suted and sorted them not into severall Tomes and Sections of ten books a peece. For *Priscian* and other old Grammarians, when they cite any testimony out of *Livy*, quote the book, and make no mention at all of any Decade; and with him the above-named *Petrarch*, *Florus*, and *Politian* do agree. Now in these 33 books, so few as they be, preserved as another Palladium out of a generall skare-fire, we may conceive the rare and wonderfull eloquence of our writer in the whole; for the farther he proceedeth into a world, as it were, of matter, the more copious still he floweth, and with such variety, as that he never iterateth one thing twice; but at every change of new affairs, returneth alwaies fresh and gay, furnished with new devises, inventions, and phrases; much like a second *Anteu*, gathering greater strength and more forces still at every turn; or after the manner of a little hill, which issuing from a small source, is maintained with fresh springs and new riverets; and halting toward the vast Ocean, carrieth a deeper channell and broader stream. For the form of his stile, I refer the readers to the sound and staid judgment rather of *Quintilian*, who compareth him with *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, and the best Greeks; than to the fantastick conceits of some Criticks of our time, who seeking *nodum in scirpo*, have dreamed of I wot not what Paravinity in him. What should I speak of that Patheticall spirit of his in moving affections? But, that which most of all commendeth an history, which being *lux veritatis*, ought especially to deliver with sincerity the whole truth and nothing but the truth, without respect of face or person; to keep only to the substance and train of the subject argument; the due and orderly regard of the important circumstances thereto belonging, without incerting extravagant and impertinent by-matters, much less than fabulous tales; therein he hath the prick and price above all others. For, neither forbearth he to reprove (as occasion is offered) the Romans, in whose favour he might be thought to have written; nor doubteth to praise the good parts and the valiant exploits of their mortall enemies. The Gauls he may seem to gall more bitterly upon a sinister affection, glancing at them, as he doth, in many places for their greedy desire of gold and idle sloath, as not able to endure any long travell, and heat least of all; yet so, as the French, now living, seem not much offended therewith; for above other Nations they have given him most friendly entertainment, and twice enfranchised him among them. I am not unwilling to touch by the way this principall point and vertue of an Historiographer, I mean the delivery of a simple truth in his narrations; for that I have observed in him throughout, that he hath been most modest in reporting from others by hearsay any thing that soundeth to an untruth; so little deserveth he to be noted with the infamous brand of liew. The wary circumspection of his, in that behalf which I dare be bold to recommend unto the Reader, I proposed unto my self in making him English; endeavouring by conference especially of the select copies in Latine, yet not rejecting other translations (such as

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I had some little skill in)to come as near as possibly I could, to the true meaning of the Author ; making this account, that if I could approve my diligence that way to men of reason and understanding, all other my wants and defects might sooner be passed by and pardoned. A desire I had to perform, in some sort, that which is profitable to the most, namely, an english History of that C.W. which of all others (if I have any judgment) affordeth most plenteous examples of devout zeal in their kind, of wisdom, policy, justice, valour, and all vertues whatsoever. According to this purpose and intent of mine I framed my pen, not to any affected phrase, but a mean and popular stile. Wherein, if I have called again into use some old words, let it be attributed to the love of my country language : if the sentence be not so concise, couched and knit together, as the originall, loath I was to be obscure and dark ; have I not englished every word aptly ? Each Nation hath severall manners, yea, and terms appropriate by themselves ; have I varied in some places from the French or Italian ? Censured I look to be, and haply reprov'd ; but like as *Alcibiades* said to one, *αδραστον εστιν ελπιειν, i.e. Strike hardly (Euribiades)* so you bear me speak ; even so I say, Find fault and spare not ; but withall, read the originall better before ye give sentence. And howsoever I have faulted otherwise by oversight, set against it my affection and desire to do some good whiles I live to my sweet native country ; add thereto the long travel that I have taken to ~~write the same~~ ; and if that will not bring down the balance, let the profit and delight both, which you shall find in the argument and discourse of the history, counterpoise and outweigh my wants, more or less. And thus I recommend unto my countrymen *Livy* in english habit ; *Livy* (I say) who whether he were more honored whiles he lived, than beloved at this day of forraign nations, I cannot easily determine ; for like as then (by the testimony of *S. Hieron*, and *Pliny* in his *Epistles*) there repaired many great and noble personages from the farthest parts of *Spain* and *France*, only to see his face, for the admiration they conceived of him by the fame of his incomparable eloquence ; even so *Quintus* his spirit (which yet liveth in his writings) hath made a voyage by *Florence* into the same *France* and *Spain*, and hath passed as far as into *Arabia* one way, and *Almain* another. In which distant and remote parts he hath found such kind entertainment, not only in Courts of Emperors and Kings, in palaces of Princes and great Potentates ; but also with the people in generall ; that they seem to strive no less (who may endow him with most ample franchises and free burgesie) than those seven cities in old time who every one challenged to themselves the birth of the Poet *Homer*. Since then, he hath thus long been desirous to cross the seas into this noble Island, not as a traveller to sojourn for a time in the Court only or the Universties, but to remain here still both in City and country, and thereto hath learned our language indifferently ; let it now appear that this nation of ours (like to reap as great fruit and benefit by his acquaintance as any other) is ready to receive and embrace him as friendly as the rest.

I had some time before this to come as near as possible to the true meaning of the Author, making it a point that it should approve my intelligence, that way to men of reason and understanding, all other my wishes and desires might sooner be called by and pardoned. A desire I had to perform, in some sort, what his spirit had to the world, name-ly an English History of the Q. W. which of all others (if I have any judgment) I thought most pleasant examples of devotion and in their kind of wisdom, justice, valour, and all virtues whatsoever. Accord- ing to this purpose and intent of mine I framed my pen, and now as- signed place to a mean and popular style. Whence it I have called again- ing to the world, and to the love of my country.



THE EPITAPH.

V. F.
TITUS LIVIUS
QUARTÆ L.
HALYS.
CONCORDIALIS
PATAVI.
SIBI ET SUIS
OMNIBUS.
OBIT IIII. TIBERII
CÆSARIS. ANNO.
NATUS LXXVI.
ANNOS.

and remote parts he had found his kind entertainment not only in Courts of Emperors and Kings, in palaces of Princes and great Poten- tates; but also with the people in general; that they seem to thrive no less (while they endow him with most ample franchises and free privi- leges) than in old times in old times, every one challenged to them- selves the birth of the Port Warr. Since then he had thus long been de- voted to the sea into his noble island, not as a traveller to sojourn for a time in the Court, only of the Universities, but as a native still both in City and country, and there he had learned our language indif- ferently; let it now appear that this nation of ours (like to the great fruit and benefit by his acquaintance as any other) is ready to receive and embrace him as friendly as the rest.

THE
FIRST BOOK
OF THE HISTORIES
OF
TITUS LIVIUS
OF PADUA, FROM THE FOUNDATION
OF THE CITY OF ROME.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the First Book.

A He coming of Aeneas into Italy, and his acts there: the reign of Alcanius in Alba: of Sylvius Aeneas, and so forth of other Sylvii, Kings thereof, are contained in the first Book. The daughter of Numitor with child by Mars, Romulus and Remus are born. Amulius killed. The City of Rome built by Romulus. The Senate by him chosen. He made war with the Sabines. He presented unto Jupiter Feretrius the royall spoiles of their King, whom he slew with his own hands. He divided the people into Centuries, vanquished the Fidenates and Veientians, and was canonized a god. Numa Pompilius taught the rites and ceremonies of sacrifice, and divine service, erected a Temple to Janus, and was the first that shut the doores thereof, after he had made peace with all the Nations thereabout: and finding that he had secret company and conference by night with the goddesse Egeria, won the stout and fierce hearts of the people to Religion. Tullus Hostilius warred upon the Albans, whereupon ensued the combate of the three brethren, twins on both sides. Horatius made acquit for killing his sister. The execution of Metius Suffetius. Alba raised and destroyed. The Albans made free denizens of Rome, and there dwell. War denounced against the Sabines. Finally, Tullus was consumed with lightning. Ancus Martius renewed the ceremonies by Numa first ordained. He to the Latines, being conquered and made Citizens of Rome, he assigned the mount Aventinero inhabit. He won again by force a town of the Latines called Politorium, which the old Latines had surprised and possessed themselves of, and utterly destroyed it. He made the Sublician or wooden bridge over Tybris, and adjoyned to the City the hill Janiculum. He enlarged the bounds of the Empire, built Ostia, and reigned three and thirty years. In the time of his reign, Lucumo the son of Demaratus a Corinthian, removed from Tarquins, a City of Tuscan, and came to Rome: and there entering into amity with Ancus, began to bear the name of Tarquinius, and so to be called: and after the death of Ancus took the Kingdom upon him. He increased the number of the Senators by one hundred, subdued the Latines, appointed the Circus or Theater, set forth the publicke games and plaies: and being warred upon by the Sabines, he augmented the centuries of the horsemen. And for to make prooffe and triall of Accius Navius the Augur his cunnings, he demanded of him, as they say, whether that which he conceived in his mind were possible to be effected: and when he made answer that it was, he commanded him to cut a whetstone in two with a razor, which out of hand was by Accius done. Moreover, he won the field of the Sabines, and defeated them, walled the City about, made the vaulted fink: and when he had reigned eight and thirty years, was murdered by the sons of Ancus. There succeeded after him Servius Tullius, the son of a Captive, a nable Lady of Corniculum, who being a child, and lying swaddled in the cradle, had a flame of fire (as the report goeth) burning about his head. He discomfited the Veientes and Tuscans in battell: He was the first that numbred the people of Rome, valued their goods and instituted the Lustrum every five years, in which were reputed to have been numbred eighty thousand Citizens. He described the Classes and Centuries: set out further the bounds of the Pomaria, without and within the City walls: and put to the City the hills Quirinalis, Viminalis, and Esquilinus. He together with the Latines founded the Temple of Diana in mount Aventine, and when he had reigned four and thirty years, he was, with the privy, and by the counsell of his daughter Tullia, murdered by L. Tarquinius, the son of Priscus. After him L. Tarquinius Superbus usurped the Kingdom, without the election, either of the Senators or the people. On which day Tullia (most wicked and cursed wretch that she was) caused her Coach to be driven over the Corps of her father, lying dead on the ground. He had about him a troop of armed men for the guard of his person. By a subtile wile he put to death Turnus Herdonius. He had war with the Volscians, and of their spoiles edified a Temple to Jupiter, on the hill Capitoll, where the god Terminus and goddesse Juventas, agreed not to be displaced, whose altars could not be stirred nor removed, as the others. By

Romulus 1.

Numa Pompilius 2.

Tullus Hostilius 3.

Ancus Martius 4.

Tarquinius Priscus 5.

Servius Tullius 6.

Tarquinius Superbus 7.

the fraudulent practise of his son Sex. Tarquinius he brought the Gabians to his obedience. Unto his other H two sons, being gone to Delphi, and consulting there the Oracle, whether of them should be King of Rome, answer was made, That he should reign who first kissed his mother: which answer they interpreting wrong, Junius Brutus, who accompanied them in their voyage, made as though he caught a fall, and kissed the ground, the mother indeed of all: which proved true on his part as it fell out in the end. For when as Tarquinius Superbus by his proud tyrannicall demeanour, had incurred the hatred of all men: he at last upon the forcible outrage and villany done by Sex. Tarquinius (his son) in the night season upon the body of Lucretia: who sending for her father Tricipitinus, and her husband Collatinus, besought them earnestly not to see her death unrevenge, and so with a knife killed her selfe: he, I say, by the means of Brutus, especially was driven and expelled out of Rome, when he had reigned five and twenty years. Then were the Consuls first created, Lu. Jun. Brutus, and Lu. Tarquinius Collatinus.

The Preface of Titus Livius to his whole Work.

WHether in writing the acts and affairs of the people of Rome, from the first Foundation of the City, I shall perform a work of importance and worth my travail, neither wor I well, nor if I will, dare I avouch: seeing it is a thing both old and usuall, that new Writers alwaies perswade themselves, either in matter to deliver more truth and certainty, or in manner of curious penning thereof, to outgo the rudenesse of elder time. How- K soever it fall out, this yet will do me good, that even I also, to the utmost of my power, have endeavoured to eternize the worthy deeds of that people which is the sovereign of the whole world. And if, among so many Writers, my fame chance to be obscure, yet may I comfort my selfe in this, That they who shall darken and shadow the same, are men so highly reputed and renowned. Besides, the thing it self is of infinite toile and labour, as counting and comprizing from above 700 years past, and which arising from small beginning hath proceeded and grown so great, as now the bignesse thereof is combrous to it self: and I doubt not, but the Readers for the most part will take but small delight and pleasure, either in those far-fetched Originals, or in the times next ensuing, for haste they make to these novelties of later daies, wherein the puissance of that so mighty people hath wrought long since their own downfall and overthrow. But I contrariwise will seek even this for L guerdon of my pains, namely, to turn away from beholding these calamities, which this our Age for many years hath seen, so long at least: whilst I call to remembrance, and wholly employ my spirits in considering those ancient monuments of old time, exempt from care and trouble, which were able, if not to with draw my mind as I write from the truth, yet to make it pensive and heavy. As for such things as are reported, either before, or at the Foundation of the City, more beautified and set out with Poets Fables, than grounded upon pure and faithfull Records, I mean neither to aver nor disprove. This leave and priviledge hath antiquity, by interlacing the acts of gods and men together, to make the first rising of Cities more sacred and venerable. And if it may be lawfull for any people under heaven to consecrate and ascribe unto the gods their Originall, surely, such is the renowned martiall prowess of the Romans, that all nations of the world may as well abide them to M report Mars above the rest, to be the prime father both of themselves and of their first founder, as they can be content to live in subjection under them. But these and such like matters, howsoever they shall hereafter be censured or esteemed, I will not greatly weigh and regard. This would I have every man rather to think upon in good earnest, and consider with me what their life, and what their carriage was, by what men and means, both in war and peace, their dominion was achieved and enlarged. Afterward as their discipline began by little and little to shrink, let him mark how at the very first their behaviour and manners sunk withall: and how still they fell more and more to decay and ruin, yea, and began soon after to tumble down right even untill these our daies, wherein we can neither endure our own sores, nor salves for the cure. For this is it that is so good and profitable in an history, when a man may see and behold, as in a conspicuous monument and lightfom memoriall N the lively examples of all sorts, set up in open view for his instruction, whereout he may chuse for himself and his Country what to follow, as also learn how to eschew a foul enterprise, and avoid a shamefull end. But unlesse I be deceived with the affectionate love of mine own commenced work, never was there Common-weal, either more mighty, more holy, and devout, better stored of good presidents, or into which covetousnesse and excesse more lately crept, or wherein poverty and frugality were so greatly or so long time honoured, insomuch as the more they wanted, the lesse they desired. Now of late daies wealth hath brought in avarice, abundant pleasures have kindled a desire by riot, lust, and loose life, to destroy and bring all to naught. But these complaints, which will be nothing pleasant, no not when perhaps they shall be needfull, banish we must (howsoever we do) at our first entrance of so weighty a matter: when as we rather should begin (if as the Poets use, it were our manner also) with good prefaces and lucky forespeakings, with vows and prayers to gods and goddesses, to vouchsafe their furtherance and happy successe to the enterprise of so great a Work.

The

The First Book OF TITUS LIVIUS.

A First of all, this is generally held for certain, That the *Greeks*, after the winning of *Troy*, dealt cruelly with all the *Trojans*, save only *Aeneas* and *Antenor*: to whom, as well in regard of the bond of mutuall entertainment, as also for that they ever perswaded peace and the rendring again of *Helen*, they wholly forbore to shew any rigour at all, as by martiall right of war they might have done. And how *Antenor* afterwards, accompanied with a number of *Henetians*, who driven by civill discord out of *Papilagonia*, and having lost at *Troy* their King *Pylemenes*, were to seek both a resting place, and a Captain to conduct them, arrived through many adventures and accidents of fortune, in the inmost gulf of the Adriatick sea: and after they had expelled the *Enganians* that inhabited between the sea and the Alps, those *Henetians* together with the *Trojans*, kept those parts and there remained. The place where first they landed, called *Troy*, whereof the Territory and Seigniorie thereabout was also named *Troy*, and the whole people in generall called *Henetians*. Moreover, how *Aeneas* upon like misfortune, having fled his countrey, yet aspiring by the farall dironion of the destinies to greater affairs, came first into *Macedony*: and after into *Sicily*, seeking an abiding place: and sailing with a fleet from *Sicily* arrived at length, and landed in the countrey of *Laurentum*: which place likewise was termed *Troy*. Where the *Trojans* being set a shore, having after their long wandering nothing in a manner left them but ships and armour, as they foraged and drave booties out of the Countrey, King *Latinus* with the *Aborigines*, who at that time inhabited those parts, ran forth in warlike manner out of town and countrey, to withstand the violent invasion of these strangers. But what befell thereupon, is two manner of waies reported. Some say, that *Latinus* being in a battell vanquished, first made peace with *Aeneas*, and after that allied himself to him by marriage. Others affirm, that as both armies stood ranged in battell array, before the trumpets sounded the battell, *Latinus* came forth into the Vanguard, and called out the Generall of the strangers to parle: demanding who they were, from whence they came, by what chance they departed from their own home, and to what end they entred the Laurentine borders? After that he heard the company were *Trojans*, the Captain *Aeneas*, son of *Pennus* and *Anchises*, and that upon the burning of their City, they having forgone their countrey, sought some place to abide and build them a City in: wondred much, not only at the noblenesse of the people and their leader, but also at their courageous hearts, resolved either for war or peace: whereupon, by giving his right hand he plight his troth, and faithfully promised them friendship and amity. So the two Generals made a League, and each host saluted other. And *Aeneas* was by *Latinus* entertained and lodged in the Court. Where *Latinus* solemnly in presence of his familiar household gods, by giving his daughter in marriage to *Aeneas*, joynd private alliance to the former publike confederacy. Which thing truly put the *Trojans* in good hope, and full assurance to end one day their wandering and sitting to and fro, and to settle themselves in one certain place of abode. Hereupon, a Town they built, which *Aeneas* of his wives name called *Latvium*. Within a while, by this new marriage, he had issue a son, whom the parents named *Ascanius*. But after all this, were both *Trojans* and *Aborigines* warred upon: For *Turnus* King of the Rutilians, unto whom *Latinus*, before *Aeneas* his coming, had been espoused, taking it to heart that a stranger was preferred before him, made war both upon *Aeneas* and *Latinus*: but neither Army departed from the battell with joy and well apaid: For the Rutilians were vanquished: the *Aborigines* and *Trojans* won indeed the field, but lost their Captain *Latinus*. Then *Turnus* and the Rutilians mistrusting their own strength, fled for succour to the puissant and mighty *Tuscans*, and to their King *Mecenas*, who keeping his Royall Court at *Cere*, a town in those daies of great wealth, not well pleased even from the first beginning, with the foundation of a new City and supposing the *Trojans* power was already much more encreased than might well stand with the safety of the borderers, joynd full willingly his forces with the Rutilians. *Aeneas* to win the hearts of the *Aborigines* against so dreadful and dangerous war, to the end they all should not only live under one government, but also be all of one name, called both Nations *Latines*. And from that time forth were the *Aborigines* nothing inferior to the *Trojans* in love and loyalty towards their Prince *Aeneas*. *Aeneas* also trusting confidently in the valiant and faithfull hearts of these two States, growing up daily more and more in mutuall amity, albeit *Hebronia* was so mighty, that the name thereof was renowned not only throughout the inland parts, but the sea coasts also, even from one end of *Italy* to the other, from

Venerians in
this day de-
fended from
Rome a peo-
ple of *Enga-*
nians, and the
Trojans un-
der the con-
duct of *Ante-*
nor,

after and
the *Trojans*
arrive in *Italy*,
King *Latinus*,

Aeneas espous-
eth *Latina*.

Latvium
built.
Ascanius
born.
Turnus.

Latinus slain.
Mecenas.

The *Latines*.

The death
and sepulture
of *Aeneas*.
Jupiter Indiges.

The wife go-
vernment of
Lavinia,
Queen Mo-
ther,
Julus or *As-
canius*.
The family of
the *Julii*.

Long *Alba*
built by *Asca-
nius*.
The Kingdom
of *Alba*.

Alba or
Tiberis.

*Latinus Syl-
vius*.

Tiberinus.

Proas,
Nunitor and
Amulius.

Rhea Sylvia.

Romulus and
Remus born.

Romulus and
Remus mira-
culously sa-
ved.

Faustulus.

Laurentia.

the Alpes to the narrow seas of *Sicily*: yet whereas he might well have resisted the force of his enemies, and maintained a defensive war within his walls, he brought his Army forth into the open field. This was the second battell that the Latines fought, and the last deed that ever *Aeneas*, whilst he was man, achieved. And howsoever by right he ought to be named, he lieth interred upon the river *Numicius*, and *Jupiter Indiges* men him call. Now was not *Ascanius*, *Aeneas* his son, ripe as yet for age to sway the Scepter. Howbeit the Royall Crown remained whole and safe for him, untill he came to fourteen years of age. So long continued the state of the Latines, and the Kingdom by grandfire and father descended, unto the child's behoof: under the government only of a woman, as Prote-
stresse: of so vertuous disposition and princely carriage was Dame *Lavinia*. Doubtfull much I stand (for who can certainly avouch a thing so long ago?) whether this were that *Ascanius*, or one elder than he, who had to his mother *Cremus*, whilst *Ilium* flourished, and who fled with his father from thence, and from whom being named *Ascanius*, the house and family of the *Julii* do fetch their name and pedigree. That same *Ascanius*, wheresoever, or of whomsoever he was born, (but *Aeneas* his son of a truth he was) when *Lavinium* grew exceeding populous, left that City now flourishing and wealthy (as the world went then) unto his mother or stepmother, I wot not whether. He himself built another out of the ground under the mountain *Alba*, which of the situation thereof, stretching out in length on the side of the hill, was named *Long Alba*. Between the building of *Lavinium* and *Long Alba*, which became an under-town or Colony drawn out of the other, and peopled from thence, were almost thirty years. But so mighty grew they, especially after the discomfiture of the *Tuscans*, that neither upon the death of *Aeneas*, nor during the time of a woman's government, nor all the while that the young Prince learned to be a King, durst either *Mezentius*, or the *Tuscans*, or any other of the borderers once stir or rise in arms. But peace was concluded upon these termes, That the river *Alba*, which now they call *Tybris*, should divide the *Tuscans* from the Latines, and limit to either of them their own bounds. After this, reigned *Sylvius*, the son of *Ascanius*, born by chance within the Forrests: who begat *Eneus Sylvius*, and he had issue *Latinus Sylvius*, by whom were certain Colonies or petty Townships erected, and the inhabitants named *Prisci Latini*. And from thenceforth all the Kings of *Alba* continued the surname of *Sylvius*. This *Latinus* begat *Alla*, of *Alla* came *Atys*, *Atys* begat *Capor*, and of *Capor* descended *Capetus*: whose son *Tiberinus* in ferrying over the river *Alba* was drowned, and by his name renowned that river unto all posterity. Next unto him reigned *Agrippa* his son, and after him succeeded *Romulus Sylvius* in his fathers King-
dom, who being stricken dead with a thunderbolt, left the Crown to *Aventinus*. This *Aventinus* was buried in that hill, which now is part of the City of *Rome*, and beareth his name. Then reigned *Proas*, who had two sons, *Nunitor* and *Amulius*. And unto *Nunitor*, because he was the elder, he bequeathed by his last will and testament the ancient Kingdom of the *Sylvians* line. Howbeit, might prevailed more than either the will of the father, or the reverend regard of elder brother. For *Amulius* having driven out *Nunitor*, sought himself and not here with content, heareth one mischief upon another. For first he murdered the issue male of his brother: then by making *Rhea Sylvia* his brother's daughter a Vestall Nun, and that under colour of honour and dignity, by perpetuall vowed virginity, he bereft her of all hope of child-bearing. But it was a fatal thing, and (as I think) which God would have, that so great a City should be built for to yield the ground and beginning of that Empire, which next under the gods is most mighty. For behold, the Vestall Virgin was by force defouled, and after delivered of two twins: and were it that she thought so in very deed, or because the name and credit of a god might carry away and shake the fault more cleanly, the fathered her bastard children upon *Mars*. But neither god nor man was able to save her self or her children from the Kings cruelty. For the *Votary* was committed to close prison, and there kept bound in irons: as for the babes he commanded they should be cast into the stream of the river. But (as God would) by good hap the *Tyber* overflowed the banks, and the standing waters on either side was nothing rough, yet so, as there was no coming to the deep current or channell of the very river, and they that brought the infants, hoped well they might be drowned in any place of the water, were it never so full and low. So to fulfill after a sort the Kings commandment, they laid the children in the next place they came to: even where as now standeth the fig-tree *Ruminalis*, called, as they say, *Romulus*: but all that ground then was nothing but waste deserts, and a very wilderness. The report yet goeth, that when the ebbe and shallow water was gone, and had left on dry ground the floating trough or vessel, wherein the babes were put forth, a she-Wolf from out of the mountains thereby being athirst, turned towards the childrens cry, and with her pendant teats so gently gave the infants suck, that *Faustulus* the head Reeve and overseer of the Kings Cartell found her licking them with her tongue: who brought them to his homestead, and gave them to his wife *Laurentia* to be fostered. There be that think that *Laurentia* being a common stamper among these herdmen and shepherds, was usually called *Lupa*. Whereupon arose the occasion of this strange tale and wondrous miracle. Well, so were they born, and so brought up. And as soon as they grew once to some big-
ness, it was no boot to keep them within doores, nor to set them idly to tend the cartell, for they would use to hunt abroad in the Forrest: whereby having gotten strength of body, and courage with-
all, they were able now, not only to withstand the violence of wild beasts, and to kill them, but also to set upon common robbers by the high-waies side, laden as they were with booties, and to spoile them thereof, yea, and divide the prey among the shepherds, and as the number of youngers daily increased with them to keep holidays, to make merry, and follow their disports. And even in those
daies

A daies (as men say) was the festivall pastime *Lupercal*, used in mount *Palatine*, which of *Palantium*, *Lupercal*,
a City in *Arcadia*, was first called *Palantium*, and after *Palatine*, wherein *Evander*, who descended *Evander*.
from the *Arcadians*, long before reigned in that country, and ordained a solemn game and recreation
yearly to be held, as aforesaid in *Arcadia*, in this manner: that young men in the honor of *Pan* *Pan Lycæus*
or *Lycæus*, whom the Romans after called *Inuus*, should loofely and wantonly run naked. Now whilest
they were busily occupied in this kind of sport, which by vow yearly they performed; there lay in
ambush the robbers aforesaid, in revenge and for anger of the prizes which they had lost: Where
Romulus manfully quit himself, but *Remus* they took prisoner: and being thus taken, they brought *Remus taken*
him before King *Amulius*, accusing him grievously, and laying especially to his charge, that he with
B others invaded and made rodes into *Numitor* his Land, and with a power of lusty youths, assembled
in warlike sort, had forraged and spoiled the same. Thus was *Remus* delivered unto *Numitor* to be
put to death. Now had *Fausstulus* even since the first day conceived some hope, that there were in his
house foster children of royall blood: For well he wist, that both by the Kings commandment the
babes were cast forth to perish, and also that the time when he took them up fell out fitly thereunto;
marry this would he in no wise should be known in haste, and before due time; unless it were either
upon good occasion or great necessity. Necessity hapned first: and so for very fear he was driven to
reveal the whole matter to *Romulus*. It hapned also, that *Numitor* himself having *Remus* in durance,
and hearing they were brethren twins, by comparing their age, and viewing withall their very coun-
tenance and towardness, proceeding from no servile and base parentage, bethought himself of his
C sisters children: and by farther enquiry and computation came so far, as he seemed well-near to ac-
knowledge *Remus* for his nephew. Thus on all hands were means wrought to circumvent and surprize
King *Amulius*. For *Romulus* on the one side not accompanied with a troupe of tall fellows, for he
was not able in open fight to make his part good: but giving the herdmen his assistants, in charge to
come at a time appointed, some one way, and some another, to the Kings Palace, he set upon the
King. On the other side, *Remus* with another crew from *Numitor* his house, came to second him,
and so they slew the King. *Numitor* at the first uprore giving out estoons, that the enemies had en-
tered the City, and assailed the Kings Palace, and thereupon having called the youth of *Alba* into the
Citadell, to keep it by force with a good guard, and espying the two young men after the murder
done, comming towards him with joy: forthwith assembled the people together, and declared o-
penly before them all, the wicked dealings of his brother against him, the parentage of his Nephews,
D the manner of their birth and bringing up, and how they came to be known: after that he reported
the murder of the Tyrant, and took it upon himself as the author thereof. The two young men pas-
sing with their companies through the midst of the people, saluted their grandfire King, whereat the
whole multitude also with one accord and voice ratified the same: so was his royall name and estate
by them established. Thus was the whole Regiment or Kingdom of the *Albans* committed to *Numitor*.
Then *Romulus* and *Remus* had a great desire to found themselves a City in the very place where
they had been cast forth and fostered. Now were there of *Albans* and *Latines* both, very many
that might be spared; besides, a number of herdmen: who all set together, put them in good hope,
that *Alba* and *Lavinium* too, would be but small Cities in comparison of that which now was a
E building. Whilest they were devising of these things, an old canker came between to mar all, even
desire of rule and ioveraignty, the same which had troubled their grandfires before them: and
thereupon a foule fray, which arose from a small and slight occasion. Forasmuch as they were both
twins at one birth, and the respect of their age might yeeld no choice and difference, it was thought
good and agreed upon, that the gods, who had the tuition of those places, should by Augury or
flight of birds declare and shew whether of the twain should both name the City, and also rule the
same. *Romulus* chose the mount *Palatine*, and *Remus* the *Aventine*, for their temples or religious
quarters, to mark the bird-flight, and each one apart to receive their Augury. First (as they say) had
Remus appearing in flight six vultures or gripes: and as tidings came unto him of this Augury, it hap-
ned that the number unto *Romulus* was presented double: whereupon they were both of them by
F their assistants and favorites saluted Kings. The one side took the vantage of the time: the other of
the number, for the prerogative of the Kingdom. Thus they fell to hot words first, and from cho-
lerick words to blows and bloudshed: in which stir and preys of the people, *Remus* was woun-
ded and slain in the place. The more common report goeth, that *Remus* in scorn of his brother,
leapt over the new walls: whereupon *Romulus* in great choler slue his brother with his own hands,
and in menacing wise, added these words withall, So perish he, whatever else he be. that shall once
dare to leap over my walls. Thus *Romulus* alone became King, and the City new built, of the found-
ers name was called *Rome*. Wherein first he fortified mount *Palatine*, in which he was himself
reared. To all the rest of the gods he sacrificed after the rule and custome of the *Albans*: only to
Hercules after the manner of the *Greeks*, according to the first institution of *Evander*. For the
G same goeth, that *Hercules* upon a time, after he had slain *Geryon*, drave that way exceeding fair
Oxen, and near the River *Tybris*, where he had sworn over with his drove afore him, laid him
down in a fair green meadow, as well to refresh himself, being weary of his way, as also to
rest and bait his cattell in so plentifull grasse and forrage. There, falleth he into a sound sleep, as
having well charged himself with wine and viands: and one *Cacus* a shepherd dwelling there-
by, a man right fierce, and bearing him proudly of his strength, being greatly in love with the
fairness of the beasts, had a good will, and minded to fetch away that booty: but for that if he
had

Lupercal.
Evander.

Pan Lycæus
or Inuus.

Remus taken
prisoner.

Amulius the
usurper slain.

Numitor King
of Alba.
The founder
of Rome.

Dissention
between bre-
thren for so-
veraignty.

Augury.

Remus slain.

Romulus King
of Rome.

The story of
Hercules and Ca-
cus.

Evander the
inventer of
Latine letters
Carmens mother of Evan-
der.

Ara Maxima
dedicated to
Hercules.

Potitii and
Pinarii.

Romulus ma-
ker Lawes.

Royall robes.
Lictours.

Chair of e-
state, called
Sella curulis.
The purple
robe, called,
Toga pretexta.

The Asylum
first erected.

The instituti-
on of a Senate

Patres.
Patritii.

had driven the beasts into his own cave, the very tracks would have led the owner of them thither, H he drew the goodliest and biggest of them backward by their tails into his hole. Hercules early in the morning when he awoke, and beheld his drove, and missed some of his count, went on towards the next cave, if haply their footing would traine him thither: But seeing all traces fromwards, and leading no other way; as one troubled in spirit, and doubtfull what to do, he began to drive farther out of that theevish and dangerous corner. But as some of the Oxen in driving, misled their fellows behind and honing after them, bellowed as their nature is: Hercules chanced to heare them low again, and answer from out of the cave wherein they had been bestowed: whereat he turned back, and made haste thither. But as Cacus forcibly made head against him, and would have kept him from entrance, Hercules smote him with his club: and for all his calling upon other herdmen for help, flew him outright. At the same time Evander, who fled out of Peloponnesus, governed that Countrey, rather by a kind of countenance and authority, than by force and Lordly command. A man much honored for his wonderfull invention of Letters, a strange and rare thing among thoe rude and unlearned sort: but more honored for the opinion that the people had of his mother Carmens, reputed to be a goddesse, whom for her spirit of prophesie, thoe countries, before that Sybilla came into Italy, had in great reverence and admiration. This Evander being raised with the concourie of the shepherds, affrighted about the stranger, guilty of manifest murder, and hearing of the fact committed, and the occasion thereof: viewing well therewith the perion of the man, his feature and favour, more stately a good deal, and carrying a greater Majesty than the ordinary proportion of men: demaneth of him who he was. And as soon as he understood his name, his father, and native Countrey: O Hercules (quoth he) the son of Jupiter, All hail: my mother a most true Prophetess hath fore-shewed unto me, that thou shalt encrease the number of heavenly wights, and that in this place an Altar shall be reared and dedicated unto thee, which the most mighty and richest nation one day of the world shall name Maxima, and honour according to the ceremonies by thee ordained. In a good hour be it spoken (quoth Hercules) and the presage I gladly accept: and so giving him his hand, faithfully promised to accomplish the will of the gods, and erected it raightwaies and consecrated an Altar in the place. There and then first, he sacrificed one of the fairest Oxen, choien out of the whole drove, calling to the ministry of that divine service and feast, the Potitii and Pinarii, two most noble houses at that time in those parts. It hapned so, by chance, that the Potitii were ready at hand in due time, and the inwards or intrals were set before them: which being eaten, the Pinarii came to the good chear behind: whereupon the custome held that so long as the family of the Pinarii continued they might not feed of the sacred inwards. But the Potitii, instructed by Evander, became the Priests of that holy sacrifice many ages after: untill the solemp service and ministry of this family was put over to publike servants, and the whole stock of the Potitii utterly worn out and dead. These were the only forrain sacrifices of all other, that Romulus received and admitted, being even then a furtherer and maintainer of immortality, by his own prowess achieved, and whereunto his fortune conducted him. Having in this manner religiously performed and established the service of the gods, he assembled the multitude to an audience: and for that they could by no means but by Laws be united together into one body and society of a people, he devised Statutes, and ministred justice unto them. And supposing that those Laws would be accounted sacred and inviolable of the wild and rusticall sort of men, in case he shewed himself by some regall ensignes venerable: he carried with him a greater port and Majesty, not only in his robes and princely habit, but most of all in the attendance of twelve Officers and Sergeants, called Lictours, whom he caused to go ordinarily before his person. Some think he chose this number according to the birds, which by Augury did foreshew and prognosticate his reign: I rather am of their opinion, who think that Sergeants at Arms, and this kind of Officers came from the Tuscans their neighbours, from whence also the Ivory chair of estate, called Sella curulis, and the Royall purple robe embroidered, named Toga pretexta, was fetched, as also the very number of Serjeants or Lictors. For that the Tuscans had this manner, when they chose their King by the common voices of their twelve principall States, each one found a Sergeant. All this while grew the City more and more to be fortified with Ramparts and Bulwarks, as men still built in sundry places where they liked best, seeming thereby to provide rather for a future multitude in time to come, than for the present number wherewith it was then peopled. Furthermore, lest that the City, so large in compasse, should stand void and vacant, Romulus for to encrease the number of the inhabitants (according to the old practise of the founders of Cities, who by gathering about them the base multitude and obscure, feigned that they were an off-spring born out of the earth) set up a Sanctuary or lawlesse Church, called Asylum, in that place which at this day between the two groves, is enclosed and fenced round about with thick briars and brambles. Thither resorted (as to a place of refuge, out of the neighbor Countries, a rabble and confused medley of all sorts, rag and rag, bond and free, one with another; folk desirous of change and novelty.

So began first the City according to the plot of large buildings, to be well peopled and grow mighty. Thus being provided of power sufficient: he thought then upon a Councell and policy to his power. And so created a hundred Senators: either because that number seemed great enough, or for that there were no more but one hundred that were of worth to be elected counsellors or (wise) fathers. These men certainly for honor and dignity were called Patres or Sage fathers: and their lineall descent Patritii or Nobles. Now by this time was the State of Rome so mighty and puissant,

A puissant, that it was able in fight to match any City meer adjoining whatsoever. But for default of woman kind, this puissance was to endure burthensome of one man: for neither had they hope of issue among themselves at home, nor yet made marriages with their neighbors abroad. Whereupon *Romulus* by the advice of his Senators, sent Embassadors to the countries thereabout, to treat for society and alliance for his new people, by way of marriage. Alledging that Cities also, as well as God withal, grow to great power and reputation: "Whereas therefore they were full well assured, that as the gods were gracious to their first uprising, so their own vertue and valor should not be wanting: their neighbors ought not, in regard of common humanity, and as they were men, think much and disdain to join in blood and kindred with them, being also men as well as they." Howbeit, this embassage in no place had gentle audience and courteous entertainment. For they all in general despised them, and were in fear for themselves and their posterity, by reason of so mighty a state, encroaching in the midst of them, and under their very noses. And from the midst of them the Embassadors were dismissed and sent away, with great scorn and demand. Whether they had set up a Sanctuary or lawless place for women to resort to, for that were alone, and a fit marriage indeed to sort together. This took the youth of *Rome* in great displeasure, and double the quarrel grew like to be tried, by knocks. But *Romulus* dissembling his inward heart-burning, to the end he might find time and place meet for the purpose, prepareth to set forth certain solemn playes and games, which he nameth *Consualia*, to the honor of *Neptunus Equestris*. Hereupon he commanded to proclaim these games all over the country adjoining: and with as great preparation and furniture, as in those days either their skill or ability might afford, they celebrate the same, and all to make the shew more goodly, and worthy to great expectation. Thither resorted many a one, desirous also to see this new City, but their next neighbors especially of *Cenina*, *Crustumium*, and *Antemna*. The whole multitude of *Sabins* likewise came with their wives and children. Who being friendly invited to their houses, from one to another, and courteously entertained: when they beheld the situation of the City, the strong walls and fair buildings, so thick standing, wondered how in so short a space the City of *Rome* was grown so great. Now when the time of this solemn fight was come, and that their minds were bured, and their eyes bent thereon: then at once, as it was agreed before, there arose an uproar. And the youth of *Rome* upon a token and watch-word given, fell on every side to carry away the *Sabin* Maidens. A great many of them were ravished by hap hazard, as they did light upon them, and as they came next to their hands. Other some more beautiful then the rest, were appointed for the chief of the Senators, and by certain of the Commons, as they had given them in charge, conveyed home to their houses. But one passing fair and lovely above all others, was hurried by the company of one of *Thalassius* (they say) and when as any asked to whom they carried her, they ever cried out (for fear she should be forced or deflowered) *Thalassio*, i. e. Unto *Thalassius*. Whereupon *Thalassio* became a common by-word at Weddings ever after. Thus their sport and pastime upon this fir and fright, was marred: and the Parents of the Virgins fled away with heavy cheer, blaming them highly, and complaining of their breach of hospitality: and calling upon the god for vengeance, to whose festival games they being come, were under colour of religion and truth, beguiled. The Damsels likewise that were ravished, conceived neither better hope of themselves, nor less indignation against them. But *Romulus* himself in person went from one to another, declaring, "That their fathers pride, who denied their neighbors marriage was the cause of all this, promising nevertheless that they should be linked in lawful wedlock, made partakers of all worldly goods, obtain the freedom of a City, and (then, which nothing is more deer to mankind) enjoy the blessing of children: exhorting them to appease their anger, and quiet themselves, and to give them their hearts, whose hap it was to have their bodies. For oftentimes upon wrong and injury there groweth love and reconciliation. Alledging moreover, that they should find their spouses so much more loving and kind, as every one of them for his part would endeavour, after they had in their turn and course fulfilled the duty to them of good husbands, for to make amends, and supply the miss they have of father, mother, and native countrey. Their husbands withal used fair speeches, and flattering words, excusing the matter, and laying all the weight upon fervent affection and pure love: which kind of perswasion of all other, prevaleth most with womens nature. Thus were the ravished young Wives in some sort quieted in mind, and held themselves well contented. But their fathers then most of all arrayed in mourning weed, with tears and heavy complaints, stirred up the Cities where they dwelt: neither contained they their mood within home, but assembled themselves from all parts unto *Tatius* the King of the *Sabins*: and to him repaired their Embassages, for that the name of *Tatius* was highly renowned in those countries. They thought that *Tatius* and the *Sabins* dealt but coldly in the action, and went but slowly about revenge. These three nations therefore banded themselves, and agreed to prepare for war. But so sharp let were the *Ceninians* that the men of *Crustumium* and *Antemna*, bestirred not themselves quick enough for them. So they of *Cenina* entered alone by force of arms the Territories of the *Romans*. As they wasted and spoiled without order and measure *Romulus* met them with an army, composed, put to flight, and pursued in chase their whole host slew their King in battel, and him despoiled: and having slain their General, at the first assault he won the town: and after he had from thence

The Embassage of *Romulus*, treating for marriage.

The games *Consualia*.

The *Sabin* maidens ravished.

Romulus his speech to the *Sabin* maidens ravished.

Tatius King of the *Sabins*.

The *Ceninians* defeated. Their King slain.

thence brought back his army with conquest and victory, as a man no less desirous to shew his noble acts with glory, then to achieve the same by prowess, he bare afore him on high as a pompous Pageant in a frame fitly for the purpose wrought, the spoile and armor of his enemies Captain, by himself slain: and so ascended up to the Capitol Hill, where laying them down at the Oak which the shepherds had in great reverence, he consecrated them as a present to *Jupiter*: and set out withal, the foundation and bounds of a Temple unto him: giving moreover this addition and title to the god, and saying solemnly: "O *Jupiter Feretrius*, I King *Romulus* upon my victory, present unto thee this armor of a King, and within this compass of ground, which even now I have conceived and assigned, I dedicate a Temple, to receive thosierich and royal spoils, which the posterity, following mine example, shall bear away from the Kings and Captains general of their enemies, whom they shall happen hereafter to kill. This is the very beginning of that Temple, which first of all other was in *Rome* consecrated. And so it pleased God, that neither the first founders words were spoken in vain, whereby he foretold and pronounced, that his posterity should bring their spoils thither: nor his glory made vulgar and common to many co-partners with him in the like exploit and glorious present. For after him, in so many years, and after so many wars, two royal spoils, only were won of the enemies. So rare was the happiness of honor in that behalf. Whilst the Romans were thus employed about *Cenina*, the army of the *Antemnates*, taking the vantage of time, and of the Romans absence from home, and seeing their frontiers without a guard, with a power of armed men entred the confines of *Rome*. Against whom also the Roman Legion made head in all haste, and finding them scattered out of order in the fields, charged upon them. By reason whereof, at the very first shock and shout made discomfited were the enemies and their town surprized. As *Romulus* returned with triumph and joy for these two victories, his Wife *Herfilia*, at the importunate sute of the Wives that had been ravished, earnestly besought him to pardon their fathers, and receive them into his City: for so by concord and unity the Weale-publick, and the good estate of his Kingdom might flourish and grow mighty. This sute was gently heard, and soon obtained. After this, he set forth against the *Crustuminians* that began to war upon him: with whom he had the less ado, for that their courages were well abated already by the overthrowes of others. To both these places as unto Colonies, were new inhabitants sent. But the greater number were desirous to enter their names, and to plant themselves at *Crustuminum*, for the fertility of the soil. And many likewise removed from thence to *Rome*, the parents especially and kinsfolk of the ravished women. Last of all, the Sabins warred far more sharply and dangerously then the rest, for nothing did they either in fury and rage, or for covetous desire of spoil. Neither made they talk and shew of war, before they warred indeed and were seen in field. And besides this their considerate policy, they dealt also with craft and subtilty. For whereas one *Sp. Tarpeius* had the charge of the Castle in *Rome*, his daughter a young maiden, *Tarvis* with a sum of money corrupted and procured, at what time as she went to fetch water without the walls for sacrifice, to receive armed souldiers into the fortrels. But so soon as they were let in, they with their armor smothered and killed her: either for that thereby it might be thought the Castle was won by force: or because they would make her an example to posterity, that no Traitor should ever think to escape unpunished. But hereto belongeth a tale, namely, that the Sabins used commonly on their left arms to wear bracelets of masse and weighty gold, and fair rings besides on their fingers, set with precious stones of great value; and that she covenanted and agreed with them to have that which they wear on their left hands, whereupon she had their targets in stead of those golden ornaments, heaped upon her. Others say, that upon agreement and covenant made to deliver that which was on their left hands, she demanded their armor, and because she seemed to deal deceitfully, she was overtaken therewith, and perished by receiving a reward other own chusing. However it was, the Sabins were possessed of the Castle. From whence the morrow after (when as the Romans army well appointed in battel ray, had taken up and overspread the whole plain that lieth from mount *Palatine* to the hil *Capitol*) they would not come down on even ground before that the Romans, partly nettled with anger, and partly pricked with an hot desire to recover the Castle again, began with their great disadvantage to climb against the hill. Whereupon the Captains on both sides joined battel. *Metius Curtius* for the Sabins, *Hostius Hostilius* for the Romans: who albeit he was on the lower ground, yet in the forefront most courageously and stoutly underwent the brunt of the conflict. But so soon as he was stricken down and slain, incontinently the Romans retired and gave ground: and thus discomfited fled backward to the old gate of *Palatium*. *Romulus* himself also, born back with the press and throng of those that fled, list up his weapons on high towards heaven, and cried out saying: "O *Jupiter*. I *Romulus* by thy direction guided and ruled, have here in this mount *Palatine* laid the foundation of this City; and now already have the Sabins by corruption and treachery got the Citadel and fortrels thereof: from whence they having passed the midst of the vale between, make higher in haste with force of arms. But thou O father of gods and men, vouchsafe O yet from hence at leastwise to repulse the enemies, deliver the Romans from this so great fear, and stay their shameful flight. And here to thee O *Jupiter Sator* I vow a Temple, for a memorial to all posterity, that by thy present help this City was laved and preserved. Thus having once prayed, as if he had known for certain that his prayers were heard. Even here (quoth he) O ye Romans doth *Jupiter Opt. Max.* the best and greatest of all the gods command you to stay and begin the battel afresh. Herewith the Romans, no less then if they had been commanded from heaven above, made

Romulus presenteth unto *Jupiter Feretrius* the spoils of the King of the *Cenintians*.

By *Cornelius* and *M. Marcellus*.

The *Antemnates* overthrown, and their City forced. *Herfilia* wife to *Romulus*.

Colonies of the Romans first planted.

The Sabins make war.

The Castle of *Rome* betrayed to the Sabins.

A cruel battel between Romans and Sabins. *Metius Curtius*. *Hostius Hostilius*.

The prayer of *Romulus* to *Jupiter Sator*.

A made a stand. And *Romulus* in person hyed him with all speed to the foremost in the vanguard. Now was *Metius Curtius*, principal leader of the Sabines, run down from the Castle, and had scattered and chased the Romans back as far as the *Forum* or common place of *Rome* at this day reacheth in length: and being come within a little of the gate of *Palatium*, he lift up his voice and cried aloud: "Vanquish't we have these faithless friends, and heartless foes: and now know they well, it is one thing to ravish maidens, and a far other thing to fight with men. In this sort, as he braved it out, *Romulus* with a troop of lusty young men, made head against him. *Metius* haply at that time fought on Horseback, whereby he was forced the sooner to recule, and the Romans made after and pursued him. The other battel of the Romans in like manner, being much encouraged with the valour of their King, discomfited the Sabines. *Metius* with his horse under him, affrighted at the noise of them that ran after, leapt into a marsh or bog thereby. Which accident, considering the danger of so great a person, made the Sabines to look back to him. And he verily taking heart again at the calling and encouragement of many of his favourites, escaped. But the Romans and Sabines both, in the middle valley between the two hills, renew the battel again: where the Romans got the better hand. Then the Sabine Dames, for whose wrongful usage all this war arose, with their hair hanging loose about their shoulders, and renting their garments, for very grief and sorrow past all fear, ventured to run amongst the javelins and darts as they flew: and thus having thrust themselves violently overthwart between them, began to part these bloody armies, and to end their deadly feud: Beech'ing their own fathers on the one side, and their husbands on the other, that they being fathers and sons in law, would not embrew themselves with so unkind and unnatural bloodshed, nor as parricides, murder the young ones newly born, some their grand children, and others their own heirs of their body begotten. If ye our fathers, think much (say they) of the affinity between our husbands and you, or if ye our husbands are displeased with our marriage, bend all your anger and malice against us: we are the cause of this war, we are the cause of wounding and killing both husband and father: yet will we rather die, then live either Orphans without the one, or Widows without the other. This thing moved as well the multitude of Souldiers, as also the Captains: and presently of a sudden all was hush, and the fight ceased. Whereupon, the Generals came forth to conclude a League. Neither made they peace only, but one City of two: united their Realms, and joined together in the Regiment: but the royal estate they setled in *Rome*.

D The City thus being made one of twain, the Romans for to gratifie the Sabines in some sort, were of *Cures*, a town of the Sabines, called *Quirici*. And for a memorial of that Battel, the very place where *Curtius*, after he was gotten out of the deed marsh, fast set his horse on firm ground, was named *Curtius* his lake. This joyous peace ensuing presently upon so cruel war, made these women better beloved of their husbands and parents: but especially of *Romulus* himself. And therefore when he divided the City into thirty Wards or Parishes, he called them by their names. But it is not left in any record (for out of all question the women were far more in number then so) whether those that should give names unto the Wards, were chosen by age, or by their own dignity and worthiness, or their husbands degree and calling, or by casting lots. At the same time were enrolled and ordained three Centuries of Gentlemen or Knights: The *Ramenfes* were so called of *Romulus*, the

E *Turineses* of *Titus Tatius*, but of the name and first beginning of the *Lucerians*, the occasion is not certain. So these two Kings not only reigned together, but also governed with great unity and concord. But after certain years the kindred of King *Tatius* chanced to bear and evil entreat the Embassadors of *Laurentum*. And when as the Laurentines pleaded the law of Nations, for satisfaction of this outrage: *Tatius* his kinsfolk what by favour, and what by intreaty, prevailed more with him then the just complaint of the others. Whereby he brought vengeance due to them upon his own head: for being come upon a time to *Laavinum*, unto a solemn sacrifice and feast, there in an uproar or hubbub the people ran upon him, and so was be slain. Which thing (they say) *Romulus* made less regard of then was meet: either for that fellowship in Lordship is never faithful, or because he esteemed him not worthy to be made away. Whereupon he forbore indeed to make war: yet to the end the wrong done unto the Embassadors, together with the murder of the King, might be expiate and purged clean away, the League between the Cities of *Rome* and *Laavinum* was renewed. But whilst peace verily was beyond mens expectation with them concluded: behold another fresh war arose, much nearer then the other, and had almost at their very gates. For the people of *Fidene*, supposing the Romans power and riches so to increase over much so near unto them: before they should grow to such greatness as they were like to do, began first to war upon them: and sending a power of lusty tall souldiers, invaded and wasted all the country between the City of *Rome* and *Fidene*. And taking their way on the left hand, for that the *Tiber* kept from the other, they foraged and spoiled as they went, to the great fear of the Peasants and country people. So as this sudden tumult and gaboul heard out of the fields into the City, brought the first news of the war, *Romulus* rallied therewith (for so nigh a war might bear no delay) led forth his army, and encamped within a

G mile of *Fidene*: and leaving there a competent guard, he departed thence with all his other forces, commanding part of his souldiers to lie close in certain covert places, among the thickets in ambushment. Himself with the greater number, and all his horse, advanced forward, and riding up and down before their gates, after a disordered and bragging manner, made semblant of a bravado, and all to train the enemy forth, which was the thing he only sought. This kind of horse service was a means that the *Fideneans* less suspected and marvelled at their flying, which they were to counterfeit.

The Sabines women to their husbands and fathers,

Curtius, 30.

Centuries.

Tatius murdered.

A Stratagem of Romulus.

feit. For whilst the Cavalry stood unresolved, as it were, in a hammering whether to fly or fight, G and the Infantry withal began to retire: all at once the enemies in thronging manner sallied forth of the gates, and chased the Romans so fiercely, that in their eager pursuit they were drawn to the very place of ambush. Thence the Romans suddenly arose, and charged the flank of the enemies: And to encrease their fright, they likewise that were left behind to guard the camp, shewed themselves with banners displayed. So the Fidenates terrified sundry ways, before well neer that *Romulus* and his men of arms could rein about their horse-heads, turned their backs, and rode full gallop towards the town again, and so much the faster, for that they fled now in good earnest themselves, that pursued them, who a little before made but semblance thereof. Yet for all this could they not escape the enemy: for the Romans hard at their heels, rushed together with them pel-mel into the town, H before the gates could be shut against them. At this Fidenatian war spreading so dangerously, the Veientians grew angry in their hearts, and began to chafe. Touched they were also in regard of kindred and alliance: for the Fidenates were likewise Tuscans. And fearing lest (if the Roman forces should thus distress and lie upon all the borderers) they being so neer should not go free, they were the rather pricked forward, and thereupon made rodes, and entred in arms the confines of *Rome*, spoiling and rifling, more like robbers then professed warriors. So without pitching any tents, or abiding the coming of their enemies, but only driving and carrying away great booties out of the fields, they return again to *Vei*. The Romans contrariwise, not finding the enemies in the field, but yet provided and resolved to give battel, and to hazard all, passed over the *Tyber*. Whom the Veientians understanding to be encamping themselves, fully minded to come against their City: issued forth and met them, intending to try the quarrel by dint of sword, and in open field, rather then to be mued up within the town, and to fight and defend themselves from off their houses and walls. There the Roman King with the strength only of his old beaten souldiers, without any other help and supply whatsoever, without policy or stratagem, had the better: and having thus discomfited the enemies, he chased them even to their very walls. And for that the City was exceeding strong, fortified as well by natural situation, as by walls, he forbore to assault it. But in his return homeward, he wasted the country, more upon a mind to revenge, than hope of spoil. With this defeature the Veientians no less subdued then if they had lost a field, sent Orators to *Rome* to sue for peace: unto whom Truce was granted for an hundred years, but they were amerced to lose part of their lands. These were in manner all the acts that were done both at home and abroad, during the reign of *Romulus*. Whereof none seemed to derogate any jot from the opinion, both of his divine birth K and beginning, and also of his immortality or deification after his death. Such was his courageous heart in recovering his Grandfathers Kingdom: his policy and wisdom in founding the City first, and after in establishing and governing the same, as well in war as in peace. By whose good proceedings it got such strength, and so sure footing, that for forty years space after, it enjoyed peace with safety. Nevertheless of his Commons he was better beloved then of his Nobles: but above all, his Souldiers most heartily affected him: of whom he had always about him, as Equires of the body, three hundred Pensioners armed, not only in time of war, but also of peace, whom he called *Celeres*. Thus having achieved these noble and immortal deeds, as he upon a time assembled all his people upon the plain, at the marish *Capra*, there to number or muster his army: behold upon a sudden there L arose a tempest with great cracks of thunder, which with so thick and cloudy a storm, covered the King, that the people lost the sight of him. And never after was *Romulus* seen on earth. The Roman youth, after their fear was at length past, and that upon so dark and troublesome weather, it proved a fair day again, and calm, withal, seeing the Kings Throne empty, albeit they credited the Senators that stood next about him, who gave out he was taken up aloft in the storm: yet stricken into sad dumps, as it were for the loss of their father, held their peace a good while. But afterwards, when some few of them had once begun, they all set on and cried aloud, *All hail god Romulus the son of a god, King and Father of the City of Rome*: With earnest prayer beseeching him of his grace, that he would vouchsafe to be propitious, and save their off-spring and posterity for ever. I am of this mind, that some there were even then, that suspected and secretly surmised that the King was M pulled in pieces by the hands of the Nobles. For this rumor also was bruited abroad, although in very dark and obscure terms. But by reason of the high admiration of the man, and the present fear withal, the former opinion took place, and was more currant. Over and besides, it grew the rather credible, through the politick practise of one person. For as the whole City was pensive and sorrowful for the miss of their King, and sore displeased with the Senators, one *Proculus Julius*, a substantial good author (as men say) and to be believed in a matter of great importance, stepped forth into the assembly. "*Romulus* (quoth he) O *Quirites*, the Founder and Patron of this City, even "this very morning at the day break, descended suddenly down from heaven and met me, and as "I stood all quaking for fear, ready to worship him, and humbly beseeching that I might behold "him face to face: Away (quoth he) and tell the Romans that the will of the gods in heaven is, that N "my City of *Rome* shall be the head and chief of the whole world: will them therefore to follow "and practise chivalry, and the knowledg thereof: and wot this well, and so let them teach their "posterity, to wit, That no power in the world shall be able to withstand the puissance of the Romans. Which (said he) was not so soon spoken, but he ascended on high, and departed. A wonder it was to see, how much they gave credit to this mans tale, and how greatly the miss of *Romulus* both among the Commons and the Army, was by this belief of his immortality, digested.

The Veientians discomfited by *Romulus*.

Truce between Romans and Veientians for an hundred years. The commendation of *Romulus*.

Celeres.

Romulus his end.

The speech of *Proculus Julius*.

A In this mean while the Senators fell to strive who should be King, and the desire of sovereignty troubled much and perplexed their minds. But as yet, there was no banding nor siding from any one person in particular: for that in a State so newly risen, and of so small continuance, there was not one that far excelled another in authority. All the contention was between the two feyerall factions in general. For they that were descended of the Sabins, fearing lest because after the death of *Tatius* there was none of their part, that had reigned with *Romulus* in equal jurisdiction, they should now lose their possession and title to the Crown, were desirous to have a King chosen out of their corporation. The old Romans again might not abide an alien or forraigner to be King. Howbeit, thus diversly affected as they were, a King they all will needs have, as who (God wor) had not yet tasted the sweetness of liberty and freedom. Besides, the Nobles began to fear, lest peradventure in case the hearts of many Cities thereabouts, should not be well disposed, but provoked against them, some forraign power would make invasion, finding the City without government, and the army without a Caprain. Therefore they all liked well to have one head, but none could find in his heart to give place unto another. Whereupon the hundred Senators associate and combine together in the rule of the Common-woole, by dividing themselves into ten Decuries, and for every Decury chusing one to bear the chiefe authority. So that ten governed at once, but one alone had the regal Ensigns and the Lictors before him. This sovereignty and preheminnce determined every five days: and thus went it through them all round in course. After which manner, they continued the space of one year. And the government upon this occasion was (as it is still at this day) called *Interregnum*. Then after a year began the Commons to grudge and mutter, that their servitude was greater then before, having now Lords over them, an hundred for one: and seemed they would no longer endure, but have a King again; yea, and one of their own chusing. The Senators seeing them thereabouts, and taking it to be good policy for to offer that of their own accord, which they were otherwise like to forgo, curried favour with them in this wise, to wit, by granting the chief prerogative unto the people (in chusing a King) yet so, as they gave them no greater priviledg, then they reserved to themselves. For thus it was decreed, that when the people had elected a King, it should stand firm and ratified, if the Senators liked thereof, and gave thereto their royal assent. And even at this day in making of Laws, and chusing of Magistrates or Rulers, the same right is in some sort observed, setting aside the violence of Tribunes. For that now before the people give their voices, the Senators passe by their authority, that which they would have done; fall it out in the assembly of people, by scrutiny, doubtful as it will. To proceed then, the Interregent having called a general Parliament: In the name of God (quoth he) O *Quirites*, and which may be to you good, lucky, and prosperous, elect, or nominate yea a new King: for so is the good pleasure of the Nobles and Senators: and in case ye shall elect a man of such quality, as may be deemed worthy to succeed *Romulus*, then will they by their assent pass the same, and allow thereof. This pleased and contented the Commons so highly, that because they would not seem behind in bounty and courtesie, they answered again, that this only they ordained and agreed upon, to wit, that the Senate should determine who should be King of *Rome*. There was in those days one *Numa Pompilius*, much renowned and esteemed for his just life and religious: he dwelt in *Cures*, a City of the Sabins, E a man right skilful and very well seen (as any one might be in that age) in all Laws both divine and humane: whose teacher and first master, for want of other Anchor of his Science and Knowledge (they say) but yet untruly, was *Pythagoras* of *Samos*. Concerning whom, this is well known, that he 100. years after and above, in the days of *Servius Tullius* King of *Rome*, held a School of young men Students, that were his Disciples, and followed his Sect, in the utmost and farthest coast of *Italy*, about *Metapontum*, *Heraclea*, and *Croton*. From which places (albeit he had lived in that time) whatfame of him could spread so far as to the Sabins? or by what entercourse and affinity of language might he possibly have trained any man unto him for desire of learning at his hands? or by what good means and help, could *Numa* travel alone unto him in safety, through so many countries, of divers tongues and sundry manners? I am of this opinion rather, that the man by nature F was framed and disposed to vertue, and that he was instructed, not so much in strange and forraign Sciences, as after that strict rule, that stern and severe discipline of the ancient Sabins; then whom, there was not a nation in times past, more precise, reformed, and void of corruption. The Roman Senators hearing the name of *Numa*, although they saw well enough, that the Sabins were like to prove of great reputation and power, by chusing their King from among them, yet was there none of them so audacious, as to prefer either themselves, or any one of their party and faction, nor any one, I say, Senator or Citizen, before that man: but all in general with one accord, agreed to confer the Kingdom upon *Numa Pompilius*. Who being sent for and come; like as *Romulus* at the founding of the City was inaugurate King, or attained to the Crown by means of Augury: so also he would needs, that the will and counsel of God should be sought for, touching his own election. Whereupon he was by the Augur (unto whom for ever after that publick Ministry or Priesthood, in regard G of honor and reverence by patent belonged) brought unto the Castle hill, and there he set him down upon a stone, with his face toward the South. Then the Augur on his left side, with head covered, took his place: holding in his right hand a smooth staff without knor or knob, and hooked towards the top, which they called *lituus*. From whence after that he had with good advise, taken a prospect and view towards the City and Country, and made his prayers unto the gods, he limited the quarters of the Heaven, from East to West: and the parts Southward he appointed for the

Strife between the Romans and Sabins for the Crown.

By what is he said, we may see the Original of sayers.

the right hand, and those Northward for the left. And so far as ever he could cast his eye and see forward, he imagined to himself a mark: then shifting his staff into his left hand, and laying the right hand upon *Numa* his head, he prayed in this form: O Father *Jupiter*, if it may be right and lawful, that this *Numa Pompilius*, whose head I lay my hand upon, shall be King of *Rome*, shew I beseech thee some certain and manifest signs within that compass and those precincts, that I conceived and set out. Then pronounced he in plain words what tokens by sight or flight of fowls he would have to appear. Which being once seen, *Numa* was declared King, and so came down from the Temple or place of prospect abovesaid.

In this manner, being inaugurate and invested in the Kingdom, he provideth by good Orders, Laws, and Customs, to re-edifie, as it were, that City, which beforetime had been new built by force and arms. Whereunto, he seeing that they might not be brought and framed in time of war, whose hearts were already by continual warfare grown wild and savage: and supposing that this fierce people might be made more gentle and tractable, through disuse of arms, he therefore built the Temple of *Janus* in the nether end of the street *Argiletum*, in token both of war and peace: with this invention, that being open it should signifie, that the City was in arms; and standing shut, that all the neighbor countries were in peace and quiet. Twice only after the reign of *Numa* was this Temple shut: once, when *T. Manlius* was Consul, after the first Carthaginian war was done and ended: and a second time (as God would) in our age for us to see, when as the Emperor *Cesar Augustus*, after the battel of *Actium* (with *Antonius* and *Cleopatra*) had obtained peace both by Land and Sea. *Numa* then having knit the hearts of the borderers about him in firm league and amity, and thereupon closed up the doors of *Janus*, secured now from all fear and care of dangers abroad, yet doubting lest through ease and idleness their minds might fall to looseness and riot, whom the dread of enemies and martial discipline had held in awe and good order: devised above all things to strike some fear of God into them, and to plant religion in their hearts: a policy no doubt, with the simple multitude (rude in those days and ignorant) most effectual. Which reverence of God, for that it could not sink nor enter well into their heads, and take a deep impression, without some device of a fained miracle, he made semblance, and gave out, that he conversed in the night season, and had, I wot not what, secret conference with the goddess *Egeria*. By whose counsel and direction forsooth, he ordained such divine service and sacrifices to the gods, as to them was most acceptable: and to every god appointed several Priests for the ministry thereof accordingly. But first above all other things he divided the year, according to the course of the Moon, into twelve months: and for as much as the Moon hath not full thirty days to every month, whereby some days are wanting to make up the just year, after the revolution and circle of the Sun: he, by putting the odd days between every month, so disposed and ordered the year, that in every three and twenty years space the days agreed just to the same point of the Sun from whence they began, and so made up the void spaces, and accomplished fully the term of every year. He appointed likewise law days and days of vacation, called *Festi* and *Nefasti*, thinking it good, that otherwhiles there should be rest from attendance on the Courts, and no dealing with the people. After this, he set his mind about the creation of Priests, albeit in his own person he performed very many sacrifices, especially those which at this day pertain to the Priest of *Jupiter*, called *Flamen Dialis*. And supposing that in a City so martial, there should succeed more Kings like to *Romulus* than *Numa*, who in proper person would go forth to war: lest haply the divine ministry that belonged to the King, might be neglected, he created a Flamine to *Jupiter*, for to be a sacrificer continually resident: endued and adorned him with a rich cope or vestment, and with an ivory chair of state upon wheels, called *Sella curulis*. Unto him he adjoined two Flamines more: one for *Mars*, another for *Quirinus*. He instituted also a Nunnery, as it were, of religious Vestal Virgins. A Priesthood that had the beginning from *Alba*, and sired well with the house, from whom the first founder of the City was descended. And to the end they should attend continually about the Church, as resiant Chaplains, he allowed them an ordinary fee or pension, at the publick charges of the City: and made them by perpetual vowed virginity, and other ceremonies to be revered and accounted holy. Likewise unto *Mars Gradivus* he elected twelve Priests called *Salii*, and gave unto them a rich purple coat, embroidered for an ornament, and to wear upon that coat a brazen breast-plate, and to bear certain scutcheions or bucklers that fell from heaven, called *Ancilia*: commanding them to run about the City, chanting hymns and songs, with dancing and leaping full solemnly. Moreover, he chose for a Superintendent or high Priest, *Numa Martius*, the son of *Marcus*, one of the Senators: and to him he gave in writing set down under his hand and seal, a rule, whereby he might know what beasts should be killed for sacrifice, upon what days, and at which Temples, and how the money should be levied and disbursed for the defraying of all charges. All other sacred rites as well publick as private, he submitted and referred to the discretion and ordering of that high Priest: to this end, that the common people might know unto whom they were to resort for counsel and instruction, and that no part of Gods worship and service should by neglect of the ancient rites and traditions of their own country, be confounded and corrupted by bringing in any strange and forraign superstitions. He ordained besides, that the same Arch-Prelate should teach, not only these heavenly ceremonies, but also funeral obsequies, and how the spirits beneath, and ghosts of bodies departed, should be quieted and pacified: and what strange and prodigious tokens, that came by way of lightning, thunder, or any other fearful sight whatsoever, should be expiate and purged by sacrifice accordingly. And

for

A for to know the truth, portended by these tokens even from the minds of heavenly spirits above, he consecrated unto *Jupiter Elicius* an altar upon the mount *Aventina*. And by the means of Augury, he consulted with that god, what things he was to enterprize and go about. Whilst the whole multitude was thus drawn away, and clean turned from thinking of force and arms, and busied about devising and ordering of these matters, not only their minds were occupied in doing somewhat, but also the continual fear of God now settled in them, (as being perswaded that the heavenly power was present in the managing of mens affairs) had possessed now all their hearts with such piety and religious holiness, that faithful promise once made, and the reverence of an oath taken, abandoning all fear of law and punishment, was able to rule and govern the City. And as the people framed and reformed themselves to the fashions and manners of their King, as the only and special pattern to follow: so the nations likewise bordering upon them, who beforetime verily thought that City to be built, and as it were encamped in the midst of them to the disturbance and disquieting of all their peace, were now become so respective of them, that they thought it an impious and sinful deed, once to offend or offer abuse to that City, so well given, and devoted to the worship and service of God. Furthermore, there was a grove, the midst whereof was watered continually by a spring that issued out of a dark and shadowed cave: into which, because *Numa* used very oft to retire himself alone, without any other, as it were, to have familiar company with *Egeria*, he dedicated that grove unto the Muses, for that, their assistance also in counsel and advice he desired together with his wife *Egeria*. And so *Faith* alone he instituted a solemn yearly festival day, and erected a chappel: Unto which he commanded the Flamines to ride in an arched or embowed close Chariot, drawn with two horses, and to sacrifice and execute their function, with their hands covered and wrapped close to their fingers ends: signifying thereby, that faith is to be kept and preserved: and that her seat was sacred and consecrated even upon the right hands. Many other sacrifices, and places for sacrifice, which the Priests call *Argeos*, did he appoint and dedicate. But of all his acts this was most worthy and memorable, that during the time of his reign he had no lesse regard to preserve peace, then to maintain royal estate and dominion. Thus two Kings one after another, taking either of them a several course by himself, that one by war, this other by peace, mightily promoted the welfare of the City. *Romulus* reigned 37 years, *Numa* 43. So that now the City became very puissant, as being well and equally tempered both with fears of arms, as also with discipline of peace.

Upon the death of *Numa* the regiment returned again to an inter-raign. Then the people nominated and elected for their King, with the royal assent of the Senators *Tullus Hostilius*, the Nephew or Grandson of that *Hostilius*, who had in times past fought valiantly against the Sabins, at the foot of the Castle hill. This man was not only unlike the former King, but also more fierce and hardy then *Romulus* himself. For besides the heat of youth, and strength of body withal, the glorious remembrance of his Grandfather set him on, and pricked him forward. Supposing therefore that the City through rest and ease began to age, as it were, and to decay, he sought every way to pick quarrels, and to give occasion to make war. It fortuned, that the Peasants about *Rome*, and those of *Alba* likewise, preyed upon and spoiled one anothers land. At that time *C. Clauilius* was Lord and King of *Alba*. From both parts well neer at one time, were Embassadors addrested to demand restitution of goods, and satisfaction for their harms. *Tullus Hostilius* he had straitly charged his messengers to have no dealing with the Alban Prince, before they had delivered unto him their message. For well he wist, that he would make denial, and yeeld no amends: and then might he with safe conscience justly proclame war against him. On the contrary side the Alban Embassadors followed their business but slackly, for being courteously invited, and friendly entertained by *Tullus*, and lodged within his palace, they were well content to be feasted by the King, and were his daily guests so long, that the *Romans* had by this time both challenged their own first, and upon denial made by the Alban King, given defiance and proclaimed open war within thirty days next ensuing. Upon which tidings by them related to *Tullus*, he gave the Alban Embassadors audience, per-suading them to declare what their errand was, that they came about. They (simple men) ignorant of all that was done, first spent time in excusing themselves, saying they were very loth & unwilling to speak ought that might displease *Tullus*, but being commanded by authority, they might not but will nor chuse, and thereupon were come to make claim of goods & amends for wrongs, and if they should not be restored and recompence made, they had commission to denounce war against him. Whereunto *Tullus* made answer in this wise: "Tell your King and Master (quoth he) that the Roman King calleth the gods to witness, whether of the two Nations sent the Embassadors away first; and rejected them when they demanded restitution, that upon his head they might bring the misery, loss, and calamity of the present war. With this dispatch the Albans returned home. So they made preparation of forces on both sides all that they could, most like in all the world to a civil war, between fathers and sons, proceeding both from the Trojan race: considering that by Trojans *Lavinium* was founded; from *Lavinium* came the people of *Alba*: and from the Alban Kings were the Romans in right line descended. But the final issue and end of this war, made the war it self less woful and lamentable, both because they came not to a set field, and also for that by raising the houses only of the one City, two nations were intermingled & united in one. The Albans first with a mighty power, entered the Territory of *Rome*, and encamped themselves not past five miles from the City, where they strongly entrenched themselves: which place

Lupher & Lictor.

Agoria.
The Temple of
Faith.

Tullus Hostilius.

The Embassadors
of the Albans to
King Tullus.

Chulius his self

*Marcus Sufferius
Dictator of the
Albans.*

*The Oration of
Marius unto Tul-
lus.*

*Curius
Horatius.*

*ambrosius
of 1661*

of the Captains name was called *Falsa Chulius*, many years after until both it and the name with-
al in process of time, decayed clean and came to nothing. In this camp the Alban King, *Chulius*,
ended his days, in whose stead the Alban army created *Marcus Sufferius* their Dictator. *Tullus* in
the mean time became haughty and proud, especially upon the death of the King, oftentimes giving
out and saying, that the mighty power of the gods, having thus begun at the very head, would
likewise take vengeance on the whole body of the Alban Nation, for this their unjust and godless
war: and one night above the rest passed secretly by the camp of his enemies, and in warlike man-
ner invaded the Alban land. This news raised *Marius* out of his standing camp. Who led forth
his army and marched on as near to his enemies as he could, dispatching aforehand an Herald un-
to *Tullus*, to notify unto him thus much from him, that it was needful and expedient before they
joined battel to parle and commune together. If he would vouchsafe to confer, he knew very well,
that he should alledge and lay forth such matters, as might concern the Weale of the Romans, as
well as of the Albans. *Tullus* refused not the offer, albeit they were but vain toies that were pre-
tended, and therefore set his men in battel aray. The Albans in like manner came forth against him.
After they were thus ranged and embattelled ready to fight, the Generals on both sides, accom-
panied with a few of their principal Nobles, advance between both armies. Then began the Alban
Dictator in this wise: "Me thinks (quoth he) I hear already of injury and wrongs done, and how
such goods as were demanded are not restored again according to the form of the league, as also
that *Chulius* our King was cause of this war: neither doubt I, O *Tullus*, but even you pretend,
and are about to alledge as much. But if we would as we ought to do, stand upon the truth of
things, rather then upon I wot not what glosses, and goodly shews of words: it is ambition and
desire of rule only and nothing else, that spureth on two nations of one blood and near neigh-
bors to take arms and war one with another: justly or unjustly, I am not able to say. Let him on
Gods name that first began the quarrel, in conscience see to that. As for me, the Albans indeed
have made me their General. But this one point *Tullus*, I would have you to remember and
consider: How strong about us and you especially the Tuscans are, you know better, the nearer
ye are unto them: mighty they are by land, much more by sea. Then wot well this, that when
you shall cause the Trumpet to sound unto battel, these two armies will be to them a fair mark
and spectacle to behold: that they may give in assault to both at once, as well the victors, as
them that are vanquished, whilst they are wearied and toiled out of heart. For the love of God,
if there be any spark of grace in us, hede we not contented with that liberty which we surely en-
joy, will needs venture and put in doubtful hazzard, which of us shall rule and command, and
who shall serve and obey the other, let us take some good course whereby it may be decided
without great loss of bloodshed on both sides, whether shall be Lord and Sovereign. The mo-
tion *Tullus* misliked not, albeit both for disposition of nature, and hope of victory, he were the
haughtier of the twain. And as they fought on both parts what way to take, this means at length
they found, wherunto fortune it self presented fit matter and occasion. For by good hap even
then, in either of those three brethren twins there were born at one birth, and those neither in age
nor strength unlike. Their names were *Curius* and *Horatius*, that is very certain, neither is there
any thing of ancient record more famous and notable. Yet as clear in instance as it is, there re-
maineth still some doubt and error in their names: of whether people the *Curius* and the *Horatius*
were. Writers there be on both sides, but the greater number say, as I find, that *Horatius* were
the Romans, to whom I rather incline, and my mind giveth me to follow them. With these three
brethren the Kings went in hand, perswading them to fight for the honor of their country, and
try the quarrel by dint of sword: shewing them, first on whether side the victory fell, there should
remain the sovereign dominion. Nothing refused they to do, the time and place both were agreed
upon and appointed. But before the combat, it was covenanted between the Romans and Al-
bans, and these conditions drawn: That whose champions in fight should have the better, that
nation should peaceably command the other. There are of covenants many and sundry. Capitu-
lations far different in matter: but they run all after one manner and form. As for this, it was
made, as we have heard in this wise, neither is there extant a more ancient record of any compe-
tition whatsoever. The Herald (called *Fecialis*) demandeth of King *Tullus* in this wise: Is it your
will and commandment my Lord, That I make a covenant and accord with the *Paterpatra* of
the Alban people? It is (quoth the King.) Then (quoth he) I demand of you sacred herbs. The
King answered again, Take them pure and clean. The *Fecialis* then reached from the Castle hill pure
herbs from among the grails: which done, he thus asked the King: Do you (my Lord) ordaine me
the Messenger Royal of the Commons of the people of Rome? and allow necessary implemets,
all furniture for my self, and my retinue and train? The King answered: I do, so far forth as may
be, without the harm or detriment of my self, and of the Citizens of the people of Rome. The *Fecialis*
or Herald for that time, was *Marcus Valerius*, who created *Paterpatra* a King at Arms. So
Falsus, by touching his head and hair with Vervain. Now the *Paterpatra* is for to confirm the
agreement with an oath, and so he read out the covenant and oath, and that with many words:
Which to rehearse, as they were in a long prescript form pronounced, were very needless. After
this having recited all the Articles and conditions thereof. Hearken (quoth he) O *Jupiter*, listen
thou Herald for the Albans, attend also and give ear ye the Alban people, how these conditions
from the first to the last, have been read aloud out of those Books or Tables of wax, without
,, covin

- A "coven, or fraud, and how at this day they are most rightly meant and understood, according to the tenure of the words: from these articles I say, shall not the people of *Rome* start back first, nor make default: If they shall first go back and fall therein by publick consent, and fraudulent-ly; that day, O *Jupiter*, imite thou the City of *Rome*, as I to day will strike this Swine: yea, and imite thou home so much more, as thou art more able and powerful then my self. And after he had thus said, he smote the swine with a flint stone. The Albans likewise repeated their prescript form of words, and the oath, by their Dictator and Priests for the purpose. The complements of the covenant and composition thus performed, and all concluded, then those three brethren of both sides, as it was before agreed, buckle to arm themselves. And being encouraged on both hands,
- B by their well-willers and friends, that put them in mind of their country gods, their native soile and parents, saying, that all their fellow Citizens and country men whatsoever, both at home in the City, and abroad in the camp, every one had their eye only upon them, their weapons and their hands: the young men being both of themselves by nature forward and lusty, and also emboldened with the comfortable words of their friends, advanced forth between both armies. Now were the two hosts set on both sides before their camps, rid of present danger, rather then void of care and peniveness. For why? the whole trial of sovereignty and rule, rested in the valour and good speed of a few. Whereupon they longing to see the sequel and issue, were wholly bent to behold, and only minded this unpleasant sight and spectacle. At sound of Trumpet these brave brethren, three to three, like as they had been two set battels, and carrying the stomachs verily of two great armies, affronted one another, and with cruel and mortal weapons gave the charge. Neither regarded they their own proper peril, but set before their eyes, only the rule or servitude of the Common-wealth, as if the state of their country from thenceforth lay wholly upon their good or bad success in this action. So soon as they began to cope together and make assault, that their harness and weapons once clattered, and their drawn swords shone and glittered again; behoid such an exceeding fear came upon the beholders, that they trembled and quaked withal: and during the time of equal combat, seeing no inclination of victory to the one side or the other, they were so astonied, that hardly they could well speak or freely take their wind. Afterwards, when as they were come to hand-strokes, and that now not only the stirring of their bodies, and the doubtful handling of their weapons and armor, but bloody wounds also were seen, two of the Romans
- C (having fore wounded all the three Albans) fell down one upon the other, and yeilded up the ghost. At whose fall, the Alban host shouted again for joy: but the Roman legions, albeit they were now past hope of victory, yet they were not void of care being amazed, and in extasie as it were, with very fear what should become of him, who being but one, had three *Curatius* upon him at once. But as good hap was, he as yet was fresh and unwounded. And as he was not able alone to make his part good with them altogether, so in single fight, man to man, he thought himselfe good enough for them all, one after another. To single therefore, and to part them in fight, he begins to flie, thinking thereby they would follow after him, each one as his hurt body would give him leave. Now when he was retired a pretty good way from the place where they fought, and looking behind him, espied them following far asunder, and one of them not much behind himself, he turned again upon him with great violence. And whilst the host of the Albans cried out to the *Curatius* to rescue and succour their brother, *Horatius* by that time had slain his foremost enemy, and was in hand with the second. Then the Romans with such a shout, as they are wont to make, who after a great fright recover themselves and take heart again, encourage their champions: and he himself haltereth to finish the combat. And before that the third, who was not far off, could get to the other, he had slain the second *Curatius*. So that now there was but one to one, left to fight on even hand: and they, neither in hope nor strength equally matched. As for the one of them, his body as yet not wounded; and his double victory withal, caused him to attempt the third conflict stoutly and courageously. The other faint and feeble of his hurt, tired with running, had much ado to come forward, and quite out of heart, seeing his two brethren lie slain at his feet, offered himself as a prey to his victorious enemy: for surely between them was no fight at all to speak of. The Roman he triumphing and crying out for joy, Two brethren already (quoth he) are I sent to the Diuel, the third likewise shall I send after them, that a Roman may command an Alban, which is the cause of all this war. And therewith he thrust his sword aloft into his throat, who had fatch ado to hold his weapons: and so soon as he was down, stript and rifled him. The Romans with great triumph and gratulation, receive *Horatius* rejoicing so much the more, as his case was more dangerous and well need desperate. Then of both sides address they themselves to bury their champions, but not with like cheer and alacrity of heart. For why? they of the one part were become Lords, and they of the other, Subjects. Their tombs remain yet to be seen in the very places where they were each of them slain, two of the Romans entombed together in one place neerer unto *Alba*: the three Albans towards *Rome*; but distant asunder, like as they fought and left their lives. Before they dislodged and departed thence the one from another, *Albius*, according as it was capitulated in the composition, asked and demanded what *Tullus* would command him to do, who enjoined him to keep his youth ready in arms at an hours warning, for what he would employ them in service, in case he should war with the *Veientians*; So were the armies dismissed home. And *Horatius* he went foremost, baring afore him the threefold spoile of three brethren. Whom his Sister a maid affianced before to one of the *Curatius*, met before *Capena* gate: &
- C 2 clypyng

The cruel combat between the brethren *Curatius* and *Horatius*.

Horatius kil-
leth his sister.

The judgment
of Horatius.

P. Horatius the
Father to the
people.

espying upon her brothers shoulders, the coat of arms of her espoused husband, which she her self had wrought with her own hands: she unbound her head, let her hair loose, and pitiously called upon her dead spouse by name. This lamentable wailing of the sister presently upon victory, and amidst so great and publick joy, moved the proud and haughty young man to wrath, and drawing out his sword therewith, ran the silly damsel through: and with these bitter words rebuketh her also, Get thee hence (quoth he) to thy spouse with thy unreasonablenesse and foolhardy love, forgetful as thou art, of thy two brethren dead, and him that is alive: forgetful of thy native country, and the honor thereof: and so with a mischief go she, whatever she be, that shall bewail an enemy of Rome. A cruel and horrible fact this seemed, as well to the Senators, as to the Commons: but his late and fresh desert made it the less unpardonable: yet for all that was he apprehended, and brought before the King. The King, that he might not seem the author of a judgment so unpleasant and odious unto the people, and consequently of punishment according to the doom, assembled the people together and said: I ordain Duumvirs to sit upon Horatius, in trial of a criminal cause of felony, and to judge him according to the law, in that case provided. The tenor of the law runneth thus, in dreadful kind of form. *[The Magistrates called Duumvirs shall judge the party accused in a capital action of felony, if he shall appeal from the Duumvirs, let him traverse his appeal, if they overthrow him, then hoodwink him, or cover his head, hang him upon a cursed Gallows tree by a rope, and strangle him, having whipped and scourged him before, either within the Pomary or without.]* By virtue of this law were the Duumvirs created, who by the rigour of that law thought they might not quit so much as a guiltless person: and having once condemned him, then one of them gave sentence and said: I judge thee O Publius Horatius a murderer and an enemy to the state of Rome. Go Liſtor therefore, and bind his hands together. Then came the Liſtor and cast a cord about them. But Horatius, by the advice of Tullus, a gentle and mild interpreter of the Law, I appeal (quoth he.) So upon his appeal was the matter debated, and to be tried before the people: who were not a little troubled in deciding or judging this cause, and most of all in regard of Publius Horatius the Father, crying out and saying, "That he deemed his daughter was justly and worthily killed: otherwise he would himself have punished his son by his fatherly authority. Beseeching moreover, that they would not now make him childlike, whom erewhile they saw with a goodly company of children about him. And therewithal the old father embracing the young man, and shewing the spoils of the *Curia*, set up and hanging in that very place which now is called *Pila Horatia*, i. e. Horatius his Pillar. "And can ye indeed (O ye Romans, quoth he) abide to see him bound under a Gallows, yea, and whipped and tormented, whom a while afore ye beheld to march in great glory and jollity for his achieved victory? So unseemly and foul a sight as which, the Albans themselves can hardly suffer. Go Liſtor, go bind those hands fast, which armed a little before, won the people of Rome their dominion: Go I say, and hoodwink his head who saved and delivered this City from bondage, hang him by the neck, and strangle him upon a cursed tree: scourge him and spare not, either within the circuit of the walls, so it be among those javelins and spoils of the enemies: or without the walls, so it be within the compass of the *Curian* Sepulchres. For to what place can you lead this young gentleman, where his honorable acts may not save him from so unworthy and shameful punishment? The people could no longer endure, either the tears of the old father, or the constant resolution of the youth his son, who shewed himselfe still the same, and not to change for any danger. So they quit him, in the honorable regard rather of his prowess and valor, then in the right and equity of his cause. Yet to the end that the murder so manifest and openly known, should be in some sort expiate, and satisfaction made therefore, his father was charged to purge his sons sin, and make amends, at the expences of the City. Who having performed certain purgatory sacrifices, which afterward belonged to the house and family of the *Horatii*, put a rafter or beam cross overthwart the street, and caused the young man with his head covered to go under, as under a yoke or gallows: which remaineth yet unto this day, from time to time as the City charges repaired, and they call it *Sororium Tigillum*, i. e. The Sisters beam. And in that very place where *Horatia* was wounded and fell down, her tomb was erected of four square stone.

But not long continued the Albans in quiet and peace. For the common people finding fault and greatly discontented, that the whole state of the Weale-publick was put into the hands of three souldiers, infected so, and poisoned the vain and shittie head of the Dictator: that for as much as plain and upright dealing sped no better, he began to win again the hearts of his Commons by crooked means, and indirect courses. Seeking therefore war in time of peace, as before in time of war he sought peace: and seeing his people had more heart then hand, and their strength not answerable to their stomacks: he stirred up other nations, openly by way of proclamation and defiance to make war, and reserved his own men under a colour of league and confederacy, for to practise treason and falshood. The Fidenates, a Colony of the Romans, having made the Veintians partakers of their counsel, and combined with the Albans to forsake the Romans, when time came, and turn unto them, brake out and took arms. When Fidene had thus openly revolted, Tullus sent for Metius and his power from Alba, and set forth against his enemies: and passing over the river *Anio*, encamped near the confluent, where both streams meet together. Between which place and Fidene, the army of the Veintians had crossed the *Tiber*, who put themselves in the right wing of the battel fast by the river, and the Fidenates in the left,

A left nearer to the mountains. *Tullus* directly opposeth his own forces against the Veientians, and placeth the Albans to affront the Fidenates. The Alban Captain having as little heart as honesty and truth, neither durst keep his standing, nor openly turn unto the enemy, but by little and little withdraweth himself toward the mountains: and when he thought he had gained vantage enough, he mounted up the hill with all his companies, and with a wavering mind to spend the time, displayeth his ranks. His intent and purpose was, on what side fortune seemed to give the better, with them to join and take their part. The Romans that stood next, perceiving their flanks naked by reason of the departure of their friends and allies, at first marvelled much at the matter: but afterwards there galloped in horsemen, and advertised the King that the Albans were gone away. *Tullus* in this so fearful and dangerous case, vowed twelve Priests *Salii*, and two Temples to *Pallor* and *Pavor*, i. e. to Palenes and Fears and with a loud voice cried out in the hearing of his enemies, commanding the said horseman to return to the battle, saying, There was no cause at all to fear, for that himself had commanded the Alban host to wheel and tetch about, and so to charge the Fidenates on their backs where they lay open. Willing him expressly moreover, to cause the men of arms to hold up their lances on end. By which means, a great part of the footmen could not see the Albans as they departed and went their ways. And those that had seen them, thinking it was a truth which they heard the King to speak, fought so much the more boldly. So the fear turned now from them, and fell upon the enemies: for they heard the King which he spake so loud, and also a great many of the Fidenatians being co-habitants with the Romans, understood Latine. For fear therefore, that the Albans should all on a sudden run down from the hills, and stop their passage to the town, they turned their backs and fled. Then *Tullus* pressed hard upon them, and having discomfited the Fidenatians wing, cometh back more fiercely upon the Veientians, being already amazed at the sight of the other. Neither were they able to withstand the brunt. Howbeit the river behind at their backs kept them at first from flying away, but afterwards when their flight bended thitherward: some flinging their weapons shamefully away, like blind men, ran headlong into the water: other lingering still, and staying on the bank side, doubtful whether to flee, or to stick to it and fight, were trod under foot, and hewne in pieces. Never had the Romans before that day a more cruel battle. Then the Alban army, which beheld and saw all this conflict, descended down into the plain. And *Metius*, forsooth, rejoiceth much on *Tullus* behalf for his victory. *Tullus* again speaketh *Metius* fair, and gave order, that the Albans in a good hour should join their camp to the Romans: and against the next day, prepared a purging or Lustral sacrifice. The morrow when it was day, and that all things were in a readiness, according to the manner, he commandeth both armies to assemble together to an audience. The Criers, beginning at the farthest part of the camp, summoned the Albans first. Who also for the strangeness of the matter, and desirous to hear the Roman King to make his Oration, pressed forward to stand next. The Roman legion on set purpose, as it was before decreed, stood armed round about, and hemmed them in: and the Centurions had in charge without delay to execute whatsoever they were commanded.

E Then began *Tullus* to speak in this wise, "If ever in any war heretofore had cause, O Romans, to render thanks, first to the immortal gods, and then to your own manhood and valor, certainly it was in yesterdays battle. For ye fought not then with the force of your enemies more than with the treachery and falshood of your friends and confederates, which is the greater conflict and far more dangerous. For to put you clean out of doubt, and to bear you no longer in hand with a wrong perswasion: The Albans went up toward the hills without my commission, neither was that my commandment, but a policy and countenance only of command: to this end, that ye not knowing how ye were forsaken, might not withdraw your hearts from fight, and also that your enemies weening they were environed behind, should be afraid and so enforced to flee. Yet are not the Albans all in general to be charged with this fault which I reprove. They did but follow their leader, as ye likewise would have done, if I had willed the march to have turned any whither from thence. It is *Metius* that was the guide and leader of this journey, *Metius* is he that is the worker and deviser of this war, *Metius* I say it is, and none but *Metius*, the breaker of the Roman and Alban league. But let who that will from henceforth presume hardly to do the like, if I make not him a notable example to all the world. The Centurions stood armed round about *Metius*, and the King goeth on with the rest of his speech as he began, and said: "That which I pray God may turn to the good prosperity and happiness of the people of Rome, of myself, and you the Albans, I am minded to reduce all the Alban nation to Rome: to endue the Commons with the freedom of the City: to advance their chief Gentlemen to the order of Senators, and to make one uniform City and Common wealth: that as in times past the Albans stare, out of one body was divided into twain, so now it may be united and become one again. At these words the Alban youth unarmed, and beset on every side with armed men, albeit they were distracted in mind, yet were they forced with a general fear to keep silence, and hold their peace. *Metius Suffetius* (quoth *Tullus* then) If thou couldst have learned to keep allegiance, promise, and covenants, thou mightest have been taught it at my hands with life. But now since thy froward nature is incurable, teach thou by thy fearful example and death all mankind, to hold and repute those things for sacred and holy, which have by thee been broken and violate. Like as therefore atewhiles thou barest a double heart in doubt-

The Oration of *Tullus*.

ful ballance, between the the Fidenates and the Romans state: even so streightways shalt thou H
 "yeeld thy body to be drawn asunder, and plucked in two peeces accordingly. Then forthwith
 he cauled two teames of four houses to be set to, and *Metius* to be stretched out and tied unto
 the chariots to them belonging. Afterwards were the horses driven a contrary way, and carried
 with them in both chariots the body torn in pieces, as far forth as the limbs hung fast together by
 their cords and ligaments: which made all men avert their eyes from beholding so cruel and hor-
 rible a spectacle. This was the first and last punishment that ever the Romans executed with so lit-
 tle respect or none at all (to say a truth) of the laws of humanity. In all other they may safely make
 their boast, that no nation in the world hath been lesse delighted and pleased with extremity of
 torment.

Whilst these things were in doing, there had been certain horsemen sent afore to *Alba*, for to
 translate the multitude to *Rome*. After whom were the legions also of the footmen thither led, to
 rase and destroy the city. At whose entrance within the gates, there was nor that stir nor fearful
 hurry, as usually is seen when cities are lost: and when with breaking down the gates, beating
 and battering the wals with rams and other engines, for ing the citadel, the enemies shout, and the
 armed souldiers run to and fro in the city, killing and slaying, firing and burning all afore them
 as they go: but a sad silence, and a still kind of sorrow and pensiveness so possessed and astonied
 all their minds, that for fear forgetting what to leave behind them, or what to take with them,
 without advice and counsell, one asking another what to do, they one while stood in their house
 entries, another while ran up and down: wandering in their houses, as if their last day had been
 come. But so soon as they heard the horsemen cry aloud, and command them with menacing to
 void and depart, and that now the ratling of the tiles and slates from off the houses, as they were
 a pulling down, was from the furthest part of the town heard: and that the dust raised from places
 far off, had as it were with a cloud overcast and filled all: then every man catching up hastily, and
 carrying forth what he could, leaving their domestical gods, leaving their houses wherein they
 had been born, bred, and brought up, departed forth: so that now they filled the streets as they
 went close on a row together, and the sight one of another with mutual commiseration, re-
 doubled their tears and wooll complaints. Yea, and pitious mone and lamentations were heard of
 women especially, as they passed by their fair and stately churches, beset with souldiers, and aban-
 doned their gods as it were captives and prisoners. After the Albans had thus quit the city down
 went the Romans every where with the buildings, as well publick as private, and laid them even
 with the ground, and so in one hour destroyed and rased four hundred yeers work: for so long
 had *Alba* stood and flourished. Howbeit the temples of the gods they spared, for so the king had
 given commandment. *Rome* all this while riseth by the fall of *Alba*. The number of Citizens in-
 creased double: to enlarge the city the mount *Velius* was annexed to it: and that it should be bet-
 ter peopled and more inhabited, *Tullus* had his royal seat and palace there, and therein from that
 time forth he kept his court. The chief Citizens of the Albans he advanced to the order of Sena-
 tors, that he might augment that state also of the Commonwealth: namely, the houses of the *Tullij*,
Servilij, *Quintij*, *Geganij*, *Curij*, *Julij*: and for that degree and order of Senators by
 him encreased, he built an hall or new court, called until our fathers dayes *Hofilia curia*.
Hofilia court. And that all estates and degrees might out of this new people be some-
 what strengthened, he chose from out of the Albans ten troops or cornets of horsemen, and
 with the same supply he both fulfilled the number of the old legions, and also made and enrolled
 new.

Curia Hofilia.

War with the
Sabins.

Tullus upon this affiance he had in his strength and power, denounceth war against the Sabins,
 a people in those dayes of all other most puissant and mighty, both in men and munition, next the
 Tuscans. Wrongs had been done, and outrages committed on both parts, and restitution or
 amends demanded, but to no effect. *Tullus* found himself grieved, that divers occupiers or mer-
 chants of *Rome*, at an open mart or fair of great resort before the temple of *Feronia*, were laid hold
 upon and apprehended. The Sabins on the other side complained, that their men notwithstanding
 they took sanctuary in a certain sacred and privileged grove, were arrested and in hold at *Rome*.
 These were the quarrels and occasions pretended of the war. The Sabins well remembering, that
 not onely part of their own forces was by *Tatius* translated to *Rome*, and there planted, but also
 that now of late the puissance of the Romans was well amended by the supplement of the Albans,
 began likewise for their part to cast about, and seek for help abroad, and forraign aids. Now was
Tuscan their neighbour nation, and of the Tuscans the neereft unto them were the *Veientians*.
 From thence they gat certain voluntaries to take their part, by reason that their minds already
 were well disposed to revolt upon old grudges and rancour remaining still of the former war past:
 other some also vagarants and idle persons of the rascal sort, and needy commons, were soon hired
 for money. But as for any succour from thence by publick consent of the state they had none at all.
 So much prevailed even with the *Veientians* (for in the rest it was lets marvel) the faithful covenant
 of truce concluded with *Romulus*. Now when these preparations of war were made on both sides
 to the uttermost of their power, and that it stood upon this point, That they were like to have
 the ods and vantage, who should begin first and enter the field: *Tullus* prevented the enemies and
 invaded the Sabine land. A sharp and bloody batrel was there fought under the wood *Malicusa*.
 Where the Romans bare themselves bravely that day, much upon the valour of the Legionary
 foot.

The Sabines
defeated by the
Romans

A footmen, but more upon the strength of their men of arms, whose number lately was increased for by the suddain and forcible charge of the horsemen; the ranks of the Sabines were so disordered, that they could neither stand close together to fight it out, nor spread themselves to flie, without great slaughter and bloodshed.

The Sabines thus vanquished, and the kingdom of *Tullus* and the whole of *Rome*, being very glorious and wealthy: behold, news came to the King and Senators, that in the *Alps* mount it rained stones: which hardly was believed, and therefore certain men went out of purpose to see this strange and prodigious sight: who might plainly behold stones to fall thick out of the sky like as when some forcible winds drive hail in big round balls upon the earth. They imagined moreover, that they heard a great and mighty voice out of the grove from the very top of the hill crying unto them, and warning the *Albans* to do sacrifice and divine service according to the rites and ancient manner of their forefathers, which they had discontinued and forgotten as together with their country they had abandoned their gods, and either taken to the Roman religion, or else being angry with fortune (as it is commonly seen) forgot and neglected the worship of the gods altogether. The Romans likewise upon that miraculous sign, for the purging and expiation thereof, celebrated solemn publick sacrifices for the space of nine dayes, called a *Novendial*: either because they were moved thereto by that voice from heaven (for that also is reported) or took direction from the Soothsayers that pry into the inwards of beasts. Certain it is, that a solemn custome remaineth still unto this day, that whensoever word cometh of the like wonder, they keep holyday nine dayes together. Nor long after this, the pestilence rained in the city. And albeit the people began thereby to slack souldery and military service: yet would not this martial prince give them rest and respite from war: being of this mind, that the bodies of young men were more healthy in armour, abroad in the open field, than at home in the city under covert: until himself at length fell sick of a long and lingering disease. Then that haughty and courageous stomack of his, together with his lusty and able body, became so abated, that he who earst before thought nothing lesse befitting a king, than to let his mind, and busy his brains about religious ceremonies: now all upon a suddain became wholly devoted to all kind of superstition both more and lesse, yea, and filled the peoples heads besides with holiness and devotion. So as now the very common sort wishing again for the old world, under the reign of king *Numa*, were fully perswaded, that there was no other remedy left for their sick and diseased bodies, but to obtain at Gods hands grace and pardon. Men say, that the king himself in perusing and turning over the Commentaries and registers of *Numa* his predecessor, and therein finding certain hidden and solemn sacrifices that had been unto *Iupiter Elicus*, retired himself, and kept close within a house to celebrate the same. But for that this holy service was not to be begun aright, nor duly administered, he had not onely no divine apparition and heavenly vision presented unto him, but also incurred the heavy displeasure and wrath of *Iupiter*, whom by his preposterous religion he had thus offended, and so both himself and his whole house were consumed with lightning. This *Tullus*, in great glory and renown of martial prowesse, reigned two and thirty years.

When *Tullus* was dead, the government returned again, as it was from the first beginning ordained, unto the Senators: who named an Interregent, and he called a Parliament, wherein the people elected *Ancus Martius* for their King, and the Senators gave their assent thereto. This *Ancus Martius*, was *Numa Pompilius* his daughters son; who so soon as he was come to the crown, both in remembrance of his grand-fathers glorious government, and also in regard of the reign of his next predecessor, which in other points right excellent and commendable, in this onely failed; and was not so happy: either for that religion was neglected, or not with due ceremonies exercised; and thinking it a thing most necessary, and of greatest moment, to reduce all publick divine service and sacrifices to the first institution of *Numa*, commanded the Arch-priest or High-priest to make an extract, and transcript of all the sacred rites and mysteries out of *Numa* his Commentaries, and ingrois them into one table, and to publish them abroad unto the people: whereby both his subjects and citizens desirous of peace, as also the States thereby adjoining, were in good hope, that the king would altogether conform himself, and take after the customes and ordinances of his grand-father.

Hereupon the *Latins*, with whom in King *Tullus* his dayes a league was made, took heart unto them, made inrodes into the countrey about *Rome*, and fetcht out booties. And when the Romans demanded restitution, they made them a proud answer, supposing belike, That the King of *Rome* would pass the whole course of his reign in ease and idleness, sitting still in his chappels, and by his holy altars. But *Ancus* was of a mean and indifferent disposition by nature, having an eye as well to *Numa*, as to *Romulus*, and composed as it were of both. For over and besides, that he thought peace more expedient and necessary for his grandfathers reign, the people being as then but new risen, unsettled, and fierce withal: considering also, that himself should not easily, without taking wrong, enjoy the quietness which to him hapned: for that his patience was already tried, and not onely tried, but also despised: and seeing that the State of the present time was fitter for a *Tullus* to be King, than a *Numa*: yet to the end that, as *Numa* in time of peace instituted ceremonies of religion, so he might likewise set out to posterity others concerning war: and that wars should not be onely made, but also denounced and proclaimed orderly, and in some religious form of solemnity:

he set down in writing that law and formal order, by vertue whereof restitution is demanded (which at this day the *Feciales* or *Heralds* observe) like as he received it from the ancient people *Æqui*.

The *Embassador Fecial*, coming to their borders, at whose hands the goods are required again, covering his head with a bonnet or vail of woollen yarn, saith thus: *Hear O Jupiter, give ear ye limits and confines* (naming them of such and such a Country) *let Justice and Right hearken also to what I shall say: I am the publick messenger of the people of Rome, of a just and religious embassy am I come, and to my words give credit.* After this, rehearseth he all his demands, and then calleth *Jupiter* to witness, saying, *If I unjustly and impiously demand, that such persons should be delivered, or such and such goods be rendered unto me, the publick messenger of the people of Rome: then let me never return again to enjoy mine own country.* These words rehearseth he, as he setteth foot, and steps into the confines: the same also he speaketh to him, whomsoever he meeteth first: the self same words he pronounceth, as he entreteth within the gate of the City; yea, and when he is come into the market place he saith the same, changing and varying in some few terms, from the prescript form of the demand, and taking the solemn oath. In case then, the persons whom he requireth, be not yeilded after 33. days expired (for so many just are usually granted) then proclaimeth he war in this wise. *Hear O Jupiter, and thou Juno, Quirinus thou: ye celestial Saints all, and terrestrial powers, ye infernal spirits also listen and give ear. I call you all to witness, and protest before you, that this nation* (naming them whosoever they be) *is unjust, and doth not according to right and equity. But of these matters will we consult at home in our own country, with our elders, and ask their advice how we may come by our own.* Herewith returneth the messenger unto Rome for counsel, and presently the King would in these or such like words, sitting in Council with his Peers, move them in this manner. *Whereas the Paterpatrat or Herald, in the behalf of the people of Rome, and their Quirites, hath treated with the Paterpatrat, or Herald, in the name of the ancient Latines, and with the folk of the ancient Latines, concerning certain things, differences, sutes, and causes: thereupon depending; which things they have neither yeilded nor paid, nor performed and done; which ought to have been paid, yeilded, performed, and done; what is your judgment? speaking to him, whole opinion first he asketh in this case. Then (saith he) My advice is, that those things be sought for, and recovered by mere force, by just and lawfull war. This do I fully agree unto, this do I determine resolutely.* After him were the other asked in course: and when the greater number of them who were present accord thereunto, then by general consent, they were wont to proclame war in this order: That the *Fecial* or King at Arms should go with a javelin, having an iron head, or with a red bloody spear burnt at the end, as far as to their borders or marches: and there in the presence of three witnesses at the least, not under fourteen years of age, should say thus: *Whereas the people of the old Latines, and the old Latine folk have practised and trespassed against the people of Rome and the Quirites, and whereas the people of Rome and the Quirites have so determined, consented, and agreed, that war should be made with the ancient Latines; I therefore together with the people of Rome, do denounce and proclame and make war with the nations of the old Latines, and with the old Latine folk.* And when he had thus said, he lanced his spear or javelin within the confines of the enemies. After this manner then, was restitution demanded of the Latines, and war denounced or proclaimed: which order of proceeding, M their posterity by tradition received.

Ancus having committed the charge of divine service and sacrifice unto the *Flamins*, and the other Priests, levied a new Army, went forth into the field, and by force won *Politorium*, a City of the Latines. And following the usual manner of the former Kings his progenitors, who had mightily increased the Roman State, by admitting their enemies into the number of Citizens, transported the whole multitude from thence to Rome. And because the ancient natural Romans inhabited *Palatium*, the Sabins about the Capitol and rock *Tarpeia*, and the Albans replenished the mount *Calius*: therefore the hill *Aventine* was allowed this new company to dwell in. Unto whom not long after, there came fresh inhabitants to people it, upon the winning of *Tellene* and *Ficana*. But after this, the Romans were driven to recover by war *Politorium* again: for that whilst it stood void and empty, the old Latines had surprised and taken it. Which was the cause, that the Romans destroyed that City quite, that it should not be at all times a receptacle for the enemies. Last of all, when as now the Latines war was driven wholly and brought before *Medullia*, there for a good while was much ado, and doubtful issue of fight, and interchangeable victory: for that the Town was both well fortified with bulwarks, and furnished with a strong garrison of men: and also by reason that the army of the Latines being incamped in plain and open ground, had sundry times with banners displayed, encountred hand to hand with the Romans. At the last *Ancus* bending his whole power against them, first gave them an overthrow in a set battel: and so having gained rich pillage, returned to Rome. At that time also were many thousands of the Latines received into the City: Who to the end, that the *Aventine* and *Palatium* should meet together, were appointed to seat themselves about the Temple of * *Murtia*. The *Janiculum* likewise was adjoined unto the City, not for want of ground, but because it might not be at any time a fortress and hold for the enemies: which was thought good to be united unto the City, not only with a wall, but also for more commodious passage to and fro, with a wooden bridge over *Tyber*. The *Quirites* foss or ditch also, no small defence against the easie access from the plain grounds, was a work of *Ancus*. Thus the estate being grown

A grown to exceeding strength and bigness: when as now in so huge a multitude of people there was much confusion, and no difference of well doing or ill, and thereby many mischiefs and outrages began secretly to be committed: for to restrain therefore with some terror, such boldness increasing daily more and more, there was a goal or common prison built in the heart of the City, even over against the common place of assembly. And in this Kings days not only the circuit of the City was enlarged, but also their Lands and Territories. For by reason that the Forrest *Mæsia* was conquered from the Veientians, their Seignory reached to the Sea: where, in the very mouth of *Tyber* was the town *Hestia* built, and the salt pits made there about, and upon such noble exploits by arms achieved, the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, was in more ample and glorious manner re-edified.

B In the reign of *Ancus*, there came to dwell at *Rome* one *Lucumo*, a pregnant nimble headed man, and a wealthy, upon a desire especially and hope of advancement and honor, which at *Tarquinius* (where he was born, although descended of foreign parentage) he had no means to attain unto. The Son he was of *Demaratus* the Corinthian, who upon civil troubles and dissensions having fled his country, and by chance planting himself in *Tarquinius*, there married a wife and had issue by her two sons; named *Lucumo* and *Aruns*. *Lucumo* survived his father, and became heir of all his goods. *Aruns* died before his father, leaving his wife behind him, conceived with child: neither lived the father *Demaratus* long after his son, who not knowing that his daughter-in-law and sons wife was with child, made no mention at all of his Nephew in his Will, and so departed this world. Whereupon the child after his Grandfathers decease being born to no part of his goods,

C for his poor condition, was called *Egerius*. But *Lucumo* on the other side, the sole heir and inheritor of all, as he began by his wealth to be haughty enough, and to look aloft, so he grew much more proud for his marching in marriage with *Tanaquil*, a dame of a right noble house descended, and who could hardly bear a lower estate and degree then that wherein she was born. When she was once married, and saw the Tuscans to disdain *Lucumo*, for that his father was a stranger and banished person, she could not endure that indignity. But forgetting all kind of affection to her native country, so she might see her husband raised to high promotion, she resolved and plotted to leave *Tarquinius* and depart. To which purpose and design, *Rome* seemed a place most fit and convenient of all others. For thus she projected and discoursed: That in a City lately founded, where

D all kind of Nobility suddenly cometh up, and ariseth from vertue and prowess, her husband a valorous and industrious man must needs have place, and be entertained: that King *Tatius* a Sabin born, had reigned there: that *Numa* was from *Cures* sent forth, and called to the Crown: that *Ancus* also a Sabin by his mothers side, had the only image of *Numa* to shew for his Nobility. Thus she soon perswaded him, as being a man ambitious and desirous of honor, and whose mother only was a Tarquinian born, and therefore he was to make less scruple of abandoning the place of his Nativity. Thereupon they removed with all they had to *Rome*. And it fortuneth that to *Janiculum* they came. Where, as *Tarquinius* sat with his wife in the chariot, behold an Eagle came gently flying down from aloft, and took up his bonnet from his head, and soaring over the chariot with a great noise, and clapping of her wings, as if she had been sent from Heaven to do

E this feat, set it gently and handsomly on his head again: which done, she mounted on high, and flew away. *Tanaquil*, as they say, embraced this Augury with great joy, being a womanskilful, as commonly all the Tuscans are, in such prodigious sights and apparitions from heaven: and therewith taking her husband about the neck, willed him to be of good cheer, and to hope for great matters and high preferments: saying, how that bird came from such a quarter of the Heaven, addressed as a messenger from such a god, and shewed a divine token and presage upon the highest part of man, even the top of the Crown, and lifted up the ornament that stood upon his mortal head, to give it him again immortal, as from God above. In these hopes and cogitations which they entertained by the way, they entered the City: where they took an house, and from thence forth he was commonly called *L. Tarquinius*. Now within a while both his new coming, and his

F wealth withal, made him well known: and himself also besides, set forward his good fortune by courteous and fair speech and affable language to every man, by friendly enviting, and liberal feasting, and by making what friends he could by gifts, favours, and good turns: so far forth, as the fame of him came into the Kings Court: where, by his willing service and singular dexterity, in short time he had not only access to the Kings knowledge, but also entered into familiar acquaintance and friendship with his Highness. Insomuch, that both in private Councils and publick consultations, as well at home as abroad, he was always present, and bare a great stroke. And having in all kind of offices carried himself with credit, was in the end by the Kings last Will and Testament made Tutor or Protector of his children: Thus reigned *Ancus* 24. years, for glory and reputation of his sage government, as well in war as in peace, equal to any of the former Kings: his

The end of *Ancus*.

G predecessors. Now were his sons neer 14. years of age when he died. *Tarquinius* therefore made the more haste, that the high Court of Parliament should with all speed possibly be summoned for creation of a King: which being against a day proclaimed, he sent away the boys to the chase a hunting, at the very instant of the said election. He himself (as men say) was the first, that both ambitiously sought for the Crown, and also for to win the hearts of the Commons, devised and framed an eloquent Oration. Saying, it was no new and strange thing that he stood for: And why? he was not the

"the first (that any man should be offended, or make any wonder) but the third alien that in Rome
 "affected and aspired to the Kingdom: that both *Tatius*, not of a forraigner only, but of an ene-
 "my became King: and *Numa* likewise, a man unacquainted with the City and matters of State,
 "was without any sute or seeking of his part, by the Romans sent for, & advanced to the crown.
 "As for himself, he alledged and said, That from the time that he was at his own liberty and dispose
 "of himself, he with his wife & all that he had removed and came to Rome: and of that age wherein
 "men are employed in civil affairs, he had spent a greater part in Rome, then in his own ancient
 "country. Moreover, that he was trained up both at home in the City and in war abroad, to the
 "knowledge of the Roman laws, orders, and customs, and that under no mean person but an ex-
 "cellent matter, even King *Ancus* himself. And finally, for faithful service and diligent attendance
 "about the King, he had endeavoured to pass all others: and for liberality and courtesie towards
 "all others, he had striven to go beyond the King. These and such like allegations, as he laid forth
 "and pleaded, and that right truly; the people of Rome with exceeding great consent elected him
 "their King. Who being a man otherwise of singular parts and of great worth, as he was ambitious
 "in seeking the kingdom, so continued he still, when he wore the crown: and minding no less to e-
 "stablish his own state and throne, than to maintain the good estate of the Common weal, he advanced
 "one hundred more to the order of Senators, who afterwards were called *Minorum Gentium*
 "*Patres*, as a men would say, Senators of a later sort, and meaner quality. A faction, no doubt to take
 "part and side with the King, by whose means they had been admitted into the Senate. The first war
 "he made, was with the Latins: from whom by force he won the town *Appia*: from thence ha-
 "ving brought away a greater pillage in proportion, than the war imported in brute, he set forth ga-
 "mings and plays more stately and with greater furniture and provision, than the other Kings before
 "his time. Then was the plot or compas of ground first set out & appointed for the lists or theater,
 "called now * *Circus maximus* wherein were assigned scaffolds for the Senators, and for the Gentle-
 "men or Knights severally by themselves, called *Fori*, where they might make them places to see the
 "pastimes at their ease and pleasure. And in this manner stood they to behold: namely, upon scaf-
 "folds born up twelve foot high from the ground with forked perches or props. The gamings were
 "running of horses, and fighting at fists and buffers: for performance whereof, there were champi-
 "ons sent for of purpose, especially out of *Tuscan*. These sports continued afterwards from year to
 "year in great solemnity, and named diversly, either the Roman games, or the great Games. This
 "King moreover assigned certain places about the *Forum* or common place for private men to build
 "in where the galleries and shops were made. He went in hand likewise to wall the City about with
 "a stone wall, but the Sabin war staid him in the beginning, that he went not forward with that
 "work. This came so suddenly upon him, that the enemies were passed over the river *Anio*, before
 "the power of the Romans could meet them, and make head against them. Whereupon great fear
 "there was at Rome. And at the first a cruel conflict there was, and much blood shed on both parts,
 "but no appearance of victory. But after the enemies were retired once into the camp, and that the
 "Romans had time to gather fresh forces, *Tarquinius* supposing his only want was in his cavalry,
 "determined to join unto the *Rhamneses*, *Titien*ses, and *Luceres*, which *Romulus* had ordained, other
 "Centuries or Cornets of horsemen, and them to leave unto the posterity after him, bearing his M
 "own name. Which because *Romulus* had done aforetime by the counsel and advise of *Augurs*, *Ac-
 "cius Navius* renowned and famous in those days for his skill that way, opposed himself and gave
 "out plainly, that there might be nothing changed or newly ordained in that behalf, unless the birds
 "first approved and allowed the same. Whereat the King was wroth, and in scorn and derision of his
 "art, as they say: Come on Sir Soothsayer (quoth he) agreed, and tell me by the sight of your birds,
 "whether that may possibly be done, which I now conceive in my mind. To which demand *Navius*,
 "who had first made proof thereof by his learning, answered resolutely, that it might in very deed be
 "effected. Why then (quoth he) I have imagined in my conceit, that thou shalt cut a whetstone a-
 "sunder with a razor: Heretake them to thee, and dispatch that which thy fowls foretnew may be
 "done: then as the report goeth, without more ado, he cut the whetstone quite in two. And in that
 "very place where this feat was done, the Statue or Image of *Accius* was erected, with his head co-
 "vered, even in the *Comitium*, at the stairs therof on the left hand of the *Curia* or Council house. It is
 "reported that the whetstone also was set up in the same place, for a memorial to all posterity fol-
 "lowing, of that miracle. Certainly both *Auguries*, and the Priesthood and Colledg of *Augurs* from
 "that time forward, was so highly honored; and had in such reverence, that never after was there
 "ought done, either in war abroad, or in peace at home, but by their counsel and advise. Assemblies
 "of people summoned were dismissed, armies levied and ready to take the field were discharged,
 "yea, and the greatest affairs of State, were given over and laid aside, when the birds allowed not
 "thereof. Neither did *Tarquin* for that time alter the Centuries of the horsemen any whit, only he
 "redoubled the number, so that in three Centuries or Cornets there were 1300. horse: and those
 "lastenfort who were added to the others, bare the names of the former, which at this day, because
 "they be double, are called the six Centuries. *Tarquin* thus having encreased that part of his power,
 "bade the Sabins battel the second time. And over and besides, that the Romans army was in
 "strength well amended, he devised also privily a subtle stratagem, and set certain men to set on fire
 "a mighty stack of wood, lying upon the bank of *Anio*; and so to cast it into the river: the wood
 "burning still by the help of the wind; and most of it being driven against the piles of the bridge,
 "and

*Circus maximus.

20. b. 1. 1. 1.

A and there sticking close together with the boats and planks, fired and consumed it clean. This accident both terrified the Sabins in their flight, and when they were discomfited, troubled them much, and hindered their flight: so that many a man having escaped the enemy, yet perished in the very river. Whose armor and weapons floating down the *Tiber*, were known at *Rome*, and brought news thither of this victory, in manner before word could be brought thereof by land. In this conflict the horsemen won greatest price and praise. For being placed at the skirts of both the wings, at what time as the main battel of their own footmen, were now at the point to retire, they charged so forcibly upon the enemy (as it is reported) from the flanks where they were marshalled, that they not only stayed the Sabin Legions pressing hard and fiercely upon those that began to shrink and give back, but all at once purthem to flight. The Sabins ran amain towards the mountains, but few gat thither: for the greater number, as we said before, were by the horsemen driven into the river. *Tarquinius* thinking it good to take the time, and follow hard upon them whiles they were frighted, after he had sent to *Rome*, the booty with the prisoners, and burned on a great heap together (as he had vowed to *Vulcan*) the spoils of the enemies, marched on still forward, and led his army into the Territory of the Sabins: who albeit they had already sustained an overthrow, and could not hope for better success, yet because they had no time to consult and advise with themselves, with such a power as might on a sudden in that strite be raised, met with him. Where they once again were defeated and vanquished, and in the end being in despair to make their part good, they sued for peace. Then was *Collatia*, and all the lands about it taken from the Sabins. *Exerius* the Kings brothers son, was left with a garrison at *Collatia* to keep that place. And (as I find upon record) the *Collatins* were yielded into his hands, and the manner of their surrender went in this order. First, the King demanded thus and said: Are ye Embassadors, or deputed assigns sent from the people of *Collatia* to make surrender both of yourselves and the *Collatines*? We are (quoth they.) And are the people of *Collatia* in their own power, and at liberty to do what they will? They are (say they.) Doye also render up your selves, the people of *Collatia* their town, their territory and lands, their waters, their limits, their temples, their household stuff and implements, and all thing else, as well sacred as prophane, unto my power and the peoples of *Rome*. We do yeeld (say they.) Then (quoth he) do I accept thereof, and receive all into my hands. The Sabin war thus finished, *Tarquinius* returned to *Rome* in triumph. After this, he warred upon the old Latines, but they never proceeded so far on any side, as to join issue in a general battel, and one set field for all. But bringing his power first to one town, and after to another, he made a conquest of the whole nation of the Latins. So as these towns, *Cornetulum*, old *Picula*, *Cametia*, *Craustumerium*, *Ameriola*, *Medullia*, *Nomentum*, were recovered from the old Latines, or from those that had revolted unto them.

B After all this ensued peace. Then was he more earnestly bent to go forward with his works, began in time of peace, then he was before busied in managing of his wars: in so much, as he gave the people no more repose at home, then he had in wars abroad. For besides that he prepared to compass the City (which as yet he had not fortified) round about with a stone wall, the beginning of which piece of work was by the Sabin war interrupted and broken off: he devised also certain draughts or vaulted finks from aloft into the *Tiber*, whereby he drained and kept dry the base City, or lowest grounds about the market place, and the other vallies between hill and hill, for that out of the plains and flats, they might not easily make riddance and conveyance away of the water. Moreover, he levelled a large court or plot of ground, ready for the foundation of the Temple of *Jupiter* in the Capitol, which he had vowed in the Sabin war, his mind even then giving him, that one day it should be a stately place.

C At the same time there hapned in the court a wonderful strange thing, both in present view, and also in consequence. For as the report went, a young lad, whose name was *Servius Tullius*, as he lay asleep, in the sight of many persons had his head all on a light fire. And upon an outcry raised at the wondering of so great a matter, the King arose: and when one of the household brought water to quench the flame, he was by the Queen stayed. And after the fire was somewhat appeased, she forbade the boy to be disquieted, until such time as he awoke of himself: and within a while as the sleep departed, the blaze likewise went out, and vanished away. Then *Tanquil* the Queen taking her husband aside into a secret room: See you this boy (quoth she) whom we so homely keep, and in so poor and mean estate bring up? Were well this, and know for certain, that he will one day be a light to direct us in our dangerous troubles and doubtful affairs; he will be the chief pillar and succour of the afflicted state of the Kings house. Let us therefore cherish and foster with all kindness and indulgence the subject matter of so great a publick and private ornament. Whereupon they began to make much of the boy, as if he had been one of their own children, and to instruct and train him up in those arts, whereby forward wits are fitted to great enterprises, and to achieve high place of wealth and honor. And soon came to that pass, which pleased the almighty gods. For he proved a young man indeed of princely nature and forwardness: in such sort, that when there should be a son in law sought out to match with *Tarquinius* his daughter in marriage, there was not one of all the young gentlemen of *Rome*, to be found comparable to him in any respect. So as the King affianced his daughter unto him. This so great honor whereunto he was advanced upon whatfore cause or occasion it was, induceth me to think he was not the son of a bondwoman, nor that he served whilst he was a little one, as a slave. I am of their mind rather, that report thus:

When

The form of surrendering a City.

Tanquil the Queen unto King *Tarquinius*.

When *Corniculum* was won, the wife of *Servius Tullius*, a great Lord and principal personage of that City, and there slain, was left great with child; and being among other captives known whose wife she was, in regard of her rare nobility only, was by the Queen preserved from servitude, and at *Rome* in *Priscus Tarquinius* his house, was delivered of a child upon which so special favor, there grew more familiar acquaintance between the two Ladies, the Queen and her self; and the child also brought up of a little one there in Court, was both tenderly beloved, and also highly regarded. But his mothers fortune, whose hap was after her country was lost, to fall into the hands of enemies, caused men commonly to think that he was the son of a bond-slave. Now in the 38th year almost, after that *Tarquinius* began his reign, was this *Servius Tullius* in right great estimation and credit, not only with the King, but also with the nobility and commons. Then the 2. sons of *An-*
cus, who as they always before disdained in the highest degree, that they were by the deceitful practise of their guardian, so unworthily put by the inheritance of their fathers Kingdom, and that a stranger reigned at *Rome*, one who was not descended of any neighbors house thereby, no nor so much as of Italian blood: so now they began much more to take it much and indignation, in case that after *Tarquinius*, the Kingdom should not return unto them and their line, but should still run on end, and headlongwise fall unto such base varlets: That in the same City, 100. years almost after that *Romulus* the son of a god, and a god himself, reigned therein, (during the time he remained here upon the earth) a very bond-slave and no better, and one born of a bond-woman, should be possessed of the Crown: and that it would be a foul stain and dishonor generally to the name of the Romans, but most especially to their house & family, if whilst the issue Male of *An-*
cus lived, the Kingdom of *Rome* should lie open, and be expoted, not to strangers alone, but which is more, to very bond-men and slaves. This ignominy therefore, and open wrong, they resolve by meer force to put by and avoid: howbeit, the grievance of this injury done unto them, set them on against *Tarquinius* himself, rather than *Servius Tullius*: both for that the King if he lived still, would be a more sharp revenger of the murder, than a private person: and also if they should happen to kill *Servius*, whomsoever besides, the King would vouchsafe for his son in law, him was he like to make heir apparent, and inheritor also of the Kingdom. For these considerations they lay wait for to murder the King himself in this manner: There were for the purpose to do this feat, two passing stout and sturdy herdmen chosen, who having such rustical iron tools about them, as they were wont both of them to occupy, and made a great shew of a most tumultuous brawl and fray in the very porch of the Court gate: by which means, they drew all the Kings officers, sergeants, and guard about them: then as they called with a loud voice, both the one and the other, upon the King, in such wise, as the noise was heard within the palace, they were converted before his Highness. At their first coming they cried out both at once, and interrupted one another in all outrageous manner, so as by a sergeant they were fain to be restrained and commanded to speak by turns, until at length they gave over their confused brawlings. Then one of them on set purpose, as it was before agreed upon, began his tale: and while the King as wholly bent to give ear turned aside towards him, the other lift his Ax aloft, and struck the King on the head, and leaving it sticking there still in the wound, they whipt out both of them together, and ran their ways. And whilst they that stood next about *Tarquinius*, took him up ready to die, the sergeants made after them that were M
fled, and apprehended them. Whereupon an outcry arose, & a great concourse of people, wondering what the matter might be: *Tanaquil* in this hurlyburly caused the Court gates to be shut, and commanded every one to avoid the place: and at one instant with great diligence provideth things requisite to cure the wound, as if there were some hope of life: and withal, if that should fail, she prepareth other means and remedies against the worst that might happen. Sending therefore in all speed for *Servius*, when she had shewed him her husband half dead, and already bloodless: she took him by the right hand, and besought him not to suffer, either the death of his father-in-law unre-
venged, or his wives mother, to be a laughing stock unto the enemies. Thine is the kingdom O *Serv-*
ius by right (quoth she) if thou be a man: and not theirs, who by the hands of others have com-
mitted a most shameful & villainous fact. Take a good heart therefore, and arm thy self, and follow
the guidance and direction of the gods, who long since by a divine and heavenly flame burning
about thy head, foreshewed that one day it should be highly advanced. Now let that heavenly
blaze raise thee up: now awake in every deed: what man! we also being strangers have born the
Scepter: consider with thy self who thou art now, and not from whence thou art descended. And
if in so sudden an occurrence, thine own wits be astonished, and to seek, then follow my rule, and be
advised by my counsel. In this while the noise and violence of the people was so great, that it
could not well be suffered. Then *Tanaquil* from the upper loft of the house, out at a window that
opened into the new street (for the King kept his Court hard by the Temple of *Jupiter Stator*)
spake unto the people, willing them to be of good cheer. "The King indeed (quoth she) was ama-
zed and swooned at the sudden stroke, howbeit it went nothing deep: for now is he come again
to himself, his wound cleansed from blood, and searched: all signs of life, and no danger of death:
and I trust in God within a while you shall see himself again. In the mean time his pleasure is, that
the people shall be obeyant to *Servius Tullius*: he shall minister justice and give laws, he shall
execute and perform all the offices of the King. Then came *Servius* abroad in his royal robe,
called *Trabea*, attended with the Lictors; and sitting in the Kings throne, some causes he dispatch-
eth himself, of other some he maketh as though he would consult and confer with the King.

Thus

L. Tarquinius the
king killed.

Tanaquil to Servius.

Tanaquil to the
people.

A Thus for certain daies, the King being dead, and his death concealed, he, under colour of executing the function of another, gathered strength to himself. But when at the last it was openly known by the wailing and lamentation which arose in the Palace, that the King was departed, *Servius* accompanied with a strong guard, shewed himself and was the first, that without the election of the people only by the will and consent of the nobles, took the Kingdom upon him.

Servius Tullius
takes the Crown
upon him.

The sons of *Ancus* at the first, seeing the murderers attached, and hearing that the King was alive, and *Servius* so mighty, retired themselves as banished persons to *Succsa Pometia*. And *Servius* now sought means to make himself strong, as well by private helps, as by publike. And lest peradventure the children of *Tarquinius* should another day be as ill affected against him, as the children of *Ancus* were against *Tarquinius*, he gave in marriage his two daughters to *Lucius* and *Aruns*, two of the Kings sons, late deceased. Yet could not he with all the policy of mans wit stay the fatal necessity, nor stop and divert the course of the destinies; but that the envy that followeth a Kingdom bred all distrust, disloyalty, and malice, even among those of his own household, for all their alliance and affinity. Howbeit in very good time, and fitly for the quietness of the present state, was the war with the *Veientes* (for now was the term of the truce expired) and other *Tuscans*, taken in hand. In which war, both the valour, and also the good fortune of *Tullius* was well seen and greatly renowned. Who having discomfited a mighty host of the enemies, as undoubted King in the conceit and judgment as well of the Senators as of the Commons, if their hearts had been lounded, returned to *Rome*.

C Then in hand went he with a work of peace, and of all other the greatest, and of most importance. To the end, that as *Numa* was the first author of divine Law and Religion: so the posterity forever after might report and record, that *Servius* was the founder of all distinction and orders; whereby between degrees of worship and wealth, there might be seen due difference, and regard of worth. For he devised and ordained the *Cens*, to wit, the Assessing, and Taxation of the Citizens: a thing most profitable to that state and government, which was like in time to come to grow so mighty. By which *Cens*, the charges and contributions, either in war or peace, was not levied by the poll, upon the Citizens, as aforetime, but according to the valuation of their wealth and ability. So he erected certain *Classes* and *Centuries*, and appointed their degrees, according to the assessing, and valuation, meet in decent manner to serve in war, and meet to be employed in

The Levy or taxation of the people first instituted.

D peace. And first of those who were rated at an hundred thousand *Asses* and above, he ordained 80 *Centuries*: 40 of the elder sort, and as many of the younger: and all joyntly were counted the first *Classis*. The elder were charged to be in readines at all hours, for defence of the City: the younger to follow the wars abroad. These were bound to find harness, for defence of their own bodies, an headpiece or morion, a shield, greeves, and corselet, all of brasse: and for offence of the enemy, a javelin, and a sword. To this *Classis* were adjoynd two *Centuries* of Carpenters and Smiths, or Engineers, who were in wage, and served without armour: and their charge was to find the *Campes* Engines of battery and artillery. The second consisted of those that were valued between 100000 and * 75000 *Asses*. And of this sort both young and old were enrolled twenty *Centuries*: who were enjoyned to provide for their armour, a target or buckler instead of a shield: and excepting only a corselet, in all points as the former. The third he would have to be of those that were esteemed worth * 50000 *Asses*; and as many *Centuries* of them, and with the same distinction of age. Neither concerning their armour was any thing altered: only for their greeves they were dispensed with. In the fourth *Classis* were those that were assessed in the Subsidy book, between 50000 and * 25000 *Asses*, and of them were so many *Centuries*. Their armour was changed, having no more but a spear and a casting dart, with a loop called *Verrutum*. The fifth was greater, containing thirty *Centuries*. These carried with them slings and stones to sling afar off: among whom were reckoned the beedles or criers, together with the trumpeters and cornettriers, who were divided into three *Centuries*. This band stood of them that were assessed from 25000 unto * 11000 *Asses*. The valuation under this comprised all the rest of the multitude. Whereof arose one *Century*, freed and exempted from warfare. Thus having furnished and disposed the forces of the Infantry, he enrolled besides twelve *Centuries* of horsemen, and those out of the principall men of the City: and six other *Centuries* likewise, to those three that *Romulus* instituted, retaining the same name till that they in their first solemn institution had. These horsemen for to buy their great horses had * 10000 *Asses* out of the chamber of the City a peece: and for to find and keep those horses were the rich widows set yearly at * 2000 *Asses* a peece. Thus were all these charges and burdens shifted from off the poor mens shoulders, and laid upon the rich. And therefore afterward was their dignity and honour so much the more. For in the grand-leets and solemn elections of Magistrates, every man had not prerogative alike, nor equall authority, as *Romulus* first ordained; and the other Kings continued, when they gave their voices by the poll indifferently, one with another: but there was distinction made, and certain degrees; but so, as neither any one was excluded or shut out, and yet the whole rested and lay in the power of the richer sort, and chief of the City. For first the horsemen were called: afterward, the eighty *Centuries* belonging to the first *Classis*, of the principall footmen: who if they disagreed, and hapned to be at any difference, then the *Centuries* of the second *Classis* were cited. And never went they likely so low as to the last of all. Neither ought any man to marvell, that this order in these daies, after five and thirty tribes compleat, agreeth not with the *Centuries* of the

As, or *Assis*, a piece of brasse coin, ob. q. Eng. lish.
* 31 a lib. 10 sh. sterling.

* 24 lib. 7. sh. 6 d. sterl.

* 156 lib. 5 sh. sterl.

* 78 li. 3 sh. 6 d.

* 24 lib. 7. sh. 6 d. sterl.

* 31. lib. 5 sh.

* 6 lib. 5 sh.

elder and yonger sort, according to the computation set down by *Servius Tullius*, considering their number is now doubled. For having divided the City into four Wards, according to the quarters and hills; those parts which were inhabited he called Tribes, of the word Tribute (as I suppose.) For he it was that devised and brought up the manner of equall contribution and payment, proportionably to the assessment and rate of mens goods. Neither were these Tribes any waies at all respective to the division or number of the Centuries aforesaid. When this Levy and taxation was finished, which he dispatched the sooner, by reason of the peoples fear of an act by him made, concerning those that should not come in to be registred and enrolled in the Subsidy book: he published an Edict, under pain of imprisonment and death, that all Citizens of *Rome*, as well horsemen as footmen, should the morrow after at the break of day, every one in his own Century, I shew himself in *Campus Martius*, i. e. in *Mars* field. There, after he had mustered and embattelled the whole Army, he assailed and purged the same with the sacrifice of a Swine, a Sheep, and a Bull. And this was called *Condium Lustrum*. Which was the very closing up and accomplishment of the assessment. In this *Lustrum* there were numbred and assessed 80000 Citizens. *Fabius Pictor*, a most ancient writer saith moreover, that so many there were of able men to bear arms. For to contain this multitude, it was thought good the City should be enlarged. Whereupon he adjoynerh unto it two hills more, to wit, *Quirinalis*, and *Viminalis*. After this, he proceeded to augment the mount *Esquilie*: and to grace that hill, and make it of more reputation, there he dwelt himself, and had his Court. He cast a trench and ditch, and raised a rampire about the City, and then walled it: by occasion whereof, he set out the Pomery further. *Pomarium*, according to the Etymology and literall signification of the word, is as much to say, as *Postmarium*, or the *Arrivemure*, that is, a plot of ground behind, or without the wall. But indeed it is rather a space about the wall on either side, which the *Tuscans* in old time, when they built their Cities, used by advice of *Augurs*, to hallow and consecrate in certain bounds and limits, all along where they minded to set the wall: that neither within, the houses might joyn upon the wall (whereas now adays they build close to) and without also, there might be a void piece of ground, lying common, free, and unoccupied of men. This vacant space, that neither might lawfully be inhabited, nor yet eared and plowed, as well because it was without the wally as the wall without it, the Romans called *Pomarium*. And ever as the circuit of the City was made larger, look how much the walls should be set out further, so far those hallowed and consecrated bounds of the Pomery were extended.

Pomery what
it is,

Thus the City being much increased in compass of building, and all things disposed in good order, requisite as well for war as peace; to the end, that he should not alwaies seek to purchase wealth and puissance by war and martiall prowes only, he attempted to amplifie his dominion by policy, and withall to bestow upon the City some glorious ornament to beautifie the same. And even at that time was the Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, of great fame, and much renowned: which as the report went, was built in common by all the states and princes of *Asia*. When as therefore *Servius* would use highly to praise and commend unto the Lords and heads of the Latines (with whom of purpose he had both in publike and private, mutual entertainment and familiar acquaintance) that generall agreement of the Princes of *Asia*, in matters of religion, and in the uniform worship of the same gods: at length, by much iterating and following till that theam, he prevailed with them so far, that the nations of the Latines, and the people of *Rome* together, built at *Rome* a Temple unto *Diana*: which was a plain confession, and clear case, that *Rome* was now the imperiall seat, for which they had so often warred. This quarrell, albeit now the Latines all in a manner had neglected quite, and made no care at all thereof, seeing they had so often attempted it by force of arms, and sped so badly: yet fortune seemed to one only man to cast a favourable aspect, and yeeld good hope, by his private policy and industry, to recover again the imperiall dignity unto the Latines. A certain householder, forsooth, of the Sabins, had, as they say, a cow bred with him of a wonderfull bigness, and faire withall. (for a memoriall of which so rare and wonderfull beast the horns were set up, and remained fast fixed in the porch of *Dianas* Temple, many a hundred years after:) this was supposed (as it was no lesse in very deed) a strange and prodigious thing: and the wife men or wizards prophesied, that the sovereignty and Empire should be settled and established in that State, whereof any one Citizen sacrificed that cow unto *Diana*. This prophesie came to the ears of the Priest of *Dianas* Temple. The Sabin aforesaid, so soon as he had espied a meet and convenient day for sacrifice, drives the cow to *Rome*, and leads her to the Temple of *Diana*, and there presented her before the Altar: where the Roman Priest wondring to see so huge a beast, whereof there had been so much speech, and calling to mind withall the foresaid Oracle, spake to the Sabin in this wise, My friend (quoth he) what mean you to sacrifice so uncleanly unto *Diana*, and do not rather purifie and wash your self all over in some running stream, before you come hither? Lo where *Tyber* runneth in the valley beneath. The stranger then, moved with some scruple of conscience, who desired nothing more, than that all should be well and orderly done, that an happy success might be correspondent and answerable to so prodigious a beast, forthwith went down to the *Tyber*. In the mean while, the Roman killed the Cow in honor of *Diana*. This thing pleased the King and the whole City wonderfull well.

Servius, albeit he were now without all question by so long continuance, fully and really invested in the Kingdom; yet because he heard say, that young *Tarquinius* otherwhile gave out speeches of him, that he reigned without the nomination and election of the people: therefore after he had

first

A first wan the hearts of the Commons, by dividing among them every one certaine lands gotten by conquest from the enemies, he adventured to propound unto the people, and put it to their suffrages and voices, Whether their will and pleasure was, that he should raign over them. Thus was he declared King with as great consent, as never any before with the like. But *Tarquinius* for all this, had nevertheless hope to aspire and attain unto the Crown: nay, rather so much the more, because he understood the said division of the lands among the Commons, was a thing concluded and passed against the will and mind of the Senators. Taking therefore occasion thereby to accuse and blame *Servius* before them, he supposed he had good means offered to wind himself into favor with the Lords of the Senate, and so to become strong in the Council-house. Over and besides, he was both himself a young man of great courage and hot stomach, and his wife likewise at home, dame *Tullia*, lay ever upon him, and pricked forward his distempered and troubled mind: for you must think, that the royall Court of *Rome* also hath brought forth and afforded one example of a tragical and horrible act: that by a weariness and loathing conceived against the Kings government, liberty and freedom might the sooner ensue: and that raign be the last, which was by mischief gotten first. This *L. Tarquinius*, whether he were the son or nephew of *Priscus Tarquinius*, it is not very clear, howbeit, I would rather think with most writers, that he was his son. A brother he had, *Aruns Tarquinius*, a young gentleman of a mild nature. These two (as is aforesaid) had married the two *Tullia*, the Kings daughters, and they also themselves were in conditions far unlike. And happily it so fell out, that two forward and violent natures were not coupled together in wedlock: such was the good fortune, I beleeve, of the Roman people, that thereby the raign of *Servius* might continue the longer, and the City brought and settled in good order. The younger *Tullia*, a stout dame and a proud, grieved and vexed much that her husband had nothing in him, no metall or matter at all, either to covet and desire, or to enterprise and adventure: her mind was fully set upon the other *Tarquin*, him she esteemed highly, and had in admiration, him she said to be a man indeed, and descended of royall blood. As for her sister, she despised and checked her, for that she having a forward and valorous Knight to her husband, sat still, and seconded him not in audacity and boldness, as a woman should do. Well, in short time likeness and disposition soon brought them together, and as it is commonly seen, Naught will to naught, and sort best together. But the mischief and trouble that brought all up-side down, arose from the woman. For she using to have secret conference with her sitters husband, never ceased to speak badly, and to rail of her own husband unto his brother, and of her sister unto her husband. "Affirming in good earnest, it were better both for her self to be a widow, and for him to live single, and without a wife, than so to be mismatched as they were, and through the craven cowardise of others to languish and come to nothing. As for her self, if the gods had given her an husband according to her own quality and worthiness, she doubted not to see, and that very shortly, the Crown in her own house, that now she seeth in her fathers. In this manner possesseth she quickly the humorous young man, and filled his head with her own rashness and follies. Now when *Aruns Tarquinius*, and the elder *Tullia*, who died just in a manner both at one time, had well rid their own houses, and made way and overture for a new marriage, it was not long but they were married, with *Servius* his leave and connivency, rather than his good liking. But then every day more than other began *Tullius* to be a continuall mote in their eyes, his old age hatefull, and his raign more odious: for now the woman minded nothing but one mischief upon another: and would not suffer her husband to be at rest night nor day, lest peradventure the former murders done and past, should serve to no purpose, and mis the effect of their designments. And thus she brake out and said, That she wanted not before one that carried the name of an husband, with whom she served, and kept her self quiet and said nothing. "But she had a want of one, that thought himself worthy of a kingdom, that remembered he was the son of *Tarquinius Priscus*, that loved better to be seised of a Crown and scepter indeed, than hope for a kingdom, and hear thereof. But sir (quoth she) if you be the man to whom I take my self wedded, then I call you both husband and king: if not, then is our case changed for the worse, in that cowardliness is accompanied now with wickedness. Why resolve you not? why arm you not your self, and go about this business? you need not go so far as to *Corinth* or *Tarquinius*, for to seek and compass forrain kingdoms, as your father did. The gods of your own house and native country, the image and example of your father, the Kings Palace, and therein the royall seat and throne of estate, yea, the very name of *Tarquin*, createth, nameth, and saluteth you King. But an if your heart will not serve you to these designs, why bear you the world in hand and deceive them? why take you so upon you as you do, to shew your self as a kings son? Get you hence to *Corinth* again, away to *Tarquinius*, turn backward to your former stock and condition, more like to your brother than to your father. With these and such like motives, by way of reproof she checked the young man, set him on, and pricked him forwards, and she her self for her part, could be at no repose, for thinking that *Tanaquil*, an alien and stranger born, could contrive in her head, and effect to great a matter, as to make two kings together, one after other, namely, her husband first and afterwards her son in law: and she her own self, a Kings daughter, could bear no stroke either in giving or taking away a kingdom. *Tarquinius* kindled with these furies and temptations of a woman, went about, laboured, and made court to the Nobles, especially those that were *Minorum gentium*: oftentimes putting them in mind of the pleasures and favours that his father had done them, and requiring now of duty the like good turn at their hands. The young men, the

Tullia to her husband,

L. Tarquinus
his speech to
the Senators.

flower and manhood in generall of the City, he wrought and won to himself with gifts: and so partly with great promises, what wonders would he do, and partly with raising slanders upon the King in all places, and charging upon him odious crimes, he grew very great and mighty. At the last, espying a convenient time to set on foot, and put in execution his intended projects, with a strong guard of armed men, he entred forcibly into the Forum or common place of assembly, whereat the people all surprized with great feare, he sat him down upon the Kings throne, even at the entrance of the *Curia* or Senate house, and there, by the voice of the crier summoned the Senators to counsell before King *Tarquinus*. Who forthwith there assembled together. Some, thereto made and prepared aforehand: others, for fear lest their not coming might turn them to displeasure. And as they were astonied at this strange and wonderful sight, so they thought *Servius* utterly undone, and his case desperate. There *Tarquinus* began an invective in spiteful & reproachful terms, touching the first pedigree or parentage of *Servius*: saying, that he being a slave, & born of a bond-woman, after the cruel and shamefull death of his father *Tarquin*, usurped the Kingdom: not by means of an Interregnum, as the order was aforetime, nor by a solemn assembly, and the free voices of the people, nor yet by the assent of the nobles, but only through the wile and fraud of one woman. And as he was (quoth he) thus born and thus created King, so hath he been a partial favourer ever of the basest sort, even such as himself; and in hatred of the noble birth of others hath divided amongst the vilest persons, lands taken from the chief men of the City; and all such burdens and charges, as had been in times past common to all, he hath cast upon great personages of quality and worth, and set up an assesseing or taxing, that the state of the wealthier persons being made known and exposed to envy, he might bring them into disgrace with the people, and bestow their goods upon the poorest and neediest at his pleasure. At midst this Oration of his came *Servius* in place, advertised of the matter by a fearful messenger in all haste. And presently began to cry out with a loud voice, at the very porch or entry of the *Curia*: "What is here ado, (quoth he) and what meaneth this O *Tarquin*? how darest thou during my life, assemble the Senators or sit on my seat? Whereunto he stoutly made a proud answer, that he did but keep his fathers throne, and being as he was, a Kings son, he deemed himself more worthy to be inheritor of the Kingdom than a bondslave: and as for him, he had been suffered long enough to play with his good Masters, and to insult over his betters. With this arose a great clamour from the partakers and complices of both sides: the people they ran from all parts to the Council-house, and like it was, that the stronger should be King. Then *Tarquinus* being put to his shifts, and forced to try the utmost, seeing no other remedy, took *Servius* by the middle, as being himself much younger and stronger far, carried him out of the Council-house, and threw him down from the stairs head to the foot, and so returned again into the Senate-house, to get the Senators together. The Kings Officers with the guard attending upon him, fled. Himself well near dead, with certain of his courtiers and train, breathless also for fear, made speed, and retired towards his Pallace, as far as to the top of *Cyprius* street, where he was overtaken by them that were sent by *Tarquinus*, and so slain outright. And it is verily thought, that this was done by the suggestion and procurement of *Tullia*; so little disagreeeth it from other wicked pranks of hers. But this one thing is known for certainty, that she came riding in her coach into the common place of assembly, and nothing dismayed or abashed at the presence of so many men, there met together, called forth her husband out of the Senate-house, and was the first that stiled him with the title of King. By whom she being willed to depart away out of that throng and uprore, as she returned homeward as far as the pitch of *Cyprius* street, where was of late a place consecrated unto *Diana*, called *Dianium*, the coachman that had the guiding and driving of the steeds, as he turned the chariot on the right hand up to the cliff *Verbins*, for to pass up to the hill *Esquilia*, suddenly staid for fear, and reined in his horses, and shewed unto his Lady and Mistis *Servius* lying there murdered. And hereof followed (as the report goeth) a beastly part, and beyond all sense of humanity, which the very place doth witness still at this day, called thereupon *Sceleratus Vicus*, i.e. the wicked street: wherein the raging and frantick woman *Tullia*, hurried with the furies, and haunted with the ghosts of her sister and husband, caused (men say) her chariot to be driven over her fathers dead corps; and being her self besprinkled and beraied with the bloody chariot, carried home with her some part of it in token and witness, that her hand was in this paricide and murder of her own father: to the end, that she might provoke her own domesticall gods and her husbands to wrath and displeasure: and so consequently, as they entred their reign with mischief and wickedness, they might soon after be turned out thereof with shame and infamy. *Servius Tullius* reigned four and fourty years, in such wise carrying himself, as it were hard, even for a good and staid Prince that should succeed him, to follow his steps. This made moreover for his glory and fame, that together with him died all right and lawfull government of Roman Kings. And even that regiment of his, so mild, so gracious, and temperate as it was: yet because it rested in the absolute power of one man, he was minded, as some do write, to have forgone and given over, had not this wicked intestine practise from his own family come between, to prevent and cut off his good designs and intent to set his country free.

Servius Tullius
killed.

After him began to reign *Tarquinus*, for his insolent acts surnamed *Superbus*, i.e. the proud. For he would not suffer his wives father (unkind son in law he) to be interred: saying oftentimes in jibing manner, that *Romulus* also died and was never buried. Moreover, the principall heads of his Peers and Nobles, such (as he thought) had favoured *Servius* his proceedings, and took part

A part with him, those he made away and flew. Afterwards, fearing upon the guilt of his own conscience, that he had given an ill precedent for others, to take vantage against himself, attaining to the Crown so lowly; he retained therefore a guard of armed men about his body: and in very truth, setting only might aside, no other right had he to wear the diadem, as who reigned neither by peoples election nor Senators approbation. Over and besides all this, to the end he might sit safely in his seat by servile fear and dread, who reposed no trust nor hope in the love of his subjects; therefore to strike the greater terror into them, and hold them in awe, he by himself alone without assistance of any counsell, sat upon all matters of life and death: by means whereof he was able to kill, banish, and condemn in forfeiture of lands and goods, not those only whom he suspected and hated, B but also them, from whom he could look for nothing else but spoil. Thus when he had decayed the number of the nobles especially, he purposed to chuse no new in their place, for to make supply: to the end, that the fewer they were, the more contemptible the whole order might grow: and with less discontent put up the indignity, that they were not employed in the State, nor ought done by their advice. For this King was the first that abolished the custome received and continued by all others afore him, of consulting with the Senate in all matters, & managing nothing without them. He governed the Commonweale by himself, and after his own waies: with whom it pleased him he made war and peace, league and society, even of his own head: & would break the same as himself thought good: thus he did, and undid all at his pleasure, without regard of the peoples mind, or the Senates authority. Above all, he sought to win the hearts and good wills of the Latine nation, that by support of forraign power also, he might be more secure and safe among his own people: neither entertained he with their Princes friendship and amity only, but entred also into alliance and affinity with them. For unto *Ostivius Mamilius* a Tusculan, he gave his daughter in marriage. This *Mamilius* was of all Latines the principall and noblest person, lineally descended (if we may beleve the common bruit and report) from *Ulysses* and *Circe*. By this marriage he gained many kinsfolk and friends of his new son in law. So that now *Tarquinius* was in great authority and reputation among the Lords and Barons of the Latines. Whereupon he gave them knowledge, and proclaimed, that upon a certain day they should all meet him at the sacred grove of *Ferentina*, to treat and commune together about matters concerning the common good of both States. Thither resorted they in great number betimes in the morning. And *Tarquinius* himself failed not for his D part to keep the very day appointed, but it was sunsetting well near before he came. There, in that assembly all day long before his coming, was much talk and reasoning, *pro Et contra*, touching him. *Turnus Herdonius* of *Ardea*, had inveighed spitefully against *Tarquinius* in his absence (for his being away) saying, "It was no marvel indeed that he was at *Rome* surnamed *Superbus* (for even then commonly they termed him so, although secretly, and in whispering wise.) For could there be (quoth he) a prouder part plaid, than this to mock delude and abuse the whole state of *Latium*, that when their princes and nobles were cited there to appear, far from the Cities and dwelling houses, he only should be absent that summoned the assembly? Which verily was but a device of his to try their patience, that if they once took the yoke, he might keep them still under as his vassals: for who seeth not what he reacheth at? even to command and Lord it over the E Latines. And in case his own Citizens have done well, in trusting him in the rule over them (if a man may say they trusted him, and not rather that he came foully and forcibly by it: even with shameful murder) the Latines also may put themselves into his hands with security. And yet I see not why they should so do, considering he is a meer stranger and alien. But how and if his own subjects repent, and are discontented with him, being one after another by him murdered banished, deprived, and spoiled of their goods? What better dealings may the Latines hope and look for? Therefore if they would be ruled by him, they should depart home every man, and not keep the day of the Diet no more than he doth that published and proclaimed it. Whilest this seditious and dangerous person, who by these and such like factious courtes was grown to be a great man and powerfull in his country, stood arguing thus, enforcing and following hard upon other F points, tending to the same effect, in cometh *Tarquinius*. Whereupon he brake off his speech, and all was hush. Then turned every man to salute and welcome *Tarquinius*: Who after silence made (being advised by some of his familiars that were next unto him, to excuse himself for coming at that time of the day) said that he had been taken to be an arbitrator or daiesman between the father and the son: and because he was desirous and carefull to procure an attonement between them, and to make them good friends: he made the longer stay and came the later. Which occasion of business seeing it had disappointed them of that day, therefore the morrow after he would deliver that which he had in purpose and intended to move unto them. But *Turnus* (as they say) could not hold, nor put up so much as this with silence: but brake out and said again, there was no speedier deciding and taking up of any matter, than between the father and the son: a thing that G might be dispatched in few words: for if he would not obey and give place unto his father, he should abide the smart of it with a mischief. And thus the *Ardeine* having girded as it were, and glanced at the Roman King, departed out of the Assembly. Which thing *Tarquinius* taking more displeasantly a good deal than he made semblance of, forthwith devised and practised to bring *Turnus* to his death, that he might strike the same terror into the hearts of the Latines, where-with he had kept under his own subjects at home. And for that he had no absolute power to cause him openly to be slain, he framed most falsely a criminall action against the guiltless man: thereby D 3 wrong-

Turnus Herdonius his Oration against *Tarquinius Superbus*

Tarquinus against Turnus Herdonius.

Turnus Herdonius put to death.

Tarquinus to the Aricians.

Suessa Pometia won by the Romans.
" 1070 li. sterl.

wrongfully to work his destruction. By means of certain *Aricians* of a contrary faction, he wrought a bondslave of *Turnus* with a sum of money, to suffer a number of swords privily to be conveyed into his Masters Inn or Lodging: which being done in that one night accordingly, *Tarquinus* somewhat before day, sent for the chief Lords of the Latines to come unto him: and pretending as though he were frightened by some strange accident, said, "That his long tarrying the day before, (by Gods speciall providence, as it were, so appointed) was for the safety of him and them all. For he was informed that *Turnus* contrived to massacre both him and the heads of their nation, to the end that he alone might raign over the Latines: That he minded yesterday to have put this plot in execution, even in the very assembly; but the deed was deferred, for that himself (the principall author of that meeting) whose life he sought for above all other, was not in place; and hereupon it was (saith he) that he fared so as he did, and railed against him so bitterly the day before in his absence: for that he by his long tarrying had put him by his hope and the effect of his designs: and if all were true that was told him, he nothing doubted but early in the morning at break of the day, so soon as they were set in Councill together, he would come armed and well appointed with a crew of his adherents and sworn confederats: for reported it is, (quoth he) that a number of swords & other weapons are brought into his lodging; which whether it be so or no might soon be known. And therewith he desired them to take the pains to go with him thither. And verily, considering the proud nature and haughty spirit of *Turnus*, together with his yesterdaies Oration, and the long stay of *Tarquinus* besides, for that the pretended massacre seemed thereby to have been put off and prolonged, the matter became very suspicious, and pregnant. Thus go they with minds verily somewhat enclined and disposed to beleeve all, and yet so, as they would think all the rest but tales and lies, unless they found the swords aforesaid. Being come to the house, and *Turnus* awakened out of sleep, certain warders were set to keep him on every side: and when they had laid hold upon his servants, who for love of their Lord and Master began to make resistance, the swords were brought forth out of all the blind corners of the hostelry openly to be seen: then was it a clear case and past all peradventures: and *Turnus* was apprehended and irons clapt upon him. And immediately in all haste the Latines assembled together to councill in that great tumult and uproar: Where, upon bringing forth the swords in sight before them all, they were so incensed and deadly bent against him, that he was not suffered to answer and plead for himself, but was presently at the source or spring head of the *Ferentine* water plunged down, and a hurdle done aloft upon him, and great stones heaped thereon, and so after a new kind of death stifled and drowned. *Tarquinus* then, after he had called the Latines again to the place of councill, and much commended them for duly executing *Turnus*, who practising thus to alter and trouble the state, was detected of a manifest intended murder, made this speech unto them: "I might (quoth he) if I would, by vertue of ancient rites alledge and plead, that forasmuch as all the Latines are descended from *Alba*, they are comprised within that confederacy and league, whereby in the raign of *Tullus* the whole Commonweal and State of *Alba*, together with their inhabitants, became incorporate into the Empire of *Rome*. Howbeit, in regard rather of the commodity and weal-publike of all, I judge it requisite, that the league were renewed, and that the Latines might enjoy and be partakers of the prosperity and happy fortune of the people of *Rome*, rather than evermore to hazard and suffer the destruction and desolation of their Cities, with the spoiling and wasting of their lands, which first in *Ancus* daies they tasted, and after in my fathers time they had abidden & suffered. The Latines were hereto soon perswaded. And although in that league the preheminance and sovereignty rested in the Romans, yet they saw well enough that both the Heads and Rulers of the Latine Nation stood with the Roman King, and were wrought unto his hand, to side with him: and also *Turnus* unto them was a fresh precedent and example, to teach them what danger might betide every one that should make a part against him and cross his intention. So the alliance was renewed and proclamation made according as it was capitulated, that all the serviceable men of the Latines should at a day appointed repair in good number with their armour unto the grove of *Ferentina*. Who when they were there met together from all parts according to the Ediēt of the Roman King, to the end they should have no Captain of their own to lead them, no privy watchword or regiment by themselves to direct them, nor private ensigns distinct from the rest to keep them together: he shuffled or mingled the bands and companies of Latines and Romans one with another, making one of twain, and two of one: and when he had thus doubled the bands, he set Centurions over them. And albeit he was in peace an unjust Prince, yet was he in war no bad Captain: nay, for martiall prowess he had been equall to the former Kings, had he not failed and degenerated in other things, and thereby stained and hurt his glory even in that behalf. He was the first that warred upon the *Volscians*, which war after his time lasted more than 200 years: and wan from them by force *Suessa Pometia*. Where having made portsale of the pillage and raised as much gold and silver as amounted to 40 talents, he conceived in his mind to build so stately a Temple of *Jupiter* as might beseem the sovereign King of gods and men, become the noble Empire of *Rome*, and answer the Majesty also of the very place where it was to stand. And for the rearing and finishing of this Temple, he laid that money apart, that came of the spoil aforesaid. But presently upon this was he surprisid with a war that held longer than he hoped it would. For having made one assault in vain upon *Gabin*, a neighbour City to *Rome*, and despairing also of any good success by beleaguering the town,

for

A for that he was valiantly repulsed from the wals, at the last he devised and resolved to get it by wile and deceit: a course that Romans had not usually practised. For making as though he had given over and abandoned this war, as being now earnestly bent and busily occupied about laying the foundations of the Temple, and following other publike works in the City: *Sextus* his son, the youngest of three, fled on purpose to *Gabii*, complaining of his fathers intollerable rigour and cruelty against him: saying, "That now he had turned his accustomed pride from strangers upon his own bloud, and was grown to be weary of so many children: that as he had made good hand and clean riddance of his Nobles, and left the Senate desolate, so he might bring it to pass in his own house, to leave behind him no issue nor inheritor of the Kingdom. And for his own person

B "verily, he was escaped from among the pikes and swords of his father, and was perswaded fully, he might no where be sure in safety, but with the capitall enemies of *L. Tarquinius*. For to put them out of doubt, and that they might be no longer abused, the war continued still against them, which seemed in outward shew given over and laid away: and his father would not fail, but whensoever he could spy his vantage and fit opportunity, come upon them at unawares. But in case there were no place of refuge and protection for poor & humble suppliants amongst them, he would wander & travel all over *Latium*: and if he might not rest there, he would from thence go to the *Volscians*, *Equians*, and *Hernicks*, untill he came to them that knew how to save the children from the cruelty and inhumane persecution of the fathers. Perhaps he should find means to stir coals and kindle war, yea, and perform himself good service against that most proud

C King, and that most stout and insolent people. And seeming withall in great anger and discontentment, (if they would not regard his complaints) ready to depart and go his waies, he was kindly entertained and friendly entreated by the *Gabians*: "who willed him to be of good chear and not to marvell at all, that *Tarquinius* became now at length so ill affected against his own children, like as he had tyrannized already upon his subjects and confederats: for he would no doubt in the end exercise his fell stomach even upon himself, for want of other subject matter to work upon. And as to him, right welcome he was to them, assuring themselves that within a while it would so come to pass, that if he with them would set to his helping hand, they should remove the war from the gates of *Gabii* unto the very walls of *Rome*. After this was he admitted to sit with them in common counsell. In which he used oftentimes to say, "That in other matters he

D "gave place, and referred himself to be advised by the ancient *Gabins*, as men more practised and experienced than himself, but for the war, which ever and anon he perswaded them unto, himself took upon him a speciall insight and skill therein, as he that knew the strength of both nations, and was fully perswaded in his conscience, that the Kings pride must needs be odious to his subjects, which his very own children could not brook and endure. Thus whiles by little and little he solicited the principall Citizens to rebell, and went himself daily in person with a crew of the most forward and able young men, foraging spoiling, and making rodes into the Territory of the Romans, and that now through his words and deeds, which tended to fraud and deceit in the end, they began more and more to give credit unto him that one day would deceive them, he was at last choien Generall for the war. And having made certain small skirmishes between *Rome* and *Gabes*, in which for the most part the *Gabins* had the better (whiles the simple people, God wot, saw nor his drift and how he carried the matter:) then all the *Gabins* from the highest to the lowest, thought verily and in good earnest, that *Sextus Tarquinius* was sent them by speciall grace even from God above to be their Captain and Protector. But with the souldiers, what with attempting painfull enterprizes and performing dangerous service, and what with dealing prizes liberally amongst them, it passed how he grew into credit, and how dearly he was beloved: inso much as *Tarquinius* the Father was of no greater command at *Rome*, than *Tarquinius* the Son at *Gabes*. Thus when he saw he had gathered strength sufficient, and was fully furnished against all assaies; he dispatched unto his father at *Rome*, one of his trusty servants with credence, to know his will and pleasure, seeing that the gods had done him this grace, that he at *Gabes* was able to do all in all. To this message made the King no answer at all by word of mouth, taking the man belike, as I verily think, for one hardly to be trusted. But as one musing with himself and in a deep study what answer to shape, he went into a garden on the back side of the house, and his sons messenger followed after. There walked he up and down, and said never a word: only with his rod or walking staff, as it is reported, he knapt off the uttermost heads and tops of the poppies. The messenger weary with calling for an answer, and waiting such attendance, returned to *Gabes* as wise as he came, and without effect of his errand. He reported what he had said and seen, namely, how the King, whether upon anger or hatred, or pride ingrafted by nature, uttered no speech at all. But *Sextus* knowing by these mysticall and secret circumstances, his fathers will and direction, made no more ado but slew the chief of the Citizens: some by accusations unto the people, and others by reason of disgrace

G they were already in, and thereby exposed unto violence, were soon overthrowen. Many of them were openly executed, and some, whom there was little apparance or colour of justice or none at all to accuse, were secretly murdered. Divers of their own accord fled into voluntary exile, or else they were forced into banishment: whose goods as well as theirs that were put to death, were divided among the people. By sweetness of this largesse of spoil, by the profit and wealth that grew to private persons; the publike woe and calamity was nothing felt and seen: untill such time as the *Gabins* whole estate, despoiled of counsell, bereft of aid and succour, yielded without dint of sword unto the King of *Rome*.

Sextus Tarquinius to the *Gabians*.

The *Gabins* to *Sextus Tarquinius*.

Sextus Tarquinius to the Senators of the *Gabins*.

The City of *Gabii* surrendered to *Tarquinius*.

Tarquinius

Terminus the
god of bounds
and meers.

Tarquinius
Priscus foundeth the Tem-
ple of the
Capitoll.
* 7500 li. sterl.
* 125000. lib.
sterl.

Tarquinius having thus gained the town of *Gates*, made peace with the nation of the *Equians*, and renewed the league with the *Tuscans*. After this he converted his mind to the affairs of the City, among which this was the principall, to leave behind him the Temple of *Jupiter*, upon the mount *Tarpeius*, for a monument and memoriall of his raig and name. That of two *Tarquins*, Kings both, it might be said another day, that the father vowed it, and the son finished the same. And to the end that the floor and plot of ground, freed and exempted from all other kind of religions, might wholly be dedicated to *Jupiter* and his Temple, there to be built: he determined to exaugurate and to unhallow certain Churches and Chappels, which having been first vowed, by King *Tatinus*, in the very extremity of the battell against *Romulus*, were after by him consecrated and hallowed. In the very beginning and founding of which work, it is said, that the divine power and I sovereign deity, moved the gods to declare the future mightiness of so great an Empire. For when as the birds by signs out of the *Augurs* learning, admitted and allowed the exauguration and unhallowing of all other cels and chappels besides, only in that of *Terminus*, they gave no token to confirm the unhallowing thereof: which was taken for an ominous preface, and thus interpreted, That seeing the seat and house of *Terminus* was not stirred, and he the god alone that was not displaced and called forth of the limits to him consecrated; it shewed that all should remain there firm and stable for ever. This divine token of perpetuity being received for good and currant: there followed another strange and prodigious sign, portending the greatness also of the Empire. For as they digged for the foundation of the Temple, there appeared (as they say) a mans head, face and all whole and sound: which sight imported no doubt, and plainly foretold that it should be K the chief Castle of the Empire, and the Capitall place of the whole world. To this effect prophesied the wizards, as well they of the City, as those whom they sent for out of *Tuscan*, to know their opinion and judgment. Thus was the Kings mind all wholly set upon sumptuous building, and spared for no cost. So that the pillage taken at *Pometia*, which was laid by for the accomplishment of the whole work, would hard and scant serve for the very foundation. And therefore I would rather give credit unto *Fabius Pictor* (to say nothing that he is the more ancient author of the twain) that there were but * 40 talents; and no more, than to *Piso*, who writeth, that there was * 40000 pound weight of silver set by for that use. Which sum or mass of money could never be looked for to arise out of the sacrifice of one only City in those daies: and must needs exceed the charges of the foundation of any of these stately and magnificent buildings in this our age. The King being L thus wholly minded and bent to the finishing of the Temple, and sending for Carpenters, Masons, and other workmen, out of all parts of *Tuscan*, employed not only the Cities money and stock thereabout, but also had the work and labour of the common people withall. Which was no small toil of theirs, considering the travell of warfare besides: yet were they less aggrieved and discontented therewith, so long as they founded and reared with their own hands the Temples of the immortal gods. But afterwards were they employed and set to other works, which as they were less in shew, so were they more painful and of greater trouble, namely, the making of scaffolds or standing-places in the Cirque or Theater; and to the conveyance of a mighty great sinke or vault under the ground for to receive and carry away all the filth and corruption of the City. To which two pieces of work, scarcely is the magnificence of our new modern buildings, in any respect com- M parable. Having in this wise held the commons in continuall labour, because he thought that a multitude of people would but over-charge and pester the City, when they were not employed some way or other, and also minded by erecting Colonies, to enlarge the Confines of his Dominions, he therefore sent part of them to inhabit and people *Signia* and *Circeii*, two strong forts and frontier towns for the defence of the City by sea and land.

Whilest he was busied in these affairs, there appeared unto him a strange and fearfull sight, namely, a serpent gliding down a pillar of wood, which having put the beholders in great fright, and caused them to flie into the Kings palace, did not so much amaze the Kings heart with sudden and momentary fear for the present, as fill his head with perplexed cares what the thing might portend. Whereas therefore the manner was to use the *Calchans* and wise men of *Tuscan* about N publike prodigious tokens only: he being much troubled in spirit, and terrified at this fearfull sight, being domesticall, and as it were touching and concerning his own person: purposed to send out as far as *Delphi* to the most famous and renowned Oracle in the world. And for that he durst not put any other in trust with the answers that should be delivered by the fatall lots, he addressed two of his sons to take a voyage through unknown lands in those daies, and more unknown seas into *Greece*. *Titus* and *Aruns* were they that went this journey, having to bear them company all the way, *L. Junius Brutus*. This *Brutus* was the son of *Tarquinia*, the Kings sister, a young gentleman of a far other nature and disposition than he seemed in outward shew and semblance. He having heard say, that certain principall Citizens, and his own brother among, had been by this his uncle put to death: to the intent that himself might have nothing left, either in O the parts of his mind for the King to fear, or in his outward state for him to covet and desire: resolved under the cloak of base contempt to save himself, since that in right or justice he might repose small or no safegard at all. And therefore composing and framing himself of purpose to counterfeit a noddy and a very innocent, as suffering himself and all that he had to fall into the Kings hands as an echeat, he refused not to be misnamed *Brutus*, a name appropriate to unreasonable creatures; that under the shadow & colour of that surname, that courage of his lying close hid, which

Jun. Brutus
counterfeited
a fool.

- A which should one day set free the City of *Rome*, might abide the full time and appear in due season. This *Brutus* being by the *Tarquins* brought to *Delphi*, as their laughing stock to make them pastime by the way, rather than a meet mate to accompany them, carried with him (as men say) for to offer and present unto *Apollo* a golden rod within a staffe of cornell wood, made hollow for the purpose: the very type and resemblance by secret circumstances, of his naturall disposition. Thither being arrived, the young men having done their fathers commission accordingly, were very desirous and earnest to inquire and learn of the Oracle, which of them should be King of *Rome*. And from the bottom of the deep Vault, this answer, as men say, was delivered in their hearing: [Which of you (O young men) shall first kiss your mother, he shall bear chief and sovereign rule in *Rome*.]
- B The *Tarquins* then intending that *Sextus* their brother who was left behind at *Rome*, might neither know the answer, nor yet obtain the kingdom, willed the matter should by all possible means be carried so secret as might be, and concealed from him. They themselves agreed upon this together, to draw lots whether of them twain, when they were returned to *Rome*, should first kiss his mother. But *Brutus* supposing the speech of *Apollo* his Priest, tended to another sense, made as though he stumbled forward and took a fall, and so touched the ground with his mouth and kissed the earth, thinking this with himself, that she was common mother of all mortall men. Then returned they to *Rome*, where they found great preparation for war against the *Rutilians*.
- The *Rutilians* then were Lords of *Ardea*. A people in those parts, and for those times, very rich and wealthy: and that was it that gave the very occasion and was the first motive of war. The Roman King was desirous both to enrich himself, as having about the sumptuous building of publicke works emptied his coffers: and also by some spoil, to mollifie and win again the hearts of his naturall subjects: being much discontented (besides their generall dislike of his pride otherwise) at his manner of government; and disdaining greatly that they were by the King made labourers, to serve carpenters and masons, and held so long to servile toil and painfull labour. The Romans assailed at the beginning to surprize and win *Ardea* by assault: but when that way sped but ill, then began they to annoy and distress the enemies by laying siege, by casting trenches, raising forts, and fabricks about the town. During this siege, and the standing camp lying there, (as it falleth out commonly, when the war is rather long and late than hot and cruell) there were granted large licences and passports to and fro between the Camp and *Rome*, with much liberty: and yet more to the Principals of the Army than to the common Souldiers. And the Kings sons had otherwhile good leisure to feast and banquet one with another. Upon a time it hapned whiles they were drinking and making merry with *Sextus Tarquinius* in his pavilion, where *Collatinus Tarquinius* the son of *Egerius* sat at supper; there arose among other good table-talk, some arguing about their wives: whiles every man highly praised and wondrously commended his own. And growing to some heat and contention thereabout: There need not many words for this matter, quoth *Collatinus*, for in few hours it may be known how far my *Lucretia* surpasseth all the rest. And therefore if there be any lustiness and courage of youth in us, why mount we not on horseback, and in our own persons go and see the natures and dispositions of our wives? And as they shall be found and seen, taken of a sudden, and not looking for their husbands coming, so let every man judge of them, and set that down for the only trial of this controversie. They had all taken their drink well, and were prettily heat with wine: Mary, content say they all, and to horse they go, and away they gallop on the spur to *Rome*. Thither were they come by the shutting in of the evening when it grew to be dark; and so forward without any stay to *Collatia* they ride. Where they find dame *Lucretia*, not as the Kings sons wives, whom they had surprised and seen afore, passing the time away in feasting and rioting with their minions and companions: but sitting up far within the night in the midst of her house amongst her maidens, hard at wooll-work by candle-light. Whertupon, in this debate about their wives, the entire praise and commendation rested in *Lucretia*: Her Husband and the *Tarquins* had a loving and courteous welcome at her hands. And he again for joy of the victory, invited the Kings sons kindly and made them friendly cheare. There at that instant *Sextus Tarquinius* was bewitched and possessed with wicked wanton lust, for to offer violence and villany unto *Lucretia*: her passing beauty and her approved chastity set him on fire and provoked him thereto. But for the present, when they had disported themselves all night long like lusty and pleasant youths, they returned betimes in the morning to the Camp. A few daies after, *Sextus Tarquinius*, unwitting to *Collatinus*, attended with one only man came to *Collatia*, where he was again in good and friendly sort received by them in the house, that suspected nothing less than that whereabout he was come. And being after supper brought up into the guest chamber, when he thought all about him sure, and that every body was fast asleep, all set on fire and burning in love, he steppeth with naked sword in hand to *Lucretia*, as she lay sleeping full soundly, and bearing down the womans brest with his left hand, Peace (quoth he) *Lucretia* & not a word: I am *Sextus Tarquinius*, I have my drawn sword in hand: if thou once speak thou shalt surely die. The silly woman thus starting out of sleep, was sore affright, as seeing no remedy but in a manner present death, in case she had cried for help. Then uttered *Tarquinius* and confessed his amorous passion, tell to entreat and entreat again, and with his prayers intermedled threats, and went every way about her, not ceasing by all means to sit, to sound and tempt the womans heart. But when he saw her obstinate and invincible, and (to die for it) not relenting one jot; then, besides the fear of death, he presented unto her dishonour and shame: pretending

Ardea besieged
by the Romans

The Rary of
dame *Lucretia*.

Lucretia forced
by Tarquinius
Sextus.

The pittifull
plaints of
chaste Lucretia.

Lucretia kil-
len her selfe.

The Remon-
strances of Ju-
Brutus, inci-
ting the peo-
ple against the
King and his
bloud.

pretending that after he had massacred her, he would lay by her side in naked bed, her own man-
servant with his throat cut; that it might be voiced abroad, that she was taken and killed in filthy
adultery. For fear of this reproach and infamy, see how sinfull lust gat the victory, and conquered
constant chastity: and Tarquinius in great pride and jollity, that he had by assault won the fort of
a womans honour, departed thence. But wofull Lucretia, all sorrowing for so heavy a mischance,
dispatched a messenger to her father at Rome, and so forward to her husband at Ardea, with this
errand: That they should come unto her, each of them with one faithfull and trusty friend, and
hereof they must not fail, but make all the speed they could, for that there was befallen a grievous
chance and horrible. So there repaired to her Sp. Lucretius her father, accompanied with P. Vale-
rius the son of Volusus: and Collatinus her husband, with L. Jun. Brutus. Who both together by
chance going back to Rome, encountred in the way his wives messenger. Lucretia they found sit-
ting alone in her bed-chamber, all heavy and sad: and she at the coming of these her dearest friends,
shed tears and wept apace. How now my dear (quoth her husband) is all well? "No God wot sir,
"(quoth she again:) For how can ought be well with a woman that is despoiled of her honour
and womanhood? The print Collatinus, of another man is to be seen in thy own bed. Howbeit,
"my body only is distained: my mind and heart remaineth yet unpotted: and that my death shall
"make good and justifie. But give me first your right hands, and make faithfull promise that the
"adulterer shall not escape unpunished. Sex. Tarquinius is the man, he it is, who this night past, en-
"tertained as a friend, but indeed a very foe in the highest degree, hath by force and violence taken
"from hence with him his pleasure, a deadly pleasure. I may say, to me: and to himselfe also no less; K
"if ye be men of courage. All of them one after another give their assured word, comforted the
wofull hearted woman, excused her self that was but forced, and laid all the blame upon him that
committed the shamefull act: saying, It is the mind that sinneth, and not the body: and where there
was no will and consent, there could be no fault at all. "Well (quoth she) what is his due to have,
"see you to that: as for me, howsoever I quit and affoil my self of sin, yet I will not be freed from
"punishment. And never shall there by example of Lucretia, any dishonest woman or wanton har-
"lot live a day: & thus having said, with a knife which she had close hidden under her cloaths, she
"stabbed her self to the heart, and sinking down forward, fell upon the floor ready to yeeld up the
"ghost. Out alas, cried her husband and father hereat: and whilest they two were in their plaints
and moans, Brutus drew forth the knife out of the wound of Lucretia, & holding it out afore him, L
all embued and dropping with bloud, "Now I swear (quoth he) by this bloud, by this most chaste
"and pure bloud, before the villany wrought by the Kings son, and here before the gods I protest,
"whom I call to witness, that I will by fire and sword, and with all my might and main persecute
"and drive the country of L. Tarquinius the proud, and his ungracious wife, and the whole brood
"of his children, and suffer neither him nor any else for his sake to raige as King at Rome. Then
gave he the knife to Collatinus, and so to Lucretius & Valerius, who greatly amazed at this so strange
occurent, and wondring how it came to pass, that Brutus should of a sudden be so changed, and
become so stout of stomach and couragious, took the same form of oath that he sware afore: and
so leaving their wailing and lamentation, and wholly set upon anger and revenge, they followed
Brutus as their Captain and Leader to put down and overthrow the government of Kings, and ut-
terly to root out their race. The dead corps of Lucretia, was had out of doors, brought into the
market place, and there shewed. And thither, what with wondring (as the manner is) at so strange
a sight, and what with the indignation of so unworthy a fact, they raised much people together.
Every man for his part was ready enough to complain of the wickedness and violence done by the
Kings bloud. The sorrow of Lucretius the father on the one side, the resolution of Brutus on the o-
ther side, who rebuked and blamed all vain weeping and foolish moaning, moved and perswaded
all that were present, that like men of valour, like true hearted Romans, they would take arms a-
gainst them that demeaned themselves no better, nay, worse than ordinary enemies. And presently,
the bravest and tallest young men shewed themselves forward, ready in armour, and voluntary. The
rest of the youths followed streight after. And having left at Collatia the one half of their forces in
garrison, toward the gates, and set certain watches, that no man brought tidings or news unto the
King and his sons, of this rising and commotion, all the other were appointed in warlike manner,
followed their leader Brutus, from thence directly to Rome. At the sudden coming thither of this ar-
med multitude: no marvell if all the way whereas they passed and marched, there arose a fear
and trouble among the people. But when they perceived the most substantiall and principall Citi-
zens in the forefront, they judged whatsoever the matter meant, it was not for naught. And verily
this hainous fact disquieted the minds of men no less at Rome, than it had before at Collatia. There-
fore from all parts of the City there was flocking and running into the market place. And being
thither come, the Bedell or common Crier, summoned the people to appeare before the Tri-
bune of the Celeres or Captain of the guard: which office haply Brutus bare at that time. Where O
he made an Oration, not proceeding from that spirit, nor resembling that quality of nature which
unto that day he had pretended and made shew of unto the world, for he inveighed against
the violence and filthy lust of Sextus Tarquinius; the shamefull villany and not to be named,
done upon the body of Lucretia: "he discoursed of her lamentable end and pitious death, and
"the desolate case of Tricipitinus, bereft now of all his children: who accounted the occasion of
"his daughters death a greater indignity, and more pittifull, than her very death. Moreover he
"laid

A^l laid abroad the pride of the King himself, the miseries, the infinite toyle and paines of the Commons, buried as it were under the ground, with cleaning and casting of ditches, voiding and farming of the flocks. Saying, that the men of *Rome*, which were the conquerers of all nations about them, were now of warriors become quarriers, hewers of stone and day-laborers. He reckoned up also and put them in mind of the unworthy death and cruel murder of *Servius Tullius*: and how his daughter (of abominable act) rode over the corpse of her father in her cursed chariot: And herewith he calleth on the gods that are revengers of outrages and wrongs done to parents. Thus rehearsing these and other matters, much more grievous and horrible, (I verily beleieve) according as the present indignity at the very time doth minister and give utterance for, not so easily happened and set down by whiskeys that come after. he so mightily inflamed the multitude, that he caused them to depose the King, to deprive him of his royall state and dignity, yea, and to decree and enact, that *L. Tarquinius* with his wife and children should be banished for ever. Himself having selected and armed the younger gallants who offered their service, and willingly entered their names, set forward in person to the Camp lying before *Ardea*, for to excite the Army there against the King: leaving the government of the City unto *Lucius Junius Brutus*, who had, before been appointed Deputy and Lieutenant there, by the King. In this time of garboile, *Tullia* left the palace and fled, and all the way as she went, both men and women cursed and cried out upon her, and brought the ghostly spirits and furies of parents to be avenged. When news hereof was brought into the Camp, and that the King upon these strange tidings made haste towards *Rome*, to stay and suppress these broyles: *Brutus* having intelligence of his coming, turned another way because he would not meet with him. And so at one instant in a manner by contrary journeys came *Brutus* to *Ardea* and *Tarquinius* to *Rome*. But the gates were shut against *Tarquinius*, and instead of entrance, warned he was, and commanded into exile. The whole Camp received with joy *Brutus* the redeemer of their City. From thence were also the Kings sons driven: two of them followed after their father and departed into banishment unto *Cere*, a town of the *Tuscans*: as for *Sextus Tarquinius*, he retired himself to *Gabes* as it were into his own Kingdom: where he was murdered in revenge of old quarrels, upon malice and hatred of the people which he had brought upon himself in times past. *L. Tarquinius Superbus* reigned 25 years. Thus continued the Kings Regiment at *Rome*, from the foundation of the City, unto the freedom and redemption thereof 244 years. Then in a solemn assembly and election by the Centuries, held by the Provost of the City, according to the ordinance of *Sextus Tullius* in his Commentaries, two Consuls were created: *L. Junius Brutus* and *L. Tarquinius Collatinus*.

Tarquinius the King banished.

Consuls first created.

The Second Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the Second Book.

Brutus took an oath of the people, that they should not suffer any to reign King at Rome. He compelled his fellow Consul *Tarquinius Collatinus*, a suspected man to take part with the Tarquins, by reason of the affinity he had with them, to give over the Consulship, and to depart the City. The goods of the King and his sons he commanded to be seized upon, and rifled. A field of theirs he consecrated to Mars, which was named afterwards *Campus Martius*, or Mars field. He beheaded certain young Gentlemen of the Nobility together with his own and his brothers sons, for conspiring to receive the King and his Complices again into the City. Unto the bondslave *Vindicius*, that betrayed the complot, he gave his freedom, of whom *Vindicta* took the name. Having led an Army against the King, who had assembled a power of *Veientians* and *Tarquinians*, and made war, he died in battell together with *Aruns*, the son of *Superbus*: and for his death the dames of *Rome* mourned one whole year. *P. Valerius* the Consul propounded and made a Law concerning Appealing unto the people. The Capitol was dedicated, *Porcena* King of the *Clusins*, warring in the quarrell of the Tarquins, and being come to the *Janiculum*, was by the valour of *Cocles Horatius*, impeached: that he passed not the *Tyber*: who alone, whiles others bewied down the *Sublician* bridge, withstood the *Tuscans*: and when it was broken down, leapt armed as he was into the river, and swam over to his fellows: Another example of manhood is reported of *Mutius*, who being entered the Camp of the enemies with full intent to kill *Porcena*, and having slain his principall Secretary, whom he took for the King, was apprehended: and thrusting his hand into the fire of the *Altars*, whereupon they had burned sacrifice, suffered it there to fry untill it was consumed: and said withall, that there were behind him three hundred more besides, that had sworn the death of the King himself. Who wondering at their resolution, was driven to offer conditions of peace, and upon taking of hostages to give over war: amongst whom, one virgin *Clotia*, beguiled her keepers, made an escape, and swam over *Tyber* to her friends: and being rendered again, was by *Porcena* sent honorably home, and had her

her statue or image on horseback set up for a memoriall. Ap. Claudius abandoned the Sabins, and fled to Rome, of whom the Tribe Clauſia took the name, and was added to the rest. The number of tribes was encreased to be one and twenty. Against Tarquinius Superbus, who with a power of Latines waged war, A. Poſthumius the Dictator, obtained a prosperous battell at the lake Regillus. The Commons rising, for being enthralled unto their Creditors, retired themselves into the mount Sacer, and were by the policy and counſil of Menenius Agrippa, reclaimed from their ſedition, and appeased. The same Agrippa being deceased, was by reason of his poverty, buried at the Cities charge. There were created five Tribunes of the Commons. Corioh, a town of the Volſcians, was taken by the valour and industrious means of Cn. Martius, who thereupon was surnamed Coriolanus. T. Latinus, a mean Commoner, was warned in a dream to make relation to the Senate of certain religious ceremonies: and for neglecting the same, lost his son, and fell himself to be lame of his limbs, and being brought in the Senate in a chair, after he had declared the same, returned sound on his feet home again. Cn. Martius Coriolanus, after he was banished, became Generall of the Volſcians, and with an Army of enemies approached the City of Rome: unto whom, first Embassadors were of purpose sent, and afterwards the Priests and whole Clergy perswaded with him, not to make war against his native Countrey, but all in vain. Howbeit Veturia his mother, and Volumnia his wife entreated him and obtained, that he should depart back again. The Law Agraria, concerning division of lands among the poor Commons, was now first put up and proposed. Sp. Cassius an Alderman, after he had been Consul, was condemned for aspiring to be King, and suffered death therefore. Oppia a Vestall Nun was for incest buried quick. Against the Veientians near enemies and ill neighbors, yet indeed troublesome rather than noisome and dangerous, the house alone of the Fabii, required to be employed in service: and set out three hundred and six armed men to the field, who every one were by the enemies slain near the river Cremera, and left but one only at home alive of that name, under fourteen years of age. Ap. Claudius the Consul having fought unfortunately against the Volſcians, and that, by means of the stubbornness and unwilliness of his Army, cudgelled every touch man of his soldiers. Over and besides (this book) containeth the exploits against the Volſcians, Equians, and Veientians, and the seditious discords between the Nobility and Commons.

The Second Book of T. Livius.

NOW will I describe from henceforth, the acts both in war and peace of the people of Rome, a free state now from this time forward: their yearly Magistrates and Governours: the authority and rule of Laws, more powerfull and mighty than that of men. Which freedom of theirs, the last Kings pride made more acceptable and welcome. As for the other Kings before him, they reigned so, as that they might be counted all of them, and that worthily, builders of sundry parts of the City one after another, according as they every one by himself added still one new place or other, for the multitude by them encreased to inhabit. Neither is it to be doubted, but that even the very same Brutus, who deserved so great honor and glory for expelling the proud King Tarquin, should have done the same to the exceeding danger of the weal publique, if for desire of unripe and untimely freedom, he had wrested the royall dignity and government from any of the former Princes. For what would have come of it, if that communalty consisting of herdmen and fugitive strangers, resorting out of their own countries there to dwell, having under protection of a sanctuary and privileged place gotten liberty, or at leastwise impunity; being now freed and past fear of a royall Majesty, had begun to be troubled and disquieted, with the ruffling storms and seditious tempests of the Tribuns, and in a new and strange City sown debate, and entertained variance with the Nobility, before that the surest pledges of wives and children, the dearest affection of the very place and soil, which requireth long time of liking and loving, had united and knit their hearts together? Certainly, the state not yet come to full growth and maturity, had by discord faded and come to nought, which a peaceable and gracious government cherished and fostered, and by cherishing and nourishing brought to that pass, that now being come to ripeness and perfection of strength, it might be able to bring forth and bear the good and wholsom fruits of liberty.

The beginning of this freedom you must account in regard hereof, That the Consulary regiment was annual, and from year to year, rather than that the royall power and jurisdiction that the Kings had, was any whit abated and diminished. For the first Consuls had the same absolute authority, held all the former royalties, and retained still the regall ensigns and ornaments of supreme dignity. This only provided that they should not both have the rods born before them, for avoiding a twofold fear and dread of their Majesty. Brutus with the good liking and consent of his companion in office, had the preheminance and prerogative of that honour to be done unto him alone: who had not been aforetime a greater instrument, and more forward to procure and recover the liberty than he was afterward a sure maintainer and protector of the same. And first above all other things, whilst the people were yet greedy of this new freedom, for fear lest they might any time after be won by entreaty or moved by gifts on the Kings part, he caused them to swear that they would never suffer any to be King at Rome. After this, because the Senate might be of more power and greater reputation, by the frequent company of that degree and order: he encreased their number (which had been impaired much by massacres, committed by the said King) to the full complement of three hundred: by choosing the chief and principall of the degree of Knights

A Knights or horsemen. And hereof came, as they say, this custome, to admit into the Senate both them that were before time of the ancient Nobility, and also those that were newly chosen for the supply: naming these that were last enrolled, the new Senate. And a wonder it was to see, how much good this did to the concord of the City, and to the knitting of the hearts of Nobles and Commons together.

This done, they went in hand with Religion and Church-matters: and for that there were certain publike sacrifices that had been usually executed by the Kings themselves in their own persons: lest therefore they should not find the mis of Kings in any respect, nor long after them again, they create of purpose a King-Priest or sacrificer: which sacerdotall dignity they ordained to be under the Arch-Prelate, lest that this new addition and title of honour, might prejudice their freedom any jot, whereunto they had then a special regard above all other things. And I wot not well, but I think verily they went beyond all measure, and were over-precise in the maintenance and strengthening thereof every way, even in the smallest trifles, and toies of no moment. For when as nothing else was offensive unto them, the name forsooth of one of their Consuls became suspected and odious unto the City, without any other scandall whatsoever. And thus they murmured and said, "That the *Tarquinius* had reigned over-long, and too much already: that *Priscus* first

C "began, and when after him succeeded King *Servius Tullius*, *Superbus Tarquinius* not having in that time and space between, forgot the Kingdom, as seeing another invetted therein: by wicked practice and violence claimed and recovered the same again, as the inheritance properly to his house belonging. And now that *Superbus* is driven out and gone, the rule and government is devolved unto *Collatinus*, and there resteth. These *Tarquins* belike (say they) cannot skill how to live as private men: giving out among, that the very name was dangerous to a free State, and in one word, they could not endure it. These and such like speeches at first were whispered abroad throughout all the City, by them that under-hand sounded by little and little the hearts and dispositions of men: and when these surmises & suspitions were once buzzed into the Commons heads, and they thereby disquieted, *Brutus* called them to a generall assembly. Where first and formost he reciteth the oath of the people, That they should suffer none to be a King, nor ought else in *Rome*, from whence might arise any danger to their liberty. "This oath is the thing (quoth he) that

D "with all diligence, & by all means possible is to be maintain'd, & nothing thereto appertaining is to be despised and lightly regarded. As for me, I am unwilling to speak, in respect of the person, neither would I speak at all, but that the love and affection to the Common-weal doth overrule me. The people of *Rome* is not thoroughly perswaded, that they have recovered their entire and perfect liberty. For as yet the Kings bloud, yea, and the Kings name, not only remaineth still, but also beareth soveraign rule in the City: This is it that hurteth, this is it (I say) that hindered their true freedom. Now (quoth he) *L. Tarquinius* willingly of your own accord rid them of their fear. We remember well, we confesse and acknowledge, you it was that expelled the Kings. Finish therefore and perfect this great benefit of yours: take away from hence the Kings name also. As for your goods and substance, your Citizens and Countymen, if they will be advised by me, shall not only yeeld unto you again, but if ought be short and wanting, shall by my

E "consent supply the same to the full right liberally. Depart I say, and friendly take your leave: deliver the City and disburden them of this their fear, that peradventure is but vain and needles: Howbeit, this their minds give them, that together with the stock and house of the *Tarquins*, the Kings rule and government will likewise void and depart for ever. The Consul at this so strange and sudden a motion, first wondred much, and was not able to open his mouth. But afterwards as he addressed himself and began to make a speech, the heads of the City came about him, and with many prayers besought the same at his hands. As for all the rest, they prevailed full little with him. But after that *Sp. Lucretius*, a more grave and elder man than himself, of greater worth aforetime, and his father in Law besides, took him in hand and dealt with him sundry waies, one while by way of intreaty, otherwhiles by perswasions and reasons, that he would condescend unto that which the City in one general consent required: then the Consul searing lest hereafter being once out of his place and a private man again, he should chance to be forced thereunto, with the loss of his goods and some disgrace perhaps besides; resigned up the office of the Consulship, and removing all that he had away to *Lavinium*, quit the City and departed. Then *Brutus* by an act and decree of the Senate, proposed unto the people, That all the race and lineage of the *Tarquins* should be exiled. And in a generall Session of the Centuries, he created for to be his Colleague in government, *P. Valerius*, by whose assistance he had driven out the Kings.

No man doubted now that the *Tarquins* were about to take arms: yet that war hapned not so soon as men looked for: but see (a thing that no man feared) they had like by fraud and treason at home to have lost and forgone their freedom again. There was of the flower of *Rome*, certain youths, & those of no low degree nor base parentage descended, who in the Kings daies had lived like young Princes more loosely and at pleasure, as companions and playfellows with the young *Tarquins*, the Kings sons: who seeking to enjoy the same licentious life still, in this equality of estate wherein all others then lived, made moan and complained one to another, That the liberty of others turned to their servitude. "The King, say they, is a man, at whose hands one might obtain somewhat, as need required, were the cause right or were it wrong: where a man might find favour and friendship, as who could both be displeased and angry, and also forgive and remit a

Brutus the Consul perswadeth *Tarquinius* to give over the Consulship and depart.

A conspiracy of young Gentlemen of the Nobility.

"fault, and knew well how to make difference between a friend and a foe. As for laws, they are H
 "things deaf and inexorable: more wholsome and commodious to the poor than to the rich and
 "mighty, affording no release nor pardon, if one chance to trespass and transgress: And a ticklish
 "point it is and perilous for a man among so many errors whereto our frailty is subject, to bear
 "himself only upon his innocent life. Being thus of their own accord already discontent, suddenly
 unlooked for, there came Embassadors from the Kings, who without any mention at all of return,
 demanded only their goods again. Upon their message being delivered and heard in the Senate-
 house, this debate and question held them for certain daies in councill, fearing lest that the goods
 not restored might minister occasion of quarrell, and being rendred, yield maintenance and nour-
 ishment of war. In the mean time the Embassadors dealt and treated with divers persons di-
 versly: in open shew, claiming only their goods, but secretly and under-hand, contriving how to
 compass the Kingdom for their Masters. And under colour of procuring friends for the accom-
 plishment of that which they pretended, and was in question, they sounded oftentimes the minds
 of certain noble young Gentlemen, how they stood affected to their designments. Whose words
 and reasons were of them gently entertained: and thereupon they delivered unto them letters
 from the *Tarquins*, and withall conferred together, and practised the receiving of the Kings privi-
 ly by night into the City. The execution of this plot was principally committed to certain of the
Vitellii and *Aquilii*, that were brethren. A sister of the *Vitellii* was married unto the Consul *Bru-*
tus, by whom he had two sons that were youngmen, *Titus* and *Tiberius*, whom their uncles by
 the mothers side made partakers with them likewise of their counsell. Besides, there were divers K
 young Gentlemen (whose names long time hath worn out quite) made acquainted therewith. In
 this mean season, their opinion in the Senate-house prevailed, who thought it best that the goods
 should be restored: and the Embassadors upon that occasion made stay in the City, for that they
 had gotten time of the Consuls to provide carriage for to have away the Kings stuff, and other
 movable goods. All that time spent they in consulting with the Conspirators, and so importu-
 nately laboured them, untill they had procured their letters also unto the *Tarquins*: for otherwise
 (say they) how will they beleieve but that their Embassadors make wrong report of matters so
 important. The giving of those letters in pledge of their truth and plain meaning, proved to be-
 wray and reveal their purposed enterprise. For the day before the Embassadors were to take their
 leave, and return to the *Tarquins*, they fortun'd to sup with the *Vitellii*: and whilst the conspira- L
 tors there, were in sad and close talk together, conferring at large about this new devised practise,
 and no man by but only themselves (as the manner is:) a certain bondslave chanced to overhear
 them, one that before had an inkling whereabout they went, but waited the opportunity when
 the letters should be given to the Embassadors, which being found upon them, might directly
 prove the treason. This slave after he understood the letters were delivered, gave intelligence of
 all unto the Consuls: who immediatly departed from their houses to take the Embassadors, and
 the Conspirators in the manner, and without any stir or tumult light upon them unawares, and
 dashed all. But of the letters they had a speciall care, that they should be forth-coming and not
 miscarry. And committing the traitors forthwith to prison, they made some pause and doubt a-
 bout the Embassadors, what to do with them. For albeit they seemed to have deserved no less M
 but to be used as enemies, and to have no favour at all, yet had they regard to the law of Nations.
 Now concerning the Kings goods, which they thought meet before to be restored, the matter
 came about wholly in question again before the Senators: who being overcome with ire and in-
 dignation, denied flatly the rendring of them, yea, and forbad they should be confiscate and con-
 verted to the common treasury: but they were given away among the Commons to make spoil
 and havock thereof: to the end, that they having one touched or seised on the Kings goods as a
 booty, might for ever after be past all hope of any peace or favour with them. The field of the *Tar-*
quins lying between the City and *Tyber*, was consecrated unto *Mars*, and after called *Campus Mar-*
tii. i.e. *Mars* field. It hapned (as men say) that there was at that time standing corn there, now
 ripe and ready for the harvest: which crop of ground, because they made some scruple of consci- N
 ence otherwise to consume, therefore it was cut down, corn, straw, stubble and all, and a great
 number of people sent thither at once to carry it away in baskets and skeps, and pour it down
 the *Tyber*, running then but shallow, as it useth to do in the midst and heat of Summer. And so
 the heaps of corn, together with the mud stuck still and rested in the ebbe places and foords of the
 river: and by little and little encreased with one thing or other that came down the stream, untill
 it became an Island. Afterwards, I suppose, there were dams and piles made thereunto, and by mans
 hand it grew so high, and so firm a piece of ground, that it was able to bear even Temples and
 stately Galleries that stood thereupon.

The conspira-
cy detected.

Campus Martii.
i.e.

When the Kings goods were thus spoiled, rifled, and made away, the traitors were condemned
 and put to death. Which suffering of theirs was the more notable, for that the father by his place O
 & vertue of his office was bound and charged to see execution done upon his own own children:
 and he who otherwise ought not to have been a spectator and looker on, even he (such was his
 fortune) was forced of necessity to be the principall actor in this tragicall execution. Then stood
 these most noble youths bound fast to a stake. But among all, the Consul his children, turned up-
 on them the eyes of every man, from all the rest, as unknown persons and of no reputation:
 all men pitied them, not so much for being punished, as for deserving by their fact to be
 punished:

A punished: That they could find in their hearts and once let enter into their thought, to betray into the hands of *Tarquinius*, sometimes a proud Prince, and then a cruell enemy, and banished rebell, their native countrey, lately and in that very year set free from captivity: their naturall father who set it free: the Consulship sprung first out of the family of the *Juni*: the Nobles, the Commons, and in one word, all things whatsoever in *Rome* belonging either to God or man. Then came the Consuls forth, took their places and set them down on the tribunall seat. The Licitors were sent to do their office, who first stripped them naked and scourged them with rods, and then with an axe chopt off their heads. All which time, the father himself, his countenance and visage was a wonderfull spectacle to behold; considering how a fathers affection could hold out and abide the performance of this publike and exemplary punishment. When the offenders had once suffered, to the end there might be shewed noble examples on both sides, for to debar wickedness, and stop the course of sin: the informer and revealer of treason, had for his reward a peece of money out of the common treasury, obtained his freedom, and was enfranchised a Citizen of *Rome*. This was the first man, as they say that was made free by the rod *Vindicta*: for that the party his name was *Vindictus*, from whence, as some think, the word *Vindicta* was derived: after whom, this was observed, That whosoever in that sort got their freedom, were suppoled withall ended.

The traitors executed,

Brutus putteth to death his own children.

When tidings hereof came to *Tarquinius*, with the manner of proceeding in every circumstance, he not only grieved that so great hope of his was frustrate and come to nothing, but also was set on fire with hatred and indignation: and seeing the way shut up and stopped against all deceitfull courses, he thought there was no dealing now but by meer force and open war. Whereupon he went up and down, solicited and made humble suit unto the Cities of *Etruria*, and besought the *Veientians* especially, and the *Tarquinians*, that they would not suffer him, being come of their own bloud, a banished man, forlorn, poor, and needy, dispossessed so lately of so goodly a Realm and Kingdom, together with his children (forward young men) to perish even before their eyes. "Alledging that others had been sent for and set out of forraign parts unto *Rome* for to be Kings: and he their Liege King, and such an one as advanced still the Roman Empire by martiall prowesse, was by the wicked conspiracy of his nearest kinsfolk and friends deposed from his imperiall dignity and expelled: and they now, because there was no one man thought sufficient and worthy to raize, had parted between them the Kingdom, and given among the people his goods as a spoil: that there might not be any one who had not his finger, and whole hand in so foule a fact. Saying moreover, that his mind and intention was, to seek means to return into his own countrey, to recover his Crown, yea, and to persecute, and to be revenged of those unthankfull subjects: and therefore prayed them, to set to their helping hand, and yield him assistance: and not to sit down with so many old wrongs of their own part received, namely their legions so often hewen in pieces, their lands and livings taken from them: but to go with him for revenge. These suggestions moved the *Veientians*, and every man for himself muttered and gave out in threatening wise, that now at length, having a Roman Captain especially to be their Leader, they were to do away the foul dishonours sustained, and win again what by former war they had lost. As for the *Tarquinians*, they were soon incited in regard of name and consanguinity, and thought it was a godly matter and an honour unto them, to have of their own name and house to be Kings of *Rome*. Thus two armies of two Cities banded with *Tarquin*, for to restore him to his Kingdom again, and to make sharp war upon the Romans: who being entred the Territory of *Rome*, were met with by the Roman Consuls. The footmen marched under the conduct of *Valerius*, marshalled in a battallion four square. *Brutus* with the horse went before to espy and discover the coasts: In like sort the men of arms of the enemies rode formost under the leading of *Aruns Tarquinius* the Kings son, and the King himself in person followed with the Legions. *Aruns* espying by the Licitors, the Consul afar off, and as he approached nearer, knowing *Brutus* more certainly by his face, all inflamed with ire: "This is the Gallant (quoth he) this is he, that hath driven and banished us out of our native Countrey. Lo, how bravely he setteth forward, all gorgeously to be seen and dight in our royall ensigns and ornaments. Now help ye gods that are revengers of wrongs done to Kings: and therewithall set spurs to his horse, and ran amain with full career upon the Consul his own person, intending certainly to speed him. *Brutus* perceived likewise that he made directly toward him: (Now was it a noble and worthy fight for the Captains themselves to begin the battell.) Whereupon with resolute courage he encountreth him. And so fiercely they charged one another, and so deadly were they bent, that neither of them had regard to save himself, so he might wound and mischief his enemy, but were both with a counterpunch that quite pierced their targets run into the sides, and thrust through, and so having one anothers lance sticking in their bodies, fell from their horses ready to dye. Herewith began on both sides the other horsemen to fight, and within a while the footmen also seconded them. And so equally were they matched, and the battell so indifferently fought, that it was very doubtfull whether side had the better. For on both parts the right wings got the upper hand, and down went the left. The *Veientians*, unto whom it was no news to be overcome of Romans, were discomfited and put to flight. But their new enemies the *Tarquinians*, not only held their own and stood to it, but also from their battell put back, and forced the Romans to give ground, and gave them the repulse. After this conflict there

* i.e. The men of *Tarquinius*, The speech of *Tarquinius Superbus* to the *Tuscanis*.

The *Veientians* defeated by the Romans.

fell such a fear and terrour upon *Tarquinius*, and the *Tuscans*, that both Armies as well of the *Vei-* *entians* as the *Tarquinius*, gave over their enterprise with doing just nothing, and by night dislodged and departed every man to his own home. This battell was more notable by reason of certain miracles that men report: namely, that in the dead time of the night next following, when all were at rest, there was heard a mighty voice of *Sylvanus* (as men thought) out of the wood *Ar-fia* to utter these words, [That there was slaine on the *Tuscans* part more by one, and that the *Romans* won the field.] Thus verily and no otherwise departed they asunder: the *Romans* as winners, and the *Tuscans* as having the worse. For the next morrow, so soon as it was day, and that none of the enemies appeared in sight, *P. Valerius* the Consul gathered up the spoil together, and returned from thence with triumph to *Rome*, and performed the funerals of his brother Consul, in all sumptuous manner and solemn pomp, as possibly at that time he could devise. But, that which did him the greatest honour after his death, was the publike sorrow and heaviness of the City, in this respect above all singular and memorable, for that the dames and Matrons of *Rome* mourned a whole year for him, as for their own father, in that he had been so sharp a revenger of violence done to the chastity of women.

After this, the Consul that survived, presently upon the great liking and favour that he was in (see how wavering and unconstant the minds are of the common people) was not only envied, but also suspected, yea, and charged with an odious and horrible crime. The voice went and bruited it was abroad, that he aspired to the Crown. And why? because, forsooth, he had not chosen unto him a new fellow Consul in the room of *Brutus*: and began to build aloft on the top of *Velia*, K where (say they) in an high place and strongly scituate he may make a Castle impregnable. These things commonly spoken and credited too, vexed much, and mightily grieved the Consul in his very soule, as a great indignity offered unto him. Whereupon he assembled the people together, & causing the rods to be held downwards to the ground, went up into the pulpit to make an Oration unto them. That sight pleased the people passing well, taking it for a plain demonstration, that the marks and ensigns of rule and government submitted unto them, was a very acknowledging and confession that the people was of greater majesty and power than the Consul. Where after silence made, and commandment to hearken and give ear, "the Consul began highly to ex- toll the fortune and good hap of his Colleague deceased, who having with great honour set his "Country free, ended his daies, fighting manfully in defence of the Weal-publike, even in the L "prime, height, and best time of his glory, ere that he became subject unto envy: but he himself "outliving it, remained alive, exposed unto criminous slanders and spitefull malice of men, and "of a deliverer and redeemer of his Countrey was now reputed no better than the *Aquilii* and "Vitellii. And will you never indeed (quoth he) approve the vertuous and honest conversation of "a man so well, but it shall be tainted with unjust suspicion? What? would any man think, that I "being so fierce and fell an enemy of the Kings, should ever feare to incur the jealousie of men, for "seeking to be King? What if I dwelt on the top of *Tarpeie* cliff, even in the very Capitoll, "should I beleeve and think it possible, that my countrymen, neighbours, and Citizens, would "stand in fear of me? and will so small a matter as this turn the ballance of your opinion and "conceit of me? Is your affiance and confidence in me grounded so slightly, and standeth it upon M "so nice terms and ticklish points, that you force more and make greater reckoning of my dwelling place, than of the quality of my person. Well, *P. Valerius* his house shall be no hindrance or "impeachment unto your liberty, O *Quirites*, ye shall not need to feare any harm from *Velia* for me. "I will remove my house not only down into the plain, but even to the valley under the hill foot, "that you may dwell above me, and overlook me (a suspected Citizen.) Let them a gods name "build in *Velia*, who may be better trusted with the Cities freedom than *P. Valerius*. Then was immediatly the timber and all carried down beneath *Velia*, and where as now *Vicus Publicus* is, in the very bottom of the hill, was his house reedified.

After this were laws enacted, which not only acquit the Consul and cleared him of all suspicion of affecting to the Kingdom, but also contrariwise wrought such effect, that he became exceeding popular again, whereupon, he was surnamed *Publicola* or *Poplicola*. And first and formost the Statute passed as touching the appeal unto the people, against the Rulers and Magistrates. Item, concerning the cursing and condemning of him both body and goods, that should intend or plot to usurp Princely dominion over them. These acts the Commons liked well of. Which when he had alone ordained, that all the thanks and praise might be his therefore, then assembled he a generall Session for the substituting of another Consul unto him, in the room of his Colleague departed. So, *Sp. Lucretius* was created Consul: who being an aged man and of great years feeble withall, and not able to execute the office and function of a Consul, within few daies paid nature her debt and died. And in place of *Lucretius* was *M. Horatius Pulvillus* chosen. In some ancient writers I do not find that *Lucretius* was Consul. For immediatly after *Brutus* they make mention of *Horatius*. But I think verily because no act of his made his Consulship memorable, thereupon he was forgotten and left out. Now as yet was not the Temple of *Jupiter* in the Capitoll dedicated. And when *Valerius* and *Horatius* the Consuls, cast lots whether of them twain should perform that duty, the charge fell unto *Horatius*, and *Publicola* went forth to the *Vei-* *entian* war. But the kinsfolk and friends of *Valerius* took it more grievously and impatiently than reason was, that the honor of the dedication of so famous a temple, was given unto *Horatius*.

Devising

P. Valerius the Consul, unto the people.

Valerius surnamed *Publicola* or *Poplicola*.

A Devising therefore by all means possible they could, to impeach it, and seeing they had assailed all in vain and nothing took effect: even at the very instant, whiles the Consul was holding a post of the Temple, and in his solemn prayers to the gods, behold they brought unto him heavy and wo-
full news, that his son was dead, and that he might not lawfully, whiles his household mourned and was polluted with a dead corps, consecrate the Temple. Whether it were that he gave no credit to the messenger, or rather was of heart so stout, neither is it for certain reported, nor easie for a man to divine. But for all these tidings, never a jot was he turned from his purpose, nor said ought else to the messenger, but willed that he should bid the corps to be had forth to buriall, and so holding the pillar or post still said out his prayer, and dedicated the Temple. These were the acts
B done both at home and abroad in the first year after the expulsion of the Kings.

Then were *P. Valerius* the second time, and *T. Lucretius* created Consuls. By this time were the *Tarquins* fled for succour to *Lartius Porfena* King of *Clusium*: "where, by many reasons and re-
monstrances, intermingled with prayer, one while they besought him not to suffer them, deicen-
ded from the Tuscans, of the same bloud and name, to live needy and forlorn in perpetuall exile;
"other while they advised and warned him not to put up without revenge this new fashion of
"expelling Kings, now comming up. Saying, that liberty in it self had sweetness enough: and un-
"less Kings would defend and maintain their Crowns with as great might and main, as Cities
"desired to enjoy freedom, there would be a general confusion, and all things turned upside down:
"neither would there be in States and Common wealths any thing aloft and eminent above o-
C ther endured: whereupon would issue a finall end of Kingly regiment, a thing with God and
"man of all other most excellent and beautiful. *Porfena* supposing it would be an honourable mar-
rager unto the Tuscans, both to have a King at *Rome*, and a King too of the Tuscans line, came with
a cruell army against *Rome*. Never was the Senate at any time afore put in such fear: so mighty in
those daies was the puissance of *Clusium*, and the name of *Porfena* so renowned. Moreover, they
feared not their enemies only, but also their own subjects at home, lest peradventure the Com-
munalty of *Rome* for fear of war should receive the King into the City, and accept of peace, though
it cost them their liberty. During which time the Commons were entertained of the Nobles
with all kindness, and many favours and courtesies they had at their hands. And above all things
order was taken for provision of grain and victuals. And for to purvey store of corn, some were
D sent to the *Volsces*, others to *Cumes*. Over and besides the licence of selling salt, because it was
fold at an exceeding high price, (was taken from private salters, and was undertaken by the City,
with all the cost and charges thereto belonging by them defraied, and salt delivered out to the
people at an easie reckoning.) The Commons were also freed of portage, tollage, and tribute: and
rich men that were able to bear the burthen were assessed at all payments and contributions: the
poor were thought to be charged enough with the bringing up of their children. This kind
dealing and indulgency of the Nobles kept the City afterwards (notwithstanding their hard
distress of siege and famine) in such concord and unity, that the meanest as well as the highest
abhorred and detested the name of KK. And never after was there any one private person, so
popular, so devoted to the people by crafty means and indirect courses tending to their particu-
lar designs, as the whole Senate was at that time, by their good government of the Common-
weal. Now when the enemies approached near at hand, every man made shift for himself, for-
sook the Country and came into the City. Which they fortified with strong guards round about,
so that what with wals and bulwarks on the one side, and what with the *Tiber* on the other side,
it seemed sure enough, and sufficiently defended. The wooden bridge had like to have given the
enemy entrance, had not the valour of one man been, even *Horatius Cocles* (who that day by the
good fortune of the Romans was a fortress unto the City of *Rome*.) He as good hap was, ap-
pointed to ward and keep the bridge, seeing the Janicle by a sudden assault won, and that the ene-
mies ran down so furiously from thence upon him, & contrariwise, the multitude of his own com-
panies for fear, to forgo their weapons, break their arraies, and to be gone: took hold of every man,
F opposed himself against them a-front: and calling God and man to witness, protested, shewed and
declared unto them, that forsaking and abandoning thus their quarter, all their flying was but
in vain: for if they left the bridge on their backs, to yield passage to the enemies, there would
anon be more of them in *Palatium* and the Capitol, than in the Janicle: and therefore he willed
and commanded them, yea, and gave them direction to break down the bridge, by hewing, by
firing, or by what means they possible could: assuring them for his own part, so much as the
body of one only man was able to do, he would receive, and withstand the violence of the ene-
mies. Then advancing he himself unto the first entry or foot of the bridge, and all goodly to
be seen, amongst those that would in no point fight, but shewed their backs, he so bent his sword
and target in their very faces, resolute to encounter with them hand to hand, that even with his
G wonderfull hardiness and incredible courage, he astonished and amazed his enemies. Howbeit two
there were, that for very shame carried still and stood to him, namely, *Sp. Lurgius* and *Tit. Herminius*.
These have men both as well for noble birth as worthy deeds. Assisted for a while with these gallants,
sustained he the first storm of danger and most cumbersome push of the skirmish. But as they
that were hewing down the bridge called upon them to come back, he constrained those two
also to retire and save themselves, whiles some little part of the bridge was left behind free and
uncut. Then casting all about in menacing manner his fiery and terrible eyes towards the Captains
and

*Porfena be-
siegeth Rome.*

This rare for-
titude of *Ho-
ratius Cocles.*

and principals of the Tuscans, one while he challenged them one by one to single fight: other while he rared them all in general, calling them the hirelings and slaves of proud Kings and tyrants; who forgetting and making no reckoning of their own freedom, were come to oppugn and impeach the liberty of others. The enemies stood at a bay and in suspense a good while, looking about them one upon another who should first begin to fight. At last, very shame made the whole troop to stir and come forward, and so setting up a loud cry, from all sides they let flie their javelins at him one man alone and their only enemy. All this while bare he off their shot which light upon his target, and there stuck; and nevertheless with full resolution kept the bridge still, walking his stations, and stalking like a giant. Then assailed they with all their force to bear the man down and to turn him over into the water: but by this time the crack of the bridge broken under him, and the shout withall of the Romans, for joy that they had finished their work, staid with sudden fear their violent assault. Then praised *Cocles* in this wise: "O father *Tiberinus* (quoth he) O sacred river, with devout heart I thee beseech, receive with thy gracious and mercifull stream this hameless, these weapons, and this thy souldier. And so all armed as he was, he leapt into the *Tyber*: and albeit many a dart was flung from aloft and light upon him, yet he swam over and escaped safe to his fellows. A brave adventure for all posterity another day to talk of, rather than to beleieve. For this so great fortitude and resolution of his, the City was thankfull, and in token thereof his Image or Statue was set up in their common Hall, named *Comitium*, and as much ground given him in compass, as he was able with a plough to break up in one day. Amongst these publike favours and honours done unto him, the kind affections and good wills of private persons also well appeared: for in that extreame want and scarcity that then was, every man out of his house store and provision spared from himself and for to give him one thing or another, defrauded his own belly. Thus *Porfena* with the repulse of this his first enterprise, changed his mind from assaulting to besieging of the City: and after he had placed a garrison in the *Janiculum*, he planted himself and encamped on the plain; even upon the banks of the *Tyber*. And sending for boats and craiers from all parts, both to stop the mouth and passage of *Tyber*, that no corn should come in and be conveyed to *Rome*: and also that the souldiers, as they saw occasion, might cross the river, and fetch booties in divers and sundry places at their pleasure, in short space he brought the whole countrey about *Rome* to such streights, that not only other things were brought in, but all their cattell also was faine to be driven out of the fields into the City, and no man durst put any creature forth out of the gates. The Tuscans were permitted to be thus bold, nor so much for fear as for a policy: for *Valerius* the Consul, waiting for some vantage and opportunity, suddenly to set upon many of them at once and at unawares, as they straggled abroad disorderly, making little regard to revenge small matters, kept himself to be revenged of them thoroughly, and to pay them home one time or other. To the end therefore he might draw forth these forragers, and toll them abroad, he gave his men in charge, and proclaimed, That the next day in great companies they should put their cattell forth at the gate *Esquilina*, which was farthest from the enemies: supposing that they would have intelligence thereof, by reason that in this extremity of long siege and pinching hardships, some false knaves and disloyal rogues would flie unto them. And so fell it out indeed: For they had knowledge thereof by a fugitive slave. Whereupon they in far greater multitudes pass over the river, in hope to make a general spoil and havock once for all. Then *Valerius* commanded *T. Herminius* with a sufficient company to lie close in ambush at two miles end, in the *Sabin* high way; and *Sp. Lartius* with a power of lusty tall fellows lightly armed, to keep the gate *Collina*, untill the enemy were gone by and past: with direction, then to put himself between the river and them; and so to intercept them in their return. The other Consul *L. Lucerius* issued forth with certain bands of footmen at the gate *Nevia*: and *Valerius* himself in proper person set forth from mount *Calvus* certain ensignes of his best and choice souldiers. These first were detected and discovered by the enemy. *Herminius* so soon as he heard some noise and din, arose and ran at once out of the ambush, and whilst the Tuscans turned to set upon *Lucerius*, he charged them lustily at their backs: so that on every hand from the gate *Collina* on the one side, and from the gate *Nevia* on the other, the alarm was given. Thus the robbers were slain and cut in pieces in the midst of them: both for that they were overmarched in fight, and also because all the waies were stopped up, that they could not escape by way of flight. And never after durst the Tuscans range about the countrey so audaciously. Howbeit the siege continued nevertheless, with great scarcity of corn, and exceeding death within the City. And *Porfena* had good hope by sitting still, to force it in the end, and be master thereof. At what time one *C. Mutius* a noble young gentleman, who thought it a dishonour and foul shame, that the people of *Rome*, who all the while they were in bondage under Kings, were in no war nor by any enemies beleaguered, should now, being the same still in time of their freedom, be of these Tuscans besieged, whose armies they often had defeated, and supposing that by some hardy and adventurous piece of service this reproachfull indignity was to be revenged, devised at first on his own head to enter into the enemies Camp: but fearing afterwards to go without commission from the Consul, and the knowledge of any other person, lest peradventure he might be taken by the watch of the Romans, and brought back for a traiterous runagate, at such a time especially, when the hard estate of the City was enough to bring him into a deep suspicion, and to be reputed for no better: presented himself before the Council into the Senate house. "I am right willing, and I have a purpose

The valiant
resolution of
C. Mutius.

"my

A "my LL. (quoth he) to pass over the *Tiber*, yes, and if I can, to enter the Camp of the enemies, not in quality of a robber, nor to be retenged for booties from us taken, with doing the semblable. A greater exploit with the favour of the gods, I intend to perform. The Senators gave their consent, and approved his designment. Then with a skein, hidden under his garment he letteth forward. Being thither come into the Camp, he presseth in the thickest throng to stand near the Kings Tribunal. It fortuned that then and there the souldiers were receiving their pay. And the Chancellor, or Kings principal Secretary sate together with the King in like array, much employed and busied in many matters, and the souldiers commonly had recourse unto him. *Mutius* tearing to enquire whether of them two were *Porfenna*, lest by not knowing the King he should be B wray himself who he was, happened (see how fortune in her rashness directed his hand) to kill the Secretary instead of the King: then as he passed through the fearful multitude, making himself way with his bloody blade, there was a preient outcry, and thereat the Kings guard came running in, laid hold of him, and brought him back before the King his royal Throne: and albeit he was now forlorn and without all succour, amidst those threats of frowning fortune, yet as a man more feared (ill than fearing: "I am (quoth he) a Citizen of *Rome*, and *Caius Mutius* is my name, a C "professed enemy, I confess, and an enemy would I have slain: as ready and willing am I to dye myself, as I was to kill another. For, both to do, and to suffer valiantly, is the part of a noble Roman. And it is not I alone that carry this mind and resolution against thee, O King, there is a long train and crue behind of them that seek to win the same praise and honour: make thee ready therefore, and arm thyself, if thou think good, against this danger, and reckon every hour to be in hazard of thy life, and to have always at the very Court gates thy enemies sword. "This kind of war do we youths of *Rome* denounce openly unto thee: no battel, no fight else shalt thou need to fear. With thee alone will we all, one by one have to do, and with none other. Hereat the King incensed with wrath, and for the danger that he stood in affrighted with all, commanded in menacing wise that he should be frist at a stake, unless he would presently untold in plain terms, what secret and dangerous practises he meant and threatened under this convertinuit of words and intricate circumstances. "Lo (quoth he again) how little they set by this rarkas that aspire to great glory and aim at honour, and with that thrust his right hand into the hearth on fire that was made for the sacrifice, and when he endured the roasting thereof, as if he had been feeble, and felt no pain, the King well near astonished at this wonderful, and miraculous sight, start up and leapt from his royal seat, and his officers, commanding the young man to be had from the altar. "Go thy waies (quoth he) in peace, thou that hast done thy own self more mischief, than thou hast attempted against my person. I would say God bless thee, and worthy hadst thou been of honour for thy prowess, if it were in my service, and in the behalf and defence of mine own Countrey: and now by the law of arms I discharge thee freely, and give thee leave to depart without any hurt on auncle offered unto thee. Then *Mutius*, as it were to requite again his curtesie and desert, "Forasmuch as (quoth he) thou settest so great store by valour, and honour, and vertue so highly: to the end it may be seen that thou shalt get at my hands, by curtesie that which by cruel threats thou couldst not: these are therefore to let thee understand that there are three hundred of us noble youths, even the very flower and knighthood of *Rome*, that have conspired and sworn thy death, and in this manner to assaile thee. My lot it was to be the first, the rest as it shall fall out, will be here shortly, and wait every man his turn and time, untill they hit right upon thee. *Mutius*, surnamed afterwards *Scaevola*, by reason of the main of his right hand, was no soother dismissed and gone, but there followed straight after him to *Rome*, Embassadors from *Porfenna*, and so much troubled in spirit was he, both for the danger past of the first assault, (from which nothing preserved him but a small error and oversight of the assailant) and also for the hazard to come, (for look how many conspirators remained behind to give the like attempt, so often stood he in jeopardy of his life) that of his own accord he offered the Roman conditions of peace. And among other capitulations, he stood hard upon this article (but all in vain) of restoring the *Tarquins* into their Kingdom. This point the King urged instantly, rather because he could not well himself deny the *Tarquins* so much, than for that he was ignorant, that the Romans would never yield thereto. But another article he got granted, namely, the restitution of the *Volscians* lands again: and the Romans were driven of necessity to give him hostages; in case they would have the Kings garrison to quit the *Janiculum*. Upon these conditions peace was concluded, and *Porfenna* withdrew his forces from the *Janiculum*, dislodged and departed out of the territory of *Rome*. The Senators bestowed frankly upon *Mutius*, as a testimonial of his valiantness, a piece of ground lying beyond *Tiber*, which was afterwards called, *Mutius praedium*, *Mutius* his meadows. Upon this honourable regard and reward of vertue, women were likewise provoked and encouraged to enterprize worthy acts in the service of the Common-wealth. For a young damoel and Virgin, named *Clotia*, one of those hostages aforesaid, whiles the *Tulcans* were encamped (as it fell out) not far from the banks of *Tiber*, deceiving her keepers and leading a company of other maidens after her, even within the shot and darts of the enemies, took the river, swam over with them, brought them all to *Rome* safe, and delivered them to their parents, kinsfolk and friends. Which being reported to the King, he at the first stormed at it, and was all in a rage, and sent unto *Rome* certain Orators to demand again his hostage *Clotia* by name: as for all the rest,

Mutius his speech to King *Porfenna*.

Porfenna his words to *Mutius*.

Mutius to *Porfenna*.

Mutius surnamed *Scaevola*.

Peace between *Porfenna* and the Romans.

The commendable deed of *Clotia*.

rest, he made no great account of them: but afterwards, upon further consideration he admired H the enterprise, and plainly said, it surpassed far all the adventures of the *Coclæes* and the *Mutii*: so as he pretended that if the maid were not rendred again, he would take the league as broken, and being yielded, he would send her back to her friends, undefiled, and without any abuse or violence done unto her. On both parts was promise faithfully kept: For both the Romans restored the pledge of peace according to covenant, and seen also it was, that vertue was not only secured safe, but also highly regarded and honoured with the *Tuscan King*. For after he had commended and praised the damosel, he promised to give her part of the hostages, chuse whom she would. And when they were all brought forth before her, she made choise (they say) of those young boies that were under 14 years of age: which was not only most besitting her virginity, but also by the accord of the hostages themselves best approved: namely, that that age especially should be delivered out of the enemies hands, which was most subject to injury and taking wrong. The peace thus renewed and confirmed, the Romans rewarded this rare valour in that sex, with as new and strange an honour, for, in remembrance of her, in the top of *Via sacra*, there was erected her statue, [A maiden sitting on horseback.

There remaineth yet even unto our daies amongst other solemn ceremonies, this one custome received from our ancestors, far differing and disagreeing from this peaceable and friendly departure of the *Tuscan King* from before the City of *Rome*, and this it is: In the portsale of goods they use to proclaime first aloud, *The sale of King Porfena his goods*. This ceremoniall custome must needs either begin in time of war, and so was not afterwards forgotten in peace: or else arose from some more gracious and gentle occasion at the first, then this title or outward form pretendeth, of selling goods by way of hostility, and after the manner of enemies. But the likeliest conjecture and nearest to the truth of all those that are given out is this: that *Porfena* dislodging from the *Janicle*, gave freely unto the Romans, (the City at that time being after long siege distressed and in great straits) his rich Camp furnished with victual and provision, conveyed thither out of the plentiful countries of *Heiruria* near adjoining, which goods, for fear there should have been some havock and spoil made thereof in warlike wise, in case the people had been let loose to the rifling of the tents, were after sold, and called *Porfena his goods*: which title signified rather their thankful acceptance of the gift, and remembrance of the giver, than any open and overt sale of the Kings goods, which were not so much as in the Romans power, nor at their disposition.

This *Porfena* having given over the Roman war, because he would not seem to have brought an host of men into those parts, and performed no exploit, sent his son *Aruns* with part of his forces to surprize and assault *Aricia*. At the first this sudden and unexpected enterprize much troubled the *Aricins*, but afterward when they had gotten aid both from the *Latine* nations & also from *Caures*, they took such heart again, that they durst enter into the field & bid the enemy battell. In the beginning of the conflict, the *Tuscan* charged them so hotly, that at the very first encounter, they brake the arraies of the *Aricins*. But the troups of the *Cumans* setting policy against force, went a little aside, made way and gave some ground, and when the enemies had outtripped them, & were rashly and disorderly passed beyond them, they turned their ensignes, and set upon their backs: so were the *Tuscans*, being in the very train of their victory, beset round about, and slain in the midst between. Only a small remnant of them after the loss of their Captain, because they had no other place of refuge nearer, were faine to trudge to *Rome* without weapons and disarmed, like suppliants both in deed and shew. Where they were kindly entertained and bestowed in several lodgings. Some of them when they were cured of their wounds repaired home, reporting the hospitality & courteous usage they have found. Many remained still at *Rome* for love of their hosts and the City, who had a place allotted them to dwell in, which after they called *Thuscæ vias*, the *Tuscan street*.

After this, were *P. Lucretius* and *P. Valerius* the third time created *Coss*. In that year, for a small end, there came Embassadors from *Porfena*, to treat about the restoring of the *Targunt* into their Realm: to whom this answer was returned: that the Senate would send Embassadors to the King himself, whereupon there were immediately addressed unto him in Embassie the most honourable personages of all the Nobility, who in the name of the people of *Rome* delivered this speech: That the chief of their Nobles were sent, rather than any dispatch given by word of mouth unto his Embassadors at *Rome*: not for that they could not have shapen them this short answer. They would no Kings have: But to this end, that for ever after there should be no suit renewed of that matter, nor in so great mutual benefits, and favours passed between them, some discontent arise on either side, whiles he might be thought to request that which was repugnant and prejudiciall to the liberty of *Rome*, and the Romans again, unless they would be executors of their own wrongs, and seek their own mischiefance, to make denial unto him, whom by their good wills they would not seem to deny ought for any thing in the world. But as to the substance in the matter, this was the point: namely, that the people of *Rome* were not under the regiment of a King, but were a free state: and fully settled in this purpose To set open their gates to the enemies, sooner than to Kings: and were all generally of this mind and resolution, That look when the freedom of that City had an end, then should the City come to an end also. To conclude therefore, they were to entreat him, that if he tendered the weal and safety of *Rome*, he would permit them to be free still and at their own liberty.

The

The Roman
Embassadors
to King Por-
fena.

A The King overcome with very modesty, and much abashed in himself, answered thus again: "Since you are so fully minded and stiffly bent (quoth he) neither will I importune you, nor dull your ears with harping still upon this unpleasant string, and do no good: nor bear the *Tarquins* any longer in hand, and deceive them of that hope of aid, which nothing at all is in my power to perform. Let them from henceforth seek some other place of exile, either for peace or war, as they shall think more expedient, that there may be nothing to let and hinder the free course of amity, and alliance between me and you. To these good and kind words he joyned better and more friendly deeds. For all the hostages that remained in his hand he sent home: and the Veientians lands which by the covenants indented at *Janiculum*, were taken away, he restored to the Romans again. Thus *Tarquin* seeing all hope of return cut off, removed unto *Tusculum* to his son in law *Mamilius Octavius*, there to live and spend the rest of his daies in banishment. So there continued faithfull peace between the Romans and King *Porfena*.

Then were Coss. *M. Valerius* and *P. Posthumius*. In that year the Romans fought with the Sabins fortunately, and the Consuls triumphed. But afterwards the Sabins made greater preparation of war: to withstand whom, as also for fear of some sudden danger that might arise from *Tusculum*, from whence they suspected war, although none was openly seen, were *P. Valerius* the fourth time, and *T. Lucretius* the second time created Coss. But among the Sabins there grew some civill discord between that part that would have war, and the contrary that sought peace: which gained the Romans some strength even from thence. For *Appius Claudius* (who afterwards at *Rome* was surnamed *Appius Claudius*) a persuader himself of quietness and repose, being overmatched and not able to make his part good with the adverse faction that minded and stirred troubles, accompanied with a great power of friends and followers, from *Regillum* fled to *Rome*, who were enfranchised Citizens, and possessed of those lands that lye beyond the river * *Anio*. And from thence came the name of the old trade *Appia*: after that other new Citizens were put unto them, those I mean, that descended of that race, and out of the same territory. This *Appius* was admitted into the number of the Senators, and not long after advanced to be one of the chief men and heads of the City. The Coss. went with a strong power into the Sabins land, where after they had first wasted the Country, and after in battell abated the strength and puissance of the enemy: so, as for a long time after they needed not to fear any rebellion from thence, they returned D to *Rome* in triumph.

Appius Claudius.

* At this day *Teveron*.
Tribe *Appia*.

The year following, when *Agrippa Menenius* and *P. Posthumius* were Coss. *P. Valerius* ended his daies in great glory, reputed the only singular man in those times, by all mens judgment, for skill and knowledge as well in martiall feats, as in civill affairs: but so poor was his estate, that he had not wherewith to defray his funerall expences, and was therefore at the Cities charge right honourably enterred. And the Dames of *Rome* mourned for him as they did for *Brutus*. The same year two Colonies of the Latines, *Pometia* and *Cora*, revolted to the Auruncans. The Romans first began to war upon the Auruncans. And after they had discomfited a great host of them, who met with the Consuls as they entred the borders, and fiercely made head against them, then all the Auruncan war was driven and translated wholly to *Pometia*. The slaughter and execution E was no less after the conflict, than during the fight: for whereas there were many more of them slain outright in the place than taken prisoners, those also that were prisoners, they spared not, but murdered every where as they went: neither itaid the furious rage of war therewith, but even the very hostages whom they had received, to the number of 300, they put to the sword. In this year also was a triumph at *Rome*.

The poverty of *P. Valerius*, 4 times Consul.

The Consuls *Opiter Virginius*, and *Sp. Cassius*, that followed the next year, assailed *Pometia*, first by meer force to scale the wals, after with pavoises, mantelets, platforms, and other fabricks, raised against it. Upon whom the Auruncans sallied forth, rather of a cankered and malicious hatred than for any hope or vantage given them of good exploit: the greater part of them furnished better with fire-works than armed with sword and spear, killed and burned all afore them: and having F thus fired their fabricks aforesaid, hurt and slain a great number of their enemies, one of the Consuls also (but his name precisely is not by any author set down) was sore wounded, stricken down from his horse, and well-near slain. Whereupon the Romans returned back to *Rome* thus unhappily defeated, leaving the Consul behind them amongst many that were hurt, like to dye. Soon after, and no longer than whilst their wounds might be healed, and a new supply of souldiers made, they came against *Pometia*, in more furious manner than before, and also with a stronger power. And when by making of new mantelets and other warlike instruments of assault, they were proceeded thus forward that the souldiers were ready to scale and get up the wall, then they within yielded: and notwithstanding the Town was thus surrendered up, yet there was no more mercy shewed unto it, than if it had been forced by assault. The chief and principal Citizens shamefully G lost their heads, the rest of the inhabitants were sold at the spear in open market like slaves, the Town sacked and razed to the ground, yea, and money made of the lands belonging to it. The Consuls for that they had so wreaked their anger, and sharply revenged themselves, more than for any great war they had finished, obtained triumph.

The year following, were *Posthumius Caninius* and *T. Largius* Consuls. In this year, during the games and plaies at *Rome*, certain yonkers of the Sabins, went about in a wanton jollity to carry away and ravish the Curtezans and common Strumpets of the City. Whereupon the people ran together

Dictator first
created at
Rome.

together, and made a riot, grew to words, and from words to brawls, inso much, as they went together by the ears, and made a fray in manner of a battell: upon which small occasion there was a rebellion like to ensue. Over and besides the fear of the Latines war, (for to encrease their troubles the more) news came, and it was certainly known, that by the soliciting and practise of *Ottavius Mamilius*, there were already thirty nations banded together against the Romans. The City thus being perplexed for the event and expectation of these so great occurrences, there arose the first occasion and mention made of creating a Dictator. But neither in what year, nor in what Consuls time (for that it can hardly be beleaved, that they should be of the *Tarquins* faction, and yet that also is reported) nor yet who was first created Dictator, is it certainly known: Howbeit, in the most ancient writers I find that *T. Larginus* was created the first Dictator, and *Cneus Cassius* General of the horsemen: and Consular men (i.e. such as had been Consuls afore) they were that elected him: for so the law provided that was enacted, concerning the creation of a Dictator. And this induceth me the rather to beleieve, that *Larginus* an ancient man, and one who had been Consul before, was appointed as a Controller and Master over the Consuls, and not *M. Valerius* the son of *Marcus*, and grandson of *Volesus*, who as yet had not attained to the Consuls dignity. For if these Consular men afore said had been minded to have chosen a Dictator out of that house above all other, surely they would have made choice rather of his father *M. Valerius*, a noble personage, of approved prowess and valour, and one besides that had been Consul. When the Dictator was once chosen at Rome, and the axes were seen born before him, the Commoners stood in great awe, and took better regard to be obedient at every beck and command. For neither could they make account of any help (as they might under the Consuls, who were both in commission alike, and of equall authority, when they had recourse from the one to the other) nor yet appeal unto the people: no nor look for succour at all, but in their own double diligence and care of obedience. The Sabins likewise were afraid of the Dictator thus created at Rome: and so much the more, because they were verily perswaded he was made of purpose for them; and thereupon, they sent Embassadors to treat for peace, who beseeching the Dictator and the Senate to pardon so small a fault, and being but a trick of youth, received this answer: That youth indeed might well be pardoned, but such old babes as they might not, who never rested to sow debate, and minister occasion of one war after another. Howbeit, they sat in consultation about a peace, and obtained it had been, if the Sabins could have found in their hearts and condescended to make good and repay the expences that the Romans had disbursed about the war: for that was the thing demanded at their hands. So, defiance was sent and war proclaimed. And yet for that year all was quiet, as it were in time of a secret truce, during the Consulship of *Servius Sulpitius*, and *M. Manlius Tullus*, in whose year there was nothing done worthy of remembrance.

* Castel Jubileo
* Palumbara
vel Monti Rotundo.
* Pilastrina,
Ortel.
Tusculum.

BEGIN

The famous
battell at the
Lake Regillus.

After them were *T. Eburinus*, and *C. Vetustus*. In their time * *Fidene* was besieged, * *Crustumeria* won, and *Præneste* revolted from the Latines unto the Romans. And the Latine war, which had been a breeding and budding for certain years, was no longer delaid, but brake forth. *A. Posthumus* the Dictator and *T. Eburinus* General of the Cavalry, with great power of foot and horie, set forward and advanced as far as the Lake *Regillus*, in the Territory of *Tusculum* and there encountered the Army of the enemies in their march. And because they heard say that the *Tarquins* were in the host of the Latines, they could not for anger forbear any longer, but presently fell to it, and began battell. This field was fought right fiercely, and cost more bloudshed a good deal, than others usually before: because the Generals and chief Commanders were there present, not only to give direction by their counsel and advice, but also in person themselves hazarded their own bodies, and fought bravely in the medley. And not one almost of the principall leaders escaped out of the skirmish, either of one side or of the other, safe and sound, save only the Roman Dictator. For as *Posthumus* was encouraging his men, and setting them in array in the vanguard, *Tarquinius Superbus* (albeit he was now very aged and unweildy, and not able to bestir himself) set spurs to his horse, and ran full butt against him. But having caught a thrust from aside, was rescued by his men that came about him, and retired to a place of safety. And in the other wing, *Eburinus* General of the horsemen, set upon *Ott. Mamilius*: but he, the Captain I mean of the *Tusculans*, was well ware of him, and espied him coming, and ran his horse with full career likewise upon him, and so desperately they bear their Lances one against the other, that *Eburinus* was run quite through the arm, and *Mamilius* wounded in the breast, whom the Latines succoured and received into the middle ward. As for *Eburinus* not able any longer to bear his staff, with his arm sore hurt, withdrew himself out of the battell. The Leader of the Latines nothing dismayed for all his hurt, maintained fight still: and seeing his souldiers somewhat distressed, he sendeth for the Regiment of the Roman exuls, that were under the leading of *L. Tarquinius* his son: who sticking more courageously unto it, for anger that their goods were spoiled, and they driven out of their own country, renewed the combat afresh for awhile. And as the Romans from that quarter began to reule and give ground, *M. Valerius*, the brother of *Publicola*, espying young *Tarquinius* vaunting himself gloriously in the fore-front of the exuls, inflamed also with a desire of domesticall glory of his house: that the same family which had the praise of expelling the Kings, might likewise win the honour of killing them, spurred his horse, and with deadly spear ran against *Tarquinius*, who giving way to his mortall enemy, retired back to his own Regiment. But *Valerius* by this time was disbanded from his company, and rashly ridden into the battell of the exiles, and

A and there a common souldier hapned to charge upon him a flank, and run him through. The horse staid not a jot for all the rider was wounded, and so the Roman Knight ready to die, fell to the ground with his armour upon his body, and paid nature her debt. *Posthumus* the Dictator, after he perceived so valiant a man slain, and the banished man advancing lustily forward with full trot, and his own souldiers distressed, and at point to turn their backs, gave expresse commandement unto his own band, which he had about him of chosen tall men for to guard his person, that as many of their fellows as they saw flie, they should take them for enemies, and kill them in the place. Thus by reason of a counter-fear the Romans made head again and renewed the battell. Then began the Dictators cohort to fight, and coming with fresh bodies and couragious stomacks, charged upon the wearied ekiles, and killed them on every side. Whereupon began another combate also between the Colonels and Captains of quality and mark. The Generall of the Latines seeing the battalion of the banished well near environed round by the Roman Dictator, speedily taketh with him in to the forefront of the battell certain squadrons of those that were appointed in the rear-guard to succour and aid: whom *T. Herminius*, a lieutenant, espied to come marching in good order, and knowing amongst them *Mamilius* by his gorgeous harness, and goodly coat-armour, with far greater violence than the Generall of the horsemen a little before encountered the Colonell of his enemies so hotly, that both he ran *Mamilius* through his sides, and slue him outright, and also whilst he was disarming and rifling his body, he was wounded himself with a short javelin, and being brought back with victory into the Camp, and at first dressing yeilded to nature and died. Then rode the Dictator apace to the horsemen, and earnestly cried unto them, that seeing the footmen were toiled out and wearied, they would alight from their horses, and take the matter into their hands. The horsemen soon obeyed, leapt from horseback, and set forward, as if they had flown, to the forefront, where they exposed their targets in defence of them that fought before the ensigns. Whereat presently the Infantry began again to take heart, seeing the principall men of arms, and noble young Gentlemen in the like kind of service, exposed to the same danger, and ready to take part with them. Then at the last were the Latines put back, and their whole battell began to shrink. The Gentlemen had their horses brought to them again, and they mounted on horseback to pursue their enemies. The footmen likewise followed after. There the Dictator omitting no help of God and man, vowed, as men say, a Temple to *Castor*, and openly promised and propoed rewards to that souldier that made either first or second entry into the enemies Camp. Whereupon they bestirred themselves so courageously, that the Romans at one brunt both vanquished their enemies, and also were possessed of their tents. This was the noble field fought at the Lake *Regillus*. The Dictator and the Generall of horsemen returned into the City with triumph. For three years after, there was neither assured peace between them, nor yet professed war.

Consuls were *Q. Cloelius*, and *T. Lartius*. After them *A. Sempronius*, and *M. Minucius*. Whiles these two were Consuls, the Temple to *Saturn* was dedicated, and the feast called *Saturnalia* instituted. After them succeeded *A. Posthumus*, and *T. Virginus*. And in this year and not before, I find in some authors, that the said battell was stricken near the Lake *Regillus*, and that *A. Posthumus* suspecting the fidelity of his brother Consul gave over his place, and so was made Dictator. The account of times doth so vary and is so intricate and confused, whiles writers diversly set down the chief Magistrates, that in so great antiquity, not of acts only, but also of authors, a man cannot orderly and directly distinguish, according to some writers, who were Consuls, and what was done in every year.

Afterwards were *Ap. Claudius*, and *P. Servilius* created Consuls. This year was famous for the news of *Tarquin* his death. He died at *Cumes*, to which place after the defeature of the Latines power he went to *Aristodemus* the Tyrant. At which tidings the hearts of the Nobles were well lightened the Commons also began to look up. But the joy in the Nobility was above measure too excessive and licentious. For why? the great men began now to wrong and wring the community, whom untill that day they had favoured and pleased to their full power. In the same year the

F Colony *Signia*, which King *Tarquinus* had erected, was now stored again the second time, and the number supplied with new inhabitants. And the tribes or wards at *Rome* were now made up 21. The temple of *Mercury* was dedicated in the * Ides of *May*. With the Nation of the Volscians in the time of the Latine war, neither was there peace, nor war: for both the Volscians had levied a power for aid to send unto the Latines, if the Roman Dictator had not made good speed: and also the Roman Dictator hastned the more for fear he should in one battell have to deal with Latines and Volscians both at once. Upon this quarrell, the Consuls led forth their Legions into the Volscians Country. The Volscians fearing no revenge for their designment (that was intended only, and never came in action) were much troubled with this sudden and unlooked for occurrence. Not minding therefore to make resistance, and forgetfull of warlike prowes, they delivered

G 300 of their Noblemens children out of *Cora* and *Pometia* for hostages. Whereupon the Roman Legions from thence without any fight were withdrawn. But not long after the Volscians being somewhat eased and delivered of their fear, came again to their old biace & returned to their wonted nature. and secretly under-hand made preparation anew for war, joynung with them as confederates in this quarrel the Hernikes. They send also their Embassadors all about to move and solcite *Latium*. But the Latines, for their late overthrow at the Lake *Regillus*, took such a spleen and harred against him whosoever, that should once put into their heads and perswade them to take

Temple of Saturn dedicated, Saturnalia instituted,

Tarquinus Superbus dieth.

Wards 21. * 15 of May.

Compagnie de Rome, arms,

arms, that they could not forbear the very Embassadors, but offer them abuse. They apprehended H therefore the Volscians, conveyed them to *Rome*, and delivered them to the Consuls: where they revealed and gave intelligence, that the Volscians and Hernicks were out in arms, ready to war upon the Romans. Which being reported unto the Senators, they were so well pleased and contented therewith, that they set at liberty 6000 Latines, prisoners, and sent them home. And concerning a league to be concluded with them, which was like before to have been denied for ever, they referred the consultation thereof, unto the new Magistrates that should next enter. And in good sooth, pleasant & glad were the Latines then, for that they had done, and the authors of peace were magnified and had in great reputation. They send moreover a Crown of gold into the Capitoll, for a present to *Jupiter*. With these Embassadors and the present, those prisoners which before were I set free, came in greater number. Who repaired straight waies to every man his house, where they had been prisoners, yielding them great thanks for their kind usage and friendly entertainment in time of their calamities and miseries, and promised therewith the like countesse and mutuall hospitality. Never were the Latines at any time afore, both publikely and privately, united more neerly to the Roman Empire.

But as the Volscian war was now at hand, so the City was at discord among themselves. The Senators and Commons hated one another at the heart, and all this arose by occasion especially of certain persons that were indebted, and in danger of their creditors: who muttered and gave out in murmuring wise, how that abroad they adventured themselves and fought for the liberty and dominion of the City, and at home by their own neighbours they were held prisoners and K oppressed: saying that the freedom of the Commons was more safe in time of war, than of peace, among the enemies rather than their own fellow Citizens. This inward grudge and heart-burning, which of itself still kindled more and more, the notable calamity of one man above all others, set on a light fire. A certain aged person chanced to break prison, and with the arms, badges, and ornaments of all his ancestors, ran into the market place. His apparrell was all to tattered, foule, and loathsome, but the habit or plight of his body much more filthy: so pale, so wan, so lean withall, as if he had been over-pined and starved, his long side beard and hair of his head so overgrown, that they made his visage and countenance wild and gasty. Howbeit, for all he was thus disfigured by this deformity, he was a man well known, and as some said, he had done good service in the wars, had been a chief Centurion, and had the charge and leading of bands in the I field: and the common people, as pitying his estate, and to move compassion, recounted many worthy exploits of his, to his great credit and singular commendation. Himself likewise shewed the scars of wounds, which in his breast and fore-part of his body in divers places he had received that might testifie his valiant service. The people flocking about him as it were in a common assembly to hear a solemn Oration, enquired of him, how he came to be in that taking, so poor, so disfigured and deformed? He answered, that whiles he served in the Sabine war, he by reason of the continuall foraging, and waiting of the Territory, not only lost the revenews and encrease of his lands, but also his Mannor-house was burnt, all his goods ransacked and spoiled, his cattell driven away: and when a levy and tribute was exacted in a time when he ill might, he was driven to take up money and run in debt: which growing more and more by payment of in- M terest, first he was constrained to sell his land, that his father and grandfather had left him, and to turn himself out of all, by making a clean hand of the rest of his goods: untill at length his body also began to winder away in a consumption. Complaining moreover how by his creditor he was not only brought into bondage and thralldom, but also imprisoned, and whipped, and tormented in most cruell and butcherlike manner. With that he shewed before them all, his back lately scourged, with the fresh wales of the lashes newly given him. At the sight and hearing hereof, there arose a great outcry of the people, so that anon the uprore kept not within the compass of the market place, but spread over all the City: in such sort, that as well they that were bound, as they that were loose, came forth from all parts into the open streets, calling the *Quirites* and the people pitifully to help. In no corner wanted any companions to take part willingly in this seditious rout, and N every where in all the streets they run by companies into the common place. Those Senators who chanced to be abroad, at their no small perill light upon this multitude: and had not the Consuls *P. Servilius*, and *App. Claudius*, made the better speed, and come upon them to appease the commotion, there would have been some knocks, for hardly could they have held their hands. At whose comming the multitude turned unto them, shewing their irons and all their other shameful misusage and misery, saying, This is all the good we have gotten for our warfare: upbraiding every man the services they had performed, some in one place, some in another, requiring them in threatening wise, rather than by way of supplication, to call the Senate together, and they the while stood about the *Curia*, as if they would be judges and moderators of their publike counsell. Very few of the Senators, such only as by chance came that way, could be brought to repair to the Consuls: as for the rest, they were afraid not only to come into the Councill-house, but also to venture abroad into the market place, so that by reason of their small assembly, there could be nothing done nor determined. Then thought the people indeed they were mocked and dallied withall, and driven off with delays, surmising, that the Senators which were away, absented themselves not by chance, nor for fear, but only to hinder the proceeding of their cause: and that the Consuls themselves did dissemble and shrink, and without all question made

A dangerous
sedition in
Rome.

A made but a scorn and game at their miseries. This broil so increased, that hardly could the reverence and Majesty of the Consuls restrain the peoples rage. But the Senators standing in doubtful terms, whether to tarry behind or to come forward would be more dangerous, at length they resolved to repair into the Senate, and being now at last a full and sufficient house gathered, neither the Lords there assembled, no nor yet the Consuls, could well agree amongst themselves what to do in this case. *Appius* a man of a hot spirit, was of opinion to order the matter by Consular authority and commandment, saying, That if one or two of them were laid hold on, the rest would be quiet. But *Servilius* more inclined to mild and gentle remedies, thought it a more safe and easy course too, rather to bend than to break their angry and fell stomachs. But amidst these troubles there hapned a greater and more fearful occurrence: For certain *Latins* on horseback rode in post, and brought news in hasty and tumultuous manner, that the *Volscians* were coming with a mighty and cruel army against the City to assault the same. Which news being heard (see how discord had of one City made twain) wrought far other effect in the Nobles, than in the Commons. The commons leapt for joy, and said the gods were now come down from Heaven to be revenged of the Senators pride, and encouraged one another not to take prestimony, or to enter their names in the Muster-masters book, saying that they had rather dye at once with all, than perish alone and none but they: "Let the Nobles (quoth they) serve as souldiers; let them take weapon in hand, and abide the brunts and hazards of war, who receive the profits, the prizes and rewards thereof. But contrary-wile the Senate pensive and surcharged with this twofold fear, as well from citizen as enemy, beought the Consul *Servilius* (a man by nature more affable and popular) That he would provide for the safety of the Common-wealth, beset as it were round with so fearful perils. Then the Consul dismissed the Senate, and came forth into the assembly of the people, where he shewed what care the LL. of the Senate had for the good of the commons: "But whiles they were (quoth he) busy in consultation for the greatest part (I confess) of the City, and yet in truth no more but a part, it fell out so in the mean while, that of necessity they must see to the whole body of the Common-wealth, whereof they stand in exceeding fear. Seeing therefore the enemies were almost hard at the gates, they could not possibly do or intend any thing before war. Neither (if there should be any respite and leisure granted) were it either for the commons credit and honesty, nor to fight for their Country, unless they had their pay before hand; nor well becoming the Nobles and for their reputation, to look unto and take order hastily, to redress the miseries and calamities of their citizens upon fear, rather than afterwards with good deliberation, for love and of willing mind. This speech of his he confirmed with an edict, by vertue whereof, he gave straight commandment: *In primis*, that no man should keep bound or in prison, any citizen of *Rome*, but that he might be enrolled before the Consuls. *Item*, that no person should hold in possession, or sell the goods of any souldier, so long as he abode in the camp, nor arrest his children or childrens children. This edict being once published and proclaimed, not only the enthralled debtors there present, were immediately by name enrolled, but also from all parts of the City, they leapt quickly out of their houses, seeing that now their creditors had no right nor power to detain and arrest them, and ran into the market place for to take a military oath of allegiance, to be true souldiers and faithful to the State. A number there was of these: neither was there any that more manfully behaved and quit themselves or took more pains in the *Volscian* war. Then the Consul led forth his power against the enemies, and within a litle of them incamped himself. The night following, the *Volscians* presuming upon the variance and discord of the Romans, assailed the tents, if haply in the night season any of them might have been wrought to abandon the camp and come to them, or to practise any treason. But the Sentinels descried them, and upon all alarm given, the whole army arose, and every man made haft to his weapons. Thus came that enterprize of the *Volscians* to nothing. The rest of the night both parts rested, and were quiet. On the morrow by break of day, the *Volscians* having filled up the trench, assailed the bulwarks and rampiers. And by that time they had on every side plucked up the fences, pallisadoes, and other fortifications, the Consul, who for all he was called unto instantly on every hand, but of the debtors aforesaid especially above the rest, to give the signal, and to sound the battel, made some stay on purpose to try the courage of his men: and seeing well now their forwardness and their stomachs, at length gave them a token to rush forth, and so letteth them loose, as eager to fight as might be. So at the very first onset the enemies were presently discomfited and put to flight: the footmen followed hard upon them in chase, and as they could reach, wounded them behind on their backs, and killed them: the horsemen likewise pursued them even to their pavillions, who still feared exceedingly what might become of them: and within a while their very camp also, environed about with the legions, and abandoned of the *Volscians* themselves for fear, were forced and rifled. The next day following, the legions marched to *Suessa Pometia*, for thither the enemies were fled: and within few dayes the Town was won, and put to the sack, and the spoil and pillage given away: whereby the needy souldiers were somewhat refreshed. The Consul in great glory and honour brought back his victorious army to *Rome*. In his way homeward the Ambassadors of the *Ætrurian Volscians* distrusting their own State, upon the losse of *Pometia*, came unto him. To whom after consultation had with the Senate, and a decree passed, peace was granted: but they were fined to part with their Lands. Immediately upon this, the *Sabins* also put the

Divers opinions in the Senate house.

Romans in a fright, and in every deed it might be called a tumult, rather than a war. For word was brought in the night season, that an army of the Sabins were come in a rode, as far as the river *Anio*, robbing, spoiling, and burning all the villages and hamlets as they went. Forthwith was sent thither the whole power of horses under the conduct of *A. Posthumius*, who in the Latin war had been Dictator. After him followed the Consul *Servilius* with a chosen regiment of footmen. Most of the enemies as they ranged abroad a foraging in scattering wise, were by the horsemen surprized and inclosed. And when the Infantry besides marched against the Sabins legion, they were not able to resist: for being tired out, partly with their long journey, and partly with plundering all night long, and many of them having overcharged themselves with meat and wine within the villages, had hardly strength enough to run away. Thus the Sabin war in one night was heard of and ended. The day following, when as now the Romans were in good hope, that they had peace on every side, behold the *Auruncan* Embassadors came into the Senate, proclaiming war, unless they would forgo the Volscian lands, and restore them to their rightful owners. And even at one time with the Embassadors was the army also of the Auruncans abroad, and had taken the field. The news whereof, and namely, that they were now in sight not far from *Aricia*, raised up the Romans in so great a broil and hurlyburly, that the Senators could neither be consulted with, and deliver their opinions in order, nor yet give a peaceable answer to those that came as it were with weapon in hand, being thus forced to take arms themselves. So to *Aricia* directly in warlike manner they march, and not far from thence they joined battle with the Auruncans. And in one day that war had also an end.

Thus when the Roman souldiers had gotten victory within so few days in so many places, and had now defeated the Auruncans, they looked for the promise of the Consul, and the faithful performance of it by the Senate. At what time *Appius* both upon a proud stomach, and arrogant spirit of his own by nature, and also to discredit and disdain the word of his fellow Consul, in all actions of debt proceeded, and gave judgement with rigor against the debtors. Whereupon, both they that had been before imprisoned, were delivered again into their creditors hands, and other also became prisoners anew. Whereat when as a souldier, whose case it was thus hardly to be dealt withal, called upon the Consul his fellow for help, they ran all at once to *Servilius*, at his hands they claimed a promise: every one upbraided and reproached him with their service in war, with their scars there gotten, requiring that he would propose the matter again unto the Senate, and as a Consul, succour and protect his Citizens; or like a General, maintain his souldiers. These matters no doubt, moved the Consul: but so stood the case that he could neither will nor chuse, but dissemble, deal double, and temporize with them: so fully bent, and wholly wedded to the other part, was not only his colleague, but also the whole faction of the Nobility. Thus by bearing himself as a Neuter, and going as they say, between the bark and the tree, he neither avoided the hatred of the Commons, nor yet won favour with the Nobles: whiles the Nobles took him for a soft and base minded Consul, seeking to please all parties, and the Commons for as crafty and false dissembler: insomuch as within a short time it appeared he was as much hated of the people as *Appius*. For, the Consuls hapned on a time to strive, whether of them twain should dedicate the Temple of *Mercury*. The Senate put over the deciding of this matter from themselves unto the people: and decreed withal, that to whether of them the dedication of the Temple was by the peoples election granted, he should over and besides have the charge to purvey corn and victuals, he should erect and institute a Colledge or fellowship of Merchants, and he in stead of the high Priest, should undertake the solemn feasts or festival days. Then the people gave the dedication of the Temple to *M. Leclorius*, a principal Centurion of the vanguard: which as it easily appeared, was done not so much to grace the man, as who had an higher office bestowed upon him, then was fit for one of his degree and calling; as to disgrace and deface the Consuls. Hereat, one of the Consuls, yea, and the *Patricii* stormed and fumed exceedingly against the Commons. But the Commons took heart unto them more and more, and began to proceed far otherwise, and to take another course then they purposed at the beginning: for despairing of the Consuls and Senats help, when they saw a debtor sued and brought to the bar, they would run flocking from all parts together, so that the Consuls sentence and decree could not be heard for the noise and clamour. And decree or judge what he would, no man would obey. And so violently they went to work, that in presence of the Consul, the creditors were singled out, evil entreated, and misused of the Commons, being many together. So the whole fear and hazzard of the main chance, even of liberty it selfe, was now altogether translated from the debtors to the creditors. In the very neck of these troubles, there arose a fear of the Sabin war, and when it was determined, there should be a muster of souldiers, no man would answer to his name and be enrolled. All this while *Appius* raged and took on, "inveying bitterly against the nicety and popularity of his brother Consul, who with his keeping silence for displeasing the people: by his soft carriage of himself, had betrayed the Weal-publick, and over and besides that, he had not ministered justice for the loane of money, nor dealt according to law in that behalf, he had brought the matter so to pass that he could take no musters by vertue of the decree of the Senate. Howbeit (saith he) the Common-wealth is not wholly forsaken and forlorne, nor yet the Consular authority utterly cast down and trodden under foot: for he would himself alone, if there were no more but he, defend and maintain both his own place, and the Senators dignity. When as the multitude

*Appius his in-
vective a-
gainst his fel-
low Consul.*

A multitude therefore stood thus malapertly, as their daily manner was, about the bar, he commanded one principal Captain, of sedition to be attached and had away: and as he was haled to prison by the Sergeants and Lictors, he appealed. Neither would the Consul have given place to the appeal (for all he knew the people how they were bent; and what their doom would be) had not his obstinate stiffness with much ado been overwayed more through the discreet advice & authority of the chief nobles & Lords of the Senate, than by the clamorous noise & menaces of the multitude: so resolute was he, and his heart so courageous, to undergo their ill will and heavy displeasure. Thus grew the mischief more & more daily, testified not with open mouth & broad speeches only, but also (which was more pernicious and dangerous) by conventicles, secret meetings, and contentions. At length these Coss, so odious unto the Commons, went out of their office, to wit, *Appius* a man wonderous well affected of the Nobles, *Servilius* liked neither of them nor the Commons. After whom *A. Virginus*, and *T. Vetusius* entered their Consulship. But then the Commons not knowing what manner of Consuls they should have, began to assemble together by night, some in *Esquilie*, others in the *Aventine*: to the end, they might not be unprovided and to seek upon a sudden, what to do in the common place, nor manage their business hand over head, and at a venture. Which the Consuls supposing (as it was indeed) a perilous example, and of ill consequence, propounded the matter before the Senators: but when they had proposed it, they could not orderly ask their advice what was to be done: they took so on, and kept such outcry and clamour at it, on all hands fretting and fuming, that the Consuls should lay upon the Senate the burden and heavy load of that, which properly they by virtue of their authority and office should execute and perform themselves: and surely, if there were any Magistrates in the City (say they) there would not be thus suffered in *Rome* any other counsel but publick: whereas now the State is divided into a thousand Courts and conventicles: whiles some have their meetings and assemblies in *Esquilie*, others in *Aventine*: Assuredly, one only man indeed (for that is more than a Consul) such a one as *Appius Claudius* was, would soon dispatch, and in one minute of an hour scatter these their unlawful assemblies. The Consuls upon this rebuke and check, replied again and demanded in this manner: And what would you have us to do (quoth they) for we are resolved to do nothing slackly and coldly, but with as great courage and diligence as shall be well liked of the Senators. Whereupon an order passed, that they should take muster, and levy souldiers with all rigour and severity: adding moreover, that the Commons with idleness and ease were grown over-malapert and too licentious. And when the Senate was dismissed, the Consuls went into the Tribunal & took their places, and summoned by name all the younger sort to appear: and none making answer to his name, the multitude standing about as it had been to hear some publick Oration, said plainly, that the Commons from thenceforth would be no longer deluded, and that the Consuls should never get so much as one souldier, unless they would stand to their word, and make good the promise that publickly before was made, and restore to every man again his liberty, before they caused them to take weapon in hand: to the end, they might fight for their country and country-men, and not for their Lordlike Masters. The Consuls saw well what they had in commission from the Senate & that of all those who within the Councel house walls spake so stoutly & gave out so great words, there was not one present to take part of this odious malice of the people. And like they were to have a bitter fit and cruel broil with the Commons. They thought good therefore ere they tried the worst, and dealt by extremity, once again to ask advice of the Senate, and to confer with them. But then all the younger sort of the Senators, approached by multitudes, hard almost to the Consuls seats, willing them to give over their Consulship, and to resign up their rule and authority, to the maintenance whereof they lacked courage. Now when the Consuls had sufficiently weighed and tried both ways, thus at length began they and said, A great sedition and commotion is toward my LL. To the end therefore that ye pretend not ignorance, and say another day ye were not foretold of it, there is a great sedition and commotion toward. We require therefore that they who find greatest fault with our remissness and lack of courage, assist us and sit with us while we take the musters: and since you will needs have it so, we will execute it according to their minds, that are most earnest and severest. Then come they back again unto the Tribunal, and commanded on set purpose, one of them that were there in sight to be cited and called by name. But he stood still and held his peace, with a company of men gathered round about to guard him, for fear he should have some harm or violence done unto him. The Consul then sent a Sergeant to attach him, who being repulsed off, then those Nobles which sat there on the bench to assist the Consuls, cried out upon the shameful indignity, and said it was intollerable, and so ran down in hast from the Tribunal seat, for to aid the Sergeant. But the violent rage of the multitude, who let the Lictor alone, and only stayed him from laying hold on the man, turned upon the Patritians. So that the Coss, were fain to step between, and then the fray was appeased. In which, there being no stones flying about their ears, nor weapon drawn, there was more clamour, brawling and chafing than any hurt done. Then was the Senate house called in a great hurry: and with more confusion sat they there in Councel: whiles they that pretended how they were beaten and misused, required that commissioners should sit upon this riot and make due inquisition: and the stoutest of them gave their determination, as much by clamor and noise, as by sentence and opinion grounded upon reason. At last, when the tempest was overblown and their heat allayed, and that the Coss, hit them in the teeth, and reproved them, saying there was a little discretion and gravity in

* From 17 years of age to 47.

A sedition between the Consuls and the people.

The Oration
of Appius
Claudius in the
Senate.

their Court and Councel-house, as in the common Hall, they began in the end to consult orderly H and three opinions there were amongst them, *P. Virginius* would not have it a common and general case (to wit, that all debtors should be released from their creditors) but his advise was, that they should only be considered, who relying upon *P. Servilius* the Consul his word and faithful promise, had served in the wars of the Volscians, Auruncians and Sabins. *T. Larginus*, he supposed and thought this, that it was not a time then to make amends only for good deserts, and to respect them alone that had done well, and to recompence good service: but for as much as the whole commonalty was deeply engaged and plunged in debt, unless they were all provided for, and good order taken for them every one, there would be no quietness nor end of troubles: yea, and (that which more is) in case they be not all alike regarded, but some debtors in better condition than I others, the discord would rather be more kindled than quenched. *Appius Claudius* a man both of natural disposition fierce and cruel, and also by occasion made more outrageous, nettled with the Commons hatred against him on the one side, and tickled with the praise and commendations of the Nobles on the other side, who ever magnified him and lift him up to the skie, spake to this effect: "These so great stirs and mutinous huriburlies, my Masters (quoth he) is not long of the "misery and calamity, but only of too much liberty of the Commons: who rather upon fatness "are grown wanton and unruly, than for any want impatient and discontent: and all this mischief "no doubt is sprung of this, that they have liberty to appeal. For so long as it is in their power to "flie for help unto those that have erred as well as they, well may the Consul threaten and give "out menacing words: as for any rule else or command they shall have none among them. Come K "on therefore, let us create a Dictator from whom they cannot make their appeal. Then shall "this furious rage, which now setteth all on a light fire, be soon hushed and quite extinguished. Let "mesee then, who dare beat a Lictor, when he shall well know, that he alone whose honor "and Majesty he shall offend and abuse, hath power to scourge him and take away his life. Many men thought this sentence of *Appius* to be very hard and cruel: yea, and dangerous withal, in regard of the late precedent of *Virginius* and *Vetustius*. That other likewise of *Larginus* was thought inconvenient, in taking away all keeping of credit with the creditors. The opinion and advise of *Virginius* was supposed as well in one respect as in another most indifferent and mean between both. But by reason of the faction and regard of private benefit, which alwayes hath done hurt and ever will, to publick Counsel, *Appius* prevailed, and he missed very little but he himself had been made Dictator. Which if it had come to pass, it would surely have estranged and alienated quire the hearts of the Commons, in that most busy and dangerous time: when it happened that the Volscians, Equians, and Sabins, were all up at once in arms. But the Consuls and elder Senators, had great care and consideration to chuse such a one, as might by mildness of his own nature allay and qualify the exceeding rigour and sternness incident to Sovereign and absolute authority. They elect therefore to be Dictator, *Marcus Valerius* the son of *Volejus*. The Commons albeit they saw well enough this Dictator created for to curbe them, yet having got by his brothers law, the benefit of Appeal, they feared no severe and insolent proceeding from that house and name. The Edict besides, that the Dictator set forth, which was welneer all one with that other of the Consul *Servilius*, much confirmed and settled their minds. For supposing now, they M had more hold both of the man, and also of his authority, and that they might with more confidence rely themselves on the one and the other, they gave over all debate, and entred their names into the muster book: so there were enrolled full ten legions. The like army for number was never levied afore. Of which legions, the Consuls had the conduct of three a piece, and the Dictator commanded the other four: and high time, it was: for the war might not be deferred any longer. The Equians had already invaded the territory of the Latins, and their Embassadors were petitioners to the Senate, either to send succour, or to give them leave to put on armor themselves for the defence of their confines, and frontiers. It was thought the safer and surer way, that the Latins without arming themselves should be defended, than to permit them again to take weapon in hand. So the Consul *Vetustius* was sent thither, and he stayed them from further foraging and wasting. For the Equians were departed out of the plains, and trusting rather N in the vantage of the ground, than in their weapons, stood upon their guard, kept themselves safe from danger, upon the high tops of the Hills and Mountains.

The other Consul who was gone against the Volscians, because he would not also lose any time, drew the enemy forth (by wasting the country especially) to encamp himself neerer, and so at length to fight a field. Now was there a plain in the mids between both camps: where each army stood before their rampiers, embattelled, and ranged in array, with banners displayed ready to fight. The Volscians were somewhat more in number, whereupon they began battail disorderedly and as if they set light by the enemy. But the Roman Consul neither advanced forward, nor suffered his men once to shout and answer again, but charged them to stand still with their javelins fast in the ground, until the enemies were come within the reach of hand fight, and then to lay about them lustily with their swords, all that ever they could. The Volscians out of breath with running and shouting, charged the Romans, who seemed for fear to stand astonied: but after they once perceived that they were hotly reencountred by them again, and saw their swords glittering in their eyes, they were troubled therewith, as if they had been entrapped and fallen into some trains layed for them, and so turned their backs. And by reason they came running before O

to

A to battail, their strength would not hold out now to run clear away: The Romans contrarywise, because against the beginning of the fight they had stood quiet, were fresh of body, and soon overtook them thus overtoiled, won their camp by force, and after they had driven the enemies out from thence, chased them into ** Velitru*, and entered the Town pellmell one with another in a medley, the Victor together with them that were vanquished. More bloudshed there was by execution of them one with another, of all ages and sexes, as they came in their way, than in the very battail. A very few, even such as without weapon yielded themselves, were spared and pardoned.

Whiles these things were a doing amongst the Volscians, the Dictator discomfited and put to flight the Sabins; with whom he had much cruel war: yea, and forced them to abandon and quit their camp. For having sent his horsemen into the main battail of the enemies, which they had but slightly strengthened within, and bestowed the ranks there very thin, and all to stretch out the wings on both sides more at large, he brake their arraies: and when they were once disordered, the footmen came in upon them: and in the same brunt were they Masters of their camp, and so the war ended. There was not in those dayes a braver battail fought and more renowned, setting aside that only at the lake *Regillus*. The Dictator rode in triumph unto the City. Over and above the accustomed honors, both he and his posterity after him, were allowed a certain place in the great Race or Theater, called *Circus*, for to behold at ease the solemn games; and there was set the Ivory chair of estate, called *Sella curulis*. The Volscians thus vanquished, lost the territory about *Velitru*, and new inhabitants were sent thither from the City to people and to till the grounds; so that it became a Colony.

C Somewhat after this, there was a field fought with the Equians, but in truth, full against the Consul his will, for that they were to climb up a steep Hill (to their disadvantage) for to meet with the enemy. But the Souldiers blaming him for trifling out, and making delays, to the end that the Dictator might be out of Office before they made return to the City, and so his word and promise, like the Consuls before him, should come to nothing, drove him perforce to lead up his army; rashly and at adventure against the Hills. This being an enterprise ill ordered, and an error escaped, fell out notwithstanding very well through the cowardise of the enemy: who before they were come within shot and the darts cast, amazed at the venturousness of the Romans, forsook their holds which they had in most defensible places, and leapt down into the valleys over against them. There was booty & pillage good enough, and a bloudless victory.

D Having sped thus fortunately abroad in three several wars, the Senators and Commons were not careless of home-affairs, what would be the issue thereof. The Bankers and Urrers, what with favor, and what with subtil and cautious policy, had devised aforehand and wrought such means, as might frustrate and disappoint not only the Commons, but also the Dictator, and put them by their expectation. For *Valerius*, after the return of *Vestusus* the Consul, dealt first and above all other matters and causes at the Councel table, in the behalf of the people that had achieved such victories, and propounded to know their minds, What should be done with those ended, endangered, and imprisoned persons. "Which motion of his being disliked and rejected: I see well (quoth he) that I cannot please you, so long as I perswade to concord and unity: with ye will (trust me truly) ere it be long, that the commonalty of *Rome* had more

E Patrons and Advocates like my self. As for me, I will neither bear my Citizens any longer in hand to deceive them, nor be a Dictator in vain, to effect nothing. Civil discord at home, and forraign war abroad, caused the State to have need of this office. Now, when peace is gotten without, behold it is crossed and hindered within: yet had I rather be present at the sight of a mutiny and insurrection when I am a private person, than whiles I am a Dictator. Thus went he out of the Councel-house, and yielded up his Dictatorship withal. The Commons saw plainly what the matter was, and how upon a discontentment and grief that he took in their behalf, for very pity and compassion of them, he gave over the place: and therefore, as if he had fully discharged himself of his faithful word to them given, (for that there was no default in him, but it had been performed indeed) they accompanied him along home to his house with hearty affection, praising and commending him all the way they went. The Lords of the Senate began then to fear, lest if the army were broken up and discharged, there would be some secret conventicles, and new conspiracies contrived: therefore, albeit the matters were taken by the Dictator, yet because the souldiers had sworn allegiance to the Consuls, supposing they were still bound to warfare by virtue of that oath, and pretending a colour that the Equians renewed war, they commanded the legions to be led forth of the City.

F This hastened the sedition the sooner and set it forward. At first, as men said, they conspired and laid their heads together about murdering and making away the Consuls. To the end they might be acquit of their oath unto them: but afterwards being better schooled and advised, that no mans conscience can be cleared of scruple, and discharged of an oath once taken, by committing a sinful act and working mischief, they withdrew themselves out of the way by the perswasion of one *Sicinius*, and without congrue of the Consuls, departed as far as Mount *Sacer*, on the farther side of the River *Anio*, three miles from the City. This is the more common report, and goeth more current, than that whereof *Piso* is the Author (namely, that the Commons retired themselves to *Adventum*.) There, without any head or Captain, they encamped and fortified themselves within a trench and rampier, and kept quiet for certain dayes, neither taking nor doing

harm.

** Velitru*

The speech of *Valerius* the Dictator in the Senate,

The first revolt of the commons of *Rome* into Mount *Sacer*

Ag. Menenius
his Oration to
the Commons.

Tribuns of the
common peo-
ple first crea-
ted.

Corioli forced.

The death of
Menenius *Agrippa*, and his
poverty.

harm: as having caried with them such things only as were necessary for the sustenance of their H
life. Great fear there was in the City, and in this mutual and reciprocal fear, all men were per-
plexed and to seek what to do. The Commons forlorn of their fellow Commoners doubted the
violence of the Senators: the Senators again stood in fear and jealousie of the Commons that re-
mained still behind: and were in suspense whether it were better they abode still among them, or
followed after their fellows. For how long trow ye, will a multitude once disbanded: rest in
quiet? Again, in case any forrain war should arise in the mean time, what might ensue thereupon
in the end? In conclusion, there was no hope behind to be looked for, but in the concord of citi-
zens: and therefore the commons one way or other, either by reasonable conditions or unrea-
sonable, were to be reconciled again and reduced into the City, there was no remedy. So it was
thought good and agreed upon, that one *Menenius Agrippa* (a fair spoken and eloquent man, gra-
cious withal and well-beloved among the commons, for that he was from them descended)
should be sent as an Orator to treat with them. Who being received into the camp, after that old
and harsh kind of eloquence in those dayes, spake as men saith to this effect, and told this tale and
parable: "Upon a time (quoth he) when as in mans body, all the parts thereof agreed not, as now
they do in one, but each member had a several intent and meaning: yea, and a speech by it self:
so it befel, that all other parts besides the belly, thought much and repined that by their careful-
ness, labor and ministry, all was gotten, and yet all little enough to serve it: and the belly it self
lying still in the mids of them, did nothing else, but enjoy the delightsome pleasures brought un-
to her. Whereupon they mutined and conspired altogether in this wise, That neither the hands
should reach and convey food into the mouth, nor the mouth receive it as it came, nor yet the
teeth grind and chew the same. In this mood and fit, whiles they were minded to famish the
poor belly, behold the other limbs, yea, and the whole body besides, pined, wasted, & fell into an
extreme consumption. Then was it well seen, that even the very belly also did no small service, but
fed the other parts, as it received food it self: seeing that by working and concocting the meat
thoroughly, it digested and distributed by the veins into all parts, that fresh and perfect blood
whereby we live, we like, and have our full strength. Comparing herewith, and making his appli-
cation, to wit, how like this intestine and inward sedition of the body, was to the fell stomach of
the commons, which they had taken and born against the Senators, he turned quite the peoples
hearts. Then began some treaty of unity and concord: and among other articles, it was conditioned
and granted, that the Commonalty should have certain sacred and inviolable Magistrates of their
own, among themselves, such as might have power to assist the Commons against the Consuls:
that it might not be lawful for any Senator, to bear that office. So there were created two
Tribunes of the Commons, *C. Licinius* and *La. Albinius*. And these elected three other fellow offi-
cers unto them. Of whom *Seinius*, the Author of the sedition or insurrection was one, who were
the other twain is not for certain known. Some say there were but two Tribunes created and no
more in the mount *Sacer*, and that the sacred law was there made concerning their immunity.
During this insurrection and revolt of the commons, *Sp. Cassius* and *Posthumus Cominius* enter-
ed their Consulships. In whose time a league was made with the people of *Latium*. For the esta-
blishing whereof, one of the Consuls stayed behind at *Rome*: the other was sent unto the Vol-
scian war, who discomfited and put to flight the Volscians of *Antium*, chasing and driving them
into the Town *Longula*, which he won. And immediately he took *Mucamires* a Town of the Vol-
scians, and after that with great force assaulted *Corioli*. There was in camp then among the flower of gallant youths, one *Caius Martius*, a Noble
yong Gentleman, right politick of advise, active besides, and tall of his hands, who afterwards
was named *Coriolanus*. While the Roman army lay at siege before *Corioli*, and were amazed
wholly upon the Towns-men within, whom they kept fast shut up, and feared no present danger
at all from any forrain war without: behold, all on a suddain, the Volscian legions that came from
Antium, assailed them: at which very instant the enemy also sallied out of the Town. Which
Martius seeing, who by good hap quartered and warded there, with a lusty band of chosen men not
only repressed and stopped the violence of those that issued and brake upon him, but also whiles
the gate stood open, fiercely rushed in himself, and having made a foul slaughter of people there-
by, at his first entrance into the City, and caught up fire at a venture, slung it upon the houses that
stood upon and about the walls. Whereupon arose a great outcry of the folk within the Town,
together with lamentable weeping and wailing of women and children, last commonly is seen in
such a fright. Which at the very first, both hardened the Romans, and also troubled the Volscian
ans: and no marvel, seeing the City taken before their face, for which they were come to relieve.
Thus were the Volscians of *Antium* defeated, and the Town *Corioli* won. And *Martius* through
his praise, so much obscured and stopped the light of the Consul's fame, that had it not been in-
graven in brass for a remembrance and monument, that there was a league with the Latines, and
the same made by *Sp. Cassius* alone: (for that his companion was absent) there had been no record
at all, but forgotten quite it had been, that ever *Sp. Cominius* warred with the Volscians.
The same year died *Menenius Agrippa*, a man all his life time before beloved indifferently of
the Senators and the Commons: but after the insurrection, much more dear unto the Com-
mons than before. This enre-maker, this mediator for civill attonement, this Ambassador and
Messenger from the Senators to the Commons, this reconciler and reducer of the Commons
home

A home again into the City; had not as his death sufficient to defray the charges of his funerals: the Commons therefore made a purse and a contribution of all Sextant by the poll, and were at the cost to inter and bury him worshipfully. After this were made Consuls, T. Gerganius, and P. Minutius. In which year when all was quiet abroad, for any war, and the dissension at home healed up clean, and skinned: another calamity far more grievous entered the City. First, a dearth of corn, and all manner of victuals, by reason that the grounds upon the departure of the Commons were neglected and untill'd; hereupon ensued famine, even such as usually is incident to men besieged. And verily the household of bondservants, yea, and the commons too, had utterly perished for hunger, if the Consuls had not in time made the better provision: by sending purveyours all abroad to buy up corn, not only into *Hetruria*, by coasting along the river on the right hand from *Hestia*, and on the left hand by Sea, (passing through the Volscian Country) even as far as *Cumes*: but also into *Sicily*, there to lay for grain. Such was the hatred of the borderers, that *Rome* was enforced to have need of succor and relief from afar. Now when they had bought certain corns *Caperdit*: was no looter embarked, but the ships were stayed and arrested there, by *Aristodemus* the sycant for the goods of the *Tarquins*; who held their in remainder he was. In the Volscian Country and *Pamphilius*, they could buy none standing. There, the very Purveyours themselves were in danger of violence, by the men of the Country. Out of *Tuscane* there came corn up the *Tyber*, wherewith the Commons were suit timed and refreshed. And considering the freights they were in for want of victuals, they had been sore distressed and vexed with wars besides, and that in a very ill time, and unreasonable for them: but that the Volscians, who now were in readiness, and upon the point to make war; had a pestilence that rained hot among them. Which heavy cross and affliction, the enemies were so discouraged with, that when the plague began to stay, even then they continued still afraid. The Romans both at *Velitra* augmented the number of the inhabitants, and also at *Narba*, sending a new Colony into the Mountains, to be a Fortress and strength for all the territory of *Pamphilius*. Moreover, when *M. Minutius*, &c. *A. Sempronius* were Consuls, great store of corn was brought out of *Sicily*; and it was debated in the Senate-house, at what price the Commons should be served there with. Many thought the time was now come to wining the Commons, and keep them under, and to recover again those royalties, which by their departure were forcibly whittled and diminished from the nobility. But above all others, *Publius Coriolanus*, an unkind and capital enemy to the Tribuns power and authority. If they will (quoth he) have their own and victuals at the old price, let them restore unto the Senators their ancient right and prebend: hence, Why see I (as one brought under the yoke of servitude, and put as it were unto my shame, by Robbers and Theeves) these Magistrates of the Commons? Why see I *Siculus* so mighty? Shall I endure these indignities longer than I needs must? I that could not bear *Tarquinus* to be King; shall I brook and suffer *Siculus*? Let him depart aside now, and take his Commons with him: the way is open to Mount *Sacer* and other Hills: Let them carry away with them their corn, out of our possessions, and Lordships; as they did three years ago: let them enjoy, take for their use, and spend the store, which they in their foolery and fury have reposed: bid me be bold to say, that when they are by his calamity bowed and cowed, they will gather till and husband the ground themselves, then with weapon in hand, and by way of insurrection forbid and hinder the tillage thereof. I cannot so soon say, whether it had been as meet, as I suppose it was possible and easy to be effected, that the Senators by offering more gentle conditions in the prices of corn and victuals might have eased themselves of the Tribuns authority, even then: and also have been disabused of the suppositions which will they, said they, were laid upon them. Well, this seemed to the Senate a sharp rebuke and severe sentence of *Coriolanus*; and for very anger also, he had like to have caused the Commons to sit up in arms. For they murmured and gave it out in their ears, That now they were blind and blindfolded with famine like entities, devalued and bereft of their meat and pittance: that the great kind of corn, the only sustenance and food which formerly had admitted unto them beyond all hope, was searched and plucked from their mouths: unless the Tribuns be delivered and yielded Prisoners hand and foot bound to *Coriolanus*, unless he might have his penny worth of the back and shoulders of the Commons of *Rome*. For he was now risen up and become their tormentor and hangman, to command them either to death, or to servitude. As he went out of the Council house, they had run upon him with violence, but that the Tribuns, as good luck was, served him with process in time, to appear at a day, and come to his answer. Hereupon, their furious anger was suppressed. For now every man saw, that he was himself to be the judge and Lord of his enemies life and death. *Coriolanus* at the first scorned the Tribuns threatening, and gave the hearing, as though he made small reckoning thereof, saying: That their authority had power granted by *Quintus*, only to sit and not to punish: that the Tribuns were pitiable to the Commons, and not to the Senators. But so highly were the Commons bent, and all so set upon mischief, that there was no other remedy, but one main must pay for it to save the execution of the Nobles. Howbeit the Senators did what they could to withstand them by opposing hatred and displeasure again, and making all means, what either privately they were able of themselves, or jointly by their whole Order and debate, to purge. And first, this cause they assayed

* The six part of As, half a farthing or cue with us.

Coriolanus envyeeth against the Tribuns.

The murmuring of the commons against Coriolanus.

assayed to stop and overthrow the suit commenced; namely, by setting their followers and retainers in sundry places to deal with the Commons severally one by one, & what they could to affright them from meetings and assemblies together. Afterwards, they came all forth at once into the *Forum* or common place. A man that had seen them would have said they had been the parties themselves in trouble and accused, ready to hold up their hand at the bar: such praying, such a beseeching they made of the Commons, in the behalf of this one citizen, this only Senator; that if they would not in their love acquit him for their sakes, as innocent and unguilty, yet they would give him unto them as an offender and faulty person. In conclusion, when his day came, he made default and appeared not, yet continued they still in their angry mood against him. And being condemned in his absence, for contumacy, departed into banishment to the Volscians, menacing his own country as he went, and carrying even then with him the revenging stomach of an enemy.

The Volscians at his coming received him courteously, and friendly intreated him every day more than others, as they perceived his anger more and more toward his country-men, by many complaints he made of them, and threats which that he oftentimes gave out against them in their hearing. He made his abode and sojourned in the house of *Accius Tullius*, who at that time was a mighty great man among the Volscians, and one that ever bare mortal malice unto the Romans. And while the one of them was provoked with an old cankred grudge, and the other set on and pricked forward upon a fresh quarrel and occasion of anger, they both laid their heads together and plotted to make war upon the Romans. This only thing stood in their way to cross their designs: They thought verily their Commons would hardly or scarcely at all be brought, to rise and take arms again, which they had so often unhappily attempted: And besides, their courages were well cooled, and their stomachs abated by the loss of their youth in many and sundry wars often times afore, and now at last, by the late pestilence and mortality. They were therefore to go cunningly to work: that forasmuch as the old hatred against the Romans was grown out and worn away, their hearts upon some new anger might be chased and galled again. There were by chance at that time in *Rome*, the great Games and Playes in hand, to be set out anew the second time, the occasion whereof was this: A certain householder one morning betimes before the shews and games began, had beaten with rods a poor slave of his under the fork which he carried on his shoulders, and driven him along through the mids of the *Circus* or *Theatre*: and with that began the playes, as if there had been no matter therein of scruple or Religion. But not long after, one *T. Latinus*, a mean Commoner had a dream or vision. In which he thought that *Jupiter* complained and said, that the Dancer before the playes pleased him never a whit: and unless those games were newly exhibited again, and that very stately and sumptuously, some great danger should befall the City: willing him withal, to make relation hereof unto the Consuls. The man albeit in truth he was not without some sense and feeling of Religion and the fear of God: yet made he no such great scruple at the matter, but that the reverence he had of the Majesty and countenance of the Magistrates surmounted and dashed it clean: for fear lest haply he should become a talking stock in mens mouths, and be mocked for his labours. But this delay and sleeping of the matter, he bought full dear. For within few dayes his son happened to dye. And because he should be out of doubt what was the cause of this his losse and suddain misfortune, while he was troubled in spirit, with anguish and sorrow, behold, the same vision appeared to him again in his sleep, and seemed to ask him whether he had not yet sufficiently paid for this disobedience and contempt of God: threatening moreover, that in case he made no greater hast to certify the Consuls thereof, there was a greater judgment and plague toward, and that very near. Now was the thing more evident than before, and past all peradventure. Howbeit he neglected and drave it off still, until he was himself overtaken with a grievous disease, and brought to great weakness in all his joints. Then verily the wrath of the Gods taught him to be wiser. And being overwearied with harms past, and in fear of more presently to sinney he conferred with his kinsfolk and friends to be advised by them. When he had declared unto them what he had seen and heard; namely, how *Jupiter* had so often appeared unto him in his sleep, and that the fearful displeasure and threatnings of the heavenly Gods were shewed plainly by sundry mischances fallen upon him: by the full consent of all them that were about him, he was brought in a litter to the Consuls, into the *Forum* or common place, from whence by the Consuls commandment he was carried into the Council house. Where, when he had made report unto the Senators of the self same things, to the exceeding wonder and admiration of them all, see another strange miracle: He that was brought into the Senate house a lame creeple of all his limbs, after he had once delivered his errand, returned home to his house (as it is recorded) sound upon his feet. Hereupon the Senate decreed, That the Games should be set out as magnificently as could be devised.

To these solemnities resorted, by the motion and perswasion of *Accius Tullius*, a great number of Volscians. But before they were begun, *Tullius* according to the complot between him and *Martius* at home, made a step or errand unto the Consuls at *Rome*, saying, that he would willingly commune and treat with them apart, of important affairs concerning the State. When the room was clear, and every man gone, he began in this wise: Loth I am (quoth he) if other wife I could chuse, to speak ought but well of my country-men and fellow citizens. Yet come I

Accius Tullius
to the Roman
Consuls.

"not

- A "not to complain of any action of theirs already passed, but to give a caveat, and provide that nothing be practised hereafter. The nature and disposition (I may tell you) of our people, is too too unconstant and unstayed, more I know than I would they were, a great deal: that have we found and felt to our great cost and manifold damage, we say, who verily at this day by your long sufferance, and not by good desert of ours, do stand in good terms and peace of safety. There is now here a great multitude of Volscians, the Playes and Games ready to be represented and celebrate. Your City will be wholly amused in the beholding thereof: I remember upon the like occasion, what was sometimes enterprised and wrought in this City by the youth of the Sabins; and my heart doth tremble and quake for fear, lest some inconsiderate, rash and foolish part be played by ours: thus much, O ye Consuls, I thought good in our behalf and yours both, to give you notice of beforehand. As for me, I am minded presently to go from hence home, lest I being here seen, might be thought in some word or deed accessary unto them, and so culpable. Having made this speech he departed. When the Consuls had declared in the Senate this thing so doubtful, and yet proceeding from the mouth of so sure and certain an Author: behold, the credit of the man (as commonly it is seen) rather than the likelihood of the matter, caused them to be wary and circumspect, yea, although there was no such need or cause at all. Whereupon the Senate made an Act, that the Volscians should be jogging out of the City. And divers cryers or Bedles were sent out sundry wayes, to command them to avoid and be packing before night. At the first, the Volscians were only much affrighted, and ran every man to and fro into his Inne to fetch away his things. But afterwards in the way homeward, they began to think more and more of it, and to grow melancholy: thinking it a great indignity, that like polluted and profaned persons, they should be driven from the Games, on festival holydayes, discarded (as a man would say) and excommunicate out of the company both of God and man. Thus as they went along all on a row, as it were in one continued and joynt train, *Tullius* (who was gone afore as far as the *Ferentine* head) received the foremost and chief of them, as every one came, and entertained them with complaints and words of indignation, and drew both them who willingly gave ear to his words so fitly framed and tending to stir more coles, and also by their means the rest of the multitude into a plain field, lying hard under the high way side. Unto whom, assembled together as it were to hear a sermon, he thus began to speak: "Admit (quoth he) you could forget the old wrongs and abuses offered you by the people of *Rome*, the losses and overthrowes of the Volscian Nation; yea, and all the other quarrels whatsoever; how can ye put up this dayes spightful reproach and dishonour received at their hands? who to our great disgrace and shame, have begun their solemn Games? Perceived you not how they have triumphed over you to day? how as ye departed, ye were a spectacle and pageant to all men, citizens and strangers, and to so many neighbour nations adjoining? how your wives and children were brought as it were in a shew to make them sport and to laugh at? what conceit was in their heads (think ye) that heard the voyce of the Bedle? what thought they that beheld you as you dislodged? what imagined they that happened to meet this ignominious troupe as they marched? Even this & no other, that there was some wicked sin among us, not to be named, whereby we should as malefactors, have stayned and polluted their games if we had been present at the sight of them, & have committed some haynous act, that would require by some satisfaction or sacrifice to be purged; and for that cause were driven from having any conversation, fellowship, and society of good and godly men? Over and besides, how can you chuse but think of this, That we enjoy our lives still, only because we hastned our remove, (if this may be called a remove, and not rather a plain taking of a flight and running away.) And yet you reckon this no enemy City, where, if ye had stayed but one day longer, you had dyed for it every one. Defiance is given already, and war denounced against you; but if ye be men indeed of courage, to their great cost and mischief that have denounced it, Thus being of themselves kindled enough with indignation, and by these words enflamed and set on fire, they went every man his way from thence home: and so effectually solicited each one the people where he dwelt, that in fine the whole nation of the Volscians revolted and rebelled. To manage this war, were chosen General commanders by one consent of all the Cities, *Accius Tullius*, and *Cn. Martius* the banished Roman: in whom of the twain they reposed greater hope and this their hope failed them not. So as it soon appeared that the puissance of the state of *Rome* consisted more in the dexterity of good Captains, than in strong armies of souldiers. For first he went to * *Circeios*, from whence he expelled the Roman Coloners, and delivered the City cleer and free unto the Volscians. Then by croise wayes he passed into the Latin street, called *Via Latina*: and regained from the Romans, these their Towns newly gotten afore, *Satricum*, *Longula*, *Pollustia* and *Corioli*. After this he wan *Lanuvium* again, and so forward he forced * *Corbio*, *Vitelia*, *Trebia*, *Labicos*, and *Pedum*. And last of all from *Pedum*, he marched on toward the City of *Rome*. and at *Cluvia Fossa*, five miles off, he encamped and foraged the territory about, sending with the forragers certain guides, to keep them from spoiling and doing harm in the Noblemens Lands: were it that he were more spightful to the Commons, or that thereby some discord might arise, between the Commonalty and the Senators: which doubtles had soon grown, so mightily had the Tribuns already by their complaints and accusations, provoked the Commons forward (who of themselves were shrewd enough) against the heads and Magistrates of the City, but that the fear of forrain dangers, the greatest bond of civil concord that

Accius Tullius
to his Country-men.

* Monte Cir-
cello.

* *Civita indovina* vique.

Coriolanus be-
sieged *Rome*.

that can be, held them in and knit their hearts together, were they never so jealous, suspected, H and hateful afore one to the other. Herein only was all their difference, that the Senate and Consuls, reposed hope in nothing else save only in war: the Commons on the other side were desirous of any thing whatsoever, but war.

Now were *S. Navius*, and *Sex. Furius* Consuls: who as they were surveying and mustering the legions, and disposing of a good *Corpus de guard* upon the walls, and other places wherein they thought it expedient to keep a standing watch and ward: behold a mighty number called and cryed hard for peace, and with their seditious clamors, put them in exceeding fear: yea, and afterwards forced them to assemble the Senate-house together, and to propose concerning the sending of certain Embassadors to *Cn. Martius*. The Lords of the Senate seeing evidently the commons I hearts to fail them, accepted and granted the motion propounded. Whereupon were Oratours sent unto *Martius* to treat for peace. At whose hands they received this heavy and stout answer: "If so be the Volscians had their Lands restored to them again, then there might be some parle and treaty of peace: but if they will needs at their pleasure still enjoy that booty which by war they have gotten, then would he in remembrance of private wrongs done unto him by his country-men, as also of the friendship and courtesy shewed him by strangers that had given him entertainment, do his best to make it known unto the World, that his courage and stomach is incensed, and not abated and quailed by his banishment. Then were the same Embassadors sent again the second time, but they might not be admitted once to set foot within the camp. It is reported moreover that the very Priests in their *Pontificalibus*, in their rich vestiments and goodly K ornaments, went with supplication to the tents of the enemies, and turned his heart no more than the Embassadors had done before them. Then the dames of the City came flocking all about *Veturia* the Mother, and *Volumnia* the wife of *Coriolanus*. Whether this proceeded from any publick Counsel and was done in Policy, or came only of womens fear, I find but little in any records. But howsoever it came about, this one thing is certain, they perswaded so effectually with them, that both *Veturia* an aged woman, and also *Volumnia* with her two little sons that she had by *Martius*, went toward the enemies camp, to see if women by their prayers and tears, might save the City, which men with spear and shield could not defend. When they were come into the camp, and word brought to *Coriolanus*, that there was an exceeding great train of women thither arrived: at the first, he, as one that had relected, neither for that publick Majesty in the Embassadors, nor yet at the religious reverence, which he both conceived in mind, and saw with his eyes in the clergy, stood much more stiffly bent against the tears of fifty women. But afterwards one of his familiar friends, who had seen and known *Veturia* there, mourning and bewailing exceedingly above the rest, as she stood betwixt her daughter in law and her little Nephews: "If mine eyes be matches (quoth he) and deceive me not, here is your mother, your wife, and children. Whereat, *Coriolanus*, turning like a man well near beside himself, arose from his seat, and ran to meet his mother, and to embrace her. But the woman falling in stead of prayers into a fit of choler: "Let me know (quoth she) before I suffer thee to embrace me, whether I am come to an enemy or to a son, whether I be in thy camp as a captive prisoner, or as a natural mother. And have I lived indeed so long, and rubbed on still in this miserable old age of mine for this, to see thee first M "a banished man; and after that to become an enemy? Couldst thou find in thine heart to waste and spoil that countrey which bred thee, which fostered thee, and brought thee up? And be "it that thou hither marched with a cruel intent and full of threats, would not thine anger and fell wrath slake, when thou didst set foot within the borders and marches thereof? And being come within the sight of *Rome*, arose not this in thy mind and thought, Within those walls yonder is my house, there are my house-gods, my mother, my wife, my children? Why then, belike if I had never been a mother, and born a child, *Rome* had not been assailed. And if I had no son at all, I might have died well enough in my native countrey, whiles it remained free. But as for me, neither can I suffer ought, more for thy dishonesty and shame; nor more to mine own calamity and misery than this: and most wretched cause though I be, yet long time so I N "cannot continue. But for these here, look thou well to it, I advise thee, and have pity of them, who if thou go on as thou beginnest, are like to feel untimely death, or endure long captivity. Then his wife and children hung about him, and clipped him: whereat the women fell a weeping on all sides, bewailing their own case and the state of their countrey. So as at length the man was overcome. And after he had taken them in his arms likewise, he let them go: and himself dislodged and removed his camp backward from the City. When he had withdrawn the legions out of the territory of *Rome*, he gat himself, men said, such hatred and displeasure for this action, that it cost him his life: and murdered he was, some report one way, some another. But I find in *Fabius* a most ancient writer, that he lived until he was an old man: who reporteth this of him: That oftentimes in his latter dayes he used to utter this speech, *A heavy case and most O wretched, for an aged man to live banisht*. The men of *Rome* envied not those women their due deserved praises. So free was the world in those dayes, from depraving and detracting the glory of others. For in memorial hereof to all posterity, there was a Temple built and dedicated to *Fortuna Muliebris*, i. Womens fortune.

After all this, the Volscians joyned the *Equians* unto them, and returned into the territory of *Rome*. But the *Equians* would no longer abide *Acains* to be their Commander. And upon this

The answer of
Coriolanus to
the Roman O
rators.

The speech of
Veturia unto
her son *Marti-
us Coriolanus*.

A this strife between the Volscians and Equians, whether of them should appoint a General over the army raised jointly of them both, first they grew to a mutiny, and afterwards to a cruel battel. Such was the good fortune of the people of Rome, that two armies of their enemies, were thus by civil discord and contention, no less mortal than obstinate, overthrown and brought to naught. Consuls then, were T. Sicinius and C. Aquilius. To Sicinius were allotted the Volscians, and to Aquilius the Herniks (who also were out and up in arms) for their several Province. That year were the Herniks vanquished, but with the Volscians they fought to, as they departed on even hand, giving and taking the like.

After them were Sp. Cassius, and Proculus Virginus made Consuls. Then was there a league concluded with the Herniks, and two third parts of their Lands were taken from them. Whereof the one moiety, Cassius the Consul was minded to distribute among the Latins, the other among the Commoners. To this donation he laid too also a good portion of ground, which being Commons by right, he found much fault, that it was in the tenure and possession of private persons. This act of his made diverse of the Senators, namely, such as were great landed men and interested therein, to startle for fear of hazarding their estate. Over and besides, the Senators all in general were in great perplexity, lest that the Consul by this largess should rise by popular favour to such greatness, as might prejudice their free holds, yea and endanger the very main chance of publick liberty. And this was the first time that the law *Agraria* was published: and so forward unto this present hour, it was never debated of, but with exceeding great fears and

C troubles of the State. The other Consul withstood this largess, with the general consent of the Senators, and without contradiction of some Commoners: who at the very first began to mislike, and utterly abhor, that the donation was so common, and from the natural citizens, extended to their allies and confederates. Moreover, they might oftentimes hear even the Consul himself, *Virginus*, openly in his solemn Orations before the people, to deliver by way of prophesie, and as it were to prognosticate, "That this was a pestilent largess of his brother Consul, and that those grounds would in the end enthrall the takers thereof, and that it was the very high way to set up a Kingdom again. For to what other intent (I pray you) were their allies, and the nation of the Latins associate in the same? To what purpose either, was a third part of the Lands won by conquest, given again to the Herniks, professed enemies but a while before, but that these nations might have

The law *Agraria* first published, concerning the division of wast lands among the Commons.

Virginus against the law *Agraria*.

D "Cassius to be such another Captain of theirs, as *Coriolanus* was. And thus by disswading and crossing the law *Agraria*, he became now to be popular and gracious with the people. Then both Consuls strived much, who might please and gratify the Commons most. *Virginus*, by giving out that he would maintain and suffer the Lands to be divided, so they were assigned to none but to the citizens of Rome: *Cassius* again, who in the largess of the Lands, seemed to Court and insinuate himself with the allies and thereby was of the citizens less regarded and reputed to the end, that by some other benefit he might regain the hearts of his country men was of opinion, and made a motive, that the money which was received for the Sicilian corn, should be repayed unto the people. But the Commons refused and abhorred that, as a very bribe and ready bait for a Scepter and Crown. So greatly were all his gifts, for the deep rooted insipition and jealousy

E of his aspiring to a Kingdom, loathed in the conceits of men, as if they had flowed in wealth, and been rich enough. And for certain it is recorded, that so soon as he left his Office, he was condemned and put to death. Some report, that his own father did the execution: and that upon examination privately had at home within his house, he finding him faulty, whipped him first, and so killed him, and consecrated the goods and chattels of his son, as a *Deodand* to *Ceres*, whereof a Statue or Image was made, with this Inscription or Title, Given out of the house of *Cassius*. I find in some records (which soundeth nearer to the truth) that he was by the Quæstors of *Casus Fabius*, and *L. Valerius*, endited of treason, and being convicted, was by a verdict of the people condemned, and his house by order from the whole City, rased and pulled down. And at this day, it is the voyd yard that lieth before the Temple of *Tellus*. But howsoever he had his tryal and

Sp. Cassius put to death for seeking to be King.

* Treasurers of the City.

F judgement, privately or openly, condemned he was when *Ser. Cornelius* and *Q. Fabius* were Consuls. Long continued not the peoples anger and spight against *Cassius*. So sweet was the law *Agraria* in it self, that when the Author and Upholder thereof was out of the World, they longed to have it on foot again. Which desire of theirs was the rather set on fire, through the pinching niggardise of the Senators, who having that year subdued the Volscians and Equians, kept the souldiers fasting, and defrauded them of the spoil. For what prizes soever were gotten from the enemies, the Consul *Fabius* sold and brought into the Exchequer or Chamber of the City.

Now was the name of *Fabius* already odious to the Commonalty, for the last Consuls sake: yet obtained the Senators so much, and held their own so, as *Casus Fabius* was created Consul with *L. Emilius*. This made the Common more malicious and bent to mischief. And sedition at home caused war abroad. For rain war restrain'd civil discord for a while. Both Senators and Commons with one accord, under the conduct of *Emilius*, fought fortunately with the rebellious Volscians and Equians, and defeated them. Howbeit more enemies perished in the chase, than were slain in the battel: so hotly the horsemen pursued them when they were once discomfited and gave not over. The same year was the Temple of *Cæstor*, consecrated in the Ides of *Quintilis*. It had been vowed aforesaid in the Latins war by *Posthumus* the Dictator. His son was created *Dumvir*, for that purpose, and dedicated it.

Temple of *Cæstor* dedicated. 15. of July. *Dumvirs* for dedication of a Temple.

This

This year also the Commons hearts were set upon the law *Agraria*; and longed afresh after the sweetness thereof. The Tribuns of the Commonalty graced and credited their popular authority, with propounding a law as popular and acceptable to the people. But the Senators supposing verily that the multitude was furious and outrageous enough, and too much of themselves, without any hire and reward, stood in great dread and horror of these largesses, as the very allurements and provocations, of rash and heady attempts: & the stoutest champions of their side to withstand the law, were the Consuls. That part therefore and State of the City had the better hand, not only this present year, but for the next ensuing. For they chose *M. Fabius Casso* his brother, for the one Consul, and *L. V. Ierius* for the other, a man of the swain more odious in the eyes of the Commons, in regard of his late accusation of *Sp. Cassius*. In which year also there was strife and much ado with the Tribuns. But both law and law-makers with their glorious bragging and vaunting of their goodly donative, which they could not effect, proved vain and came to nothing. Upon this, the name of *Fabij*, who after three Consulships together one after another, by them born continually without intermission, were inured and tried in the broils and contentions of Tribuns, was in great request and reputation: and in their house and family remained still for a good while after, that dignity, as an honor well and worthily bestowed upon them. Then began the Veientian war, and the Volscians likewise rebelled. But for any wars abroad whatsoever, they had strength enough and to spare, if by jars at home among their own selves they had not abused the same.

Besides this disquietness and affliction of all mens minds, occasioned by these dissensions, there happened (to amend the matter well) prodigious, and strange tokens from Heaven, daily in a manner threatening both in City and Country the heavy hand of God. And when as the soothsayers and wizards were sent out unto, to search forth the cause of Gods wrath and indignation both in publick and private, as well by inspection of the inwards of sacrificed beasts, as by aspect of birds and fowls, they could assign it to nothing else but this, that there was some error committed in their sacrifices and divine liturgie: Those fearful and prodigious signs proceeded still so far, that one *Oppia* a vestal Nun, convicted and condemned of incest, suffered death.

After this, followed *Q. Fabius* and *C. Tullius* Consuls. In which year the discord at home was nothing leis, and the war abroad far greater. For the *Equians* rose up in arms: the *Veientians* also entered the confines, and made much spoil. And while they were more and more careful about these wars what order to take, *Casso Fabius* and *Sp. Furius*, were made Consuls. By this time the *Equians* assaulted *Artonaa* City in *Latium*. And the *Veientians* having sped themselves with prizes and booties, made great cracks that they would give an assault upon the very City of *Rome*. These fearful news, which ought to have abated and taken down the stomachs of the Commons, made them much more fierce and fell, and they returned of themselves unto their old bias of refusing warfare: but *Sp. Licinius* their Tribune, thinking now the time was come to enforce upon the Senators the law *Agraria*, upon this exigent and extream point of necessity, had taken upon him to stop the levying and setting out of an army. But he drew upon his own head the whole hatred and displeasure of the Tribuns themselves and their authority. For the Consuls opposed themselves against him no more bitterly than his own companions in office: by whose assistance the Consuls went through with the Muster. And for two wars at once, there were enrolled two armies. The one under the leading of *Fabius*, against the *Equians*, the other, against the *Veientians* commanded by *Furius*. Against whom there was nothing done worthy of remembrance. As for *Fabius*, he had somewhat more to do with his own men than with his enemies. That man himself alone was he, that being Consul upheld the Common-weal, which his army for hatred of their Consul, had as much as in them lay, utterly betrayed. For when as he (above many other warlike feats and parts of a right worthy General, whereof he shewed singular proof, both in preparation, and also in managing of the war) had so marshalled and ranged his battail, that with sending out the horsemen only, he disordered and brake the ranks of his enemies host: behold, the footmen would not follow on after that disaray: neither, when the exhortation of their leader whom they hated, prevailed not, could their own shame at least-wise, and the publick dishonor for the present: no, nor yet the imminent danger like to ensue (in case the enemy had taken heart again and made head) force them to amend their pace one jot, and make more speed. Neither could he possibly make them (if to do nothing else) so much as to march still in battail array: but full against his commandment they retire with their ensigns: and as men sory in their hearts and ill apaid, (he that had seen them would have said they had lost the field) cursing their General one while, and the valiant service of the horsemen another while, they return to their Tents. Neither wist the General what way to remedy this so pestilent an example and dangerous precedent. Thus we may see, that brave men, of singular and excellent wits, have been more to seek and fail in their skill, how to govern a subject than to vanquish an enemy. The Consul returneth to *Rome*, having purchased more hatred of his froward and stubborn souldiers, than won honor by his martial prowess. Nevertheless, the Senators prevailed so much that the Consulship kept residence still in the name of the *Fabij*. So, they created *M. Fabius* Consul, and joyn with him *Cn. Manlius* for his colleague.

This year likewise, had one patrone and maintainer of the law *Agraria*, to wit, *Tiberius Pontificius* a Tribune. He taking the same course, and following the steps of *Sp. Licinius*, hindered the

The disobedience of soldiers to their Captain,

A the musters for a while. And when the Senators were herewith disquieted again, then *Ap. Claudius* arose up and said, "That the year before, the Tribunes power was overmatched, and the neck of it broken in proof, only for that present, but in example for ever hereafter: forasmuch as it was well seen then by experience, that of it self even among their own selves it fell apieces: and never will there want at any time one good Tribune or other, that would be glad to get the start and victory of his fellow, yea, and the favour also of the better part, for to purchase the good of the weal-publike. And that there would be more Tribunes, if more were needfull; ready to assist the Consuls: and if there were but one, even that one were sufficient to stand against all the rest. So that the Consuls and LL. of the Councill would but do their endeavour, to win unto the State and Senate, some certain of the Tribunes, if they might not compass all. The Senators being thus schooled and taught their lessons by *Appius*, both all ingenerall would courteously salute and friendly intreat the Tribunes, and also in parricular as many of them as had been Consuls, according to that interest that each man had in any one of them privately, partly by favour and friendship, and partly by countenance and authority, prevailed so with them, that they were willing and well content to employ the Tribunes authority to the good and safety of the Common-weale. So by the help of foure Tribunes, against one that hindred the good of all, the Consuls took muster of the souldiers. Then set they forward on their voyage to war with the Veientians: unto whom from all parts of *Hetruria* they came, to aid and succour; not so much for any love that they bare to the Veientians, as in hope that the puissance of *Rome* through intestine and civill dissention, would decay and come to nought. For in all the Diets and Assemblies of the States of *Hetruria*, the Princes and Peers gave it out and said, That the power and greatness of the Romans was everlasting, if through mutuall discord they warred here so among themselves: which hath been found the only bane of wealthy and flourishing Cities, where y mighty Empires became mortall and subject to a finall end. "Which mischief (say they) this long time hath been prevented and delayed, partly through the sage advise and prudent government of the Senate, partly by the patience and long sufferance of the Commons: but now they are come to a great extremity. Divided they are, and of one City become twain: each part have their severall Magistrates and laws by themselves. At the first, however they were wont to be at odds, and to fall out at the mustering of souldiers, yet in war they would hold together, and obey their Captains. Howsoever they fared at home in the City, were the State never so far out of order, yet so long as martiall discipline was on foot and took place, they might be reclaimed, and all troubles staid. But now, the former use and custome of disobeying Magistrates within the City, is taken up by the Roman souldiers in the very Camp. For no longer since than the last war of all, in the time of battell and conflict, their whole Army agreed of their own accord, not forced by any extremity that they were put unto, for to give the Veientians, as much as in them lay, even after they had lost the field, the entire victory and honour of the day. For they abandoned their ensigns, left their Generall alone in the skirmish, and against his will, retired themselves into the Camp. And surely, if they hold on still this course, *Rome* may be won by means of her own souldiers: there needs no more to do, but to proclaim and make a shew of war: For even the very destinies and gods themselves would performe all the rest. Upon these hopes and deep perswasions, the Tuscans, who afore were wont otherwhiles to have the better, and sometimes to take the worse in their wars, put themselves in arms. The Roman Consuls likewise were in fear of nothing else so much, as of their own power, their own force and weapons: being affrighted at the remembrance of that foul and shameful example, and that lewd part plaid in the last war: lest peradventure they should put it upon this point of hazard, as to be in danger of two battels at once. And therefore in so doubtfull and perillous a case, they held off fight, and kept themselves within their Camp, if haply time and space would assuage their anger, bring them into the right way again, and reclaim them to good and reasonable order. The enemies hereat, as well Veientians as the other Tuscans, made the greater haste, and were more sharp set, and provoked them to the field: first by riding up and down before their Camp, hard at the gates thereof, braving and challenging them forth, at the last, seeing they could not prevail, they fell to rating and railing, one while upon the Consuls themselves, another while upon the whole Army, in these and such like terms: "A gay matter indeed, and a proper device to save their cowardise, and under a colour of civill dissention to cloak their fearfulness: and the Consuls forsooth mistrust more the faithfulness and loyalty of their souldiers in service, than they doubted their valour and sufficiency of service. Mary, here is indeed a new kind of mutiny. What? Armed men to hold their peace, and sit still? Hitting them in their teeth besides, with their new start-up rising, and late sprung base beginning letting fly against them lies and truths, one with another, and spared not. For all this foule stir they kept, flouting and reviling them under their very trench, and hard at their gates, the Consuls themselves were not one jot troubled. But the foolish and ignorant multitude what with anger, and what for shame of these reproachfull terms, was much distempered: and one whiles wholly gave over to regard and thinke upon home troubles and dissentions, and had rather than their lives be revenged of their enemies: Anon again, they would not in any case gratifie the Nobles and Consuls, nor wish them good success. Thus the hatred both against the enemies without, and the Consuls within, trove together in their hearts: untill at length forrain occasions got the mastery over them: so proudly,

The politike practise of *Appius Claudius* to abate the Tribunes authority,

The speeches of the Tuscan Princes in their Councils,

so insolently, the enemy scorned and made a game of them. Whereupon they came thick by troops to the Generals pavilion, calling upon them for to fight, requiring to put forth the banner and signall of battell. The Consuls laid their heads together, and as taking good advisement, conferred on the matter a good while. To fight they were most willing and desirous: but this desire was to be kept back and dissembled, and thereby augmented: to the end, that by holding off, by opposing themselves, and making some stay, they might set the souldiers on, and being once set on it, they might make them follow more eagerly at once. In conclusion, this answer was returned unto them: That they made too much haste: it was not yet full ripe, nor the time come, to give battell: they must hold themselves contented, and keep within their tents: proclaiming moreover, that no man be so hardy as to fight: and whosoever attempted it, without their warrant and commission, they would proceed against him with all rigour, as a professed enemy. Thus were they dismissed. And the les willing they thought the Consuls were, the more eager were they, and set upon a battell. The enemies besides, when they had intelligence, that the Consuls were not disposed to fight, and had taken order to the contrary, were inkindled and inflamed so much the more. For now they supposed they might brave it, and insult upon them safely without danger. For why? The Consuls durst not trust the souldiers with weapon in hand: "now were their mutinies come to the height, and to break forth in extremities: now and never before the Roman Empire and Dominion was at an end. Presuming confidently upon this ground, they run together unto the gates, redoubling a thousand villanous and opprobrious terms, and much ado they had to forbear assaulting the camp. Now could the Romans on the other side hold no longer, & endure this contumely and indignity, but came running from all parts of the camp unto the Consuls. And now not leisurely as before, make they request, and by mediation of their chief centurions, but all at once on every side plied them with outcries and clamors. Now was the matter come to ripeness, yet slow were the Consuls, still and hold off. Then *Fabius*, seeing the tumult increased & that for fear of a mutiny, his brother Consul had yielded already, caused silence to be made by sound of trumpet, and thus he spake: "I know full well O *Manlius*, that these fellows are able to win the victory: but that they will so do I know not, and they themselves have caused me to doubt. I have therefore set down my rest, and fully resolved not to give the signal of battell, unless they swear to return out of the field with victory. Once did the souldiers in battell deceive a Consul, of Rome: but the gods in heaven shall they never deceive. Then *M. Flavius*, a Centurion, one of the foremost that called for battell so instantly, "Return will I (quoth he) O *M. Fabius*, victor out of the field: and if I fail, then I beseech father *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Gradivus* and other gods to make me a fearful example, and shew their wrathfull displeasure upon me. The same oath after him took the whole army, every man against himself. Thus when they had sworn the trumpet sounded. Then buckle they themselves toward battell, full of anger, full of hope. Now they bid the Tuscans revile and rail their fill: now being at all points armed, they wished they had afore them man to man their enemies, those that were so lively and lusty with their tongues. Right valiantly bare themselves that day, as well the Commons as the Nobles. But the name of the *Fabii*, the *Fabii* I say, passed all the rest and won the spurs. Who in this piece of service purposed to gain again the hearts of the Commons, which in many civil contentions were set against them. And so they embattelled themselves. The enemies likewise, both the Veientians and also the Tuscan legions were nothing behind, as making almost sure reckoning that they should be fought, withall no more than the *Equians* had been. Nay they were in hope of some greater disorder amongst them, and that, considering they were so malecontent, and the occasion so doubtfull they would play a more shamefull part, and shew their leaders a beastly cast. But it fell out far otherwise. For never in any other war afore, gave the Romans a hotter charge upon the enemies: so much had they of the one side with spitefull taunts and reproaches nettled them, and the Consuls on the other side with their long delays whet them on. Scarce had the Tuscans any time to put themselves in battell array, but at the very first encounter, and shock, casting their javelins carelessly from them (I know not how) rather than levelling and charging them against the enemy, they came presently pell-mell to hand-strokes, and to deal with their swords, which is the cruellest fight of all other. The *Fabii* among the foremost in the forefront fought valiantly, shewing their countermen a brave sight, and a noble example to follow. Where *Q. Fabius* who had been Consul the third year before, the leader and forwardest of them all, whiles he advanced himself and rushed amongst the thickest of the Veientians, and scuffled with many of them together, was not aware of his deadly enemy so near: but behold a certain Tuscan, a mighty man of strength and skilfull at his weapon, ran him through the breast with his sword: Which was not so soon drawn forth of his body, but *Fabius* fell down headlong upon his wound and died. Both armies felt the fall of that one man: and therewith the Romans retired. With that *M. Fabius*, the Consul stepped over his body as it lay along, and holding forth his target between: "Why, souldiers (quoth he) is the oath ye took to run away and retire thus into the Camp? And are ye more afraid indeed, of these most dastardly enemies, than of *Jupiter* and *Mars*, by whom ye swear? But I, who was not sworn at all, will either make return with victory, or else O *Q. Fabius*, fighting here by thee, I will live and die by thy side. To whom, *Cassius Fabius*, who the year afore was Consul, replied again: "Think you brother, with these words to make them to fight? Nay, the gods are they that must do it, by whom they have sworn. And let us like noble Knights, and for the honour of the *Fabian* house,

"fir

The speech of
Fabius to his
brother Consul.

A "stir up and animate our souldiers by fighting rather than by exhorting. Thus rode the two *Fabii* with lance in rest into the forefront, and drew the whole battel with them. The fight of one side being thus renewed, *Cn. Manlius* the Consul in the other wing bestirred himself, and did for his part as valiantly: Where hapned almost the like fortune. For as in the one wing the souldiers followed *Q. Fabius*, so in this they cheerfully went with the Consul himself *Manlius*, chasing the enemies afore him as discomfited. And when he was sore wounded, and thereupon gone out of the battel, his men supposing him to be slain, drew back, and had indeed lost ground and given way to the enemy, but that the other Consul with certain Cornets of horsemen, galloped amain into that quarter, and cried aloud that his fellow Consul was living: and that himself who had defeated the other point, was ready with victory to assist them, and so upheld the middle of the Army, that now began to shrink. *Manlius* also, to encourage his men, shewed himself in open fight. Thus the knowledge and presence of the two Consuls made the souldiers take heart afresh. Herewithall besides, were the enemies batralions the thinner and weaker, because they trusting upon their exceeding number, had drawn out those that were to serve for succour and supply, and sent them away to assaile the Camp. In the surprising whereof, finding no great ado and small resistance, whiles they had more mind to rattle for pillage, than to fight for the victory, they lost time. In the mean space the Roman *Triarii*, who were not able to hold out the first assault and entrance, having dispatched to the Consuls certain messengers, to give knowledge in what terms they stood, cast themselves round in a ring, and retired themselves to the *Prætorium* or Generals lodging, and of themselves alone, made head and renewed the fight. Likewise *Manlius* the Consul being ridden back to the Camp, at every gate set certain souldiers in guard: and so enclosed them within, that they could not get forth. The Tuscans being in this desperate case, fared more like mad men than hardy souldiers. For when as they ran here and there every way, according as they had any hope to find issue and to escape, and had made sundry offers and attempts in vain: behold one troupe of tall fellows in a body, made no more ado, but knowing the Consul, who by reason of brave and goodly armour was a fair mark, charged upon his own person. The first volley of their shot was received by those that stood about him, but their violence afterwards could not be endured. The Consul himself was wounded to death and fell down in the place, and all the rest were discomfited. Whereupon the Tuscans took more heart unto them, but the Romans were so distressed, that they ran all about the Camp in great fear. And in extrem jeopardy had they been, but that the Lieutenants caught up the Consul his body, and made passage at one gate for the enemy. Through which they rushed forth, and dismarched disorderly, untill they light upon the other Consul presently after his victory: where they either fell again upon the edge of the sword, or were scattered and put to flight. This brave Victory thus achieved, was heavy yet and sorrowful for the death of two so noble personages. And therefore when the Senate had decreed a Triumph, the Consul returned this answer: "That willingly he could allow thereof in regard of the passing good service performed in that war, in case an Army might triumph without a General. But as for himself, seeing that his house grieved and mourned for the death of his brother *Q. Fabius*, and that the Common-wealth was half fatherless as it were, for the loss of a Consul, he would not accept the Lawrell so deformed and foully blemished, both with publike and private sorrow. This Triumph thus by him refused, was more honourable than all the Triumphs in the world. By which we may see that glory despised in due time returneth otherwhiles in greater measure. Then solemnized he with great honour the obsequies one after another, first of his fellow Consul, and then of his own brother. And he himself made the funeral Orations for them both. But so as in yielding unto them their due commendations, he went himself away with the greater part. And not unmindful of that rule which he had learned in the beginning of the Consulship, namely, to win again the hearts and love of the Commons, he divided the cure of his hurt and wounded souldiers among the Senators. With most of them the *Fabii* were charged, and of none were they better tended and looked unto, than of them. Whereupon the *Fabii* now waxed popular, and that, for no other policy and intent, but only to do the Common-wealth good: and therefore with the favour and good will of the Commons, as well as of the Nobles, *Cæso Fabius* was created Consul, with *T. Virginus*: Whose principal care above all was this, even before war, before musters, before all things else, that seeing now in some measure there was good hope of concord begun already, the hearts of the Commons might be perfectly linked and united together with the Nobles, and that with all speed possible. In the beginning therefore of this year, before that any Tribune of the Commons should prefer the law *Agrovia*, he thought good and gave his advice, that the Nobles should prevent all, and go in hand first themselves to perform their part, and shew their bounty: namely, in parting the lands gotten by conquest, and freely bestowing the same as equally as might be, among the Commons. For it was meet and requisite that they should be possessed thereof, whose sweat of brows, nay, whose blood had paid for the purchase. But the Senators could not hear of that ear, but misliked of the motion: yea, and some of them complained and said, that the lively spirit, and couragious disposition of *Cæso*, which sometimes he had, was now by reason of excessive glory, grown to be toyish and full of vanities. And there an end of civil factions for a time.

But the Latines were much troubled with the incursions and inrodes of the Equians. Thither

was *Caso* with an Army sent, who invaded and overran the very country of the *Equians*, foraging and spoiling as he went. The *Equians* thereupon retired, & put themselves into their towns; and kept close within the walls, whereby there was no memorable field fought. But at their enemies the *Veientians* hand, they received an overthrow, and that through the rashness of the other Consul: and had not *Caso Fabius* come to the rescue in good time, the whole Army had been utterly lost. From that time there was neither war nor peace with the *Veientians*: but their dealing was much what after the manner of robbing. For when the Roman Legions were abroad, they would leave the field & take to their Cities: when they perceived the Legions were removed and gone, they would make excursions and waste the country. Thus plaid they mock-holiday, and dallied with them, shifting off war with quietness, and quietness again with war, by turns. So as the Romans could neither all wholly rest careless and secure for them, nor yet go through-stitch, & make an end once for all with them. Besides, other wars were either presently at hand, to wit, from the *Equians* and the *Volsicians*, who could no longer sit still, than until their fresh grief, and pain of the last defeature was over-past; or else the *Sabins*, never other but enemies, yea, and all *Herruria*, were like all shortly to rise and take arms. But the *Veientian* a continual enemy, rather than dangerous, provoked them to anger with reproachful taunts, oftner than with any great peril or hurt. And yet as little as it was, it might no time be neglected, nor gave them leave to be employed in the mean while elsewhere. Then came the whole house and kindred of the *Fabii* unto the Senat, in the name of them all spake the Consul in this wise: "My Lords of the Senat, the *Veientian* war had need rather of a resident garrison, as ye know well enough, to keep the frontiers, than great forces for expedition. As for you, see ye to other wars. Let the *Fabii* alone to deal as private enemies with the *Veientians*. We dare undertake and warrant, that the State of *Rome* shall receive no dishonour nor danger there. We are fully minded and resolved at our own proper cost and charges, to maintain and manage that war, as appropriate and peculiar to our name and family: the City shall be charged neither with men nor money there. Great thanks were given them for this their forwardness. The Consul being come out of the Senator house, was attended home with the whole generation of the *Fabii* who stood at the porch of the Council Court, expecting the Senats decree. And being commanded to be ready in armor well appointed the next day, and to give attendance at the Consuls door, they departed from thence home to their own houses. The bruit hereof spread all over the City. All men extoll the *Fabii* up to the skie, saying, "That one family had taken upon them the whole burden of the City. The *Veientian* war now is become (say they) a privat charge, and requireth the power and force only that privat persons could make. O that there were two such families more in *Rome* of that stomack and valour: that one of them might take the *Volsicians* in hand, and another the *Equians*. Surely all the nations bordering hereabout might soon be subdued, and the people of *Rome* sit still the while and rest in peace. The day following, the *Fabii* armed themselves, mounted on horseback, and repaired to the *Rendezvous* aforesaid, as they were commanded. Then came the Consul forth, clad in a rich coat of arms, and standing in his porch, beheld his whole blood and lineage armed and marshalled in order, and being received in the midst of them, caused the guidons and Cornets to be advanced. Never marched three along the City an Army either less in number, or more renowned for their fame and the admiration of men. Three hundred men of arms they were and six, all nobly descended, of one stock, of one race and name all. And of all them there was not one that a sage and prudent Senate would have refused at any time as insufficient to be a Leader and Commander in the field. Thus furnished with the force and strength that one only Family could make, they advanced forward, threatening and menacing the ruin and destruction of the *Veientians*. There followed a number and multitude of Citizens: one private company by themselves of kinsfolk, allies, friends, and fellows, casting in their minds no mean matters, neither of hope nor fear, but all exceeding measure and surpassing: another, of the common people, moved with a carefull regard, and astonished again in a favourable applaus and admiration of their enterprize, crying with one voice, Hold on right valiant Knights, March on a Gods name in happy hour; God grant lucky speed, answerable to your magnanimous attempts and designments: and look for, at our hands from henceforth, Consulships, triumphs, all rewards and honourable dignities whatsoever. And all the way as they passed along the Capitol, the Castle and other Temples they besought the gods, as many as were presented to their eye, as many as they could conceive in their minds, to vouchsafe that Squadron to be attended upon with good success and fortunate felicity, and soon to return home again in safety to their native country and loving parents. But, alas the while, in vain were all these prayers made. Then set they forward on their journey, leaving *Janus* Church on their right hand, taking the ungracious and unlucky way, from the gate *Carmentalis*, untill at length they came to the river * *Cremera*. That was thought a convenient place to fortifie in, and there to plant a garrison. After this were *L. Aemilius* and *C. Servilius* made Consuls. And so long as they adventured no farther than foraging the Country, the *Fabii* were good enough, not only to defend their hold and fort; but all their frontier parts and marches where the Tuscan Territory adjoyneth to the Roman, they so scoured and traversed, between the one confine and the other, that they kept all their own in safety, and mightily endamaged the enemies. Then surceased they a while, but it was not long, from waisting and spoiling. By which time both the *Veientians* had gathered

Caso Fabius
the Consul,
to the Lords of
the Senate.

The lineage of
the *Fabii* offer
to maintain
war with the
Veientians in
their own per-
sons, and at
their proper
charges.

* At this day
Fossa or Vatica.

A power out of *Hetruria*, and assaulted the fort of *Cremera*, and also the Roman Legions, under the conduct of the Consul *L. Emilius*, encountered the Tuscans in open field. And yet the Veientians had hardly time enough to put themselves in order of battell: so suddenly at the very first skirmish, while the files were entering into array under their colours in the vanguard, and the succours and supplies a placing and disposing in the rereward, a Cornet of Roman horse charged them so hotly on the flank, that they had not room and space either to begin fight, or to keep their standing sure. Thus were they discomfited, and chased back as far as *Saxa rubra*, i.e. Red rocks (for there they were encamped) where they humbly craved peace. Which when they had obtained, (see their inbred inconstancy so naturally engrafted) they were weary of it, and repented thereof before the Roman garrison could be withdrawn from *Cremera*. And so the *Fabii* once again skirmished with the Veientian Nation, without preparation of greater war. Neither made they inroads only, and sudden violent incursions into the Territories but sundry times they encountered with banners displayed, and joined battell in plain field. And that one house and kindred of the Roman people carried oftentimes the victory away from that most mighty and rich City (in those daies) of all the Tuscans. This took the Veientians at the first for a foul disgrace and indignity. But afterwards they devised to lay traps, as occasion should serve, and entrap their fierce and hardy enemy: and well apaid they were and rejoiced, that the *Fabii* upon the good success that still followed them, were become more bold and venturous. And therefore divers times when the Romans were abroad a plundering, they would drive cattel in their way, but yet so, as they might seem to light upon them by chance. The rustical peasants made shew as if they fled out of the Country, and left the fields waile: yea, and the companies of souldiers lent out to restrain and stay their spoiling, made shew of running away, pretending other they were afraid than they had cause indeed. So as now the *Fabii* by this time set so light by their enemies, and thought so well of themselves, that they beleaved verily their power was invincible, and might not be withstood in any ground, or at any time whatsoever. This conceit and hope of theirs let them so afloat, and made them so bold, that espying upon a time cattel far from *Cremera*, (for there was a large plain between) although here and there they might descry armed souldiers of their enemies, yet from their fort they ran down, with bridle in their horse neck. And when unadvisedly without foresight, they were past the ambush, which was laid covertly about the very way that they were to pass, and were stragling here and there disorderly, driving the cattel away, which gadded in and out, as their manner is when they be scared and affrighted, then suddenly start the enemies all at once out of the ambushment: so as both before and behind, and on every side they were beset and environed with enemies. At the first the very shouting and outcry they made round about terrified them: afterwards flew their shot from all sides. And as the Tuscans gathered themselves together, the *Fabii* were soon hemmed within a round battallion of enemies, standing armed thick and close one to another: and the nearer the enemies approached about them, in so much less room were they enforced also to cast themselves into a ring. Which, considering their araises were thrust so thick together in so straight a compals, made their small number appear the less, and the multitude of the Tuscans to carry a greater shew. Then forbearing to fight as they first intended, on every hand alike, and with all at once, they made head to one only place. Thereto they endeavour with might and main, body and armour; and with a pointed pattel wedgewise pierced through and made themselves passage. And they took the way that led to a little hill, rising up with an easie ascent. From whence at first they made resistance only and kept their ground: but soon after, when by reason of the vantage of the hill, they had some time to breath themselves, and to take heart again after so great a fright, they forced the enemies also to give back that were mounting up the hill. And as few in number as they were, yet by the benefit of the ground they had gotten the better, if the Veientians had not set a compals about the hill side, and gained the very top and pitch thereof. Thus became the enemy again to have the upper hand. And so were the *Fabii* slain every man, and not one of them escaped, yea, and their fort overthrowne and raled. Three hundred and six there were that died, as all writers do agree. One only of the name was left behind at home, well near fourteen years of age, for to renew and encrease, as out of a stock, the name of the *Fabii*, and to prove in time to come the greatest prop and pillar that the people of *Rome* should have in their dangers and extremities many a time both at home and abroad.

But ere this heavy loss and overthrow hapned, *C. Horatius* and *T. Menenius* were Consuls. *Menenius* was sent forth with against the Tuscans, puffed now up with pride for this their victory: with whom then also he fought unfortunately and sped but ill. For the enemies surprised and got the *Janiculum*, and the City had surely been besieged, (considering that besides war they were greatly distressed for want of victuals, for the Tuscans were passed over the *Tyber*) but that *Horatius* the Consul was called home from the Volscians. And so near approached the enemies in this war, and pressed to the very walls, that first there was a skirmish on even hand at the Temple of ** Sp.:* and another again at the gate *Collina*. Where albeit the Romans got but very small odds of the enemy, yet did that conflict upon a little recovery of wonted courage prepare the souldiers to better service in the battels ensuing.

Now were *A. Virginus* and *Sp. Servilius* created Consuls. The Veientians after this late defeat, came no more into the field, yet they robbed and wasted still. And from the *Janiculum* as

minut. 16. T
the soldiers
abandoned

the Fabii
slain

the Fabii
slain

The Fabii all
slain.

* Hope.

from a fortress and place of safe retreat, they would make excursions out into the Territory of *Rome* all about, and neither cattle nor country people could any where be in safety for them. But afterwards, they were overtaken themselves in the same wile that they had taught the *Fabii* with. For as they followed after certain cattle, which were driven forth here and there of purpose to draw and trau them abroad, they were plunged themselves headlong into an Ambuscado laid for them. And the more they were, the greater was their slaughter. Upon this foil, their cruel and fell anger gave the occasion and overture of a greater overthrow. For having crossed the *Tiber* in the night season, they gave the attempt to make an assault upon the Camp of the Consul *Servilius*. But being discomfited, and many of them slain, the rest retired themselves from thence, and with much ado recovered the *Janicle*. Straight after this, the Consul also passed over *Tyber*, and encampeth himself strongly under the *Janiculum*. The morrow morning by Sun rising, so venturous he was by reason of his fortunate fight the day before, and more for the scarcity of corn and victuals, which drave him to take he cared not how rash and dangerous courses, so they tended to more quick and speedy expedition, full fondly he advanced forward, and marched up the steep hill of the *Janicle*, and charged the enemies hold: but being set back himself from thence more shamefully than he had the day before repelled the enemies: yet by occasion that his fellow Consul came in the while to rescue, he and his Army both were saved: and the Tuscans enclosed between both hosts, were forced to turn their backs, both to one and the other, and were killed every mothers son. Thus by a rash enterprise (which as good luck was) sped well, the Veientian war came to an end. The City then, as it enjoyed peace, so it came again to be better stored of corn and victual: both for that there was some grain brought out of *Campania*, and also because the old store that was hoorded up came abroad, by reason that no man now stood in fear of dearth to ensue.

Afterwards upon plenty and ease they began to be busie again, and their heads to work, seeking to broach old troubles at home, since they had none to occupy them abroad. The Tribunes they fell to sollicite and infect the Commons, with their venome and poyson, the Law *Agria*: inciting them against the Nobles that gain said it: not in general terms only, but also by touching particular persons. For *Q. Confidius* and *T. Genutius*, who were for the Law *Agria*, framed an inditement, and sued *T. Menenius*. And this was laid to his charge, to wit, the loss of the fort and garrison at *Cremora*: for that, he being Consul lay encamped not far from thence. But of this danger he soon stopped the course, both because the Nobles laboured and took his part, no less than they had done afore for *Coriolanus*: and also the affection and favour that men bare to his father *Agrippa*, was not worn out, and clean forgot. The Tribunes used moderation therefore in the penalty, for having commenced a capital action against him, and convicted him thereof, they set a fine on his head of * 2000 Asles. Howbeit this cost him his life: for he grew, men say, into such a melancholick fit for shame of this disgrace, that he fell thereupon from grief of heart unto a pining sickness which followed him to his dying day. Then was there another accused and brought into trouble, to wit, *Sp. Servilius*, so soon as he was out of his Consulship, at what time as *C. Nautius*, and *P. Valerius* were Consuls. In the beginning of whose year the Tribunes *L. Cadius* and *T. Statius*, called him straightwaies to his answer. Who sustained the violence of the Tribunes, not as *Menenius* did, by his own intreaty and the prayers of the Nobles, but bare himself confidently upon his own innocency, and the good grate wherein he stood. Blamed he was likewise, and charged for the battel with the Tuscans at *Janiculum*. But being a man of an hot spirit and stout courage, as he carried himself before in the publike danger, so now in his own private peril, by refusing in a bold and stout speech that he made, not only the Tribunes, but also the Commonalty, and casting in their teeth and reproving them, for the condemnation and death of *T. Menenius*, by whose fathers means the Commons being in times past restored, had obtained first those very Magistrates and Laws, whereby at this day they exercise such rigour: he went through all his troubles, and with much boldness avoided the present jeopardy he stood in. The testimony of his Colleague *Virginus* stood him in great stead, who produced forth as a witness, made him partner with himself in all his worthy acts. But that process of judgment which passed against *Menenius* (so altered were they now, and repented therefore) did him much more good, and struck it dead sure.

When this broil and contention was ended at home, the Veientians war began abroad: to whom the Sabins also had joyned their power. Whereupon the Consul *P. Valerius*, with the aid of the Latines and Hernicks, was sent out with an Army to *Veii*: and incontinently he set upon the tents of the Sabins, as they lay encamped under the wals of their confederates: and put such a terrour amongst them, that while they ran forth scattering by bands and companies, some at one gate some at another, to repell the violent assault of the enemies, it hapned that the gate which he first advanced his ensigns against, was won. And within the trench small fight there was, but more man-slaughter. The tumult and noise hereof was heard from out of the Camp into the City. And the Veientians in great fear ran hastily to their weapons, as if *Veii* had been surpris'd. Some make speed to succour the Sabins: others do what they can to assail the Romans, who were wholly busied about the pillage of the Camp. For a pretty while they were put to some trouble, disordered, and withdrawn from their purpose: but afterwards they themselves advanced their banners, and made head against the one side and the other. The horsemen with all, sent in by the Consul, brake

T. Menenius
accused and
arraigned,

* 6. lib. 9. lb.
sterl.

Sp. Servilius
arraigned.

A brake the Tuscans array, and put them to flight. And thus in one hour two armies were defeated, two most puissant nations, and nearest neighbours to the Romans vanquished.

Sibins and Veientians vanquished.

Whiles these exploits were performed about *Veii*, the Volscians and Equians had encamped themselves in the Country of *Latium*, and harried the marches thereof. Whom the Latines of themselves, with the help only of the Hernikes, and without any Leader or aid at all from the Romans, forced to abandon their tents: and besides the recovery of their own goods again, achieved a great and rich booty. Notwithstanding all this, the Consul *Nautius* was sent from Rome against the Volscians. They were not well pleased, I believe, with the manner of it, that their allies should wage war at all with their own power and direction, without the Army and conduct of the Romans. He spared not to work all the mischief he could, all abuse and spite possible against the Volscians; yet could not they be brought to fight a set field. Then succeeded *L. Furius*, and *C. Manlius*, Consuls. To *Manlius* fell the charge of the Veientian Province. Howbeit, war there was none at all. But at their own suite, a truce was granted unto them of forty years. And they were enjoined to find corn and souldiers pay. Peace was not so soon procured abroad, but presently ensued discord at home. For at the instigation of the Tribunes, by occasion of the Law *Agraria*, the Commons were set a madding. But the Consuls skared neither with the condemnation of *Menenius*, nor yet with the peril wherein *Servilius* stood, resisted all they could. And when the Consuls were ouce out of their Office, *Genucius* a Tribune laid hold upon them, and arrested them: and *L. Emilius* with *Opiter Virginus* enter their Consulship. In some Annals or yearly records I find *Opiter* *Julius* Consul instead of *Virginus*. But in this year, whosoever then were Consuls, *Furius* and *Manlius* being indited before the people, went about arraigned in vile apparell and

L. Furius, and *C. Manlius* indicted.

Their Remonstrances to the puny Nobles.

mournful weed to the younger sort of Senators, as well as the Commons perswading, advising, and warning them to forbear and refuse all dignities and offices of state, yea, and all charge of Common-weal. And as for the Consuls rods born afore them, their purpled robes with purple, and chair of state, they should esteem no otherwise of them than of the pageants carried in a funeral pomp. And that with these gorgeous ornaments and ensigns they were but destined to death: much like to beasts adorned with sacred white ribbands and labels, appointed to sacrifice. But if the sweetness of a Consulship were such, let them consider now withall, and perswade themselves, that it is become private and overswaied with the power of the Tribunes: and that the Consul, as if he were the Tribunes serjeant, must do all at his beck and command. For if he

quetched never so little, if he seemed to regard the Senators, or make account of any thing else in the whole State but of the Commonalty, let him set before his eyes the exile of *Cn. Marcius*, the judgement and death of *Menenius*. The Nobles incensed with these speeches, from thenceforth began to consule and confer together, not openly and in publike council, but privately, and apart from the privy of many. And when they were resolved once upon this point, that those accused parties now in trouble, should be enlarged one way or other, by hook or crook: then the cruellest advice, and hardest course that could be delivered best pleased them: and for to put in execution the most audacious designments whatsoever, there wanted not one or other to give counsel. Well the law day of trial came, and when as the Commons gave attendance devoutly in the

Forum, in great expectations of the sequel and issue, they began at first to marvel much, that the Tribune *Genucius* came not down in place: and suspecting somewhat because of his long tarrying & delay, they imagined that he durst not for the great men and chief Magistrates of the City: and so they complained, that the common cause was forlorn and betrayed. At the last, they that kept about the door & porch of the Tribune his house, brought word that he was found at home stark dead. Which news being once noised through the assembly, mark how an Army is dispersed and scattered when their General is slain, even so in all the world the Commons slipt aside every one, some one way some another. But above all others, the Tribunes were in bodily fear, being thus by their fellow taught how little help or none at all, their sacred and redoubted Laws afforded. The Nobles could not dissemble this their joy, nor use it with moderation, but shewed it excessively: and so little repented any one of them of the fact committed, that they avowed it, and took it upon them, and would not seem culpable in the action: but gave it out in plain terms, that the Tribunes by foul means were to be tamed & their wings clipped in a mischief. Upon this their victory, so shameful a precedent in times to come there went out an edict for the publishing of a muster: and whiles the Tribunes were in this feare daunted, the Consuls without any contradiction, went through with it clear. But then were the Commons much more offended at their Tribunes silence and sitting still then at the Consuls rule and imperious government: saying, "Farewell freedom now, farewell liberties and all: now is the old world come again, and the Tribunes authority is both dead and buried together with *Genucius*. Now they were to go in hand and berthink themselves of some other course, how they might withstand the Senators proceedings: and seeing

Genucius a Tribune of the Common people, murdered in his house by the practice of the Patriarchs.

they were destitute of all other help to rely themselves upon, the only way was for the Commons to trust to themselves, & stand upon their own guard. Whereas therefore, there gave attendance upon the Consuls 24 *Lictors* or *Vergers*, Commoners all and no better, none more contemptible and base minded, if they met with those that would set them at naught: they might thank themselves only, and their own timorous conceits & imaginations, that such things were so dread and terrible. Thus having animated & provoked one another with these speeches: there was a Sergeant sent from the Consuls to one *Volero Publilius* a Commoner, who because he had

been

Volero Publilius refused to be pressed a souldier.

been a Leader in the field of certain bands, pleaded his immunity for being a common souldier again. *Volero* calleth for help to the Tribunes: but there being no man to rescue him, the Consuls commanded the man to be stript out of his cloaths, and the rods to be made ready for to scourge him. Then quoth *Volero*, "I appeal unto the people, seeing the Tribunes had rather have a Citizen and freeman of *Rome* beaten with rods in their presence, than be murdered themselves by you in their beds. But the more fiercely he cried on still, the more cruelly fell the Lictor to cut and slice his apparell for to uncase him. Then *Volero* being himself the stronger man, and assisted withall by some whom he called unto him, thrust the Sergeant from him: and where he perceived the mainest out-cry and loudest noise of his adherents, that fumed and chafed in his behalf, thither retired he, to shroud himself among the thickest, crying: "I appeal and beseech the Commons of their protection and succour. Help Citizens, help fellow-souldiers. Never stay and wait for the Tribunes, untill they come, who have themselves need of your assistance. Hereat folk were raised and gathered together, and addressed themselves as to a Battell. A foul piece of work was toward, full of exceeding danger, and like it was, that no man would have had regard either of common law or private honesty. When the Consuls in this so great a broil and storm of outrage came in, to prevent further mischief, they knew soon by experience how slenderly guarded against danger, the Majesty of Rulers is, where force is wanting. For their Lictors were beaten, misused, and ill intreated, their rods broken all a peeces, themselves driven out of the Common place, and forced to take the Senat house, doubting how far forth *Volero* would proceed in the train of his victory. But when the riot was well appeased, they assembled the Senators together, and complained there of their injuries received, the violence of the Commons, and the audacious presumption of *Volero*. After many opinions and sharp censures delivered among them, the Ancients and Elders prevailed at length, who thought it not good to set the anger of the Nobles against the head-strong rashness of the Commons. And the Commons so highly favoured and embraced *Volero*, that in their next election they made him their Tribune for that year, wherein *L. Pinarus* and *P. Furius* were Consuls. Who contrary to all mens expectation, that thought verily he would have exercised his Tribuneship in molesting and vexing the Consuls of the former year, preferred the publike cause before his own private grievance, and gave not the Consuls so much as one foul word. Only he preferred a Law unto the people, That the Magistrates of the Commonalty might be created in a ward-Leet, or Assembly of the Tribes and Wards. Thus under a title, which at the first sight seemed nothing hainous, passed a matter of no small consequence, but such as abridged the Nobles of all power and authority, to create Tribunes whom they would, by the suffrages and voices of their vassals and favourites. But when the Senators resisted with all their might, the going forward of this Act most pleasing and plausible to the Commons, and yet none might be found of the brotherhood of Tribunes, that by the authority either of Consuls or of Senators could be brought to joyn in his way by their negative voice, which was indeed the only means to cross it: the business, notwithstanding in it self so weighty to wield, and so hard to be compassed, held out with much debating the year through. The Commons then made *Volero* Tribune again. The Senators on the other side, supposing the matter would now come to a final triall once for all, created for their Consul *Ap. Claudius*, the son of *Appius*: who even for the old contentions maintained by his father, who was both hated of the Commons, and also hated them again: and he had for his companion in government *T. Quinctius*. At the very beginning no matter was treated of before that Law. But as *Volero* was the first deviser and broacher of it, so his fellow *Leclorius* was the more earnest and hot maintainer thereof, as he came more fresh unto it. The stouter he was besides, by reason of his great military glory, for that in those daies there was not a taller man of hands, nor more active than he. Now, when as *Volero* went straight to the substance of the Law in hand, without any circumstance of words, and forbore to inveigh against the Consuls person, *Leclorius* began his speech with challenging *Appius* and his house, as most proud, and cruelly affected to the Commonalty of *Rome*: avouching earnestly, "That the Nobles had made, not a Consul, but a butcherly tormentor, to afflict and mangle the Commons: but being a rough-hewn souldier, and not used to make Orations, his tongue could not frame to expresse his mind as freely as he would: and so his utterance failing him: Since that (quoth he) O *Quirites*, I cannot so readily deliver that in my speech, as I can make that good indeed which I have spoken: Be you here to morrow, and in this very place I will either get this Law enacted, or I will lie in the dust and die for it before you all. The next day the Tribunes were gotten into the Temple or hall first, The Consuls and Nobility abode still in the assembly of the people, for to hinder the passing of the Law. Then commanded *Leclorius* all the rest to avoid and depart, but those only that were to give their voices. The young Gentlemen of the Nobility stood still, and gave no place to the Tribunes Officer. Then willed *Leclorius* some of them to be attached. But the Consul *Appius* replied again, O "That a Tribune had authority over none but Commoners: forasmuch as he was a Magistrate, not of the people, but of the Commons. Neither could himself, of his absolute power (Consul though he was) observing the custome of his ancestors, command any man to avoid: for that the usuall form of words ran thus, *May it please you my Masters, O Quirites, if you think good, to depart*. Soon was he able, thus laying the Law unto him, by way of scorn and contempt, to outface *Leclorius*, and put him down. Whereupon the Tribune chafed, and set into an heat, sendeth an Officer

A Law proposed that Magistrates of the Commons should be chosen in a Tribes-Leet, or ward-Assembly, called, *Tributa comitia*.

Leclorius sendeth the preferring of *Publius* his Law.

A Officer to the Consul: the Consul likewise, a Licor to the Tribune, crying often aloud, that he was but a private person without command, without Magistracy. And doubtless the Tribune had been hardly used, but that both the assembly rose up in a rage, and took part with the Tribune against the Consul: and also there was a concourse of the multitude, raised out of all parts of the City into the Common Hall. *Appius* notwithstanding stood stiffely to it still, and abide the brunt of this tempestuous storm: neither had this broile staid without some bloudshed, in case *Quintus* the other Consul, had not set some of the Aldermen that had been Consuls, to get his brother Consul by force (if otherwise it might not be) out of the Hall, whiles himself was in hand, one while with the Commons, to appeale their iury, by way of intreaty and with fair words, other whiles besought the Tribunes to break up the assembly, perswading with them to take more leisure in this their heat and anger for that time and space would abridge nothing of their power, but would joyn counsel and advice thereto: concluding withal, that both Nobles should be ruled by the people, and the Consul ordered by the Nobles. Hardly and with much ado were the Commons quieted by *Quintus*, but far more trouble had the Nobles to still the other Consul. At the length, when the assembly of the people was dismissed, the Consuls called the Senat together. Where after much variety of opinions, proceeding from fear and anger according as the one or the other, waied among them: look how much longer time they had to reclaime their mind from violent courses, and sagely with deliberation to consider of the matter: so much the more their hearts went against all contention, and farther strue: insomuch, as they yeilded *Quintus* hearty thanks, that by his travel between parties, the discord was well allaid. And to *Appius* they were petitioners, "That he would be content, that the majesty of the Consull might be no greater than would stand with the unity and concord of the Citizens. For whiles the Tribunes for their part would needs have all, and the Consul on the other side draw all to them: between this this pucking and haling there was no strength left in the midit: and to conclude, the Commonwealth was rent, torn and dismembred between the rulers therof: who strove rather for the managing and rule, than for the safety and preservation of the State. Against whom *Appius* replied with a solemn protestation before God and man, and said, "That the weal publike was abandoned, forlorn, and betraied by nothing else but foolish fear: that the Senat wanted not a Consul, but the Consul wanted Senators: who now yeilded to harder conditions than they had before time in mount *Sacer*. Howbeit overweighed at length by the general consent and accord of the Nobles, he was content: and so the law passed quietly, was by royall consent authorized. Then and never before were the Tribunes created in a congregation of the tribes, and by their voices, *Piso* writeth, that there were three more made to the other as if there had been but twain before: and he nameth also the Tribunes, to wit *C. Succi*, *L. Numitorius*, *M. Duellius*, *Sp. Icilius* & *L. Melcius*. Then had the Volscians and Equians, between the civil sedition of the Romans, & the beginning of war, harried & wasted the country: that in case the Commons had made an insurrection, they might have retired to them, as to a sure place of receipt & refuge. But when all was busht & matters compounded between the Nobles and Commons, they removed their camp backward.

Appius Claudius was sent against the Volscians: and to *Quintus* fell the Province of the Equians. The same rigorous severity continued *Appius* still in warfare, that he used at home in the City: but so much more freely, for that he was not curbed nor held in by the Tribunes. The Commons he hated, more than his father had done afore seeing he was overwaied, and had taken the foil at their hands: and being the only Consul, opposed against the Tribunes power, yet manure his head, the law passed clear away, which the former Consuls his predecessors, with less ado, nor with so great hope and expectation of the Nobility, had ever hindred and staid. This his anger and indignation gave an edge to that fell stomach of his by kind for to plague and punish his souldiers with imperious and lordly command. But so let they were to spurn again and disobey, that by no forcible means they could be tamed, doing all things that they did lazily slowly frowardly, and stubbornly. Neither bashed they for shame, nor stood in awe for fear. If his will was they should march on apace, they would on set purpose go fair and softly: If he encouraged them in proper person to intend their business, they would all of them slack their former service, whereunto they were entred of themselves: whiles he was in place, they would hang down their heads and look on the ground: as he passed by they would secretly curse him in their hearts. So as that invincible stomach of his against all hatred of the Commons, would now and then grieve hereat. And when he saw that all the shrewdness and rigour, that he used was in vain, and that now he could do no good with his souldiers, he fell to checking the Captains and Centurions, saying, They had spoiled and marred the Army, terming them Tribunes of the Commons, and otherwhiles in taunting wise nicknaming them *Voletoes*. All these doings were the Volscians aware of, and therefore were they more eager and forward, hoping that *Appius* should find the Roman Army as froward and disobedient, as they had been against *Fabius*. And to say truth they were more crooked and unruly with *Appius* than with *Fabius* a great deal. For they were not only unwilling to have the victory as *Fabius* his Army was, but also desirous to lose the victory and be overcome. Being brought forth and set in battel array, they shamefully took their heels and fled into their tents: and never made head and resistance, before they saw the Volscians with banners displayed, advancing against the munitions of their Camp, and a foul slaughter committed upon the tail of their rereward. Then were they driven perforce to fight for very necessity, that

The fore said law enacted

The mutiny and disobedience of the souldiers to *Appius* changed in their Generall.

Flaminius saith,
they had the
Bastinado.
vide Carol. Sig.
de parric.

Quintus be-
loved of his sol-
diers.

*Appius Clau-
dius* arraigned at
the bar.

that the enemy thus far forth Victor, might be kept from the Wall and Trench: and yet so, as it H
was very apparant, that the souldiers passed for nothing else, but only to save the Camp for being
won: for some of them rejoyced at their own loss and defeature. Whereat, the stout stomach of
Appius was nothing daunted, nor his heart broken: but he minded to deal cruelly with them, and
thereupon summoned a general assembly. Then the Lieutenants, Marshals, and Colonels, came
running unto him, advertising him in no case to try masteries, and to enforce his authority. The ve-
ry ground and strength wherof resteth wholly in the accord of obedient people: adding moreover,
that the souldiers commonly gave out, that they would not go to the assembly: but rather they
might be heard every where, calling upon them aloud, to dislodge and remove out of the territo-
ry of the Volscians: moreover, that the enemy now Master of the field, was but a while since ad-
vanced to the gates and rampier, and well near possessed of them: whereby, they were not only to
suspect, but might evidently see before their eyes some great matter toward of dangerous conse-
quence. Whereupon at last he was over-ruled, and (forasmuch as his souldiers thereby should gain
nothing but delay of their punishment) remitted the assembly for that time: and after proclama-
tion made, to set forward in their journey the next day, and to depart in the morning very early,
he caused the trumpet to sound the remove, and to march away. The Army being gone out of the
Camp, and ready to be set in order of a march at length, the Volscians who were gotten up by the
same sound of the trumpet, plaid upon the tail of the reereward: the noise whereof passed from
thence to the vanguard, & so disordered the ensigns, so troubled the ranks by reason of that fright,
that neither could the direction and commandment of the Captains be heard, nor the Army be
brought into battel array. No man minded any thing at all but to run away and disorderly in great
numbers, they fled back over the dead carcases and armors that lay on heaps, and so escaped: and
never stay they their flight, untill the enemy gave over the chase. At the last, the Consul having
called his souldiers together that were run away so scattering, (for with all the speed that he made
after to call them back, he could not reclaim them) encamped without his enemies ground in a
place of security. Then he called them all together to an assembly, and inveighed bitterly, and not
without just cause, against the whole Army, as having betrayed the discipline of war, and forsaken
their colours: asking every one of them what was become of their banners? And what they had
done with their weapons? And as many souldiers as were unarmed, as many ensign-bearers as had
not their ensigns, the Centurions also, and those that received double allowance, and forsook their
bands and companies, he caused to be scourged with rods, & to lose their heads. The whole num-
ber besides, were by lottithed, and every tenth man as it fell out, executed. But contrariwise, in
the expedition against the *Equians*, the Consul and his souldiers, strove to exceed one another
in curesse and kindnesse. *Quintus* was by nature mild and chearful, and the cruelty of his brother
Consul, that never sped well, made him take more joy in that his gentle disposition. Whiles the
General and his Army consorted thus together, the *Equians* durst not confront them, but suf-
fered their enemies to range all abroad and forrage the country: so as in no former wars got they
greater booties from thence: and all was bestowed among the souldiers. Over and besides these
gratuities, they had their due praises and solemn commendations, wherein souldiers take no less
delight than in rewards and gifts. So, that Army returned home better affected to their General, M
and also to the Nobles for their Generals sake: reporting that the Senate had given to them a
loving father, but to the other Army a lordly master. This year thus spent with variable fortune
abroad in war: with grievous discord as well at home as abroad, was above all most memorable
and famous for the Tribe-Leet. A matter of more note, in respect of their victory that entred in-
to the action, than of consequence, in regard of commodity that grew thereof. For the very Leet
it self lost more credit by excluding the Nobles out of that assembly, than either the Commons
got strength, or the Nobles did forgo thereby. But more troublesome was the year following,
whiles *L. Valerius* & *T. Emilius* were Consuls, both for the variance of the three States about the
law *Agraria*, and also for the arraignment of *Appius Claudius*. Whom, being a most bitter adver-
sary of that law, and a great maintainer and upholder of those that possessed and held the common N
lands, as if he had been ever a third Consul, *M. Duellius*, and *C. Siccinius* arrested and endited. Never
before that day came to the bar, a person to be tried before the people, so odious unto the Com-
mons: charged with so many wrongs done of his own, so many of his fathers afore him, in regard
whereof they were highly displeased and offended with him. The Nobles likewise had not lightly
laboured so earnestly, nor strained themselves so much for any one as for him. Who being the pa-
tron and protector of the Senat, the maintainer and upholder of their port and dignity, a man e-
ver opposed against all the troublesome broils of Tribunes & Commons, was now delivered as a
prey to the Commons in their anger, and only for that he had overshot, and passed himself in heat
of contention. But of all the Senators that ever were, *Appius Claudius* of himself alone was he, that
cared not a rush, either for Tribune or Commoner, nor yet for his own arraignment. No mena-
cing threats of the Commons no earnest prayers of the Senators could once make him, I say, nor
to change his apparel, and in humble manner to seek and crouch unto men for to be good
unto him: no nor so much, as when he came to answer for himself before the people, one whit
to mollifie and let fall (as it were) that rough and sharp kind of speech that he was wont ordina-
rily to use. He kept the same sovre countenance still, the very same forwardness and crabbedness
of visage, the same spirit of boldness in his apology and defence. Insomuch, as many of the
Com-

A Commons were no less afraid of *Appius* standing prisoner, there arraigned at the bar, than they had been of him; sitting as Consul in his ivory chair of estate. In pleading of his cause, he spake briefly and at once to the point, with the same accusatory spirit, that he had ever used in all his pleas and actions. With his boldness and resolute constancy, he so amazed both Tribunes and Commons, that they themselves deferred the day of giving sentence, and suffered afterward the suit to hang and depend still undetermined. But not long after, even before the Law day appointed was come, he sickned and died. Whose funeral praises when as the Tribunes went about to hinder, the Commons would not suffer, that the death of so worthy a man, should be defrauded of the due honour and solemn obsequies, and gave audience as quietly and attentively to the commendation of the man now dead, as they did afore to his accusation while he was alive: and with a goodly train attended his corps to the grave.

Ap. Claudius
died.

The same year *Valerius* the Consul made a voiage with an army against the *Æquians*, and seeing he could not train the enemy forth to fight, he made a bravado to assail the Camp: but there fell such a terrible storm and tempest from heaven, with hail and thunder-claps, that he was disappointed of his enterprize. And that which made it more strange and wonderfull, he had no sooner sounded the retreat, but the weather proved so fair and calm again, that he made some scruple and matter of conscience, to give a second assault unto the trench, as if it had been defended by the speciall power and providence of God. So, all the heat of war turned to the waiting only of the Countrey. The other Consul *Emilius* warred with the *Sabins*. And even there also, because the enemies kept within their walled towns, the Territories were spoiled. But afterwards, the *Sabines* raised with the firing, not only of their villages and hamlets, but also of the good towns and burroughs, whereof in those parts there were many, and thoe well peopled, encountered the forragers: and after a doubtfull skirmish, they departed asunder, and the morrow after raised their Camp, and retired themselves back into a place of more security, which the Consul taking for a sufficient argument and proof, that the enemies were defeated, left them so, and dislodged likewise, without any end of the war.

During these wars, and while discord continued in the City at home, were *T. Numitius Priscus* and *A. Virginius* created Consuls. Now seemed it that the Commons would no longer abide the deferring of the Law *Agriaria*. And as they were about to put it to a venture and to try the utmost by extremity, they took knowledge partly by the smoke and flame of the villages on fire, and partly by the running away of the villagers, that the *Volsicians* were near at hand. Which occurrence repressed and kept down the sedition which was now come to ripeness, and ready to break forth. For the Consuls forced by the Senate immediately to the war, by taking the serviceable youth with them out of the City, reduced the rest of the Commons to more quietness. And the enemies verily made no further attempt, but after they had given a false alarm, and set the Romans in a foolish fear, dismarched away as speedily as they could. Then *Numitius* went to *Aniurn* against the *Volsicians*, and *Virginius* against the *Æquians*: where having well-near received a great loss and defeat by a train laid for him: such was the prowess and manhood of the souldiers, that they recovered all again, which by the negligence of the Consul had like to be lost. But better was

E the conduct and government of the Army against the *Volsicians*. For there, at the first skirmish the enemies were disarrayed, put to flight, and chased as far as to *Aniurn*, a City (for that time) of right great puissance and importance. The Consul durst not assault it, but went from the *Antiates*, *Canon*, another town; but nothing so wealthy. While the *Æquians* and *Volsicians* thus amused the Roman Armies and kept them occupied, the *Sabines* were come robbing and spoiling to the gates of the City of *Rome*. But within few daies after, they themselves received more damage than they brought, by occasion that both Consuls with two armies were entred in great anger into their Confines. In the end of the year some peace there was, but disquieted, as at all times before, with the variance between the Nobles and Commons. The Commons in a peevish and angry fit, would not be at the Election of the Consuls. So, by the Senators only and their followers, there were elected Consuls, *T. Quintius* and *Q. Servilius*. The like year to the former these Consuls had seditions and troublesome in the beginning: but afterwards upon certain war, quiet and still. For the *Sabines* with a running Camp having passed over the plains of *Crustumium*, and put all to fire and sword about the river *Anio*, were chased back, well near from the gate *Collina* and the walls: howbeit they drave away with them exceeding great booties both of people and cattell. Whom the Consul *Servilius* followed hard with a power ready to bid battell, but could not overtake their main army in any even ground meet to pitch a field in. Howbeit he foraged and wasted the Countrey all about, so as he left no corner clear that felt not his fingers, and returned with purchase of many rich prizes of all sorts.

G Likewise among the *Volsicians* they sped well and had lucky hand by the good demeanour both of captain and souldier. First, they joynd battell upon a plain, and fought with very great slaughter, and exceeding much bloudshed on both sides. And the Romans (who for their small number were more apt to feel the loss) had lost ground and dismarched, if that the Consul by making a lie for a vantage, and crying that the enemies fled from the other wing, had not encouraged them and renewed the battell afresh. And so by giving a new charge, while they thought they had the better, they got the better in very deed. The Consul, fearing again, by pressing too hard upon the Army, to enforce them to turn and make head, sounded the retreat. Few daies passed between

The stratagem
of the Consul
Quintius.

between, wherein they rested quiet, as though there had been a secret truce agreed between them. In which mean space, a great sort of people from all parts of the Volscians and Equians repaired to the Camp, thinking verily, that if the Romans were aware of them, they would depart in the night season. Whereupon, at the third watch they came to make an assault upon their Camp. *Quintus* after he had quieted the tumult, which upon this sudden alarm arose, and given commandment that the souldiers should keep themselves within their pavilions, brought forth a company of Hernicks to guard the gates, and caused certain cornettiers and trumpeters on horseback to wind and sound before the trench and counterscarpe, and so to hold the enemy in suspense and expectation untill day-light. The rest of the night all was so quiet within the Camp, that the Romans had time enough and good opportunity to take their repose and sleep. This shew of footmen in their harness, whom the Volscians imagined to be more than they were, and all Romans: the neighing besides, and noise that the horses made by reason of their strange riders that they were not used unto, and the sound also of their trumpets and horns that made them to set up their ears, and to stamp and fume outrageously, amused the enemies waiting ever when they would charge upon them. When it was day, the Romans being in heart and fresh, as having slept their fill, came forth and embattelled themselves, and at the first shock discomfited the Volscians, wearied with long standing and overwatched withall. And yet the enemies rather gave ground and retired themselves, than seemed to be driven from their standings, because they had at their backs certain hills, whereunto they might retire behind the *Principia*, and not break their ranks, and so save themselves. The Consul seeing he was come to a place of disadvantage, made a stand. The footmen hardly would be staid, calling and crying to the Consul to follow upon them seeing they were discomfited. The horsemen were more eager, riding all about the Consul, and with open mouth cried out, that they would advance before the ensigns. Whiles the Consul held off, in a hammering what to do, for as he was assured of the valour of his souldiers, so he little trusted the ground: they all at once set up a shout, that they would set forward, come what would: and as they cried, so did they in good earnest. And pitching their javelins fast in the ground, that they might more nimbly get up the steep place, they took their full career, and ran up the hill. The Volscians having in their first brunt spent all their darts, and other shot which they had let flie, and made no spare, took up stones that lay under their feet, let drive at the Romans as they climbed up, and so thick and threefold they bestowed them, that they annoyed them fore, and beat them down the hill. Thus the left wing of the Romans was well-near overcharged: had not the Consul at the point, when as they were ready to retreat, blamed them first for their rashness, and then for their cowardise, and made them for very shame to shake off all fear. First they stood to it stoutly, and kept their ground, and after, as their strength served them, considering the vantage of the place which the enemies had gotten, they adventured to set foot forward, and won ground with a fresh shout and outcry. And taking their career again the second time, they strain all they can, and at length overcame the disadvantage of the place. Now when they were almost at the point to win the very pitch and ridge of the hill, the enemies turned back. Whiles they ran on heaps in disaray, both they that fled, and they that followed, hapned both at once in one company into the enemies Camp, which in that fright was won. The Volscians, as many of them as could escape, ran as fast as their legs would carry them to *Antium*. And to *Antium* likewise was the Roman army conducted: and after a few daies siege, was surrendered upon no fresh and new force of assault, but for that presently upon their unfortunate conflict and loss of the Camp their heart were done, and utterly failed.

The Third Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the third Book.

S Editions about the Laws Agraria. The Capitoll taken and held by banished persons and slaves. They were slain, and it recovered. A survey and Censment was taken twice. In the former there were found of Roman Citizens 124214, besides orphan children, and such as had no children at all, as well men as women. In the other following there were 132419. Upon a great overthrow received in the war against the Equians, L. Quintus Cincinnatus was made Dictator: and being in the country at his farme busie about his husbandry, was sent for to the conduct of that war. He vanquished and subdued the enemies. The number of the Tribunes of the Commons, arose to ten, thirty six years after their first institution. The Laws of Athens were set from thence by Embassadors, sent for that purpose: to the establishing and publishing whereof, there were ten personages elected in the room of Consuls, which were called Decemvirs, without any other Magistrates: and this hapned in the three hundred and second year

A year after the foundation of Rome. And as the Government of the state was translated from Kings to Consuls: so was it now from the Consuls to the Decemvirs. They having proposed ten tables of laws, and born themselves modestly in that high dignity, were therefore by the consent of the people, permitted to remain still in office the second year. But after they had committed many insolent parts, they would not give over their room of Magistracy, but held it still the third year: until such time as their obstinate and intollerable rule came to an end, occasioned by the filthy lust of Appius Claudius: who being inamoured upon a Virgin, suborned one to make claim unto her as his bondslave: whereupon her father Virginus was driven of necessity to catch up a knife from a butchers stall next by, and to kill his daughter: as having no other means to save her from the hands of him that purposed to abuse her body unlawfully. The Commons upon this foul example of filthy leachery, made an insurrection, and took the mount Aventine for their hold, and compelled the Decemvirs to leave their place, and give over their government. Of whom, Appius and one of his Collegues (which two had principally deserved punishment) were committed to prison, and there kept, the rest were driven into banishment. This book containeth besides the victorious wars against the Sabini, Volscians, and Equians. And the dishonest arbitrement or award of the people of Rome, who being chosen Arbitrators between the Ardeans and the Aricins, awarded to themselves the Land whereabout the strife and controversy was.

The third Book of T. Livius.

C After the winning of Antium, T. *Emilius* and Q. *Fabius* were created Consuls. This was that *Fabius* that only remained alive of all the name that perished at *Cremera*. Now had *Emilius* in his former Consulship perswaded to distribute certain Lands among the Commons. And therefore in this second likewise, both the favours of the law *Agraria* were in good hope of the foresaid law: and also the Tribuns supposing verily that now by the help of a Consul, that might be brought about and obtained, which oftentimes had been enterprised against the pleasure of the Consuls: took the matter in hand and gave the attempt: and withal, the Consul still continued in the same mind. But the great landed men and many of the Nobles, finding themselves grieved, and complaining that the chief and head Magistrat of the City busied himself, with the Tribuns suits, and was by large giving away of other mens possessions, become popular and gracious with the people, turned the whole burthen and odious heavy load of this action, from the Tribuns upon the Consul his head. And a cruel broil was toward, had not *Fabius*, by a device and policy to neither party offensive, made an end of the matter with expedition. For whereas there were certain Lands gotten by conquest from the Volscians the year afore under the conduct of T. *Quintius*: "There might (said he) a colony be brought to Antium, a City neer adjoining, very commodious, and seated by the Sea side: so should the Commons without any grudging or complaints of the possessors or Land-lords, be seized of Land, and the City rest in quiet and Unity. This opinion of his was accepted of all hands. And they created three especial officers or Triumvirs for the division of the said lands, to wit, T. *Quintius*, Aul. *Virginus*, and P. *Furius*. Then proclamation was made, That whosoever would hold any of the Land, should give up their names in writing. But plenty, as the manner is, soon caused lothing: for there were so few that presented themselves, that to make up the full number of the inhabitants, they were fain to adjoyn unto them certain Volscians. The rest of the multitude had rather (as it seemed) to keep a calling for Land at Rome, than be possessed of Land elsewhere. The Equians craved peace of Q. *Fabius*, who was come against them with an army: and they themselves by making a sodain inrode into the territories of Latium, cancelled the same and made it void: But the year next following, Q. *Servilius* (for he was Consul with Sp. *Posthumus*) being sent against the Equians, kept a standing camp in the Country about Latium. But by the reason of a contagious disease or a plague, that rained in his army, they were of necessity forced to keep quiet within their tents. So their war was deferred unto the third year, when as Q. *Fabius* and T. *Quintius* were Consuls. And forasmuch as Q. *Fabius*, had upon his victory before granted peace to the Equians, he had an extraordinary commission directed unto him for the rule of that Province. Who being thither gone with full assured hope, that the very fame of him and noise of his army, would quiet the Equians, sent Embassadors to the Council of that Nation, with this message: "Q. *Fabius* the Consul, saith, that as he carried before peace from the Equians unto Rome, so he bringeth now war to the Equians from Rome: having now his sword in the very same hand, which he gave unto them before in friendly manner unarmed. Whole treachery it is and perjury, that is the cause of this, the Gods can witness now, and in some measure will revenge hereafter. Nevertheless, he for his part, however the case standeth, desireth that the Equians would yet bethink themselves of their own accord and repent rather than stand to the extremity and abide those calamities and miseries that follow wars. If they would come in therefore and be sorry for that they have done, their submission should be received, and they taken into the safe protection of his clemency, whereof already they had experience. But in case they persist still in their disloyalty, and take pleasure in being forsworn: be they well assured, that they should have the ire and wrath of the Gods more than their enemies to fight against them. These words so little or nothing at all moved any men there, that the very Embassadors had like to have been very hardly used and evil entreated, yea,

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and

and an army withal was sent forth as far as *Algidum* against the Romans. When these tidings were brought to *Rome*, the indignity of the thing and the shameful manner thereof, rather than any fearful peril otherwise, railed the other Consul out of the City. So two Consular or royal armies approached the enemy in order of battail, ready to try it out presently by the dint of sword. But the day being (as it fell out) welneer spent, there cried one aloud from out of the place where the enemy kept ward: "This is to make a shew of war only (ye Romans) and not to war indeed; ye set your battailions in array against night forsooth, that now draweth hard on: we had need of more daylight I wis, for the business in hand, and to try this quarrel. To morrow therefore at Sun rising, see you come again into the field, ye shall have fighting fear not, your hands full. The souldiers nettled and galled at these words, retired back into the camp until the next day, I thinking the night was long, that kept them from battail and so for that time they refreshed their bodies with food and sleep. On the morrow so soon as it was day, the Roman host being stirring somewhat more early, stood ready arranged in array: and at length the *Equians* likewise shewed themselves in field. A sharp fight there was on both sides, by reason that both the Roman souldiers fought in anger and deadly hatred, and also the *Equians* upon prickt conscience, that bare them witness how they embarked themselves into this danger, and were out of all hope ever to be trusted again, were forced to hazard all upon a cast, and venture the utmost. Yet were not the *Equians* able to endure long, the violent fight of the Romans, but were discomfited and put to flight. And being returned within their own Frontiers, the unruly multitude for all this, were never the more inclined to peace, but reproved and blamed their Captains, "That they put the tryal of the issue to a set field, in which kind of fight the Romans had singular skill, and surpassed them. As for the *Equians*, they were better at robbing, spoiling, and foraging, in making incursions and inrodes: and a better and safer kinde of service it was, here and there in sundry places, to skirmish with forces divided, than reduce all into one gross army, and to pitch a field. Leaving therefore a guard to defend the camp, they went forth, and with such a tumult invaded the confines of *Rome*, that the very terror thereof reached unto the City. This stir, especially coming so sodainly and unlooked for, made the Romans fear the more. For who would ever have doubted and suspected, that their enemies so lately vanquished, and in manner besieged within their own camp, could possibly think upon entering into the lands of others, and to drive booties. Besides, the rustical peasants came in at the gates, crying, and saying, That they were not petty companies, and small handfuls of thieves and robbers, but (such was their foolish fear, augmenting and making every thing greater) whole armies & legions of enemies were at hand, and marched apace with banners displayed full against the City. From their mouths, they that were next made report unto others, & as they heard news from they knew not whom, so they set them abroad they cared not how, but ever in the carriage they added somewhat of their own, and coyned lies good store. Here was running, there was crying al'arm & generally such a confusion every where, as if the City had been quite lost. By good hap *Quintius* the Consul was returned from *Algidum* to *Rome*. That remedy cured all and stayed the fear. When the tumult was appeased, he rebuked the people for fearing those enemies whom heretofore they had vanquished, and placed good guards over the gates. Then he assembled the Senate, and by the authority and assent of the Nobles, proclaimed *Iustitium*, or a general cessation or vacation in all courts of law: and went himself forth in person with a power to defend the marches, leaving *Quintus Servilius* Provost of the City: but the enemy he found not in the territory all about. The other Consul performed his affairs passing well: who having certain intelligence, which way the enemies would come, set upon them laden with prey, and (by that means marching more heavily in disorder) made it a dear booty unto them, even as much as their lives were worth. For few of them escaped the Ambush, and all the pillage was recovered. So the return of *Quintius* into the City, made an end of the publick Lawfead, or above-said vacation which lasted but four dayes. Then was a Censie or Assesment set of mens goods, and a muster or view taken of the number of Citizens, together with a solemn purging of the people, called *Lustrum*, celebrate by *Quintius*. And there were numbred of Citizens 124214 polles, over and above men and women that lived single, or had no children, and al orphans besides. And among the *Equians* after ward nothing was done worth remembrance: for they bereok them to their strong Towns, suffering their territory and villages to be consumed with fire, and spoiled. Thus the Consul, after he had divers times overrun the Country of his enemies, with a cruel army wasting and spoiling as he went, returned home to *Rome* with great honor and a huge booty. Then were Coss, *Aulus Posthumius Albus*, and *Sp. Furii*. Some have written them *Fusii*, who indeed are rightly named *Furii*. Which I note, lest any man should think they were sundry men, whereas the variety is only in the name. No doubt there was, but that one of the Coss. would war with the *Equians*: and therefore the *Equians* sought for aide of the *Ectrane Volscians*. Which being gladly granted and sent with speed, (such a perpetual hatred bare these Cities alwayes against the Romans) there was great preparation for war in most forcible manner. The *Her-niks* having an inckling and knowledge thereof, certified the Romans afore-hand, that the *Ectrans* were revolted and banded with the *Equians*. The Colony *Antium* likewise was had in jealousy, for that when the Town was lost, many people fled from thence to the *Equians*, who all the time of the *Equian* war, served in the field, and proved the most hardy souldiers and fiercest of all others. And now when the *Equians* were driven into their Towns, that multitude

A multitude being split away and retired to *Antium*, withdrew from the Romans the allegiance of the Coloners and inhabitants there, who were already of their own inclination unsound and not to be trusted. But before the matter was come to ripeness, and they entered into any action, the Senate upon intelligence given that they intended only, and were upon the point to revolt, gave the Coss. in charge to send for the chief men and head persons of that colony to *Rome*, and to enquire and learn of them in what terms *Antium* stood: who being come willingly enough, without any great intreaty, and convened by the Consuls before the Senate, made answer to their interrogatories in such manner, that they were sent away more suspected, than at their first coming: whereupon they resolved fully of war. *Spurius Furius* one of the Coss. to whom that province by lot fell, having taken his voyage against the *Æquians*, found the enemy spoiling and wasting in the territory of the *Hernicks*: and being ignorant what number they were (for that in no one place they were all discovered together) he rashly joyned battell, and hazarded his power, being in number and force inferior to the other. And at the first encounter he was driven back, and retired into the camp: and yet was he not past all danger and insecurity there: for both the night following, and the next day after, the camp was so streightly beset, and so hotly assaulted, that he could not dispatch so much as a messenger from thence to *Rome*. The *Hernicks* sent word both of the unfortunate fight, and also how the Consul and his army were besieged. With which news they so terrified the *L.L.* of the Council, that they granted *Posthumius* the other Consul the solemn commission, *To see to the State, that it sustained no danger and damage.*

C The form of which order and decree, hath been alwayes accounted to signify some great extremity of the Common-wealth. And thought best it was, that the Consul himself in proper person, should abide at home to enrol in the muster book, all those that were able to bear armes: that *T. Quintius* should be sent as Pro-consul or Vice-consul, with a power of confederate Allies to raise the siege and rescue the camp: and for the furnishing of this army, the *Latines*, the *Hernicks*, and Colony *Antium*, were commanded to send unto *Quintius*, Subitary souldiers (for so they termed at that time, the aids and supplies taken up in haste and on a sudden.) Many attempts were made, much skirmishing, and sundry assaults for certain dayes on each side were enterprised. For the enemies being more in number, assayed in divers places and sundry wayes to cut off and diminish the power of the Romans, as not sufficient and able to make head at all

D turns. For at one time they both made an assault upon the camp, and withal sent out certain of their forces to waste the territory of *Rome*, yea, and to give the venture upon the very City, if they could espie any good opportunity to offer it self. *L. Valerius* was left behind to defend the City, and *Posthumius* the Consul was sent out to restrain and withstand the wasting of the marches. No point of care or travail on any hand was slaked, watch and ward both night and day was set in the City, a good *Corps de guard* appointed afore the Gates, and souldiers bestowed upon the Walls: and (that which was needful in so great an hurlyburly) for certain dayes it was no Term, or interdiction of Law was observed. In this meanwhile, *Furius* the Coss. who at the first had quietly endured the siege and made no resistance, suddenly and at unawares sallied out at the broad gate called *Decumana*, upon the enemies: and whereas he might

E have chased them, he made some stay of that, for fear lest on some other side, they would have given assault upon the camp. But *Furius* the Lieutenant (who also was the Consul his Brother) engaged himself too far, and upon a hot desire of pursuit and following the chase, neither saw he his fellows as they retired, ne yet the enemies as they came to charge him on the back. Thus being shut out from all the rescue, after many essayes made (but all in vain) to make way through unto the camp, manfully fighting he was slain. The Consul likewise hearing that his Brother was environed all about with enemies, returned again to fight: but as he ran more rashly than warily into the midst of the skirmish, he was fore wounded, and being hardly and with much ado saved by those that were about him, he both disquieted and daunted

F the hearts of his own men, and made his enemies more fierce, lusty, and courageous. Who were so animated and set on fire, both with the hurt of the Consul, and also with the death of his Lieutenant, that nothing afterwards could stand in their way: no force was able to stay them, but that they beat the Romans again into their camp: where they were besieged afresh being now both in hope, and also for strength worse than they were before. So that their main State thus lying a bleeding, had utterly perisht, but that *T. Quintius* with a supply of strangers: namely, a power of *Latines* and *Hernicks*, came to the rescue in time: who charging the *Æquians* behind, whiles they were wholly busied in assailing the camp, shewing them within the Lieutenants head in a great bravery and pride, at the same instant caused a sally out of the camp, by a signal that he gave them a far off, and so inclosed round about a great number of the enemies. Small was the slaughter, but great was the flight and scattering of the *Æquians* in the territory of *Rome*: upon whom (stragling here and there and driving their booties afore them) *Posthumius*, who in divers convenient places had bestowed certain companies and bands of souldiers, ran violently. And as they fled every way in disorder, they lighted upon *Quintius* as he with the hurt Consul returned with Victory. Then the Consul's army bravely did their endeavour, and had a goodly day of them: and was revenged both for their Consuls wound, and also for the death of the Lieutenant and the Squadrons with him. Many losses and overthrowes were given and taken on each side for certain dayes. But in so ancient

a matter as this was, hard it is for a man upon his credit, to set down precisely the certain number, either how many fought, or how many were slain. Howbeit *Valerius Annius* boldly reckoneth the exact numbers, namely, that there died of the Romans in the Hernicks Country 5300. and of the Equian robbers, who went up and down spoiling and pilling in the territory of *Rome*, were killed by *A. Posthumius* the Cos. 2400. The rest of the multitude, which laden with spoill fell into the hands of *Quintius*, were not so quit, nor escaped with the loss of so few mens lives: for of them the sword devoured 4000; and to account the number exactly, 200 (quoth he) and 30 just. Then returned they on all hands to *Rome*, and the foresaid vacation or law-need ended. The skie was seen much on a light fire, and other strange wonders either appeared indeed, or presented to the fearful people vain apparitions, and fantastical illusions. However it was, for to avert the dangers by these prodigious and terrible tokens presaged, there were proclaimed festival holy dayes for three dayes together. During which time all the Churches were replenished with men and women, making supplications and prayers for the favor and mercy of the Gods. The bands and squadrons of the Latins and Hernicks, after great thanks given them by the Senate for their good service in this war, were discharged and sent home. But the Antiate souldiers, 1000 in number, who after the battell was fought came tardy, and too late for to succour, were dismissed in manner with ignominy and shame.

* The first day
of August

Then was the great Leet or assembly held, for the election of Magistrates: wherein *L. Ebutius* and *P. Servilius* were created Consuls: and on the * Calends of *Sexilis* (for on that day) began the year then, they entred their Consulship. A grievous and heavy time it was, and as it fortun'd, K. a year of plague and great mortality, both in the City and Country; as well among brute beasts as men. And the receiving of the Country peasants with their cattel into the City, for fear of robbing and spoiling, encreased the contagiousness of the sickness so much the more. For, that confused medly of all sorts of beasts, both annoyed and empoisoned the citizens with the uncouth and unusual stink, and also stifled with sultry heat and overmuch watching the rustical people, lying pestered together, and thrust up into close rooms and straight lodgings. The mutual recourse one to help and Minister unto another, and the very catching of the disease, set it all abroad. Thus whiles they had much ado to endure these present calamities, behold, to mend the matter, all of a suddain, the Hernick Embassadors bring word, that the Equians and Volscians having levied a power joyntly together, were encamped within their limits: and from thence with a mighty L. army wasted and destroyed their territory. Now, besides that the small assembly in the Senate-house, was to these their allies an evident token that the City was sore visited with the pestilence, they received also an heavy answer from them, namely: That the Hernicks themselves together with the help of the Latins, should defend their own: as for the City of *Rome*, it was with the heavy hand and visitation of the Gods, dispeopled by the plague: but in case the sickness decreased in some measure and took up in any time, they would willingly aid their confederats, as they did the year before, and as they had done at all times besides. Thus departed these allies, and for their ill news they brought thither, they caried with them home again a worse answer and message, to wit, That they should by themselves sustain that war alone which hardly they were able to support, if they had the power of the Romans to assist them. Long stayed not the enemy in M. the Hernicks countrey, but went forward from thence into the territory of *Rome*, desolate already (God wot) without the injury of war, and little need there was of calamity that wayes: where meeting with no man at all, no not so much as any one unarmed, and passing over all the Country, furnished not only of Garrisons to resist, but also of people for husbandry and tillage, at length they came to the third stone, i. within three miles of *Rome*, to the broad port high way, called *Gabina*, leading to *Gabes*. The Roman Cos *Ebutius*, was now departed this life, and his brother Cos. *Servilius*, lay lingring on at the point of death, in small hope of recovery. Most of the peers and principal ancients were infected, and sick in bed, so was the greater part of the Nobles, and welneer all the serviceable men of war: so as they were not able to set forth an expedition or voyage abroad, as meet was in so great a tumult, no nor scarce to keep any ordinary set guard at home for the defence of the City. The Senators, such as age and sickness would permit, took the charge N. in proper persons of watch and ward. The *Ediles* of the Commons went the round, and had the charge to see all well & in good order: so that upon them now rested the government of the state, & the Majesty of the Consuls Regiment. Thus when all was forlorn, no head to direct, no strength of man to execute; the Tutelar Gods, Protectors of the City, and the good fortune alone that ever waited upon her, preserved the main chance. This made the Volscians and Equians to carry with them a mind and intent, rather to deal by way of robbings and spoillings, than in any hostile manner like professed warriors: for so small hope had they, or none at all, of winning the City; so little heart, so much as to approach the walls, that even the very roofs of houses, which they descried a far off, and the sight of the tombs and graves so neer at hand, turned their minds clean, and O. daunted their courages. So as over all the camp they began to mutter with themselves, What they meant to spend time idly, and sit still without spreading, in a wast and desart Countrey; within the mortality and purrified air and corruption, both of people and cattel; when as they might as well invade those parts that stood clear and sound, and namely the rich, plentiful, and fat fields of * *Tusculum*: and therewith suddainly at once they plucked up their ensigns, and by cross wayes passed through the * *Lavican* countries, even to the mountains of *Tusculum*: and thither turned they

* *Frascati*.

* *Vol montem*

A they the whole force and tempest of the war. In the mean season the Herniks and Latins moved not with pity and compassion only, but also for very shame, in case they had neither withstood their common enemies, marching to *Rome* with a cruel army, nor relieved their besieged friends; joyned their powers together, and set forward to *Rome*: where not finding the enemies, and following the bruit that went of them, and tracing their fresh tracks and footing, they encountered them as they came down from the hilly Country of *Tusculum* into the vale of *Alba*: Where they made no saving bargain of it, but fought to their loss, so as their fidelity unto their allyes, had but bad success for that present. And in *Rome* there was no less mortality of citizens by the sickness, than there were Massacres abroad of their allyes by the edge of the sword. For the other Consul, B who alone survived hitherto, now died. There left this life also, other noble personages, *M. Valerius*, *Titus Virginus*, *Augurs*: and *Ser. Sulpitius* the *Curio Maximus*. But among the bale and common sort, the violence of the disease raged and spread, I know not how far. The Senate now destitute of all help and comfort of man, moved the people to devotion, to their beads, and prayers unto the Gods. And commandment was given to all men with their wives and children, to go in procession, to pour out their supplications, and crave mercy at Gods hands. Thus being by publick authority called forth to perform that which every man was forced unto by his own proper calamities, they filled all the Temples and Chappels. The Dames and ancient Matrons, lying groveling and sweeping the Church floors and pavement with their hair and tresses, hanging loose down, humbly besought pardon of the Gods, and an end once of the pestilence. Whereupon, C were it that they had obtained the mercy of God, or that the more dangerous and contagious season of the year, was now well overpast: their bodies by little and little, having escaped the danger of disease, began to recover and wax more healthy.

Then set they their minds about the care of the Common-weal, and after certain inter-reigns determined or ended, *P. Valerius Poplicola*, the third day of his Interreign or Regency for the time, createth Consuls *L. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, and *T. Veturius Geminus*, or *Vetusius*, whether ye will: who * three dayes before the Ides of *Sexilis*, began their Consulship. By which time the City was grown so strong again, that it was able not only to maintain a defensive war, but also to enter the field and assail others. When the Herniks therefore gave them advertisements that the enemies were passed over into their borders: they made no delay, but readily and willingly promised their aid, and levied two Consular armies. *Veturius* was sent against the *Volscians*, to begin with them, and to war within their own Country. *Tricipitinus* was opposed in the Frontiers of their confederates, to keep them from invasion and wasting, and went no further forward than to the Herniks. *Veturius* at his first encounter and confronting of his enemies, discomfited and put them to flight. But *Tricipitinus* whiles he lay still encamped in the marches of the Herniks, missed of the army of the Robbers: which was conducted over the Mountains of *Preneste*, from whence they came down into the Champain, and spoiled the territories of *Preneste* and *Gabes*: and from thence they fetched a compass about unto the Mountains of *Tusculum*. The City of *Rome* likewise was put in great fear, rather upon the sodain occurrent of this alarm, than for any want of power to resist their violence. *Quintus Fabius* at that time was Provost or President of the City, who put the youth in armor, disposed guards in places convenient, and made all safe and in good security. The enemies therefore who had raised a booty out of the parts adjoining, durst approach no neerer, but cast about with their army and retired: and the further they went from their enemies City, so much the more careless they were, until they light upon the Col. *Lucretius*, who by his espials and scouts, was afore that time acquainted what wayes they would take, and was ready also to try battail. So with resolute and prepared hearts, they set upon them, that with the sodain fear were amazed. And albeit they were in number fewer, yet they discomfited and put to flight a mighty multitude of them, and drove them within the hollow valleys, where because they had no ready way to get out, they kept them inclosed on every side in such sort, that the whole name and nation welneer of the *Volscians*, there utterly perished. In some Chronicles I find that there were 13470 slain in the fight and chase, and 1250 taken Prisoners alive, and 27 ensigns or banners brought away. It may well be that the number perhaps doth somewhat exceed the truth, yet a great slaughter certainly there was. The Consul having achieved this victory, and gotten a mighty great prey, returned into the same standing camp again. Then pitched both Consuls together, and the *Volscians* jointly with the *Aequians*, rallied their Forces thus decayed and weakened, into one place, and made one entire army. This was the third field fought, in that one year, and by the same good Fortune the Romans won the victory: and having vanquished the enemies, they were Masters also of the camp. Thus the City of *Rome* recovered her self, and returned to her ancient good estate. But this happy success in war, immediatly stirred up civil troubles at home. C. *Terentillus Arsa*, for that year a Tribune of the Commons, supposing in the absence of the Consuls, good opportunity was offered to

set on foot the Tribunes actions, and their proceedings: for certain dayes together gave not over before the Commons, to accuse the great pride and insolency of the Nobles: but especially he inveighed against the Consuls Regiment, as being too absolute, and in a free state intolerable. For in name only (quoth he) lets odious and hateful it is than that of the K.K. but in fact in every deede more grievous and cruel. For why? Instead of one Lord, the City hath received sitwain, and those having authority beyond all measure, unlimited and infinit: who being themselves

* 11 of August.

C. *Terentillus* inveigbeth against the regiment of the Consuls.

The Oration
of Q. Fabius
against the
Tribun of the
Commons.

Prodigious
lights.

“ selves at their own liberty and unbridled, turned the edge of all freight and dreadful Laws; yea, H
 “ and the rigor of all punishment, against the Commons. But lett this their licentiousness should
 “ continue for ever, he was minded to prefer and publish a Law, by vertue whereof there should
 “ be five men created, who should set down certain conditions, to limit and gage the authority
 “ of the Consuls: and look what authority and commission the people granted out over them, the
 “ same should the Consul exercise, and no more, and not rule of themselves, and use their own
 “ will and licentious lust in stead of Law. This act being once published, and the Nobles fearing,
 “ left whiles the Consuls were away, they should be taken down and yoked. *Quin. Fabius* Pre-
 “ sident of the City, assembled the Senate, who so bitterly and sharply inveighed against the Law and
 “ the Law-giver himself, that if both the Consuls themselves had stood about the Tribun of purpose
 “ to contradict and cross his proceedings, there had been no threats nor terrible menaces left for
 “ them, to have thundred out. “ For he laid fore unto his charge, that he had lyen in wait and now
 “ having spied the time to fit his purpose, had given the venture to assail the C. W. and the State.
 “ And in case the Gods in their wrathful displeasure had sent among them such a Tribun as he the
 “ year before, together with war and pestilence, there had been no remedy then, but he must have
 “ had his way, and then they had been all undone. For when the Consuls both were dead, and
 “ the City lay bed-rid as it were, in a miserable confusion of all things, he would have made laws
 “ then indeed, to the utter abolishing of the Consuls authority out of the Common-wealth, and
 “ been a ring-leader to Volscians and *Aequians* both, for to have assaulted the City. For what
 “ might not he have lawfully done by vertue of his place? If the Consuls had either proudly or K
 “ cruelly proceeded against any one Citizen, he might have entred an Action against them, and
 “ convented them for oath before those very Judges, of whom peradventure some one had been
 “ by them hardly dealt withal. This would have been the course and end of it. And he that thus
 “ did, should not cause the Consuls authority and rule, but the Tribuns power to become odious
 “ and intollerable: which having been of late well quieted and reconciled unto the Nobles, began
 “ now afresh to come unto the old biace, and to be troublesome again. Neither intreated he him
 “ not to go on still as he had begun. But ye my Masters (quoth *Fabius*) that are the rest of the
 “ Tribuns, we would request you to consider well this one point especially: That this power you
 “ have, was brought in for the succour and relief of every particular person, and not to the general
 “ prejudice and undoing of all. Again, that ye are created Tribuns of the Commons, not enemies L
 “ of the Nobles. A heavy and lamentable case it is to us, odious and hateful unto you, and will
 “ breed you much ill will and displeasure, in case the C. W. now forlorn, should thus be invaded
 “ and assailed. Ye shall lose nothing of your own right, I assure you, nay, you shall avoid much
 “ dislike and hatred of men, in case ye be in hand and deal with your brother Tribun, to put off
 “ this matter and defer it wholly until the Consuls coming. Why, the very *Aequians* and Volsci-
 “ themselves the last year, when both our Consuls were dead of the plague, pressed not hardly up-
 “ on us, to prosecute any proud and cruel war against us. So the Tribuns communed and perswa-
 “ ded with *Terentillus*: and this his commenced suit or action being adjourned in outward shew,
 “ but in very truth let fall quite and disannulled, the Consuls forthwith were sent for home. *Lucre-
 tius* returned enriched with a right great booty, but with far greater honor and renown. Who at M
 “ his very first coming won himself more glory, by laying abroad in *Mars* field all the prizes, that
 “ every man for three dayes space might know his own and have it away. All the rest, that had no
 “ owners to come forth and make claim, was sold in port-sale. By all mens consent, the Consul
 “ was thought worthy of triumph: howbeit that matter was put off, by reason that the Tribun had
 “ not yet done with his law: which was the thing that the Consul thought meet should be first re-
 “ garded. The matter was debated and treated for certain dayes, both in the Senate and also before
 “ the people. At last the Tribun yielded to the Majesty of the Consul, and gave it over. Then was
 “ due honor rendred both to the General and also to the army accordingly. He triumphed over the
 “ Volscians and *Aequians*: and in his triumph his own legions followed after him. To the other
 “ Consul granted it was that he should in a kind of triumph called *Ovatio*, ride into the City, but N
 “ without his souldiers. The year next ensuing, the Law *Terentilla* was by the whole Colledge or
 “ fellowship of the Tribuns revived and propounded again: which put the new Consuls *P. Volum-
 nius* and *Ser. Sulpicius* to some trouble. And in the same year the skie seemed to be on a light fire,
 “ and there was an exceeding earthquake. And that which the year afore was no credit given unto,
 “ was now for truth believed, to wit, That a Cow did speak. Among other strange wonders it
 “ rained flesh: during which showre, a huge number of fowls flew among, and were reported to
 “ have snatched it and carried it away as it was in falling. But that which fell down and escaped their
 “ talions, lay scattered here and there for certain dayes in such sort, as the sent changed not at all,
 “ nor the flesh one jot taken and corrupted. Then the books (of *Sibylla*) were perused by the *Du-
 umvirs* deputed over matters of Religion: who fore-told of some dangers to ensue by a Company O
 “ of strangers, and gave warning to look lest haply some assaunt should be made upon the highest
 “ places of the City, and thereof a slaughter and massacre ensue. Amongst the rest, warning was given
 “ to abstain from civil discord and mutinies: which the Tribuns found fault with, as a devised
 “ matter to hinder the law. Whereupon great debate and contention was like presently to grow.
 “ But behold, (that the revolution and course of troubles might turn about every year to the same
 “ point,) The Herniks bring news that the Volscians had *Aequians* for all their wings were well clip-
 ped,

A ped, and their forces greatly decayed, began together and levy new armies: *Item*, That in *Antium* lay the whole weight and importance of the affairs, and all depended upon it: That the *Antiat* coloners held their counsels and had their meetings in open show, at *Eccetra*, but *Antium* was the principal seat of the war, and from thence came all preparations and forces whatsoever. As soon as these news were reported in the Senate, order was given to muster souldiers: and that the Consuls should part between them the administration and managing of his war, so as the one should have the charge against the Volscians, and the other against the *Aequians*. But the Tribuns rung it out openly in the common Hall before the people, "That this was but a made matter of the Volscian war, and a tale devised by the *Herniks*, who were suborned and framed to play their parts in the Pageant, and to serve the turn of the Nobles. And that now verily the freedome of the people of *Rome* was not oppressed or endangered by plain prowls & vertue, but finely shifted off and dallied cunningly withal, by slye and crafty inventions. And for asmuch as now it was an unlikely thing and incredible, that the Volscians and *Aequians* after so great slaughter committed upon them, whereby they were all in a manner killed up, should be able of themselves to wage war, there were, forsooth, new enemies sought out: A faithful Colony near adjoining, was now slandered and defamed: war was pretended for a shew against the guiltless and innocent *Antiat*s, but in truth, intended with the very Commons of *Antium*, whom they meant to drive out of the City in all haste headlong, surcharged with heavy armor, and so (by turning out their poor fellow citizens into banishment, and sending them away, God knows whither) to be avenged at length of the Tribuns. And thus the Law (say the Tribuns, for they must think their drift is to this end and to none other) should be troden under foot, unless whiles all is entire and whole, and nothing done, whiles they remain at home in their houses, whiles they be in their gowns, they take heed and look well about them, that they be not dispossessed of the City, and take the yoke of servitude upon their necks: assuring them that if their hearts only served, they should want for no help: and that all the Tribuns agreed and were of one mind, that there was no cause of fear abroad, no forraign war to trouble them: last of all, that the very providence of the Gods the year before assured them that their liberty might with safety be defended. These and such like Remonstrances gave the Tribuns out. On the other part, the Consuls causing their chairs of estate to be set, even in their sight and presence, began to muster. Thither ran the Tribuns down in all haste, and drew the whole assembly of people with them. And, to make as it were a proof and tryal, some few by name were called, and straightwayes began a stir. For whomsoever the Sergeant by the Consul his commandment arrested, the Tribuns charged again that he should be let go. And neither side contained within the limits and compass of their commission and rightful authority: but presumed of their might and strong hand, to attain unto their desired purpose. For even as the Tribuns had demeaned themselves in forbidding the muster, sennably the Senators bestirred themselves to stop the law for going forward: which was propounded every Court day, and when the people might assemble. And evermore the brawl began, when the Tribuns commanded the people to avoid the Hall, for that the *Patrij* would not endure thus to be set out and excluded: Few or none of the ancients would be present at these troublesome stirs, being such as were not to be managed and ordered by sage Counsel, but wholly left to the rashness and boldness of young and green heads. The Consuls also were much absent, and forbore to be in place, for fear lest in such a confused hurlyburly their Majesty and dignity, might have been subject to some shameful contumely and disgrace. But there was among them one *Caso Quintius*, a lusty young Gentleman and a stout, in regard both of his noble parentage, as also of the goodly tall personage and strength of his body. Besides these good parts that God had bestowed upon him, he had won himself many ornaments by sundry exploits achieved in wars: He had withal an eloquent speech and a good grace at the bar, so as, in one word, throughout the whole City, there was not one thought to be more ready in tounge, or taller of his hands. This *Caso* standing in the midst of the Nobles, higher to be seen above all the rest, as one that in his speech and strength, carried afore him the countenance and authority of all Dictators and Consuls, was the only man that bare off the bruits of Tribuns, and storms of the common people. Many a time were the Tribuns driven out of common Hall, the Commonalty defeated and put to flight by the conduct of this Captain. Whosoever came within his reach, was sure to go away thoroughly beaten, and clean stripped. So as it evidently appeared, if this course might have been allowed, the law had soon been checked and overthrown. Now when all the other Tribuns besides, were herewith dismayed and well near daunted, *Aulus Virginus* alone, being one of their fellowship, was so bold, as to enter an action against *Caso*, of a capital crime. By which deed of his, he rather fired, than feared his hot and furious nature. For so much the more eagerly withstood he the Law, coursed and troubled the Commons, and persecuted the Tribuns as it were with open war. The plaintiffe in the mean time, suffered the defendant to run on still, and with many outrages to kindle more coals of ill will, and hatred upon his own head, and to minister further matter of crimes to be charged with. And all the while he ceased not to prefer the Law afore said, not so much of any hope to bring it to pass, as to provoke and set on work, the giddy head and humorous vein of *Caso*. Whereby it came to pass, that many follies oftentimes were committed both in word and deed, by the yonger sort: and evermore the blame light upon poor *Caso*: he alone was adwayes charged, because he had been once suspected. But nevertheless he

The Tribuns
oppose them-
selves against
the Nobility.

Caso Quintius
a bitter adver-
sary of the law
Tarentilla.

hee gainfayed and croffed the Law. And *Anlus Virginus* ever and anon would entertain the Commons with thefe and fuch like fpeeches. "See ye not already (quoth he) O *Quirites*, that ye may not now have *Cafio* your Citizen, and the law which you desire both together. But what mean I to fpeak of your Law? It is your liberty that he intringeth and fettereth himfelf againft, and in pride and arrogancy he exceedeth all the *Tarquins* that ever were. But wait, ye were beft, until he be made a Conful or Dictator, whom ye fee already, being but a private perfon, to bear himfelf fo greatly of his ftrengh and boldnefs, as to Lord it over you, and rule as a King. Many ftooth the Tribune and faid the like, adding moreover, how they had been well knocked and beaten at his hands: and were forward enough of themfelves to fet the Tribune on, to proceed in his commenced action againft him.

Cafio recommended by many of the Nobility.

Now was the law day of judicial trial come: and it feemed abroad, that all men verily thought that the very foundation of their liberty confifted in the condemnation of *Cafio*. In conclufion, driven he was with much indignity and fhame, to creep and crouch unto every man, fubmiffively craving their favor one after another. There feconded him his kinsfolk and neereft friends, the beft men of the City. *Titus Quintius Capitolinus*, who had been thrice Conful, fpake in his behalf: and after he had reckoned up many honors and dignities, both of his own, and alfo of his family, affirmed, that neither in the houfe and race of *Quintii*, nor yet throughout the City of *Rome*, was ever feen fo great towardnefs, no fuch fhew and likelihood of ripe and perfect vertue and prowefs as in *Cafio*: faying, that he had been firft his fouldier, and ferved under him, and that with his own eyes he had feen him oftentimes fight valiantly hand to hand with his enemies in the field. Again *K Sp. Fufius* made this good report of him, That upon a time, when himfelf was in great dittrefs and extremity, *Cafio* was fent unto him from *Quintius Capitolinus*, to help at a pinch: and that there was no one man, by whose good fervice, as he thought, the Weal-publick at that time, was more relieved and reftored, then by his, *L. Lucretius* the Conful laft year before, glittering in his bright glory fo frefh and new, joined with the reft, avowing *Cafio* partaker with him in his prайse-worthy acts: he recounted his brave combats, rehearfed his noble exploits, both in his rodes and voiaiges, and alfo in the pight field: advising & counfelling them, that in any hand they would retain him ftill for to be a Citizen of their own City, rather then of any other, this excellent young gentleman, furnifhed with all good gifts of nature and fortune, like to prove a fingular ftay of the publick affairs, into what City and State foever he fhould come. As for that heat and haftinefs (quoth he) *L* which was in him miliked and offensive, age and time would dayly diminifh, and bereave him of it: grave and fage counfel, which now was wanting, would come on apace every day more then other. Seeing therefore his faults waxed old and faded, his vertues now were in their growth, flourifhed, and grew ripe unto perfection: they fhould permit fo brave, fo rare a perfon, to live ftill among them, and be a good old man in this their City. His father among the reft, *L. Quintius*, furnamed *Cincinnatus*, went another way to work: who not by iterating ftill his praifes, for fear of heaping more matter of envy and repine, but craving pardon for his wildnefs and youthful demeanor: befought them for his fake at leaftwife, to give the fon as a prefent to his father, who neither in word nor deed had ever offended any perfon. Some took no heed and gave a deaf ear to his prayers, either for modetty and reverence, or for fear. Others complaining how they and theirs had been beaten and hardly ufed at his hands, bewraied and fhewed plainly by their fhrewd and churlifh answers what their judgment was. Befides, the common milike and malice conceived againft the defendant, there was one perilous matter and crime above all, that touched him very heet. And that was this: *M. Volfcus Fictor*, who certain years before had been Tribune of the Commons, came in againft him as a witnefs, and depofed, how that not long after the plague was in the City, he hapned upon a company of youths as they made a riot and robbery in the *Suburra*: where there arofe a brawland fray, in which his elder brother, a man wel in years, and not thoroughly recovered of his ficknefs, was with a buffer with *Cafio* his fift fell'd to the ground, and lay there for dead: fo as he was fain to be had home between mens arms; and as he deemed, of that blow he died: yet might not he as hainous as the fact was, bring his action and profecute N the law, for fear of the Confuls of thefe laft years. As *Volfcus* thus informed, the whole court was moved therewith, in fo much that *Cafio* escaped hardly, from being murdered, in that rage and fury of the people. Then *Virginus* commanded to lay hold on the man, and to have him away to prайson. The *Patritii* again by force refifted force. *T. Quintius* cried out, That he who was under arreft for to make his appearance, and answer at a day for his life, and who fhould come to hiftrial and be judged, ought not before fentence of condemnation, and before he had pleaded for himfelf, thus violently be mifufed. The Tribune replied again, That his meaning was not to punifh him before he were condemned: howbeit, by his leave he would be fo bold as keep him faft in prайson, to be forth-coming at the law day; that he who had killed a man, might fuffer therefore according as the people of *Rome* fhould award. Then were the Tribunes called unto for their help, who by the means of an indifferent decree then made, fhewed their lawful favours with fpeed. By vertue whereof they forbid exprefly, that he fhould not be imprifoned, but pronounced that it was their wil and pleasure, that the defendant fhould perfonally appear, and a piece of money be promifed unto the people, in cafe that he made default and failed of his appearance. Much queftion there was what fum of money fhould be thought reafonable to be promifed. And the matter was put over to the Senate to be decided: and whilft the Senators fate there-

A thereupon, the defendant was kept still in ward within the common Hall. At length they thought good and set it down, that he should put in sureties. And they bound each surety in 3000 * Asles. But how many of these should put in band, was left to the will and discretion of the Tribunes, who assigned and determined ten, and no more. With so many sureties the plaintiff bound the defendant personally and peremptorily to appear at his day. This man was the first Roman, that went under special bail, and put in good pledges to make his publick answer. Thus being enlarged out of the common Hall and dismissed, the next night following, unawares to the Consul, he departed to the Tuscans into exile. When the day of this judgement was come, and that it was alledged for his excuse, That he was out of the town, and gone into banishment: yet nevertheless B *Virginius* assembled the people about this matter: but his fellow Tribunes being called unto for their help, dismissed the Court and licensed every man to depart. But the foresaid money was cruelly exacted at his fathers hands, so that he was driven to sell up all that ever he had, and for a long time to live apart as a person confined, on the other side of Tyber, in a poor blind cottage out of the way. This proces of judgement, and the preferring of the law abovesaid together, busied the City and kept it occupied. Quiet they were for any wars abroad. At what time the Tribunes like Conquerors, seeing the Nobles appalled at the banishment of *Caso*, supposed now their law was in manner fully established and enacted. And for as much as the more ancient Senators had dispossessed themselves, as it were, of the Common-weal, and medled not for their own parts with the State: the younger sort, and such especially as were of *Caso* his true and acquaintance, were kindled the more against the Commons, and abared not their courage: marry, this good thereby was done upon them, that in some measure they tempered and ruled their furious affections and violent outrage. The first time after the exile of *Caso*, that the law began again to be proposed, they being well appointed and banded together, backed also with a mighty company of their friends and favorites, set upon the Tribunes: taking the occasion when they charged them to depart out of the hall, in such manner, that no one of them above his fellows was singular, or carried home with him any special praise or blame more then another: but the Commons complained that for one *Caso*, there were now start up a thousand. All the days between, wherein the Tribunes medled not with their law, none more quiet, none more peaceable, then they themselves. Courteously they would salute and speak unto the Commons, at all other times D they would invite them home to their houses and make them good cheer, assist them and be present with them in the common Hall, suffer the Tribunes themselves without any interruption or impeachment to keep their courts and hold their assemblies whatsoever: shewing themselves at no time to any of them either publicly or privately fierce and cruel, but only when they went in hand with the law, for otherwise the young Gentlemen were popular enough. And not only in other causes made the Tribunes good dispatch, and went quietly through all their businesses: but also the same men were chosen again for the next year following without any foul and cross word: so far were they from being offered any forcible violence: and thus by soft handling and gentle dealing, they had now by little and little won the Commons, and made them as it were cometo hand. And so by these fine fetches and devices, for one whole year the law was shifted off, and E prettily avoided. The City being now in more quiet state, C. *Claudius* the son of *Appius* and P. *Valerius Poplicola*, came to be Consuls. And no news this new year: for the same care still, either about preferring or admitting the law, held the City occupied. As much as the puny Nobles insinuated themselves more into the favour and familiarity of the Commons: so much more eagerly again on the other side, did the Tribunes labour and endeavor with complaints and slanders, to bring them into suspicion and jealousy with the Commons: Saying, that there was a conspiracy intended and contrived: that *Caso* was in *Rome*: that there were plots laid to murder the Tribunes, and to massacre the Commons: that they were set on work by some great ones, even the Ancients of the Nobles, utterly to abolish the Tribunes authority out of the C. W. and to bring and reduce the City to the same pass again, as it had been before the taking and keeping hold in the F Mount *Sacer*. Besides all this, war was feared from the Volscians and Æquians (so ordinary it was, and so duly once every year it came about:) yea and with all, another mischief newly sprung, and unlooked for.

A rabble of banished persons, Outlaws and Bondslaves, to the number of 4500 having to their Captain one *Ap. Herdonius* a Sabin, surprised in the night the Capitoll and Castle, and were masters thereof. Who immediately killed in the castle as many as would not be of their conspiracie & take armes with them. The rest, amid this hurliburly ran headlong down into the Market place for fear. The army was given on all hands: and no cry heard but *Arme, Arme, the enemies are in town*. The Consuls were afraid to put the Commons in arms, and they doubted also to let them be unarmed, not knowing what sudden occurrent this should be, that thus had entred and possessed the city: whether it were forraign or domestical, arising from the malice and hatred of the people, or from the treachery and falshood of their servants: Yet they devised to appease the uproar: and as they were busie to repress it, the more other-while they stirred up new: for the frightened and amased multitude, could not be ordered by any commandment. Howbeit at length they resolved to suffer them to take arms, and not all in general, but only (for that they knew not what their enemies were) to have a sufficient and trusty guard about them, ready at all assayes and dangers whatsoever. In this careful suspence and doubt, who were their enemies, and what their

The Capitoll surprised by Slaves and Outlaws.

The Proclamation of Appius Herdonius, Captain of the slaves.

The Oration of P. Valerius to the people.

their number was, they passed the rest of the night, disposing strong watch and ward in all meet and convenient places of the City. But the day light disclosed the war and the Captain thereof, *Appius Herdonius* from out of the Capitol proclaimed freedom to all bondmen that would come and follow him: "taking upon him forsooth to defend the cause of most miserable caitifs: namely, to restore home again unto their native country all such exiled persons, as had been wrongfully expelled, and also to take away the heavy yoke of slavery and bondage. Which thing he could wish it might be effected and brought about with the good will and helping hand of the people of *Rome*. But in case there were no hope & comfort there, then he would assuage the *Volsians* and *Æquians*, yea, and procure what means he could, by all hard couries and extremities whatsoever. Now the Nobles and Coss, began to see more into the matter: and besides those dangers that were in view, and presently threatened, they feared some practise from the *Veientians* or the *Sabins*: and lest, there being already so many enemies in the City, the legions and *Tuscans* should combine together, and come upon them. Over and besides, lest their old enemies and perpetual, the *Volsians* and *Æquians* should now at once, not, as aforetime, invade their borders and drive booties, but give an attempt upon the very City, which was already in some part, taken and possessed by enemies. Many and sundry were their fears. But of all other the dread and jealousy of their own bondslaves presented unto them most imminent and present danger: for fear, lest every man harboured his enemy at home in his own house, whom neither he could trust securely, nor yet mistrust without some jeopardy: fearing lest being once discredited, he might prove the more malicious and bent to do a mischief. And to such straits they were driven, that with all their concord and agreement, they hardly were able to remedy the matter, and to stop the extremity. So greatly the future troubles like to ensue, exceeded those that presently appeared and were in sight, that no man feared either Tribuns and Commons. That mild and gentle kind of malady, in comparison of others, and rising always by occasion of rest from all other, seemed then by reason of a forreinterror, stilled clean and brought asleep. And yet see, that was the only thing in a manner that lay hardest upon them, ready to bear down to the ground their state, which now began already to shrink and reel. For so furiously and madly were the Tribuns bent, that they flily would stand to it, and bear men in hand, That it was no war, but a vain illusion and colour of war, and no other, that had seized on the Capitol: for nothing else but to withdraw the minds of the Commons from intending and following their Law: and that a sort of clients, followers, and favorites of the Nobility and Gentry were gathered together, who if they might once perceive that the Law were passed, and that all the stir they had made, took no effect, would slip away soon and be gone, in more silence I wis, than they thither came. Whereupon they called the people away from their armor and weapons, and summoned them to an assembly, to go through with their Law and Enact it now or never. In the mean time the Coss, held a Councel fearing a greater mischief like to ensue from the Tribuns, than the enemies had wrought in the night season. And when word was brought that arms were laid away, and that the people had abandoned their quarters where they were set in guard, then *P. Val.* leaving his colleague to keep the Senat together, departed hastily out of the Court & went straight into the Temple to the Tribuns. "What work is here my Masters (quoth he) you that are Tribuns? "Are ye about to overthrow the State indeed, under the conduct of *Ap. Herdonius*? and who was not able to sollicit and do any thing with your bondslaves and servants, was his hap so good as to corrupt and inveigle your selves? Is this your pleasure and to your good liking, whiles the enemy is over our heads, to have our armor laid aside, and laws preferred? Then turning his speech to the whole multitude: If ye take no regard nor care (*O Quirites*) of the City, if ye pais not for your selves yet have some reverence, and stand in fear of the Gods of your native countrey, which by your enemies are now taken Prisoners and captivate: *Jup. Opt. Max.* that most bountiful and Almighty God, *Queen Juno* and *Minerva*, with all the rest of Gods, Goddesses (and heavenly wights) are besieged: Outlaws and bondslaves are encamped about your Tutelar Gods, and have in possession the Protectors and Patrons of your City. Is this, think ye, the form of a wise and well governed City? is it in good case indeed and as it ought to be? So many enemies not only within the walls, but also aloft upon the cliff within the Castle, overlooking and commanding both Hall and Court: and all the while, the people assemble in the Hall, Senators sit in Court like as when we enjoyed peace and were at rest: the Senator he delivereth his opinion at the Councel board: the citizens of *Rome* besides, are busy in their scrutinies and giving their voyces. And had it not been more meet and decent that both Nobility and Commonalty, Consuls and Tribuns, God and Man, all armed together, should set to their helping hand, should run up into the Capitol to deliver, save, and set in quiet that most stately and sacred house of *Jup. Opt. Max.*? O Father *Romulus*, vouchsafe, I beseech thee, that mind and that courage unto thy successors and posterity, whereby sometime thou didst recover and win again this fortress from these same *Sabins*, betrayed and lost by corruption, and for a sum of gold: command them to enter even that way, which thou first ledst, and thy valorous army followed after. Lo, I the Consul, so far forth as a mortal man possibly may, will follow thee an immortal God, and thy footsteps. The conclusion of his speech was this, That as he put himself in arms, so all the Romans shall do the like, And in case any man went about to hinder this, he would without regard of Consuls rule and dignity, or Tribuns authority & might, pass for no sacred or inviolable laws: but what

A or wheresoever he were, in Capitol, in market place, all as one, take him for an enemy, and deal accordingly. Let the Tribuns (for asmuch as they forbade to take arms against *Ap. Herdonius*) command hardly, and spare not, to arm against *P. Valerius* the Consul: It should be well seen that he would dare and do that by the Tribuns, which the first of his house and name sometime had done by the KK. A great broil was toward, and no other like, but that they would have gone together by the ears, and that the mutiny of the Romans, would have been a goodly spectacle to the enemies for to behold. But all this while, neither could the law be preferred, nor the Consul go up into the Capitol. The night at length stayed these brauls begun, and hush'd all. The Tribuns fearing the armed forces of the Consuls, yeelded to the darkness of the night, and gave over. Now

B when the principal Authors of the discord were once gone out of the way, The Nobles went about to the Commons, intruding themselves into their companies as they were met in knots together: where they would enter into talk and discourse with them, according to the present occasions and the time, admonishing them to take heed into what danger they brought the State. "For asmuch as now (quoth they) it is not a matter of debate between the Senators and Commons: but both Senators and Commoners, the Castle and strongest hold of the City, the Temples of the Gods, their houses both publick and private, were ready to be yeelded unto the enemies. Whiles these things were a practising in the common place, for to appease the dissention: the Consuls for fear, left the Sabins or the Veientians, enemies both, should stir and rise, were gone to the gates, and all about the walls. The same night came tidings also to *Tusculum* of the

C taking of the Castle, the surprising of the Capitol, and likewise of the troublesome State wherein the City stood. At that time was *L. Mamilius*, Dictator of *Tusculum*: he forthwith called a Senate together, brought in the Messengers of the foresaid news, and thought it very expedient and needful not to wait until there came Embassadors from *Rome* to crave their aid: for that the present peril it self alone, the urgent necessity, their social Gods, and the faithful bond of league, required no less at their hands, than to lend succour: adding moreover, that the Gods would never give them the like occasion and opportunity again, to gratify the Romans; to bind and oblige unto them by a sound benefit and pleasure done, so mighty a City, and so neer a neighbour. Whereupon it was decreed, to rescue them with all speed. The able men of service were taken up and enrolled, munition and armor given them in their hands; who advancing toward

D *Rome* by break of day, seemed a far off to be enemies, and were taken for the *Aequians* or *Volscians*. But afterwards, when this foolish fear was overblown, they were received into the City: and marched down in order of battell to the market place. Where, at the very same time *Pub. Valerius* having left his fellow Consul to guard and fortify the gates, was setting his men in array. The authority of the man had prevailed with the people, for he promised and assured them, that if the Capitol were once recovered, and the City set in quiet, if they would suffer him to be informed what fraudulent and secret mischief was underhand practised by the Tribuns under colour of this Law, he would in remembrance of his ancestors, and of his surname (which in regard of the affectionate love unto the people, by a special care, as it were by inheritance from his forefathers, was recommended unto him) not hinder and trouble the meetings and assemblies of

E the Commons, nor cross and thwart their proceedings. They followed him therefore as their Captain, gain-say the Tribuns what they could (for all would not serve) advanced forward, and marched up against the rising of the Capitol Hill. The *Tusculan* Legion stuck close unto them, and followed after. Citizens and Associates both did their best, and strove who should regain the Capitol first, and have the honor of that day. Each Captain exhorted and encouraged his men. Then began the enemies to fear, and wist not well what to trust unto, but only the situation of the place. The Romans and their allies seeing their fear, came forward and advanced their Standards against them. Now by this time were they broken into the porch of the Temple. Where *P. Valerius* fighting manfully among the foremost in the vanguard, was slain. *P. Volturnus* a Con-

F sular man, saw him when he fell: who gave his men in charge to cover his body, and kept himself into the Consul's room, and fought in his stead. The soldiers for heat and eagerness of fight, took no regard, and came to no knowledge of this great mischance, but got the victory, ere they knew that they fought without their Captain. Many of the outlaws were there slain, and polluted the Temple with their blood: Many taken alive Prisoners, and *Herdonius* himself was slain outright. So the Capitol was again recovered. The captives, as they were either bond or free, were executed every one according to their condition and place. The *Tusculans* had thanks given them. The Capitol was cleansed, purged, and hallowed anew. The Commons, as it is reported, cast *Quadrans* or mites into the Consul's house, that he might with greater pomp of

G funerals be brought to the ground. When all was appeased and in quiet, the Tribuns were earnest with the Nobles to perform the promise of *P. Valerius*: they were instant also with *Claudius*, to absolve the soul, and keep it from blame of his fellow Consul late deceased: and to permit the law to be set on foot, and go forward. The Consul flatly denied to suffer them to meddle with the law, before he had substituted a fellow in his place. And these contentions held unto the time of the grand Election for the substituting of a new Consul. And in the month December, after much suit, and labouring of the Nobles, was *L. Quintus Cincinnatus*, the father of *Cato*, created Consul, and presently to enter into his office. The Commons herewith were much troubled and stricken dead, now that they

* *Poplicola*:

P. Valerius the Consul slain.

Herdonius slain, and his complices defeated.

* *Quadrans*, a piece of brass coin, the fourth part of *As*, and is asmuch as a cue and c.

The Oration
of L. Quintus
Cincinnatus, re-
proving the
Senate and
Commons of
Rome.

they were to have an angry Consul, and mighty withal: considering the favour of the Nobles H
wherein he stood, and his own vertue & prowess besides: by reason also of his three sons, of whom
there was not one, that for haughtiness of mind came behind *Casus*, and for wisdom, discretion, and
moderation (when time and occasion served) went far beyond him. Who being once entred into
his office, in all his publick speeches and orations, continually ceased not as well to bridle, restrain
and keep in the Commonalty, as also to chastise sharply the Senate: through the remissness of
which degree, & want of courage, it was come to pass, that the Tribuns became now, to continue
still in office, and not as in the Common-wealth of the people of *Rome*, but as in some unruly and
disordered house, with their lavish tongue reigned as it were, and ruled the rest: saying, "That to-
gether with his son *Casus* all vertue and constancy, all commendable qualities that graced young I
Gentlemen both in war and peace, were chased and utterly banished out of the City of *Rome*.
"In lieu whereof, bablers, mutinous persons, and sowers of sedition and disention, are become
Tribuns the second, yea, and the third time: who by indirect courses & lewd practises live loose-
ly in the City, like Princes and Kings. That same *Aulus Virginus* there, (quoth he) hath he de-
served less punishment than *Ap. Herdonius*, because he was not in the Capitol with the rabble of
other Rebels? Nay, much more a good deal, if a man will weigh the matter aright and truly.
"Herdonius, (if there were nothing else) yet by professing himself to be an enemy, advertised you,
and gave you warning in a manner to arm yourselves. But he, by bearing you down so confi-
dently, that there was no war, what did he else but disarm you, and as it were, take your weapons
from you, and offer you naked to the devotion and mercy of your bondmen and outlaws? And K
have ye (under correction be it spoken, and saving the reverence and honor of *C. Claudius* here,
and *P. Valerius* that dead is) advanced your ensigns up the Capitol Hill, before you had rid the
market place and common Hall of these enemies? It is a shame (before God and man I speak it)
when our enemies were in the Castle and Capitol, when the Captain and Ringleader of outlaws
and slaves, abode and lodged within the Chappels and Sanctuaries of *Jup. Opt. Max.* to the pro-
phanation and polluting of all, that they at *Tusculum* should take them to their weapons before
us of *Rome*, and that it should be doubted, whether *L. Mamilius* the Tusculan General, or *P. Val.*
and *C. Claudius*, the Roman Consuls, should save the Fortress of *Rome*: and that we, who hereto-
fore would not suffer the Latines in their own defence, when they had their enemies in their
borders, so much as once to take weapon in hand, should now our selves have been surpris'd and L
destroyed, had not they, the very same Latins of their own accord, put themselves into armor for
our sakes. Is this your succouring and helping the Commons, (O ye Tribuns) for to expose and
cast them unarmed before the enemy, to have their throats cut? I wis, if the meanest or basest per-
son of your commonalty, which you have dismembred from the whole body of the people be-
sides, and made it, as it were the native country of your own, and a Common-wealth peculiar
only to your selves; If any one of them I say, should bring you word, that his house were beset
round about, with a company of servants and slaves in armor, you would think it meet that he
were aided and succoured: And when *Imp. Opt. Max.* was besieged with a power of armed
outlaws and bondslaves, was he not worthy of mans help? And yet these men would be coun-
ted and held for *Sacrosancti*, i. Sacred and inviolable, with whom the very Gods themselves are M
not sacred and inviolate. And notwithstanding, that ye are thus overcharged and stayned with
sins both against God and Man, ye go up and down, and say, That this year you will get your
law to pass, and make it sure. In truth, if ye prefer it again, then I must needs say the Common-
weal is ill beset, and had a shrewd turn that day whereon I was created Consul, yea, and worse
a good deal than at what time *P. Valerius* the Consul was slain. But now first and foremost
(quoth he) O Quirites, my colleague and I both, are minded to lead forth our legions immedi-
ately against the Volscians and the Equians: how the Divine Providence of God hath appoint-
ed it, I know not, but surely we find the Gods more gracious and favorable unto us in our wars
ordinarily, than in time of peace. And in what danger we had stood of those nations, in case
they had known that the Capitol was in the hands and possession of outlaws, better it is to guess N
by that which is past, than to try indeed by present experience. The Consul his Oration moved
and galled the Commons. The Nobles took heart, and were in a good belief, that the world was
well mended, and the state better reformed. The other Col. more hearty to follow than to lead,
and who was well content that his fellow had broken the ice before, and taken in hand to deal first
in so weighty a matter, willingly challenged unto himself the charge to perform the part and office
of a Consul, in the execution and accomplishment of those designments. But then the Tribuns
made a game therat, and setting light at the Consul his words, inferred again and demanded, how
the Consuls would lead out an army, and no man suffer them to muster souldiers. Marry (quoth
Quintus) we need no mustering at all: for, at what time as *P. Valerius* armed the Commons to re-
cover again the Capitol, they were all sworn unto him, and took their oath in this form, *Totum sem-* O
ble together at the Consul his commandement, and not depart from their colours without his leave and
licence. We will and charge you all therefore, that have taken this oath to present your selves to
morrow, with your armour, at the lake of * *Regillus* without fail. Then the Tribuns began to cavil
and wrangle, and would needs have the people discharged in their conscience of that oath: alledg-
ing how when they took that military Sacrament, *Quintus* was but a privat person. There was
not as yet, that neglect & contempt of the Gods entred into the world, which now reigneth every
where and is so rife: neither did men interpret their oaths, and construe laws, to serve their own
purpose,

* Lago de Praef-
so de ode S. Se-
vera.

A purpose, but rather attempered and flamed their lives and demeanour thereunto. The Tribunes therefore, seeing no hope to hinder the thing, began themselves to treat about setting forward the army: and the rather, because there ran a rumour abroad, that the Augurs were commanded to attend at the lake *Regillus*: and that by them a place should be hallowed and consecrate there, wherein the Consuls might duly commune and confer with the people, concerning all matters, according to the flight of birds: to the end that whatsoever at *Rome* had passed under a law, extorted by the violent force of the Tribunes; the same might there in a lawfull assembly and generall Session, be abrogated & made void by the suffrages of the souldiers, who without doubt would accord to that, which should stand with the Consuls pleasure. For by reason that there was no
 B appeal in force without the city, above one mile, the Tribunes themselves also, if they came thither, should be subject as well as the multitude besides of the people, to the commandment of the Consuls. These matters scared them indeed and put them in a bodily fear, but the greatest thing above all the rest that diquieted their hearts was this, that *Quintius* oftentimes had given out and said, that he would not call an assembly of the people for the election of Consuls, for that the city was grown so far out of frame and temper, that it might not be reformed and cured with ordinary and usuall remedies: but that the Common-wealth had more need of a Dictator, that whosoever went about to trouble the state of the city, might well know that there was an absolute Dictatorship, that checked all appeals. The Senat was assembled at that time in the Capitoll; thither came the Tribunes with their Commons greatly disquieted and troubled. The multitude cried
 C out and belought one while the Consuls of their favour, another while the LL. of the Senat of their protection; but could not once remove the Consul from his opinion (such a pitch had he taken) before the Tribunes gave their word and faithfull promise, that they would be wholly ruled and ordered by the Senators. Then the Consul propounded the demands and petitions of the Tribunes and Commons, and the Senat enacted these orders and decrees. First, that neither the Tribunes should that year prefer their law: nor the Consuls lead out of the city any army. Item, from thence forth, the Senat deemed it not to stand with the weal publick, that Magistrats should continue still in place from year to year, and that the same persons should be more then once chosen Tribunes. The Consuls for their part, were overruled and ordered by the Senators. But, say and gainsay what the Consuls would, the same Tribunes were chosen anew: and the Nobles also
 D because they would not be one ace behind hand with the Commons, would needs choose *L. Quintius* likewise for their Consul again. But all the year through was not the Consul more earnest and vehement in any action and speech whatsoever then in this. Should I marvell my Lords of the Councell (quoth he) that you bear no stroke with the Commonalty, and your authority is so little worth among? Why, you, even your own selves set light thereby: seeing, forsooth, the Commons brake the ordinance of the Senat, touching the continuitie of Magistrats, yea also, because ye would
 "not seem to yeeld one inch in rashnesse and folly to the multitude, are as ready and willing to
 "infringe the same: as who would say, this were to have more rule and authority in a city, namely,
 "to use more levitie, inconstancie, and licentiousnesse. For it is a point of much more lightnesse
 "and vanity, I assure you, for men to disannull the acts and decrees of their own making, then of
 E "others. Ye that be Senators and Fathers of the C.W. imitate, and spare not, the ignorant, lewd
 "and inconsiderat multitude: ye that should give good examples to others, sin ye hardly your
 "selves, and do amiss by the precedent of others; neither then let others by your example do well:
 "so long as I, for my part, take not after the Tribunes, nor suffer my selfe to be declared Cōs. against
 "an expresse act of the Senat. As to you, O *Claudius*, I would exhort you, that both your self would
 "restrain the people of *Rome* of this their licentiousness, that thus they have not their desire, and
 "also that you would perswade your self thus much of me, that so far off will I be from thinking
 "my honour by you impaired, that rather I will take my glory to be increased by the despising and
 "refusing of a dignitie, and the ill will and envy abated and diminished, that might grow upon the
 "continuation thereof Whereupon both the Consuls jointly together made an edict and proclamation,
 F that no man should (by his voice) nominate *Quintius*, Consul: and if any man did, they would
 not allow of his election. So there were created Consuls. *Q. Fabius Vibulanus* the third time,
 and *L. Cornelius Maluginensis*.

The oration of
L. Quintius
Cincinnatus a-
 gainst the Sen-
 at

In this year was held a cessing and numbring of the citizens, but touching the *Lustrum*, there was some scruple of conscience, because the Capitoll had been taken, and the Consul slain. When *Q. Fabius* and *Lucius Cornelius* were thus Consuls, suddenly in the very beginning of their year began great troubles: for the Tribunes on the one side, as their guise was, set the Commons a-work: the Latines and Hernicks on the other side, sent word of great wars from the Volscians & Equians: That the Volscian legions were already at *Antium*, and the Colonie it self greatly suspected to rebel. Yet hardly could the Tribunes be brought to agree, that preparation should be made
 G aforehand to prevent this war. But upon these news, the Consuls parted between themselves the charge of all affairs. *Fabius* was appointed to lead forth an army to *Antium*: and *Cornelius* to abide at *Rome* for the defence of the city, for fear lest some part of their enemies, as the Equians manner was, should in running camp make rodes and forge the territories about. The Hernicks and Latines, were by vertue of the league, charged with the finding of certaine souldiers, so as the whole army should consist of ij. parts of confederats and one third of citizens. When, at the day appointed the Allies were come, the Consul pitched down his tents without the gate *Capena*: from whence when he had taken a generall muster and purged his armie, he marched towards *Antium*
 and

and encamped himself not far, either from the town, or the standing camp of his enemies: where H the Volscians seeing no forces yet come unto them from the *Æquians*, had no heart to fight, but made preparation how they might keep themselves quiet and safe, within their mure and rampire. The morrow after, *Fabius* made not one entire battell of Allies and citizens mingled together, but three battailons severally by themselves, of three sundry nations, & ranged them along all about the counterscarpe and trench of his enemies. Himself was in the midst with the Roman légions, and gave commandment to observe heedfully and mark the signall: that the Allies also should both begin battell and also retire, when he sounded the retreat. In like sort he placed the horsemen behind the *Principia* at the back of each battell. Thus in three sundry parts he assailed the camp, and invironed it round about, and charging lustily hard upon them on every side, I he beat the Volscians down from their rampier, for they were not able to endure his violence. And having gotten over all their trenches and fortifications, he drave the fearfull multitude clean out of their hold, that now were retired to a side and corner of the camp. The horsemen might not easily get over the trench, and stood still of purpose to behold the fight, and to mark them when they should flie: but having once gotten them in the open fields, they chased them as they ran away on heaps: and by killing them in their fearfull flight, deserved their part in that victorie. Great was the execution both within the camp, and also without the rampires, as they fled; but greater was the pillage, for that the enemies had much ado to carry their armour away with them, and but that they shrowded themselves as they fled in the woods, they had perished every man. During these exploits about *Antium*, the *Æquians* having sent before them the tallest and lustiest K young men they had, surpris'd the castle of *Tusculum*, upon a sudden and at unawares in the night season: and with the rest of their power they were encamped not far from the wals of *Tusculum*, intending to intercept and stay the army of their enemies. Tidings hereof came in post to *Rome*, and from *Rome* to the camp before *Antium*: which troubled the Romans as much as if news had been brought, that the Capitoll was taken. So fresh in remembrance was the late desert of the *Tusculans*: and the like jeopardy seeming to challenge and redemand semblable aid and succour. *Fabius* letting all other things aside, caused the booty in all haste to be conveyed out of the camp to *Antium*: where having left an indifferent guard, he hastneth space in order of battell to *Tusculum*; by reason whereof, the souldiers could take nothing with them, but their armour, and such baked or boyled meats as were at hand ready. The Consul (*Cornelius*) sent a con- L voy of victuals unto them from *Rome*. Thus for certain months continued the war at *Tusculum*. The Consul (*Fabius*) with one part of his host assailed the camp of the *Æquians*: for the other part he had let the *Tusculans* have, to win again their fortresse. Against all force it was impregnable, but in the end famine constrained the enemies to abandon it. To which extremity being at length driven, they were by the *Tusculans* disarmed and compelled to passe naked under the * yoke. Who as they fled homeward with shame enough, were overtaken of the Roman Consul in *Algidum*, and put to the sword every one. After this victory, he encamped with the rest of his army at *Columen*, for so the place is named. The other Consul likewise, seeing that there was no danger threatening the wals of *Rome*, now that the enemy was discomfited & repulsed, departed himself from the citie. So the Consuls entring two waies the borders of their enemies, made sharp war and spoiled the Volscians of the one side, and the *Æquians* on the other. I find in most M writers that the *Antiates* in this year rebelled: and that *L. Cornelius* the Consul managed that war and won the town. But for as much as there is no mention made of that matter in any ancient writers, I dare not avouch it for a certaine truth.

* A kind of gallows made with two javelins pitched endlong in the ground, and a third fastned overthwart to the other.

* Treasurers of Generall Receivers of the city

This war was no sooner brought to an end, but the domesticall Tribunes war at home put the Nobles in fear: for the Tribunes cried out that this was cautelous and fraudulent dealing, thus to keep the armies abroad, for nothing els but to disappoint them for publishing the law. Yet nevertheless, since they had begun it, they would not give over, but go through with it and see an end. Howbeit *P. Lucretius*, president of the city for the time, prevailed thus much with them, That all Tribunitian actions should hang & be deferred unto the coming of the Consuls. There was besides a new occasion arose of fresh trouble. *A. Cornelius* and *Quintus Servilius* * Questors, gave N summons to *M. Volscius* to make his answer at a day, who laid to his charge that he without all doubt, had born false witness against *Caso*. For by many presumptions and evidences it appeared, that neither *Volscius* his brother, from the first time that he fell sick and took his bed, was at any time seen openly in the streets, or so much as to have sit up, and mended any whit, but of that disease which held him many months, he languished and consumed away to death: nor about that time, wherein the deponent supposed the deed was done, was *Caso* once seen at *Rome*: it being plainly affirmed and proved by those who served together with him in the wars, that he was ordinarily all the time fighting under his colours as well as they, without any passport or licence to depart. And to make this good, many there were that of themselves privately challenged *Volscius*, and offered to traverse the law and to be tried by any indifferent and competent judges. But when as he durst not abide the triall and to be judged, all these things put together and so consonant one to the other, made men doubt no more of the condemnation of *Volscius* then of *Caso*, which was grounded upon the bare testimony of *Volscius*. The Tribunes were only the stay; who said plainly they would not suffer the Questors to hold any sessions or judiciall court, for the trial of the defendant, before they had a solemn assembly about their law. So were both these matters

A matters put off unto the Consuls coming. Who being entred with triumph into the city, with their victorious armie, & no words made of the law, many thought the Tribunes were clean dard and stricken dead. But they (for that the year now was at an end) aspiring to be Tribunes the fourth time, left all their hot contention for the law, and reserved themselves wholly to argue and reason at the assembly for the Election of new Magistrats. And albeit the Consuls had bent all their might and main against the continuance of the Tribuneship, as earnestly, as if a law had been propounded, tending to the impairing and abridging of their majesty, yet got the Tribunes the mastery, and had the hand of them in the end. In this year peace was granted upon request and petition, unto the *Equians*. And the Session, which the year before began, was now finished.

B And this was counted the tenth general Survey and solemn purging of the citie from the foundation thereof. There were numbred in the Cense-book of citizens 132419 polles: Aglorious and honourable year it was untill the Consuls, both at home and in war. For they not onely procured peace abroad, but also the citie was, if not in perfect concord and unitie, yet in lesse trouble than at other times. *L. Minutius*, and *L. Nautius*, that there were created Consuls, entred upon the reliques of the two matters begun the former year. And much after one sort, as the Consuls crossed the going forward of the law, so the Tribunes hindred the judiciall proceeding against *Volsenus*. But the new Questors were men of more power and greater authority. For together with *M. Valerius*, the son of *Valerius*, and nephew of *Volsenus*, was *T. Quintius Capitolinus* created Questour, a man that had been thrice Consul. Forasmuch theretore, as *Cato*, the worthiest gentleman of all other, and the very ornament of the youth of *Rome*, could not be restored again,

C neither to the house of the *Quintij*, nor the commonweal, he pursued of mere pietie, with just & lawfull war, and false witness, who would not suffer on anyhand the innocent person to have the liberty to plead in his own defence. And when *Virginij*, most of all the other Tribunes, was earnest to publish the law, the Consuls had two months respite given them to consider thereof, and look into it thoroughly: to the end, that when they had advertised the people what secret fraud and inconvenience was hidden and lurked therein, they might afterwards suffer them to proceed to a sentence, and gather voices accordingly. This space between granted, brought the citie into a good and quiet state.

D But the *Equians* would not abide, that long it should continue so; Who having broken the league, which the year before was made with the Romans, chose *Gracchus Cluilius* for their governor and generall, who was in those daies the greatest man among the *Equians*. Under the conduct of this *Gracchus*, they enter first in warlike manner the country of *Lanuvium*, and from thence into the territorie of *Tusculum*, spoiling and ransacking as they went: and being loaden with preyes and booties, they pitch their tents in *Algidum*. Thither repaired from *Rome* into their camp, *Q. Fabius*, *P. Valerius*, and *A. Posthumus* as embassadours, to complain of wounds received, and to demand amends and satisfaction according to covenant. The Generall of the *Equians* seemed to grant them audience, and willed them to declare what message and commission they had from the Senat of *Rome*, unto the oake; for that himself had some other matters to dispatch the while. Now there grew a mightie great Oake hard by the General his pavilion, spreading

E his boughs even over it, and the shadow thereof served for a cold sitting place. Then one of the Embassadors, as he went his way, "Let both the sacred Oake (quoth he) and what divine power soever is seated in this place, heare and know, that by you first the league is broken, who now regard our present complaints, and shortly assist our valiant armies, when we shall prosecute and revenge at once the disloyall breach, both of Gods laws and mans. So soon as the Embassadors were returned to *Rome*, the Senat gave direction, that one of the Consuls should lead forth an armie against *Gracchus*, into *Algidum*, and the other have in commission, to waite the borders of the *Equians*. The Tribunes, as their manner was, hindred the muster and peradventure had staied it altogether, but for a new fearfull occurrent that suddainly came in the neck of the other. For a mightie power of Sabines were approached well neer to the wals of the citie, robbing, spoiling and destroying all a fore them with sword and fire. The territorie was pitiously round about

F laid desolat, and the citie therewith sore terrified. Then the Commons stomacks came down, and gently they tooke weapons in hand: and (say what the Tribunes would against it) two great armies were enrolled. *Nautius* had the leading of the one against the Sabines: and being encamped at *Eretum*, with rodes and incursions, and those for the most part by night, made such foul work and wast in The Sabines country, that in comparison thereof, the lands about *Rome*, seemed as if they had not been once touched. *Minutius* in his exploits, had neither like good successe, nor yet equall courage and valour of heart. For having pitched his tents not far from the enemy, and received no great spoile and losse at his hands to speak of, yet he kept himselfe for fear within the camp. Which when the enemies perceived, they grew more bold (as commonly the cowardite of one increaseth the courage of another) and assailed the camp in the night season: but seeing that plain force little prevailed, the morrow after they raised mounts, and cast trenches round about. But before they had with their countermures and rampires stopped up all passages, five horsemen being even amongst the guards of the enemies, brought news to *Rome*, that the Consul with his armie was besieged. Nothing could there have hapned so little thought of, and unlooked for: whereupon there was such fear, trembling, and quaking, as if the enemies had besieged not the camp, but the very citie. *Nautius* the Consul they send for, and because they thought him like to doe but small good, they agreed theretore to creat a Dictator, who

* Roeca del
Papa.

L. Quintius
nominated
Dictator,
found digging
his ground
with his own
hands,

might restore again the distressed state of the C. W. And *L. Quintius Cincinnatus* by consent of all H men was nominated. Now a world and wonder it is to hear them speak, that in regard of riches despise all things else, and suppose there can be no great honour and virtue, but where wealth and riches do flow in excess. This *L. Quintius*, the only hope of the Romans, the man who was to set upright their Empire now distressed, occupied then a peece of ground, to the quantity of foure acres, called at this day *Quintia prata*, *Quintius* his meddows, on the other side of Tyber, over against that very place, where now the Arsenall and Shippdocks are, and there was he found digging a ditch, and bearing hard on his spade, or else a plowing the ground, I wot not whether, but busie and earnest about some rustical work, no doubt he was: and after salutations passed on both sides, between him and the Embassadors that were sent, he was requested by them, that I he would put on his best gown, and (that which might turn to the good of himself and the commonweal) hear a message from the Senat. First, he marvelled what the matter should be, & very often asking of them if all were well: he willeth his wife *Racilia* to bring him forth his Senators robe straitway, out of his sorie cottage: which he put on his back (but first he brushed off the dust, and wiped away his sweat, and made himself somewhat mannerly) and then came forth unto them, who in joyous manner, by way of congratulation, filled him by the name of Dictator: calling hard upon him to repair unto the city, and declaring in how doubtfull termes the armie stood. Then was there barge provided ready for *Quintius*, at the cities cost: and being ferried over the river, his three sons met him and received him first, then others of his kinsfolk and friends, and after them the more part of the Senatours. Thus attended with this frequent company, and with the K Sergeants going before, was he brought to his house. Great concourse there was also of the Commons: but nothing so joyous were they, to see *Quintius*, supposing that government of his over-great and absolute, and himself a man in time of his rule, too imperious. And for that night verily, nothing was done, but a good standing watch kept in the city. The morrow after, the Dictator being come into the common place of assembly before day-light, appointed Generall of the horle, *L. Tarquinius*, of Noble blood descended: a man who for mere poverty had ever served on foot, but of all the flower of *Rome* was reputed and taken to be a brave servitour, and an excellent souldier. Then *Quintius* with the Generall of horsemen, mounteth into the pulpit aloft: proclaimeth a publicke vacation or Lawfeed: commandeth all shop windows through the city to be shut, and chargeth that no man should follow any privat businesse of his own. Then as many as were of age to fight, were willed to shew themselves in their armour, before the sun set, in Mars field, every one with victuals dressed for five daies, and with twelve forked stakes a peece for to pitch in the rampart. And that whosoever were above that age, and were unwelldy, and not meet for service should dresse and provide victuals for the next souldier unto him, whiles he himself made ready his armour, and sought for stakes aforesaid. Thus ran the young able men to and fro, to furnisb themselves with stakes, and took whatsoever they could find, and whatsoever was next hand: no man was forbidden, and so they were all ready with heart and good will, according to the Dictator his proclamation. Then went the Dictator forth with the legions of footmen, the Master of the horle likewise with his men of arms, in such good order and aray, as might not only serve for a speedy march to rid ground, but also for a set battell if occasion served. "In M "both regiments they spared not to encourage and exhort their souldiers, according as the present "time required: willing them to set foot forward, to mend their pace and make speed, that by "night time they might reach to their enemies: & not (say they) before there was great need: for "that the Roman Consul and army were besieged, and had now three daies already been pent "up fast inclosed: and what might happen in one day or one night, no man knew: for oftentimes "in the twinciking of an eye, and in the very turning of an hand, there fall out accidents of right "great moment and importance. On afore spce, Ensigne crieth one: follow souldier faitha- nother. Thus went they also lustily forward, and all to pleasure and gratifie their captains. So that by midnight they were come into *Algidum*: and so soon as they perceived their enemies to be neer at hand, they pitched down their ensignes. Then the Dictator rode about as far forth N as he could see in the dark, and having viewed well the situation, coasting and fashion of the camp, commanded the Marshalls and Colonels to give direction, That all the carriage and baggage, should be laid up together in one place, and that the souldiers with their armour and stakes only, should come again into their ranks. What he commanded was soon done. Then in the same order that he marched, he draweth out his host in length, and compasseth the camp of his enemies: and commandeth them all (upon a signall or watchword given) to set up a shout, and presently upon the shout to cast a trench, & every man stuck down his pale in the rampier. Having given this charge, straightwayes the signall followed. The souldiers do that which they were bidden: the shout was heard over all the camp of the enemies, yea, and into the Consul his camp: causing in the one great fear, in the other exceeding joy. The Romans rejoycing one O with another to hear the shout of their fellow-citizens and countriemen, with a conceit of their coming to relcue, begin of themselves from their sentinels and *Corps de guard*, to threaten and terrifie their enemies. The Consul set them forward and said, there was now no staying for the matter, nor delaies to be made: for that it appeared by that alarm, that not only their friends were come with succours, but also had begun to skirmish: and that it was all to nothing, that their enemies camp, was already on the outward side assaulted. Whereupon, he commandeth his souldiers to arm, and to follow hard after him. Thus in the night began the skirmish, and

A and the legions of a Dictator by their outcry and shouting made signification that the enemies on that side also were driven to their shifts and in great hazard. By this time the *Equians* had addressed themselves to impeach them in their trenching and making of their rampire, to the end that they might not be compassed about: but the alarme was given and the skirmish already begun by their enemies within: fearing therefore, lest they would break through the midst of their camp, they turned from the pioneers and workmen without, to them that fought within, and thereby gave the other leave to ply their work and labour all the night long at their pleasure: and so they maintained skirmish with the *Consul*, untill day light. Now by the break of day they were entrenched on every side by the Dictator, and were scarce able to hold out battell with one of the armies. Then the host of *Quintius*, which presently upon the finishing of the trench returned to their weapons, entering of the mures and rampires of the enemies. Here began a fresh conflict again, and yet the former nothing abated. The enemies then seeing themselves thus distressed and to hardly driven on every side, left fighting and fell to intreating: they besought the *Consul*, on one side and the Dictator on the other, that they would not get the victorie by effusion of blood and cruel massacre, but would permit them to go their waies naked without their weapons. The *Consul* he posted them off to the Dictator: who being in great wrath and displeasure, would not be contented without their shame and ignominy besides. But commanded that *Cleulus* their generall with other Colonels and Captains should be brought bound unto him. Item, he enjoyned them to abandon & quit the town of *Corbio*: as for the *Equians* blood, he sought not for it, he had no need thereof: they might depart with their lives. Howbeit, because he would have it now at length, maugre their heads, confessed, that the nation was vanquished and subdued; his will and pleasure was, they should passe all under the yoke or gallows: the maner wherof is this. They took three spears or javelins, and set two of them pitched in the ground endlong, and their overthrow fastned unto the other. Under this kind of gallows the Dictator compelled the *Equians* to go. Thus having gotten the tents of the enemies full of all kind of store (for naked he sent them under the yoke) the whole pillage he bestowed upon his own souldiers only: and rebuking sharply the *Consul's* army and the *Consul* himself, Ye shall (quoth he) souldiers go without your part of booty won of the enemy, whose booty ye had like your selves to have been. And as for thee, O *L. Minutius*, until thou begin to have the heart and courage befitting a *Consul*, thou shalt be a Lieutenant only over these legions. So *Minutius* being discharged of the *Consulship*, remained still as he was commanded, with the army. But so well were men content in those daies, willingly to yeeld obedience to them that better could command, that this army in remembrance hereof as of a favour received, rather then of a disgrace offered, both ordained for the Dictator a coronet of gold of one pound weight: and also when he went homeward, saluted him by the name of their Patron. At *Rome* the Senat being assembled together by *Q. Fabius* Provost of the citie, decreed that *Quintius* should enter the city in triumph with his army marching in battell aray as he came. Before his chariot was led the commanders of his enemies: the ensignes are carried before, then followed the army laden with spoil and pillage. Great cheer and banquets were set out, men lay upon tables at every mans dore. Thus making merry, they followed the chariot with songs of triumph, with sports and merry conceits, as they are wont to do at their great and solemn feasts. The same day *L. Mamilius* the *Tusculan*, with the approbation and good liking of all men, was enfranchised citizen of *Rome*. And forthwith would the Dictator have resigned up his office, but that the Court, held for the triall of *M. Volscius*, endited of bearing false witnesse, staid him: and in truth, the Tribunes would have hindred the judicall proceeding against him, if they had not stood in awe of the Dictator. But *Volscius* was convicted and had sentence, and departed to *Lanuvium* in exile. And *Quintius* having taken the Dictatorship for six months, gave it over the sixteenth day after he entred into it. About the same time the *Consul Nautius* fought valiantly with the *Sabines* at *Ereum*: who besides the wassing of the fields, had an overthrow in fight. *Fabius* was sent into *Algidum*, to succeed in the roome of *Minutius*. In the end of the year, the Tribunes began to stir, about their law: but because the two armies were absent, the Senatour prevailed so much at that time, that no bills were propounded unto the people. The Commons likewise obtained, that they might create the self-same Tribunes, now the fifth time. The report goeth, that there were seen in the Capitol, wolves chased away by hounds: for which strange sight, the Capitol was purged. And these were the acts of that year. Then followed *Consuls Q. Minutius & M. Horatius Pulvillius*.

In the beginning of which year, while all was quiet abroad, the same Tribunes and the same law caused dissention and sedition at home: which would have grown to a farther mischief, in such heats men were, had not word been brought, as it were of set purpose, that the garison at *Corbio* was surprized in the night by the *Equians* and put to the sword: whereupon the *Consuls* called the Senat together: and order was given, that they should lead a Subitary army and with a running camp invade *Algidum*. Then was the strife about the law laid aside clean, and a new contention arose about the musters. But the *Consuls* with all their authority, were overruled of the Commons, by the help and assistance of the Tribunes. At what time a new trouble put them in fear: for intelligence came, that a power of *Sabines* were come down already into the territories of *Rome* for to fetch booties and make spoil: and from thence advanced against the city. Upon which fear, the Tribunes were content that souldiers should be prest, yet not without this covenant indented: That for as much as they had now themselves these five years been trifled off

36 lib. angel
gold.
L. Quintius
triumpheth.

Ten Tribunes
of the Com.
first created.

* 32 lib 5. lb.
* 46 lib. 17. lb.

Embassadors
sent into Greece
for an abstract
of their laws.

Ten Magistra-
tes called De-
cemvirs, insti-
tuted for the
making of
laws.

and deluded, & that this protectorship of theirs stood the Commons in little stead, in regard of their small number, therefore, there should from thenceforth be ten created Tribunes of the Commonalty. The Nobles were so near driven and to such straits, that will they, nill they, yeeld they must thereto: with this proviso, that they should never after Elect the same men Tribunes twise. And for fear that this act should after the war was once past, turn to nothing, like as others had done before, they went in hand immediately to call a court for the Election of the Tribunes. So in the 36. year from the first Tribunes of the Commons chosen, there were ten created: out of every Classis, two. And by an act it was provided, that in such sort they should be created ever after. The musters then being taken and souldiers enrolled, *Minnius* went with a power against the Sabines, but found not the enemy. And *Horatius*, because the *Equians* after they had put the garison at *Corbio* to the sword, and won *Hortana* besides, fought with them in *Algidum*. Many a man there he slew, and drove his enemies not only out of *Algidum*, but also out of *Corbio* and *Hortana*. As for *Corbio* he utterly rased it, for betraying the garison there. After this, were *M. Valerius* and *Sp. Virginius* made Consuls. At quiet they were both at home and abroad. But great scarcity there was of corn, by reason of the untemperat and unseasonable rain that fell. A bill there was preferred, that the mount *Aventine* should be turned to Commons. And the same Tribunes were made again: who, all the year following, when *T. Romulus* and *C. Veturius* were Consuls, in all their Halls and assemblies, still published the law: saying, it was a shame, that their number was thus increased to no purpose, in case their affairs should lie dead in their two years, as they had done in the whole 5. years past. Whiles they were earnestly debating these things, fearfull messengers came in all hast from *Tusculum*, with news, that the *Equians* were in the territory of *Tusculum*. The fresh desert of that nation would not suffer the Romans for shame to defer their helping hand. Wherupon both Consuls were sent with an army, and met with the enemies in *Algidum* in their wonted haunt and accustomed place, where they encountred and struck a battell: in which were slain about 7000. enemies. The rest were put to flight. A huge booty there was gotten, which the Consuls sold out-right, by reason of the want of mony in their common treasury. But this caused the souldiers to repine and grudge, and in the end ministred matter to the Tribunes, to accuse the Consuls unto the Commons. As soon therefore as they were out of their office, when *Sp. Tarpeius* and *A. Eternius* were Consuls: *Romulus* was arrested and put in suit by *C. Claudius Cicerus*, Tribune of the Commons. And *Veturius* was likewise troubled by *L. Halerius* an Edile or Warden of the Commons. Condemned they were both the one and the other, to the great indignation of the Nobles. *Romulus* was fined in * 10000 Asles. *Veturius* in * 15000. But for all this hard hap and calamity that befell to those former Consuls, the new were never a jot more remisse and cool in the quarrel: saying, Well may we also be cast and condemned, and both Commons and Tribunes never the neeter to compasse and enact their law. Then the Tribunes giving over the law, which now by propounding only to oft, was waxen stale and old, began more gently to deal with the Senators, praying them to make an end once of all strife and contention. And in case that the laws of the Commons so disliked and displeased them, they requested them to suffer certain Law-makers to be created indifferently out of the Commonalty, as well as of the Nobility, who might devise acts commodious & profitable to both parts and or the equal liberty and freedom of all. As for the substance it self of this motion, the Senators refused not: but they flatly said, that none but of the Nobility should have the making of those laws. Seeing then they agreed thus about the laws, & differed only and squared about the lawgiver, there were Embassadors sent to Athens, *Sp. Posthumius Albus*, *A. Manlius*, and *P. Sulpicius Camerinus*: who were commanded to exemplifie and copy out the famous and worthie laws of *Solon*: to search out and learn the ordinances, customes, and rites of other cities in Greece. For any outward wars, this year was quiet, and the year following more quiet, when *P. Curiatius*, and *Sex. Quinctilius* were Consuls, by reason of the continual silence of the Tribunes: which, as the expectation of the Embassadors that were gone to Athens, and of strange and forain laws, first and principally procured: so, two mighty great calamities that rose both at once, to wit, famine and pestilence, noisome and loathsome both to man and beast, afterwards continued. By means wherof, the fields lay wast and desolate, the city dispeopled with continual burials: many right worshipful and honourable houses thereby mourned. *Sergius Cornelius*, the Flamin of *Quirinus* dyed therof. *C. Horatius Pulvillus* the Augur went of it likewise: in whose room the Augurs (his Associates) chose *C. Veturius*: and therather, because he had been condemned by the people. *Quinctilius* the Consul departed also this life, and four Tribunes of the Commons. So that this was a year, with manifold losses and calamities foully distained. But for enemies all was quiet. After this were *C. Menenius*, and *P. Sestius Capitolinus* made Consuls. In which year likewise there was no war abroad, many at home some troubles arose. By this time were the Embassadors returned with the Athenian laws. And therefore the Tribunes were so much the more earnest and urgent, that once at length they would set on, to describe and put down some laws. And agreed it was, that there should be created Decemvirs above all appeal: & for the year: en g. there should no other Officers and Magistrats be in place. Now, whether any of these might be of the Commons or no, that was a question: and hereupon some debate and controversy continued for a good while. At the last, the Nobles went away with it, & had the preheminance, upon this condition, that neither the law *Scitia*, concerning the *Aventine* mount, nor other sacred lawes should be repealed. Thus in the 30. year after that Rome was built, was the form of the cities government changed the second time, and to the Consuls from the Decemviri, was the sovereign rule translated, like as before, from the kings to the Consuls.

This

A This change was lesse notable, in that it long continued not. The beginning of this Magistracie was fair and goodly to see to, but grew too rank, and exceeded in overmuch licentiousnesse. The sooner therefore it faded and fell away, and the former government was taken up again, and both the name and jurisdiction of Consuls returned, and was conferred upon twain. The Decemvirs created were these: *Ap. Claudius, T. Gentius, P. Sestius, L. Velutius, C. Iulius, A. Manlius, P. Sulpicius, P. Curiatius, T. Romulus, Sp. Posthumus, C. Claudius and Gentius*, because they had been Consuls elect for that year, had this dignity bestowed upon them, in lieu of the other. And *Sestius* one of the Consuls the year before, because he had preferred this matter unto the Senators, against his fellow Consul's will. Next to these were counted the three Embassadors that went to *Athens*, both for that they should be rewarded with this honourable dignity, for their embassage into so far & remote a country, & also because men were perswaded, that by reason of their insight and skill in forraign ordinances of strange nations, they might be well employed in setting down, and making of new; The rest made up the number. They say, that in the last scrutinies and suffrages at this Election, choice was made of those that were more aged, and farther kept in years, to the end they might not so fiercely and stoutly gainsay and crosse the opinions and constitutions of the other. In this new state of government, *Appius* was the man that bare the greatest stroke, he ruled the roost and swayed all the rest, so highly stood he in grace and favour with the people. He had so altered his nature, and became such a new man, that all on a sudden, of a cruel and terrible persecutor of the Commons, he proved a very *Publicola*, and courter of the Commonalty, and one that lay for to get every gale of popular love and favour that might be had. Every one sat his tenth day in place of judgement, and ministred justice in their severall turnes unto the people. On which day, the twelve knitches of rods were born by the Lictors before the sovereign judge: as for his nine brethren, they had each of them one sejeant to give attendance. In this agreement among themselves, (which accord other whiles when they were privat persons, had been hurtfull unto them) rested only and wholly the greatest equity towards others. A proof and argument of this their moderation, it shall be sufficient to observe now in the example and instance of one onely matter: for whereas they were created absolute, and pait all appeal, it fortun'd, that in the house of *P. Sestius*, a Nobleman, there was a dead body found buried, and brought forth openly into the publicke assembly of the people. The thing being no lesse apparent in view, then hainous and horrible in fact, *C. Iulius* a Decemvir, brought *Sestius* in question therefore, put him in suit to answer at a certain day, and became plaintiff unto the people, and accus'd that defendant, whose competent judge he was by order of law. And so he yeilded of his own right: adding so much to the freedom of the people, as was taken from the power of his own jurisdiction and government. When as now both high and low gave out, that this authority was sound and uncorrupt, & set as it were from Oracle, and Gods own mouth, & all men willing to accept of justice at their hands: then set they to it, and went about the making and giving of laws. And with great expectation of men, they set out ten Tables, and called the people to a generall assembly, commanding them in a good hour, and in the name of God to go, & (that which might turn to the good, to the benefit, and happiness of the Commonweal, themselves their children & posterity) to read the law there published: protesting, that as ten men could with all their wisdom foresee & provide for, had devised indifferent lawes, and equall for all sorts of callings, as well the best as the meanest. But for as much as the wits and heads of many men, were of deeper reach to see farther into things, they gave them good leave, to cast in their minds, and ponder with themselves each particular, yea, and to reason together from point to point, and thereof to deliver their opinion openly, what was short and wanting, or what was superfluous, in every article: and look what laws the consent of all men seemed to bring in, those should the people accept, and none other: that it might appear they were not so much to approve of them and give their assent after they were propounded, as to propose and preferre them their own selves. And when as they were thought sufficiently corrected, according to the speeches of men, and as every one spake to the severall titles and chapters of the laws, as they were set forth: then in the high court of Parliament, assembled of all the Centuries & degrees of men, the laws of ten Tables were enacted and established. Which even at this day, among that infinit number of statuts, heaped and hudled one upon another, are the very well-spring and fountain of all justice, both publick and privat. After this, there ran a rumour abroad, that two tables were yet wanting, which if they were put unto the rest, then might the complete body as it were of the whole Roman law be finished and made perfect. The expectation thereof, now that the great Leet-day grew neer for the Election, made men very desirous to create Decemvirs again the second time. Now the Commons abroad, besides that they hated the very name of Consuls, as well as of Kings, sought not greatly for the protection of the Tribunes: seeing that the Decemvirs one after another, yeilded in their prerogative, and admitted in some sort the appeal.

G But after that the solemn assembly for the chusing of Decemvirs, was published against the * *Trinundinum*, or third market day next ensuing, to such an heighth was the ambition and desire of this dignity growne, that the very chiefe men, and principall heads of the City (for feare, I beleeve, lest the possessions of so great a government, in case they were not invited themselves in the place, should lie open unto some unmeet and unworthy persons) went about and made court to every man, using in humble manner to those very Commons, with whom they had been at strife & variance, for that honour and dignity, which they themselves had with all their power and might impugned. The worthinesse and reputation of men of those years, and having born and gone through

The ten tables
of Romans
laws.

That is the 27
day following.

through such offices, being now come in question, and submitted to the choice and judgement of others, pricked on *Ap. Claudius*, and set him forwards. So as a man could hardly know whether to reckon him among the Decemvirs, or those that stood to be Decemvirs again. For otherwhiles he was more like one that sued for an office, than him that presently bare office: blaming personages of best quality in the City, and laying hard to their charge: but extolling the vainest & basest of the Competitors. Himself in person sorting among the *Duili* and *Iulij*, and such like, as favoured the Tribunes, went swinging and squaring in the common place, using them as instruments to venditate himself forth to the common people. So long, as at length his very brethren in office, who untill that time had been singularly addicted and affectionated unto him, cast their eyes upon him, and began to mark, & marvel much what his meaning was: reasoning thus among themselves: I
 "Surely there is no soundnesse nor goodnesse herein, but all meer dissimulation and hypocrisie.
 "Certainly, it is not for nought, that in such pride of his, there should appear so much courtesie.
 "What? to force his own nature too much within compasse: to debase himself, and suffer private men to be his fellows, was a signe of one, that made not so much hast to forgo a dignity and promotion, as sought means to keep it still. Openly they durst not presume to check and withstand his ambitious desire, but assailed by pleasing and soothing him up, to repress and bridle his foolish affection. And seeing he was the younger of his company, they all with one accord laid upon him the charge, to hold the high court for the Election of Decemvirs. Their drift and policy was, that he should not Elect his own self; a thing, which unlesse it were the Tribunes again, (and that was a most dangerous precedent and example) no man ever had done before. And he with K
 all his heart accepting thereof, made profession that he would be president of that honourable Court and Session, and prayed to the gods that he might perform it for the benefit of the weal-publik. And so took the vantage of that opportunity, to set forward his own design, which they meant should have stopped and crossed the same. And after he had by secret packing and consaving with the other competitors, and given the repulse unto the two *Quintii* (*Capitolinus*, and *Cincinnatus*) and put beside the Cushion his own Uncle by the fathers side (*C. Claudius*, a most stout & resolute champion of the Nobility) with other citizens of like mark and quality: he createth Decemvirs, such as were not for worth, port, and behaviour, to them comparable and his own sweet self with the first. Which as there was no man thought he ever would have done, so all good men misliked when it was done. With him were elected *M. Cornelius Maluginensis*, *M. Sergius*, *L. Minutius*, *Q. Fabius Vibulanus*, *Q. Petilius*, *T. Antonius Merenda*, *Caso Duilius*, *Sp. Oppius Cornicen*, *M. Rabuleius*. And there's an end of *Appius* playing anothers mans part. Off went his mask and visour now, and so from thence-forth, he began to shew himself in his own likenesse, and to live in his kind: yea, and to frame his companions to the bent of his bow, even before they were entered into office. Day by day had they their secret meetings by themselves apart from all other: and being once hereby furnished with ungracious and proud designments, which they had closely complotted together, they could no longer hold & dissemble their pride. Few might have access unto them: seldom would they be spoken with, shewing themselves strange, surly, & churlish to those that came unto them. Thus drew they the time on, unto the * Ides of May, which was the usuall and solemn day then of entring into offices of government. In the very beginning whereof they made the first day of their magistracie noted by an intimation and evident shew of exceeding M
 terrour. For whereas the Decemvirs their predecessors had observed this order, That one alone should have the rods of State born before him, and that this regall ornaments should passe round through them all in course one after another: Behold, these came all of them abroad, and each of them had his xij. bundles of rods carried before him. So that these Lictors, 120 in number, with their rods and axes too, fastned within the rods, took up and filled the whole *Forum* or common place as they went. And for as much as they were created absolutely, and their commission ran without all appeal, men made this exposition, that to go with their axes or without was all one, & made no matter at all. Thus was there a shew & representation of ten KK. And this terrour grew more and more, not with the meanest and basest sort only, but also with the chief and best of the Patritians: supposing that they sought to pick a quarell, and minister occasion and overture to some N
 massacre: that if any man should offer either in the Senat or among the people, to speak one word concerning liberty, forthwith there should be exemplary whipping and heading, to the terrour of all other. For, besides that, from the people there was no remedy and succour to be had, by reason that the appeal unto them was quite disannulled and taken away: the Decemvirs themselves drew so all in one line together and were so combined and linked, that there was no hope at all, that one would thwart and crosse that which another did: whereas the former Decemvirs could well abide, that their judgements and sentences should be censured and corrected, by the appellations or appeal to one of their brethren in commission: yea, and in some cases put off some matters from themselves to be decided by the people, which seemed properly to belong O
 unto their own jurisdiction. For a while, the fear was to all indifferent: but by little and little the Commons only began to feel the smart. The Nobles were forbore and escaped clear and leetfree: the meaner persons went to the wals, and with them they dealt according to their lust and pleasure right cruelly. The person wholly they regarded, and never respected the cause, as with whom favour and friendship prevailed as much as equity and right should have done. At home in their houses, they determined of matters how they should passe: and in open place they pronounced sentence accordingly. If a man had appealed to one of their bench, from him
 unto

13. day of May

A unto whom he fled for relief, he went his waies again by weeping crosse, repenting that he stood not to the order and injunction awarded by the former. It was thought and spoken also abroad, but the first author would not be known. That they had conspired together, not for the present time only to do wrong and injurie, but also were confederat between themselves privily, yea, and had bound it with an oath, to call no assembly at all for the electing of new magistrats: but being now once invested in the soveraign rule, to hold the possession of the Decemvirship for ever. The Commons than began to look about them, to behold and advise well the countenances of the Nobles, to see if they could from them catch some good gale of wind, some hope again of liberty, at whose hands they fearing bondage, had brought the common-weal to this hard passe.

B The LL. of the Senat hated the Decemvirs, they hated also the Commons. They liked not of things as they went; and yet were perswaded that the Commons were well enough served, and deserved no better: who gaping greedily after liberty were now fallen and plunged into servitude and thraldome. Help they would not with the least of their fingers, but rather heap more wrongs upon them: that having a wearisome and tedious loathing of the present state, they might fall to a longing desire after two Consuls, and with the old world were come again. By this time now was the better part of the year gone and past: and the two tables of laws were annexed to the other ten of the former year: which if they might be once confirmed and ratified by a Parliament of the Centuries, there remained nothing behind, for which the common-weal should need these magistrats: but expected it was certainly, that the assembly for Election of Consuls should out of hand be published and proclaimed. Marry, there was one thing hammered in the Commons heads, by what means they might revive again the Tribunes authority; the very grand bulwark of their freedom, and the thing that now had discontinued and lien dead. But all this while there was not a word of the new Election. And the Decemvirs, who at the first presented usually unto the Commons fight, a crew of those that favoured the Tribunes, for to attend upon their persons (a thing right plausible and pleasing unto the people) were guarded now, with certain tall pensioners of their Nobility: whole troups of them stood about their Tribunal seats and places of judgment. These made havock and spoil of the Commons and their goods: and look what the mind of a mighty man stood unto and lusted after, it was his hap to have it whatsoever. Nay, there was no spare now made of their backs and sides: some were scourged with rods, some lost their heads by the ax. And because this cruelty should not go unrewarded, lightly there was none executed, if he were worth any thing, but his goods went after and were begged or given away. The youth of the Nobility, by this kind of hire well fleshed: not only opposed not themselves to withstand these wrongful dealings & hard courses, but carried it afore them, openly professing & avowing that they wished rather their own licentiousness, than the liberty of all. The * Ides of May were now come about, and no new magistrats elected in the others roome. Forth come the Decemvirs, (who to say a truth and to give them their right, were no other than privat persons) neither with minds abated for the exercising of their imperious rule, nor with fewer regal ensignes, to set out and shew their honour & dignity. When the people saw that, they made no other reckoning but this was plain usurping of the kings government, and no better: And now farewell freedom for ever and a day. For neither had they presently, nor hereafter were they like to have any man to recover it again. So that now, not they only let fall their hearts and were discouraged in themselves, but also grew to be contemptible in the eyes of their neighbour-nations: who dildained highly, that they should have soveraignty of rule, who were not free themselves, nor enjoyed their own liberty. For the Sabines with a strong power invaded the Territories of Rome: and when they had foraged far and neer, and driven away booties both of people and of cattell, without impeachment, they gather their army together again, that had hanged here and there up and down, and entred unto *Eretum*, where they encamp themselves: laying this for a ground, and building their hope upon their discord at Rome, that it would stay their mustering. Not only the news that came hercof, but the the flying of the country peasants, put the whole city in great fear.

C The Decemvirs fall to consulting what were best to do. And whiles they were to seek what course to take, and between the hatred of the Nobles and the Commons utterly forlorn and destitute, there hapned also another fearfull trouble in the tail of the former. The Equians from another side were encamped in *Algidum*. And from *Tusculum* Embassadors brought tidings that their country was wasted with excursions from thence, whereupon they craved their help and aid. These fearfull occurrences so troubled and perplexed the Decemvirs, that considering the city was now beset at once with wars from two places, their stomachs were come down to consult with the Senat. They commanded therefore the Senatours to be summoned to the *Curia*. And well they wist, what a great fit and storm of anger, displeasure and blame was towards: namely, that they would burden them & lay to their charge, how they were the only cause both of the country wasted already, and of the perils like presently to ensue: looking for no other, but that there would be given an attempt and shrewd push, to abolish utterly their government, unlesse they stuck closely together to it, and by extending their authority sharply upon some few of the stoutest, quail and crush the attempts of others. After the voice of the Bedell was heard in the Forum of common place, citing the Senatours to repaire into the Councell house to the Decemvirs: the novelty and strangeness of the matter, (because they had laid down for a long time the manner of calling them to Councell) caused the Commons to marvel and mune what was betallen, that they should after such discontinuance, take up a thing so obsolete and out of use. And thus they conceived of it,

D that

E

F

G

Two tables more added to the former ten.

* 15 day of May.

that they were much beholding to their enemies, and might thank war for this, that any ancient H
guise and custom of a free city was come up and in use again. They looked about on every side of
the Forum, to see if they might espy a Senator: but few or none could they hear of, any where.
Then looked they into the *Curia*, and behold, none at all appeared about the Decemvirs. Where-
of their own selves, even the Decemvirs could gather no otherwise, but that in the conceit,
& consent of all men, their government was become odious: & the Commons also thus collected
and interpreted, that the Senators met not together, because privat men (such as the Decemvirs
were indeed) had no authority to assemble a Senat. And now said they, is the way and entrance
made to recover their liberty again, if so be the Commons would join with the Senat: and as the
Nobles being called, meet not together in counsel, so the Commons likewise would refuse to be I
muttered. In this wise muttered and whispered the Commons. And in truth scarcely was there
any one of the Senators about the common place, and but few within the city: for very griefe
and indignity to see that things went as they did, they had withdrawn themselves into the countrie
to their lands: and forgetting the state of the common-weal, they became careful of their own
privat affairs: thinking themselves so far forth freed from oppression and wrong, as they were re-
mote and sequestred from the society, meeting and conference, with so Lordly & imperious rulers.
When they would not assemble at their summons, the officers were sent unto their houses, both
for to streine and take away streffes for their contumacie and disobedience, and also to enquire
and learn, whether they refused to come at their commandment, or of set purpose or no. And word K
they bring back, that the Senators were in the country. The Decemvirs were better apaid to hear
that, than if answer had come that they were at home and refused to obey. They they gave com-
mandment that they should be sent for: and they warned a Senat house against the next day fol-
lowing: where they assembled more in number then they looked for. Whereupon the Com-
mons supposed that their liberty was bought and sold and utterly betrayed by the Nobles, for that
the Senat had yeilded obedience to them (that now by right were out of their office) as if they
had given lawfull summons. who being privat men had no power at all so to do. But they shew-
ed more obeisance and submission, as we have heard say, in coming to the Councel house, than any
disposition to deliver their minds and opinions there, to the liking and pleasures of the Decemvirs.
First, *L. Valerius Potitus*, as it is recorded, after that *Appius Claudius* had proposed unto them the L
cause of their meeting, before they were required their advice in order and course, claimed the li-
berty of the house, to speak in the behalfe of the common-weal. But when as the Decemvirs de-
nied it flatly, yea, and forbad him with threats, upon pain of their high displeasure, he inferred
again and menaced, that he would go forth unto the commons, and so began a broil and tumult.
M. Horatius Barbatus likewise took part with him, and was nothing behind in stoutnesse to main-
tain the quarell, terming them ten *Tarquins*: "and are ye aware (quoth he) how the Kings
were in times past expelled by the the *Valerii* and *Horatii*? And yet the name it was not of
"Kings, that men were so weary of and loathed in those daies. For why? it was right lawfull to call
"Jupiter by that name: whereby *Romulus* also the founder of this City, and other Princes his
"successours have been called: yea, and the name hath been used and is retained still as a solemn ti-
"tle, in the sacred rites of holy Kirk. Nay, it was the pride and oppression of the King, that then M
"was odious, and nothing els, which enormities, if they were in those daies in the King himself, a
"lawfull prince, or in the King his son intollerable, who can abide and endure the same in so ma-
"ny privat persons? I advise you therefore to take heed how you debar men of their liberty of
"speech in the Councel House, lest ye drive them thereby to speak their mind and complain with-
"out the Councel House. Neither see I any reason at all, why it were not as lawfull for me
"a privat man, to assemble the people to an audience, as for you to call the Senat together to a
"Councel. Make triall whensoever ye will, ye shall find how much more forcible our just griefe
"will be, in recovering our libertie again, than this greedy desire of yours, holding and upholding
"still your usurped, unlawfull, and tyrannicall rule. You have propounded here unto us, forsooth,
"concerning the Sabines war: as who would say, the people of *Rome* can be at greater war with N
"any than with those, who having been created Magistrates only for the publishing and enacting of
"certain laws, have left now neither law nor justice at all within the city. Who have taken away
"their *Comices*, i. Courts and Leets of Election, their yearly Magistrates, the successive change
"and course of bearing rule, the only thing that maketh *Isonomy*, and equality of freedome. Who
"being but private men, are possessed both of regall ornaments, and also of roiall government. Af-
"ter the expulsion of the Kings, the Magistrates that succeeded were of the Nobility: in pro-
"cesse of time, upon the rising of the Commons and their departure, there were officers chosen out
"of the Commonalty. I demand of you, and I would gladly know, of whether state or body are
"ye? Are ye, I pray you, popular, and of the Common people? What have ye ever done with ad-
"vice and approbation of the people? Are ye Nobles and Peers? who now for a whole years space O
"almost, have held no Councell of Senators. And now that ye have assembled them, you restrain
"them from speaking for the Weal-publick. Well presume not too much, neither bear your selves
"upon the timorousness of others. For, trust me truly, the indignities that men already suffer,
"seem more irksome and unsupportable, than whatsoever els they can doubt and fear hereafter. As
Horatius spake these words aloud, and the Decemvirs could not bethink themselves of some in-
different & mean course, either in anger to be revenged, or in lenity to pardon and put up al, nor wist
whereto this matter might tend and proceed in the end: then *C. Claudius*, uncle to *Appius*, the
Decem-

*M. Oratius Bar-
batus* against
the Decemvirs

A King Sacri-
fice instituted
in the free
state.

C. Claudius
to the Decem-
vis.

A Decemvir, began to speak, rather by of way praier and intreatie, then in checking and reprov-
 ing wife, and besought *Appius* for his brothers foul sake, who was his own father, to remember
 and regard more that civil societie wherein he was born, then this ungracious and wicked con-
 federacie, contracted with his fellow Decemvirs. And this request I make (quoth he) tender-
 ing your privat estate more then the Commonweal. As for her, if she might not by fair meanes
 and with their good wils, obtain her own due and right, she would by foul waies, and in spight
 of their hearts recover it in the end. And for as much as of much debate and strife there ensue
 commonly heats of anger and cankred rancour, I am in dread & horror what the sequel and is-
 sue will be of these jars. Now when as the Decemvirs would not permit the rest to speak, but
 only to the point proposed and occasion of their meeting, yet they were abashed to interrupt
 the speech of *Claudius* and to cut him off: but suffered him to goe on untill he made an end. And
 in conclusion his opinion and sentence was, that he would not (to abide by it) agree, that any act
 of the Senat should for that time passe in that behalf. And all that were present took his words to,
 as if *Claudius* deemed no otherwise of the Decemvirs, then of private men. Many of them also, such
 especially as had been Consuls, were of his mind. and said as much. Another opinion there was,
 more rough and sharp in outward shew, but far lesse forcible and effectuell in deed: advising and
 willing the Nobles, to make no more ado, but to go together and chuse an Interregent. For this
 man seemed yet, to account and judge them Magistrates; (bad though they were) that had called
 a Senat, and held them in Councell: whereas the former, that would not abide any act to passe,
 reckoned them but for privat persons. Thus when the Decemvirs cause began to shrink and go
 downward, *L. Cornelius Maluginensis*, brother to *Cornelius* the Decemvir, being relieved of pur-
 pose to give his opinion in the last place of al the Consular Senatours, such as had been Consuls, pre-
 tending a care that they had of the war, took part with his brother and his Collegues, saying, that
 he marvelled much by what misfortune or destinie it hapned, that the decemvirs should be chal-
 lenged and oppugned, especially by those that had stood for the Decemvirship, or by their
 friends and associates: and how it came about, that in so many months space, whiles the city was
 at rest and without fear of war, no man made question or doubt, whether they that were in place,
 and governed the state, were lawfull Magistrates or no: and now at last, when the enemies are
 in a manner at the gates, they should sow civil dissention, unlesse this were the meaning of it,
 that in a troubled state it would not be so clearly seen and perceived, what they went about. But
 no man is able (qud. he) to set down a true doom, & alledge a ruled case in so great a matter as this
 is, to men, whose minds are busied and wholly possessed of a greater care. And therefore my o-
 pinion is, that concerning that point which *Valerius* and *Horatius* charged the Decemvirs with,
 namely, That before the Ides of May their government was determined, and they out of office;
 the Senat should discusse and debate, when as the wars now at hand were dispatched, and the
 Commonweal brought once again to quietness. And that *Appius Claudius* should make this rec-
 koning even now at hand, and know that he is to render a reason of that high court of Parla-
 ment, which for the election of Decemvirs he called and held, being a Decemvir himself:
 namely, Whether they were created for one year only, or to continue still, untill the other laws
 which yet are wanting, were ratified and confirmed. As for the present time, he thought good that
 all other matters should surcease, and be passed over, save the war only: the rumour whereof, if
 they thought to be false, and that they were but tales that not only the messengers, but also the
 Embassadors of the Tuscans reported, then his advise was to send out espials, who upon their
 discovery might bring more certain tidings. But in case they gave credence to messengers and
 Embassadors both, then with all speed possible to muster, and the Decemvirs to have the con-
 duct of the armies, and to lead them whither they thought meet: and that nothing els should be
 thought upon before this. Which opinion of his, that it might prevail and take effect, the puerile
 Sentours by importunat convassing, obtained. Then *Valerius* and *Horatius* both rose up the se-
 cond time more fierce and eager than before, calling upon them aloud, that they might be per-
 mitted to speak concerning the Commonweal: and in case they might not be suffered by reason of
 the faction, to have the liberty of speech in the Councell House, they would speak their mind with-
 out, before the people. For neither could privat men (as they were) debar them in Senat House,
 nor in open assembly & to give place unto their imaginary, and pretended imperial ensigns, they
 would never be brought. Then *Appius* supposing the matter wel-neer come to this passe, that
 unlesse the violence were resisted with like boldnesse, their rule was at an end, and their autho-
 ritie conquered: Ye were not best (quoth he) to speak but to the matter, whereupon we sit in
 Consultation. And when *Valerius* replied again and said plainly, that he would not hold his
 tongue for a privat mans commandment: *Appius* sent a Sergeant unto him. Whereupon *Valerius*
 cried for help to the Quirites, from the porch of the Councell House. Then *L. Cornelius* clapping
Appius about the middle, without regard to content him whose good he pretended, staid the
 strife. So by the mediation of *Cornelius*, leave was granted to *Valerius* for to say his mind at his
 own pleasure. But, for as much as his libertie proceeded no farther, then to some few words, the
 Decemvirs held on their purpose still, and had their desire. The Nobles also, such as had been Con-
 suls, and the ancients, upon an old cankred hatred that they beare still against the Tribuns authori-
 ty, where upon they supposed the Commons were much more devoted and affected, then unto the
 government of the Consuls, were rather inclined and willing that the Decemvirs of their own ac-
 cord should themselves afterwards forgo their office, than that upon hatred and malice received
 against

L. Cornelius his
 Speech in the
 Senat.

against them, the Commons should take heart of grace, and hold up head again. For it with gentle handling of the matter, without stir and clamour of the people, the regiment returned again unto the Consuls, it would haply come to passe, that either by meanes of wars coming between, or through the moderation of the Consuls in their government, the Commons might in time forget the Tribuns quite.

Thus whiles the Nobles were silent and made no more words, a muster was proclaimed, and the younger sort of people, seeing the government of the Decemvirs absolute and without appeal, made answer to their names. And when the legions were enrolled, the Decemvirs took order and agreed between themselves who should go forth to the wars, and who should have the command of the forces. The chiefe & principal of the Decemvirs were *Q. Fabius*, and *Appius Claudius*. And for that there seemed greater war at home then abroad, the Decemvirs suppoled the violent nature of *Appius*, fitter to repress all troubles and mutinies in the citie; and considering withall the disposition of *Fabius*, to be lesse constant and resolute in goodnesse, then active and quick in militarie service. (for this man having been in times past of great worth, both at home, and also in war; the Decemvirship, and the conditions of his colleagues together, had so greatly changed, that he chose rather to be like *Appius* then himself) to him therefore was imposed the charge of the war against the Sabines, together with *M. Rabuleius*, and *Q. Petilius* joined in commission with him. *M. Cornelius* was sent into *Algidum*, with *L. Minutius*, *T. Antonius*, *Caso Duilius*, and *M. Sergius*, and they ordained and appointed *Sp. Oppius* as assistant to *Appius Claudius*, for the defence and government of the city, and to have the full authoritie of all the ten Decemvirs. But the Common-weal sped no better abroad in warfare, than it fared at home. The onely fault in the Generals was this, That they had made themselves odious to their souldiers and citizens: all the blame els lay in the souldiers themselves; Who to the end that nothing might go well forward and prosper under the leading and conduct of the Decemvirs, suffered themselves to their own shame, and dishonour of their captains, to be defeated: for the armies were both by the Sabines at *Eretum*, and also by the *Aequians* in *Algidum* discomfited. They that fled from *Eretum* in the dead of the night, had encamped and fortified upon an high ground nearer unto the city of *Rome*, between *Fidens* and *Crustumena*. And when the enemy pursued them still and provoked them to fight, they would never come forth into the plain and even ground, to encounter with them in a pight battell, but stood upon their guard and defended themselves, trusting in the situation of the place and their rampier, and nothing upon their own manhood and force of arms. But in *Algidum* they committed a more foul and beastly fault, and received withall a greater losse and overthrow; inso much as having lost their camp with all their tents, the souldiers being turned out of bag and baggage, their harness and implements of necessary use, retired for refuge to *Tusculum*, hoping there to be entertained as guests, and to live upon the protection, mercy and devotion of their hosts and friends: who failed and deceived not their expectation. But to *Rome* there came such fearfull news, that the Senatours and Nobles laying apart now all hatred against the Decemvirs, thought good to keep watch and ward in the citie: and commanded as many as were able to bear arms, to keep the wals and guard the gates: they gave order also to send harness and armour to supply their want at *Tusculum*: moreover, That the Decemvirs should abandon the castle at *Tusculum*, and with their souldiers take the field and keep the camp: That they likewise should dislodge and remove from *Fidens*, that lay fortified there and remove into the countrie of the Sabines: so that by making wars upon the enemies first, they might scare and divert them from pursuing their intent of giving assault unto the citie of *Rome*. Besides these damages and foils sustained at the enemies hands, the Decemvirs committed both in war abroad, and also in the citie at home, two most wicked and horrible facts. For whereas one *L. Sicius*, during their abode in the Sabines countrie (upon an odious conceit and malice against the Decemvirs) had gone up and down, and in secret talke whispered in the ears of the Common souldiers, some mention of creating Tribuns, and of another insurrection and departure: him the Decemvirs dispatch before, to spie out a convenient plot of ground to encamp in. Now they had given those souldiers in charge, whom they sent to accompanie him in that expedition to set him upon him in some fit place of advantage and to kill him. And kill him they did, but to their own cost: for whiles he fought in his own defence, some of those that laid for his mischief, died for it, and lay along about him for companie: for being a right stout and strong man of his hands, he stood to it couragiously: and notwithstanding he was beset round about, he defended himself very manfully. The rest that escaped bring word into the camp, that *Sicius* was fallen unawares into an ambushment, and whiles he fought lustily, was with certain other of the souldiers slain. At the first, credit was given to him that brought the news. But afterwards, when as there was a band of souldiers thither sent by the permission of the Decemvirs, to bury them that there lay dead: they observing none of their bodies there, to be disarmed and despoiled, and *Sicius* lying in the midst of his armour, and all the rest of the dead with their faces towards him: no corps of enemy, nor footing of them departing from thence, brought away with them his dead carcasie, and made report that undoubtedly and passe all peradventure, he was murdered by his own companie. Hereupon was the whole camp filled with hatred and detestation of this fact, and generally it was agreed, that *Sicius* forthwith should be conveyed to *Rome*, had not the Decemvirs made hast to solemnize his funerals souldierlike, at the publike charges of the common treasure. So interred was he with exceeding sorrow and mourning

L. Sicius murdered by the treachery of the Decemvirs.

A of the souldiers, but to the most shameful obloquy and infamy of the Decemvirs, amongst the common sort.

Now followeth the other heinous deed committed within the City: which began of wanton lust, and had as foul and shameful an end, as that which upon the carnal abusing and bloody death of *Lucretia*, cast the *Tarquins* out of the City, and deprived them of their regal dignity: that both *KK*, and Decemvirs, might have not only the like success and issue, but also one and the self same cause, of losing their rule and dominion. *Appius Claudius* enamoured upon a virgin, a commoners daughter, lust to the abuse and spoil of her body. The father of the maiden *L. Virginius*, was of good calling and in place of credit in the camp that lay in *Algidum*, and had the leading there of a company: a man of honest example and conversation of life, both at home and also abroad in warfare. His wife likewise of virtuous disposition: so were their children nurtured and taught accordingly. He had espoused and affianced his daughter in marriage to one *L. Icilius*, a man of stout courage (as having been Tribune) and whose ferre and valor had been well tried and approved in the quarrel and defense of the Commonwealth. This damsel in the prime of her years, passing fair and beautiful withal, *Appius* (I say) cast a fancy and liking unto, and so burned in love of her, that he assayed with gifts and fair promises to win her good wil. But seeing all guarded and surely fenced with maidenly chastity and honesty, he bent his mind wholly to cruel and proud violence. He suborneth and setteth on a favorite and follower of his, one *M. Clodius*, to make challenge and lay claim unto her as his bond-maid: and not to give place nor yeeld her

C unto them, that required to have her at liberty out of his hands, during the suit, and until she brought proof of her freedom: supposing, because the father of the virgin was absent, he had good opportunity to work this feat, and compass his intended injury. As the maiden therefore was coming into the market place (for there were the schools for peties kept, of reading and writing) the Decemvirs man (a broker to serve his masters lust) laid hold upon her, avowing that she was his bond-servants daughter, and therefore his bond-maid: commanding her to follow him, and threatening besides, that if she made any stays, he would have her away perforce. The fearful girl hereat was amazed, and her nurse withal cried to the Quirits for help: whereupon the people came running and flocked together all about them. Now was the name of *Virginius* her father, and likewise of *Icilius* her spouse, very gracious and popular: To that the love and favour

D wherein they stood, raised friends and acquaintance: and the indignity of the thing besides, moved the whole multitude to tender the cause of the damsel. When as there fore she was now past danger of violence, the party that made claim unto her, said there was no need that the people thus should gather together, for his meaning was to proceed only by order of law, and not with any violent course. And so he cited her to the court, minding to commence his action against her, and put her in sue. Then they that were present to assist her, persuaded her to follow.

E Now when they were come before *Appius*, sitting judicially upon his tribunal seat, the Plaintiff, or challenger aforesaid, declareth against her, and telleth a tale full wel known to the Judge himself, being the author and deviser of the whole matter and argument: Namely, that the maiden was born in his house, and by stealth was from thence conveyed home to *Virginius*, and so was his supposed and reputed daughter: this he averred to have certain knowledge of, by pregnant evidences and witnesses: and would make proof thereof to be most true, and let *Virginius* himself be the judg, whom the greater part of this wrong deeply touched: in the mean while, it was but meet and reason, that the bond-maid should go with her Master. The friends and advocates of the damsel, having alledged and pleaded in her behalf, that *Virginius* was absent and employed in the affairs of Common-weal: and if he had word thereof, would not fail but be at home within two days: that it was no reason, that whiles a father was away, he should be in contention and controversie about his children: they required of *Appius* therefore to defer and put off the hearing of the whole matter, until her fathers coming, and that according to a law by himself in that case made and provided, he would grant her to be at large and stand at liberty, for to bring in proofs

F that she was not bond: and that he would not suffer a maid of those years, ripe and ready for a husband, to be more in hazard and danger of her good name, then prejudiced in the trial of her freedom. *Appius* made a long preface and discourse before his decree, namely, how much he favoured and tendered the cause of liberty, and to that effect, alledged the self same law which the friends of *Virginius* pretended for their purpose and demand. But so far forth, and no otherwise, should there be in that law assured safeguard of freedom, as the case altered not in circumstance of causes and persons. For, this priviledge and benefit held only in those that were claimed to be free, where any man whosoever might go to law and plead. As for her, who was in her fathers hand & at his disposition there was no other man else, unto whom the Master that maketh challenge, is to yeeld the right of his possession. His pleasure therefore was, and thus he decreed, That the father should be sent for: and that in the mean season, he that made title to her, should not be prejudiced thereby, but that he might lead away the wench, promising and assuming to have her forth-coming, and to present her in Court, at the return of him who is pretended and nominated to be her father. Against this injurious decree, when as many men rather muttered and murmured, then any one durst refuse and contradict it, *P. Numitorius*, the maids Uncle by the mothers side, and *Icilius* her espoused husband, hapned to come in place: and having way made them through the throng and press, the multitude thought verily, that by the coming, especially of *Icilius*, *Appius* might have been resisted and crossed. But then the Lictor pronounced that

*Scilium his
speech to App.
Claudius.*

Appius, had passed an order and decree already, and put *Scilium* back; who cried out aloud, (for so he manifest and horrible a wrong had been enough to have moved a very Saint, and set on fire a right mild natured person.) "Nay, *Appius* (quoth he) thou hadst more need to set me back with force of arms, if thou wouldst go clear away, and not be spoken to, for that which thou wouldst do in hucker mucker. This maid, I tell thee, I mean shall go with me: I purpose to have her to my selfe, an honest and pure virgin, and enjoy her in lawfull marriage, as my wedded wife: call therefore unto thee all the Lictors besides (thou were best) that belong unto thy companions: cause both rods and axes to be made ready: I tell thee, *Scilium* his espoused wife, shall not abide in any place without her fathers house. What? although ye have taken from the Commons of *Rome* the Tribuns assistance and protection, and the privilege of Appeal, two principal bulwarks for defence of their liberty: ye are not therefore allowed to rule and tyrannize, and to fulfil your lust upon our children and wives too. Exercise your rigour and cruelty, and spare not, upon our backs and sides in scourging us, yea, upon our necks and heads also, in taking them from our shoulders: so ye forbear to assaile our chastity and honesty. Whereunto, if any violence shall be offered, I will for my part, call for the help of the Quirites here present, in the behalf of my spouse: and *Virginus* for himself will call to the souldiers, in regard of his only daughter: we will cry for help of God and man: and cost it shall our lives before thou go away with this decree, and put it in execution, I require and charge thee, O *Appius* therefore, to be wel advised, and look how far thou dost proceed. Let *Virginus* when he is come, see to his daughter, how he dealeth about her: and let him know thus much for certain, that if he give place to this plaintiffs assertion, and forgo the present possession of her, he shall go seek his estate and propriety that he hath in his daughter. As for me, in this quarrel of maintaining the freedom of my spouse, I will lose my life, before I fail in my faithfull promise to her made. Hereat the whole multitude was moved, and like it was, that some mutiny and fray would presently have ensued. For the Lictors had hemmed in *Scilium* on every side. Howbeit they proceeded no farther then to big words and high threats: whiles *Appius* laid hard to *Scilium*, "That he did not this so much in the behalf and defence of *Virginus*, as, (being himself an unruly person, and even already breathing forth a Tribuns spirit) sought means, and picked occasion of an uproar and sedition. Howbeit for his part, he would not that day minister unto him any matter thereof. And that he might now wel know, that he did not this to feed his malapert sauciness, but in regard of the absence of *Virginus*, and for the name of a father, and the tender respect of freedom, he would not that day sit to hear and determine the matter, nor award a definitive judgment in that case: but would request *Mar. Claudius*, to suspend his action, and to forbear and yeeld so much of his own right, as to suffer the maid to be bailed and go under sureties, and to be at her liberty until the next day. But in case her father appeared not in Court the morrow after, he gave *Scilium*, and such as he was, to wit and understand, that neither the law should want the patronage of the maker, nor the Decemvir fail in courage and resolution: neither would he call together his fellow officers and sergeants, for to keep under such seditious and turbulent spirits as he was: but would content himself with his own Lictors, and do wel enough. The time now of effecting this injury, being thus deferred, and the maids Advocates gone aside, they agreed first of all upon this point, that a brother of *Scilium*, and a son of *Numitorius*, two lusty and nimble young men, should be dispatched straight from thence to the gate: and that with all speed possible *Virginus* should be sent for home from the camp: for that it stood the maid upon as much as her whole estate and life was worth: that he would be present and ready in due time the day following, to preserve her from this hard course, and wrongful proceeding. According as they were bidden, they set forward, and spared no horseflesh, until they brought tidings hereof to her father. All this while the plaintiff that made challenge to the maid, was very instant with *Scilium* to bail her, and put in sureties. And he again made answer, That he went about it as fast as he could, and did nothing else: but indeed trifling out the time on purpose, until the messengers that were sent to the camp, were got afore wel onward on their way. Then the whole multitude on all sides held up their hands, in token that they offered themselves every one unto *Scilium*, ready to become bound. Whereupon, he burst out into tears for tender heart. Gramercy (quoth he) my masters all, to morrow I will use your helping hand: for this time I am sped of sureties enough. So was *Virginus* set at liberty, and bailed by the suretiship of her kinsfolk. Then *Appius*, after he had stayed a while, because he would not seem to have sat for that matter alone, when he saw all other suits and causes omitted, in regard they had to it, and no man coming to him for justice, he arose, gat him home to his house, and wrote unto his brethren Decemvirs into the camp, that they should not give *Virginus* his passport, but keep him fast in durance, and in ward. This wicked practise (as God would have it) came short. For *Virginus* already had got his discharge, and was departed forward on his journey, in the evening by the setting of the first watch. And very early in the morning came the letters for to stay him, but all in vain. For *Virginus* by break of day was arrived: by which time the whole City resorted into the common place, standing and waiting earnestly for his coming. And thither he himself being in soiled and simple array, brought his daughter in her old worn cloaths, accompanied with certain Wives, and a great number of Advocates and friends: Then and there began he to go from one man to another, and to labour them hard: and not only besought their assistance by way of intreaty and prayer, but also required it as due and deserved: saying, that he stood dayly in field ready to fight in defence of their wives

A wives and children : neither could there be reported of any man more hardy exploits and valiant pieces of service in war, then of him self. But what booteth or availeth all this (quoth he) to save the City from enemies, in case our children be forced to abide the utmost extremities that befall unto Cities taken by the enemies ? thus went he about preaching, as it were, from one man to another. Likewise *Scilins* cast forth and redoubled like speeches freely and spared not. But the train of women, with their still and silent weeping, moved men more then any words uttered. All this notwithstanding, *Appius* in his obstinate mind (so disquieted was he and wholly possessed with a forcible spirit of humorous madness rather then of amorous passion) ascended up into the tribunal. Where, as the plaintiff first of himself was framing some short complaint, that by reason of partial favour and making of great friends, he could not have law and justice the day past : before that either he had made an end of his demand, or given leasure to *Virginus* for to put in his answer accordingly : *Appius* interrupted the speech, and began himself. What preamble it was that he made before his decree, peradventure some ancient writers have for truth recorded. But for as much as I cannot any where find in so shameful a decree, that which carrieth but a shew and soundeth like a truth : therefore, that only which is of all agreed upon, I thought best to set down, even the sentence barely without any preface at all : namely, *That he judged her in the behalfe of the Plaintiff to be his bond-servant*. First, all men there, wondered at this unworthy and foul act : and being stricken therewith astonished, for a good while after, stood still and held their peace. But afterwards, when as *M. Claudius*, went to lay hand on the maid, amongst the dames that stood about her, and was received with a piteous lamentation, and cry of the women : Then *Virginus* beckning with his hands and shaking them at *Appius* : “ To *Scilins* (quoth he) have I betrothed my daughter, and not to thee O *Appius* : brought her up I have for honest and chaste wedlock, and not for unclean and filthy whordom : to be a wife another day, and not an harlot. Is this the manner of it, like bruit and wild beasts without all regard, to leap and run upon you care not whom, and to fulfil your fleshly lust ? How these that be here will suffer such pranks, I know not : but they that are in camp with sword in hand, I hope, will never put them up. Now when as he that challenged the maid was by a knot of Women and Advocates that stood about her repelled back, then proclaimed the Bedle and commanded silence. And the Decemvir having his head intoxicate, and altogether carried away with unbridled lust, brake forth and said : That he had certain intelligence and was informed of a truth, by manifest and assured evidences. (and not induced and led thereto by the reviling taunts of *Scilins* yesterday, and the violent proceedings of *Virginus*, whereof he had the people of *Rome* to bear witness, and which might give some light and presumptions) That the night past, there were meetings and conventicles in the City, and all to raise a mutiny and insurrection : and therefore he not ignorant of such a broil and riot toward, was come down into the common place with a guard of armed men : not minding to hurt any one that would keep the peace, but only by vertue of the majesty of government and authority, to repress such as troubled the peaceable state of the City : therefore it were best for them to be still and quiet. Go Sergeant (quoth he) cause the people to avoid the place, and make room for the matter to lay hand upon his bond-slave : and after he had thundered out these words full of ire and wrath, the multitude of themselves gave back and made way : so the poor silly wench stood all forlorn and left as a prey to their injurious clutches. Then *Virginus* seeing all past help and no other remedy : Well *Appius* (quoth he) pardon me first I beseech thee if upon a fatherly affection and grief of heart I have let fall some shrewd and curst words against thee more then was becoming : Then give me leave here before the virgin, to enquire of her nurse the truth of this matter, that if I have fathered her untruly, I may go hence better apayed and satisfied in my mind. Leave being granted, he led his daughter and the nurse apart from the rest, near to the Church of *Venus Cloacina*, hard at the shops, called at this day *Nova Tabernaculæ*, i.e. the new shops or standings : and there having caught a knife from a butcher, he thus spake : My sweet daughter, no other means have I but this only to set thee free : and so he struck the damsel to the heart : and looking presently to the judgement seat, Here with this blood I sacrifice thee *Appius*, and thy head to the Devil. *Appius* with the crie that arose upon so horrible a fact, being much troubled, commanded *Virginus* to be apprehended : but he with bloody blade in hand, made way where he went, until with a number that followed him apace to bear him company, he recovered the gate. *Scilins* and *Numitorius* took up the bloodles corps and held it aloft to the people : blaming and cursing the wickedness of *Appius* : pitying the unhappy and unfortunate beauty of the damsel : and bewailing the hard exigent and extremity of the father. The Matrons followed after and cried : Is this the condition and fortune allotted unto parents for getting and bearing children ? Is this the hire and reward of chastity and virginity : with other like speeches, which in such a case, women in their grief of mind use to utter : whose sorrow as it is more heavy, proceeding from weak and tender hearts, so it yeeldeth and affordeth more pitiful and lamentable words, as they make their plaints and dolorous moans. But the men and *Scilins* above the rest, had no other talk but of the Tribunes authority, and the appeal unto the body of the people, how they were taken away from them, and of other public indignities and common discontents. The whole multitude partly upon the hainousness of this wicked act, and partly for hope by this occasion to recover again their liberties, were all up at once in an uproar. *Appius* one while commanded *Scilins* to be called, another while for his disobedience and contumacy to be attached and convented before him. At the length, seeing no way made unto the Apparitors, for

Virginus his words to *Appius*.

Virginus piteously killed by her father *Virginus*.

to come by him, passed himself with a crew of tall gentlemen of the Nobility that were of his H guard through the throng & commanded to have him away to prison. By which time there were gotten about *Scilins* not only the multitude, but the chief Captains and ringleaders of the multitude, *L. Valerius* and *M. Horatius*: who having thrust the sergeant back, said withal, that if *Appius* had any thing to charge him with by order of law, they would bail *Scilins*, and maintain his cause against him, who was but a private person: but if he went about to offer violence, he should soon meet with his matches. Hereupon grew a fierce brawl and broil: The Decemvirs officer set-teth upon *Valerius* and *Horatius* to lay hold upon them: but his rods were by the multitude broken to pieces. Then *Appius* gets him up into the common place of audience, for to speak unto the people. *Horatius* and *Valerius* follow after him up, to do the like. Then the assembly heard with I patience, but they hissed at *Appius* and cried out against him. Then *Valerius* took upon him, and commanded the Listors to give attendance no longer upon a private person. Whereupon, *Appius* his heart was done and his courage quailed: and so standing in fear of his life, he was fain to cover his face, and to withdraw himself in disguised manner, and took an house over his head, neer unto the common place (unknown to his adversaries) there to save himself. *Sp. Oppius*, for to rescue and succour his Colleague, rushed from an other side into the place: and there he might see force and might to have got the upper hand of authority. After many devices and consultations, wherewith he was distracted, and framing himself to yeeld consent on every side, at length by the advice and perswasions of many there about him, in great fear he commanded the Senat to be called together. This appeased the multitude, for that they were in hope that (by means of the Senators, K who many of them, seemed to mislike the acts and proceedings of the Decemvirs) that government of theirs should come to an end. The Senat devised and took order, not to provoke the Commons too far: and withal to have a more provident and special eye, that the coming of *Virginus* into the camp, bred no mutiny in the army. Whereupon were sent certain of the puny Senators unto the host, that lay encamped upon the hill *Vecilius*, who advertised the Decemvirs from the Senat, to endeavor all they could to keep the souldiers in good order, from commotion and sedition. But there *Virginus* raised a greater uproar and tumult then he had left behind him in the City. For besides that, he was seen coming with a crew and train almost of four hundred men, who incensed with the indignity of the late accident, accompanied him voluntary from the City, his naked drawn knife, and himself besprinkled and embrued with blood, caused the whole L camp to turn their eyes upon him. Moreover, their gowns seen in sundry places within the camp, made a greater shew of citizens in number then was indeed. Being demanded of them what news, and what the matter was, he wept, and for a good while held his peace. At the last, when as now the multitude, that for fear ran confusedly together, began to stand still and keep silence: he declared orderly from the beginning to the end, every thing in particular, as it was done. Then lifting up his hands to heaven, and calling to all his companions and fellow souldiers, he besought them not to impute that foul act unto him, whereof in truth *Appius Claudius* was the author and cause: nor to detest and abhor him as a parricide and murderer of his own children: saying, that his daughters life was more dear unto him then his own, if she might have lived free and honestly. But when he saw her once haled by force, as a bord-maid to be ravished and made a strumpet, M he thought it better to be bereft of his children by death, then by contumely and reproach: and so upon meer pitifulness incurred the shew and appearance of cruelty. And but that he reposed some hope in the aid of his fellow souldiers, trusting that they would be revenged for his daughters death, he would not have remained a livesman after her. I know well (saith he) that you also have daughters, sisters and wives of your own: And it is not the death of my child that hath killed and mortified the lust of *Appius*, but rather the longer it escapeth unpunished, the more outrageous and unbridled would it be. So that by the calamity of another man, ye are well taught and warned to beware of the like injury. As for me, I have buried my wife before, who died on Gods hand: and now my daughter, for that she might not finish the course of her days, with the safety of her maiden head and chastity, hath died, I confess, a pitiful and lamentable, but yet an N honest kind of death. As to *Appius*, (quoth he) now can he not fulfil his lust in this my house: and for any other violence of his whatsoever, I carry the same mind and heart still, to defend mine own body, wherewith I have already saved my daughters. Now let other men look to themselves and their children, as well as they can. As *Virginus* uttered these speeches aloud, the whole multitude with one accord cried and protested, they would not fail, but both revenge his grief, and maintain their own freedom. The Citizens also in their side gowns, intermingled among the souldiers, made the self same complaints: shewing how much more horrible those things were in the eye to be seen in fact, then they could sound unto the ear by bare relation: and withal reported, how at *Rome* the matter was well neer dispatched already, for that there were certain come after them, even hard at their heels from thence, who brought word that *Appius* had like O to have been murdered, and was departed into exile: and so far prevailed they with them, that they gave the alarme, plucked up their standards, and took their way to *Rome*. The Decemvirs being sore troubled, both at these present occurrents which they evidently saw, and also to hear these news, in what bad tearms all things stood at *Rome*, ran up and down, here one, and there another, into sundry parts of the camp, for to appease the tumult. When they went to work mildly and gently, they had not a word of them again: but if any one laid his commandment upon them, and extended his authority, they would beard them and answer, That they were men, and more

A more then that men in arms and souldiers. Thus march they in order of bartel toward the City, and take the mount *Aventine*, and there settle themselves. And as they encountred any, all their song was this, to exhort and encourage the Commons to recover their franchises, and to create Tribuns of the Commonalty. Not a word was heard else, tending to any violence. *Oppius* assembled the Senat together: where it was agreed, not to proceed by way of rigour in any case: for as much as they themselves had given the occasion of sedition. But three ancient personages, such as had been Consuls, were sent Commissioners in Embassage, as it were, *Sp. Tarpeius*, *C. Iulius*, and *Publius Sulpicius* with commission, to demand of them in the name of the Senat, by whose commandment they had abandoned the camp, or what their intent was thus in war-like manner to keep the *Aventine*: and why leaving to war with their enemies, they had thus invaded their native Country. They were not to seek of an answer, only there wanted a man to give the answer: for as yet they were grown to no certain head, upon whom they might rely: and singly by themselves they durst not incur the hatred and dangerous displeasure that might ensue. This only the multitude with one voice cried aloud, to send *L. Valerius*, and *Marcus Horatius* unto them, for to those they would make a resolute answer. The Commissioners being dismissed, *Virginius* putteth the souldiers in mind, and advertiseth them, how erewhile in a matter not of the greatest importance, they were in fear and perplexity, because the multitude was without an head: and how an answer was returned, although not altogether unprofitable and besides the purpose, yet agreed upon at a venture, and not proceeding from any publick counsel. But now his opinion was, that there should be ten chosen to bear sovereign rule: who for the honour of warfare and souldiery, should be called military Tribuns. And when this dignity was to him offered first, *Nay* (quoth he) reserve still these your good perswasions and judgments of me, unto more happy days and favourable times both to me and you. For neither doth the remembrance of my daughter suffer me to take joy of any honour in this life, nor (as the state standeth now troubled) is it good for you to have them to be your Magistrates, who of all other are most exposed to ill will, and displeasure, and in nearest danger to be hardly thought of. If I may serve you in any stead, you may make bold, and have no less use of me, remaining still a private person. So they create Tribuns military, ten in number. But all this while was the army as unquiet in the Sabins country. For even there also, by the instigation of *Isidus* and *Numitorius*, the souldiers fell away from the Decemvirs and departed. For their minds were no less troubled and disquieted with the remembrance renewed, of the late murder of *Siccus*, that kindled and set on fire by the fresh news of the death of *Virginius*, so villanously, so shamelessly laid unto and challenged, and all to satisfy the lust of another. *Isidus*, so soon as he heard say, that there were ten military Tribuns created in *Aventine*, fearing lest the Election in the City should follow the prerogative of the military Election in the camp, as a precedent to create the self same men Tribuns of the Commons, being a man well seen and experienced in these popular affairs, and reaching himself at the same dignity and promotion, wrought so with his adherents and friends, that before they went to the City, they should likewise elect the self same number with equal authority. Who entered the City with banners displayed, at the gate *Collina*, and marched through the midst thereof in warlike order, up to the *Aventine*. And there joining and uniting themselves unto the other army, they gave in charge to the twenty military Tribuns, to create out of their number twain for sovereign governors to rule all. So they elected *Marcus Oppius*, and *Sextus Manilius*.

The Senators being in great care for the Common-weal, sat in Council every day: where they spent time oftner in wrangling and jarring, then in sage advice and polittick counsel. The murdering of *Siccus*, the wanton lust and loose life of *Appius*, the shameful disgraces received in the wars, were laid in the Decemvirs dish. At length they concluded, that *Valerius* and *Horatius* should go to the *Aventine*. But they refused and would not go, but upon condition that the Decemvirs would give up the Ensigns and Ornaments of that Magistracy and government, which by right they should have forgon and departed from, a full year before. The Decemvirs were grieved and complained, thus to be set down & made no better then private men, and said flatly they would not be deposed from their place of rule, before those laws were fully enacted and confirmed, for which at first time they were created. The Commons having intelligence by *Duilius* (who had been a Tribun of the Commons), that by reason of continual debate and contention in the Senat house, there was nothing done and agreed upon, removed from the *Aventine* unto mount *Sacer*. For *Duilius* ceased not to suggest, and plainly affirm unto them, that the Senators and Ancients of the City would never sadly think upon any care and provision to be made, until they saw the City abandoned and desolate: moreover, That the mount *Sacer* would put them in mind of the constant resolution of the Commons: and that they should well know, that matters would never be settled and brought to concord, without they restored unto them their power and authority again. So they take their way by *Nomentana Via*, which at that time was named *Ficulensis*, and encamped themselves in the mountain *Sacer*: doing no harm to any creature as they passed along: following therein the modesty of their forefathers. The whole Commonalty followed after the host: there was not one who for age was able to travel on foot, that drew back and carried behind. Their children and wives bare them company, in piteous wise moaning themselves, and asking them: whereto they would leave them behind in that City, where neither their honest chastity might be guarded, nor yet their liberty secured and kept safe. When as now, by reason of his uncouth and strange desolation, all seemed at *Rome* waste and void,

The remon-
strances of
Horatius and
Valerius, with
others in the
Senate, against
the Decemvirs

and none to be seene in the publick place, besides a few of aged men: and when the Senators were called into the Senate house, the common place appeared empty, naked and forlorn: then there were more besides *Horatius* and *Valerius* that cried out and said, What look you for still my LL of the Councel? What? and if the Decemvirs will make no end of their peevisish frowardness, will ye let things run at six and seven, until all come tumbling down, or be of a light fire? And what goodly dominion is this; that you embrace so in your arms, that you clip and hold so fast? Will ye minister justice and give laws to empty houses and bare walls? Are ye not abashed and ashamed, that there should be seene in the Place, a greater number well neer of your Lieftors and officers, then of gowned Citizens, and of all other men whatsoever? How and if the enemies should come against the City, what would ye do? Nay, what if shortly the Commons should march in arms, seeing we weigh their insurrection and departure so lightly? Will ye, together with the ruin and downfal of the City, end your rule, and not afore? Well, to be plain, ye must either have no Commons at all, or else allow them to have their Tribuns again: there is no mean, there is no other remedy. Sooner shall we want our Magistrates of the Nobility, then they will be without their Patrons and Officers of the Commonalty. They wrung and wrested from our forefathers that power and authority fire new, and whereof they had as then, no proof and experience: how think ye then, that having tasted now the sweetness of it, they will endure the want thereof? especially seeing, that we our own selves are not of so temperate carriage in our government and command over them, but that they have need of some succour and relief. And when these and such like reasons were on all hands often alledged and laid abroad, the Decemvirs overweighed with the general consent and unity of the house, promised: That seeing it was so thought good, they would be wholly ordered and ruled by the Senators. This only they besought at their hands, and admonished them of, by way of a proviso, that they would take order for the safety and security of their persons: and not by shedding their blood, to flesh the Commons, and to train them up, and acquaint them with exercising cruelty upon the nobles and Senators. Then were *Valerius* and *Horatius* sent with commission to reclaim and call home the Commons, upon such conditions and capitulations, as they should think convenient: yea, and to set all things in good order and make a final composition, with a special charge to provide for the safeguard of the Decemvirs, against the raging ire and violence of the multitude. These mediators took their journey, and were received into the camp with exceeding joy of the Commons, as being doubtless, their very saviours and redeemers, approved both in the beginning of their troubles, and now also at the very end and upshot of all. In regard whereof, they were welcomed with thanksgiving. *Leilius* was the mouth of the multitude, and their prolocutor. Who when they came to debate and reason about the articles of covenants, and that these Delegates and Committees, required of the Commons, What the demands and points were that they stood upon? Being already provided aforehand of purpose what to say, demanded such conditions, as it was well seen, that they reposed more hope, and relied themselves rather in equity, and indifference, than in force of arms. For they require, *Imprimis*, to have the Tribuns power on foot again, and the appealing unto the people revived: which before the creation of the Decemvirs had been the only help and succour of the Commons. *Item*, that no man should be called in question, nor any way touched in life, limb, or goods for gathering the souldiers or Commons together by way of commotion, for recovering again their liberties and franchises. Only, their demand concerning the punishment to be inflicted upon the Decemvirs, favoured of cruelty. For they deemed it meet and reason, that they should be yeilded into their hands, and then they threatened to burn them quick with fire. To these Articles the Committees spake in this wise. "As for those capitulations, which upon counsel and deliberate advice ye have articulated, they are so reasonable and indifferent, that without your suit, they ought to have been offered unto you frankly and freely: for ye request to enjoy such things as concern the defence of your liberty and freedom, and maintain not your licentiousness, to the offence and hurt of others. But as to your ire and wrath, it is to be pardoned, rather then to be followed and yeilded unto: as who, under colour of hatred and detestation of cruelty, run headlong into cruelty: and before, in a manner, that ye be set free your selves, ye will be Rulers and Lords over your Adversaries. Alas the while, and will our City never be at rest, and cease from punishing: but that either the Nobles will scourge the Commons of Rome, or the Commons whip the Nobles? As for you, ye had more need of a shield I wis, then a sword. Humbled he is enough, and too much humbled, who liveth in a City on even hand, and equal with others, under the same laws, nether doing nor taking wrong. And if ever at any time you mean to shew your selves dread and to be feared, when you have once recovered your Magistrates and Ordinances again, when ye have the law in your own hands, to censure and judge according to your own discretion, then may ye give your doom of our lives and goods, as each cause requireth. Now for this time it sufficeth, that ye claim and have your freedom again. Hereupon they all submitted themselves to the depured Delegates, permitting them to do what they would. Who seeing they had brought all matters to so good a conclusion, promised to return with all speed. So they took their leave. And when they had declared to the Senators the demands of the Commons, all the rest of the Decemvirs, perceiving no mention at all made of their punishment (a thing more then they looked or hoped for) denied no one point thereof. But *Appius*, a man of a fell and cruel nature, and who above all the other was most odious, and lay open to the malice of the people, and measuring the hatred of others toward himself,

The demands
of the Com-
mons in mount
Sacer.

The answer of
Valerius and
Horatius to the
Commons.

A self, by his own spleen that he bare against other men: "I wot well (quoth he) what ill fortune will betide me shortly: and I see plainly, that our adversaries hold off to wrangle and contend with us no longer then until they have weapons given in their hands. To satisfie this their malice and hatred, we must part with our blood: nothing else will content them. For mine own part to renounce my Decemvirship I weight not: neither pass I how soon I do it. Then was an Act made by the Senat, that the Decemvirs out of hand should surrender their place: and that *Q. Furius* the Arch-Bishop or High Priest, should create Tribuns of the Commons: provided always expressly, that the mutiny of the souldiers, and insurrection of the Commons, should turn no man to displeasure and harm. These Acts being passed, and the Councel risen, the Decemvirs came abroad into the open place of assemblies, and there to the exceeding joy of all men, they resigned up all their power and authority. Tidings hereof were carried to the commons by the mediators aforesaid: and look what people soever remained behind in the City, went now forth to accompany them. As this multitude passed along forward, they were encountred upon the way, with another joyful company from out of the camp. Who rejoiced mutually one in the behalf of the other, that both freedom and concord were restored to the City again. Then the mediators in the general assembly of them all spake and said: "To the great good, happiness and felicity of you and of the C. W. be it spoken, Return in Gods name into your own country, to your houses, wives and children: but see, that as ye have demeaned your selves modestly in your way hither, hurting and spoiling no mans lands and possessions, notwithstanding the need ye were driven unto of so many things: so ye carry the same moderation and stay of your selves homeward into the City. Go into the *Aventine* from whence ye came: and there for good luck sake, where ye laid the first foundation & ground-work of your liberty, create ye shal your Tribuns of the commons. There, will the high Priest be ready and give attendance, to call an assembly for the grand Election. Great was the accord, alacrity and cheerfulness, that they shewed in approving all that was propounded. So from thence they turn their standards and ensigns, and as they marched to to *Rome*, they strove with all they met on the way, who could shew most joy and gladness: they pass on through the City armed as they were, yet peaceably and without noise, until they came into the *Aventine*. Where the chief Priest immediately held the *Comices*, in which they created for Tr. of the C. first and formost *L. Virginus*, next after him, *L. Icilius*, and *P. Numitorius*. Uncle by the mothers side of *Virginia*: all authors of their insurrection and departure: then *C. Sicinius* descended from him in right line who was the first Trib. of Comm. created in mount *Sacer*, (as we find in records) and *M. Duillius*, who before the chusing of Decemvirs, had right worthily and notably born the Tribunship, and in all combats and commotions with the Decemvirs, stuck close to the Commonalty and never failed them. After these were elected, more for hope then any former desert, *M. Titinius*, *M. Pomponius*, *C. Apronius*, *Ap. Julius*, *C. Oppius*. Then *C. Icilius* immediately in the very entrance into the Tribunship, preferred a bill unto the Commons, and the Commons enacted it. That the departure and insurrection of the common people against the Decemvirs, should not be laid to any mans charge, nor bring him into trouble. Then without farther delay *M. Duillius* went through with an act of his own, to wit, That there should be Consuls created, with reservation of liberty to appeal unto the people. All these things passed in the *Comices* of Commons, assembled in the meddows named *Flaminia*, which now they call *Circus Flaminius*.

Decemvirs resign up their government.

Tribuns of the Commons created again. * A general assembly for election of Magistrates.

Then, by an Inter-regent were Consuls created, *L. Valerius* and *M. Horatius*, who presently began their government. Whose popular Consulship, as it was without wrong doing to the Senators and Nobles, so it was not without some offence committed of their part: For whatsoever was provided for the liberties of the Commons, they supposed it abridged somewhat of their power and authority. And first and formost, whereas it was a question and controversie not well cleared in law, Whether the Nobles were bound to stand to the Acts of the Commons: they made a law now in a general Session, by the suffrages of the Centuries, That what ordinance soever the Commons (being parted by Tribes) had by their voices granted, it should comprise and bind the whole body of the people. By which law, the Tribuns acts were armed with a most sharp and keen weapon to strike withal. Moreover, The other Consular law concerning Appeal, the only fort and strength of liberty, which by the Decemvirs absolute power had been overthrown, they not only revive again, but also fortifie the same for the time to come, by making a new law, forbidding expressly that no man should create any magistrate absolutely without the liberty of appealing: and whosoever should creat any such, he might rightfully and lawfully be killed, and that murder should not be counted a capital crime. And when they had sufficiently strengthened the Commons, on the one side with the benefit of appealing, and on the other side with the Tribuns power: in favour of the Tribuns themselves, that they also might seem sacrosanct and inviolable (a thing now almost grown out of remembrance) they renewed that high priviledg, with certain solemn ceremonies, which having been of long time laid aside & neglected, were now brought up again and put in ure. And they ordained them to be inviolate as wel in a reverent regard of religion and scruple of conscience, as also by a special law in that behalf provided: namely, that whosoever hurt either Tribuns of the Commons, Ediles, Judges, or Decemvirs, his head should be accursed and devoted to *Jupiter*, and his family sold in port-sale at the Church of *Ceres Liber & Libera*. By vertue of this Act, the great Expositors of the law, deny that any man is a sacrosanct or inviolable: but (say they) it is enacted only, That whosoever hurt any of them, shall be accursed.

Consuls elected again.

* Proferpina secundum A. nob. & Cic.

And

And therefore, an *Edile* may be attached and led away to prison by superior Magistrates, Which H although it be not warranted by law (for he is hurt, who by this law ought not to be hurt) yet it is a good argument to prove, that an *Edile* is not inviolable. Marry, as for the *Tribuns*, they were indeed by vertue of an ancient oath of the Commons, at what time as they first created that power and authority, inviolable: as they would seem to expound and make construction of the law. Others have been, that thus open and interpret the law, That in this self same Act of *Horatius*, the *Consuls* also, yea, and *Pretors* too, (because they are created by the same *auspicia* or bird-signs that the *Consuls* be) were comprised, and had the benefit thereof. For a *Consul* is called by the name of a Iudge, But that exposition is confuted, for that in those days it was not the manner to term the *Consul* a Iudge, but the *Pretor* only. And thus much concerning the *Consular Laws*. I

The same *Consuls* also brought up this order and custom, that all the Acts of the *Senat* should be brought into the Church of *Ceres*, and presented unto the *Ediles* of the Commons: which aforetime were suppressed and smothered, yea, and corrupted or perverted at the will and pleasure of the *Consuls*. After all this, *M. Duilius* a *Tribune* of the Commons, propounded unto the Commons a Law, and they let it pass and granted it, That whosoever should leave the Commonalty destitute of their *Tribuns*, or create any Magistrate absolute without Appeal, should be scourged, and lose his head for it. All these Acts, as they passed against the wills and minds of the Nobles: so they went clean without their contradiction: for that, all this while hitherto, there was no rigour and severity that seemed to extend and reach to any one particular person among them. But afterwards, when as both the *Tribuns* power, and also the Commons freedom, were once K well and surely grounded: Then the *Tribuns*, supposing now it was full time, that they might safely and without peril give the onset upon them, severally one by one, made choice of *Virginus* to be the first accuser or plaintiff, and *Appius Claudius* the first defendant. And *Virginus* had not so soon arrested *Appius* to answer at a day, and *Appius* come down into the Common place, guarded with a company of tall young gentlemen of the Nobility: but presently upon the sight of him and his guard about him, the remembrance of that most cruel and detestable tyranny was refreshed and renewed. Then *Virginus*: "Speeches (quoth he) and Orations were devised for doubtful "causes: and therefore will I neither spend time in accusing him before you, from whose cruelty "ye have by force of arms delivered your selves: nor suffer this wretch, over and besides his other "wicked pranks, to shew in the defence of himself his audacious impudence. Therefore, as tou- L "ching all other lewd parts of thine and wicked designments, O *Appius*, which thou hast for "these two years ungratiously and impiously enterprized and practised one on the neck of ano- "ther, I will do thee some favour, and pardon thee: but for one crime only, unless thou canst "acquitt thy selfe the better, namely, that thou being the Iudge, against all order of Law, didst "not grant unto the party defendant, the benefit of liberty to go at large, during the time of the "suit depending, until she might bring proofs of her freedom: for this, I say, I command thee "to prison. Now had *Appius* no hope at all, either in the *Tribuns* helping hand, or in the doom and judgement of the people. Howbeit he both called upon the *Tribuns* for succour: and also seeing himself tugged and haled away by the officer, and no man to stay his hand: I appeal (quoth he) unto the people. This one word in maintenance of freedom, being heard to come out of that M mouth, that lately had given sentence on his side, that impeached the freedom of one, and challenged the party for bond, caused silence. And when every man to himself secretly muttered in this wise: "I see well (when all is done) there are Gods in Heaven, and such Gods as neglect not "the affairs of mortal men. Pride and cruelty (although it be long first) at length will surely have "a fall, and thoroughly be punished. Lo, how he is now faine to appeal, who aforetime abolished "and took away all appeal: he humbly craveth relief of the people, who heretofore trod under "foot all rights and franchises of the people: and see how he is carried to prison, destitute and de- "prived of the benefit of liberty, who awarded and adjudged a free body to bandage and servi- "tude. Amidst these words, I say, that might be overheard in that confused humming of the assembly, *Appius* also was perceived to call unto the people of *Rome* for relief and mercy. He reckoned N "up withal, the deserts of his ancestors in the behalf of the C. W. both at home in the City, and "abroad in the wars: he alledged his own unhappy affection (when time was) to the Common- "nalty of *Rome*, and partaking with them: and namely how with the exceeding displeasure of the "Nobility, he resigned up his *Consulship*, and all for to bring in and establish equal and indifferent "laws to both parties. He rehearsed moreover his own laws, which notwithstanding they remained still in force and strength, he, the law-giver himself, was going to prison. But concerning his "own proper parts and deserts good or bad, he would then make trial thereof (he said) when he "should be permitted judicially to make his defence: as for the present time, he pleaded the common benefit of the City, to wit, that being a Citizen, he might at the appointed day, speak for "himself & stand to the doom of the people: neither feared he the hatred & malice of men so much "as to repose no hope at all in the equity and mercy of his neighbors and fellow Citizens. But and "if he were cast into prison and not suffered to come unto his answer, then he would once again "call upon the *Tribuns* of the Commons for their help, and admonish them, not to follow and "imitate them, whom they would seem to hate. And in case the *Tribuns* will be known and avow "that they are linked in the same bond and covenant, to abolish and take away the benefit of calling unto any one of them by way of mediation (against which they have charged & blamed the "Decemvirs for plotting & agreeing together) then he said, that he appealed unto the people, and

Virginus his
accusation of
Appius.

Appius moveth
the people in
his own behalf.

- A "and had recourse for succour unto the laws concerning appeal, made as well by Consuls as Tribunes, that present year and no longer ago. For who may ever hereafter (quoth he) have benefit of appeal, if it be not lawful for me, who stand yet not condemned, nor attainted, and have not pleaded for my self? what Commoner, what mean person may find relief by those laws, if *Appius Claudius* may not? It will be seen in me, and my example shall be a precedent and proof to others, Whether by these new statutes, lordly rule, or equal liberty be established: whether the calling for help by way of mediation & intercession, or by plain appealing against the wrongful proceedings of Magistrates, be granted in very deed, or but onely pretended in bare shew, under vain colourable pretences and foolish Letters Patents. Against all this, *Virginus* made his rejoinder and said, That *Appius* was the man alone exempt out of all benefit of laws, and excluded from all civil and humane society. "Let men but look back toward the tribunal seat, the very well-head, as it were, and receptacle, the fortress and hold of all wickedness: whereon that perpetual Decemvir practising his cruelty upon the goods, the bodies and lives of free citizens, menacing whipping and executing hangmans work unto all persons; a contemner both of God and man, guarded with a crew of executioners and butcherly tormentors, rather than Sergeants, proceeding on from spoil and bloodshed to set his hart on leachery & carnal lust, plucked a maid by birth free, from out of the very arms of her father, as if she had been taken captive in war; and that, in the sight of the people of *Rome*, and gave her away to one of his followers, even to a groom of his bed-chamber. Where, by a cruel decree of his, and detestable sentence, adjudging her bond, he caused the father to lay violent hands upon his own daughter; where he commanded, the espoused Husband and Uncle of the Virgin (that took up her body half dead) to be had away to the Gaol, as being more displeased with them, for disappointing and putting him beside his purpose of abusing and spoiling her, then for the murder upon her by them committed. Adding moreover and besides, That he had built a prison, which he used to tearm, The habitation and dwelling house of the Commons of *Rome*. And therefore, plead he ever and anon, and as oft as he wil, his appeal, I will not give over (quoth *Virginus*) but as oft tender a judg betwene, and be able to prove, that he gave not sentence, and pronounced her free, but bond: but in case he wil not abide to be censured by a competent judg, then I command him to be carried to prison, as attaint and convicted. Thus was he committed to ward: and as there was none misliked of this proceeding, so every man was greatly troubled in spirit, to see so great a personage punished, and the very Commons themselves thought their liberty too large & excessive. The Tribunes set him down a day (before hand) to plead for himself and make his answer. Amid these affairs, there came to *Rome* Embassadors from the Latins and Hernicks, to congratulate, and to shew their joy and great contentment, for the unity and concord between the Nobles and the Commons: in token whereof, they brought as a present unto *Jup. Opt. Max.* a crown of gold, not very massie in weight, but according to their ability, which was not much, yet answerable to their devotion: which men performed rather with religion and zeal in those days, than in portly shew and magnificence. By relation and intelligence from them they were certified also that the *Æquians* and *Volsians* prepared war with all the power they could make. Whereupon, the Consuls were commanded to part their provinces between them. To *Horatius* beset the *Sabins*, and to *Valerius* the *Æquians* and *Volsians*. And when they had proclaimed musters against these wars, such was the forward affection and favour of the Commons, that not onely the younger folk, but also a great sort of these that by law were dispensed with, and discharged from warfare, and lived of their pensions, offered their voluntary service, and were ready to enter their names into the muster-Masters book: whereby the army was not only in number greater, but also for the goodness of men, more puissant, as having the old, beaten, and experienced souldiers among them. But before they went out of the City, the Decemviral laws (which now are known by the name of the twelve Tables,) they set up openly to be seen, engraven in bras. Some writers have delivered, that the *Ædiles* performed this office, as they had it in charge from the Tribunes. *C. Claudius*, who upon a detestation and deep hatred of the Decemvirs lewd and wicked enormities, but especially above all others, of the insolent pride of his brothers son, which he could no longer abide, had removed and departed to *Regillus*, his old native country. He being now a very aged man, returned to sue and intreat for his deliverance out of danger, whose vices he abhorred: and in sullied weed and poor array, accompanied with those of his linage, and other his followers and vassals, went through the common place, and laboured every man one by one, "Beseeching them not to set that brand of ignominy, and bring such a stain upon the house and name of the *Claudii*, as that they should be thought worthy of imprisonment and irons: nor suffer a man of most honourable quality, a singular pattern of Nobility to his posterity in time to come, the Law-maker and founder of the Roman laws, to lie in chains among fellows, night-thieves and robbers by the high way side: but to turn away their minds a while from anger and wrath, and encline to a due regard and consideration of matters: and rather at the suit and earnest petitions of so many of the *Claudii*, to forgive them of men, than for the hatred of one man to reject the prayers of so many suppliants. As for himself, he protested that he did thus much for kindred and names sake. Neither was he reconciled unto him, and they made friends again: yet could he wish, that his adverse fortune and poor condition were relieved. Concluding with this in the end, that as their liberty was recovered again, by vertue & prowess, so the concord of all degrees & estates might be established sure by clemency.

The replication of *Virginus* upon *Appius*.

Appius committed to prison.

The Laws called the twelve Tables.

C. Claudius his petition in the behalf of *Appius Claudius*.

Some

Appius killeth
himself.

Oppius dieth in
prison.

Some there were whom he moved, more in regard of his own kindness and love, then in any respect of him for whom he spake. But *Virginus* prayed them; "To take pity and compassion rather, of him and his daughter, and to give ear to the prayers and supplications, not of the *Claudius*, who have had the day, and tyrannized over the Commons but to the neerest friends of *Virginus*, the three Tribunes, who being created for the aid and succour of the Commons, do now themselves implore and beseech the help and assistance of the Commons. And verily these tears were thought more reasonable, and like to speed. Thus when *Appius* saw all means of hope cut off, before the foresaid day appointed was come, killed his own self. Soon after this, *Sp. Oppius*, who of all the rest next unto *Appius*, was most hated: for that he was in the City at the very time when this unjust doom and sentence of his Colleague hapned to be pronounced, was attached by *P. Numitorius*. But *Oppius* was the worse thought of and more prejudiced, by occasion of an injury by himself done, then for not stopping the wrong intended by *Appius* to *Virginus*. For a witness was produced to depose against him, one, who having served in the wars seven and twenty years, had been rewarded and honoured extraordinarily eight times. This valiant servitor, thus adorned with those gifts and marks of valour, in the view and sight of the people of *Rome* rent his garments, and shewed his back and sides, and the skin all broken with scourging: beseeching no other favour, but if *Oppius* the party accused, could justly charge him with any trespass and offence by him committed, he should not spare him, but now a private person as he was, exercise and redouble his cruelty upon him once again. Well, *Oppius* likewise was had to prison: and there before the law day, ended his life. The goods of *Appius* and *Oppius* both, the Tribunes did confiscate. Their com-partners and fellow Decemvirs fled their country and were banished, and all their goods also were forfeit & confiscated. And not so much as *M. Claudius*, the party that laid claim unto *Virginus* escaped but he was arrested to answer at a certain day, and was condemned. However *Virginus* of himself released him his life, and would not take the extremity, so he was sent away and confined to *Tybur*, as it were into banishment. Thus the poor spirit and ghost of *Virginus* more happy after her death, then fortunate during her life, having wandered abroad, and haunted so many houses for due revenge of her adversaries: at last, when there was not one guilty person of them left unpunished, gave over her walking, and rested quiet.

Now were the nobles in exceeding fear, beholding the same countenance already in the Tribunes, which they had observed in the Decemvirs. But then *M. Duilius*, a Tribune of the Commons, wisely and politically restraining and keeping within a mean this excessive power of theirs: "We have enough (quoth he) both of our own liberty, and also of revenge of our enemies: and therefore I will not suffer for this year, any man more to be arrested or imprisoned. For I do not like that old faults done and past, and now as it were cancelled and raised out, should be revived again, and brought in question, since that by the punishment of the Decemvirs, satisfaction hath been made for the new: and the continual care and diligence of the Consuls both twain, for the maintenance of your freedom assureth me, that nothing will be committed hereafter, that may require and need the power of the Tribunes. This moderation at the first hand of the Tribune, put the Nobles out of their fear: but made the Consuls to be thought the worse of, (for that they had been so addicted wholly to the commonalty) in that a Magistrate of the Commons had more regard of the safety and liberty of the Nobles, than the proper Magistrate of the Nobility: and because the adverse part had their full of revenge and punishment of the Nobles, before it did appear that the Consuls would once seem to stop the course and stream of their licentiousness. And many there were who gave it out, that the Consuls bare themselves too remiss and slack in the matter, and little respected the good and credit of the Nobles; in that they had approved & confirmed the Acts that were proposed by the Tribunes. And no question, troubled as the state was then of the City, they were forced to give place, and do according to the necessity of the time. When the Consuls had set all things in good order within the City, and surely grounded the state of the Commonalty, they went either of them into their own Province, *Valerius* against the armies of the *Aequians* and *Volscians*, which now had joined together in *Algidum*: where full positively he held off, and stood upon his defence only: for if out of hand he had put it to the hazard of a battel, I cannot tell, but I greatly doubt (considering how the hearts of Romans and enemies both, were affected presently upon the unfortunat conduct of the Decemvirs) it would have turned to their great loss, and cost them an overthrow. He therefore having encamped a mile off from the enemies, kept his souldiers within the camp. The enemies ranged in battel array took up the whole ground between both camps, & when they made bravado's, and challenged them to come forth and fight, not one Roman would answer them again. At length the *Volscians* and *Aequians*, weary with long standing still, and in vain expecting battel, thinking verily, that the honor was in manner yeilded unto them, departed: some into the country of the *Hernicks*, other some to the territories of the *Latins*, for to raise booties and make spoil: leaving behind them rather a competent guard for defence of the camp, then a sufficient power to maintain a field fight. Which when the Consul perceived, he paid them again with the like measure of fear, as they before had from them received: and with his army ready embattelled, bids them battel: who being privy to themselves what forces were wanting, forbore to fight: whereupon the Romans presently took a better heart unto them, and made account that their enemies were overcome, being in such a fear within their rampart. When they had stood thus a whole day ready to fight, they retired back in the evening and gave place to the night. And the Romans full of good hope, refreshed their

A their bodies, and made much of themselves, but the enemies nothing so hearty and courageous, send out messengers every way in fearful haste, to call again the forragers. Such as were near at hand came running back into the camp: those that were farther off, could not be found nor met withal: Now when it was once day light, the Romans issue forth of the camp, intending to give an assault upon the Rampier, unless they would come forth and fight. But when it was far forth day and the enemies stirred not at all, the Consul commanded to advance with their ensigns. The *Æquians* and *Volscians* seeing their battell coming forward, began to chafe and take foul disdain, for very shame that their rampier and trench should protect victorious armies within the camp, rather than their weapons and valour defend them in plain and open field: and were earnest likewise themselves with their Generals for the signal of battell, and at length after much importunity obtained it. Now were some of them sallied out at the gates already: and others followed hard after at their heels, keeping their array, and every man coming orderly into his file and rank. By which time, the Roman Coss. before the battell of the enemies stood surely furnished with their full strength, came on still and gave the onset: charged them before they were all come forth, yea, and ere they were well marshalled that came abroad, being a multitude, waving (as it were) to and fro every way for fear, and looking about themselves, and to their fellows: and to amuze their troubled heads the more, he assailed them with a great shout and main violence. At first the enemies gave back: but after they had gathered their spirits together, and were come again to themselves, and that their Captains on every side rated them, and asked them whether they would yeeld unto them, whom before they had overcome, the fight began again to be renewed. "The Consul on the other part, willed the Romans to remember, that this was the first day, wherein they being newly set free, were to fight likewise for the freed City of *Rome*: and therefore they were to win a victory for themselves, and not after victory gotten, to be a prize for any more Decemvirs to prey upon. For they fought not now under the conduct and standard of *Appius*, but of the Consul *Valerius*: who as he was descended from the deliverers of the people of *Rome*, so he was one of them himself: exhorting them to shew now, that in former battells of late dayes, it was long of the leaders and not of the souldiers, that they achieved no victories: saying, it were a foul shame for them, to have had more stomach against their own neighbours and citizens, than heart against their enemies; and to have stood more in fear of servitude at home, than of bondage abroad. As for *Virginia*, she was but one, whose honesty and chastity was in time of peace hazarded: and *Appius* it was only, and none but he, that in regard of his unbridled and dissolute lust, was the dangerous citizen. But if the fortune of war should fail on our side, and go against us, then shall our children all be in jeopardy, to be abused and spoiled at the hands of many thousands of enemies. Unwilling I am (quoth he) to preface such miseries and to prognosticate to the City those calamities, which both *Jupiter* and our stock-father *Mars*, forbid and hinder to light upon it, founded upon so lucky signs and happy foretokens, at the first beginning: I put you in mind rather of the *Aventine Hill*, and Mount *Sacer*: that where within these few months you recovered your freedom, thither ye may carry back again your Empire, safe and sound, unsteined and unfoiled: that all the World may see that Roman souldiers are as forward and nobly minded after the banishing of the Decemvirs, as they were before their creation: and that by the bringing in of equal and indifferent Laws, the manhood and prowess of the people of *Rome*, is no whit decayed nor diminished. Having uttered these words among the ensigns of the footmen, he made speed to the cornets of the Horsemen. Go to, brave gallants (quoth he) excel the footmen in valour and and chivalry, like as ye exceed them in honor and degree. At the very first shock and encounter, the footmen forced the enemy to retreat: and being now retired to your hand, set spurs to, gallop after them apace, and chase them out of the plain field: they will never abide your violent charge: for even already they are at a bay, and stand rather at a stay, than make any resistance. Hereupon they gird out lustily, and run their horses among the enemies, disorderd already, and in disarray by the service of the footmen. And having broken through their ranks, and passed forth even to the rereward: certain of them cast about in the void and open ground, and when the enemies were about on all sides to fly, they turned most of them away from their camp, and overriding them, they got between them and home, and scared them wholly from thence. The footmen and the Consul himself, with the whole strength of the main battell, made forward to the camp, assailed the tents, won them, and besides a great slaughter, obtained a booty far greater.

When news of this battell was brought, not only into the City, but also to the other army into the *Sabins* country, it was received in the City with joy only and solemnity: but in the camp it set the souldiers hearts on edge, and enkindled them to strive for the like honor and renown. Now had *Horatius* already partly by sending his souldiers forth, to make incursions and outrodes: and partly by training and proving them in light skirmishes, enured and acquainted them to trust to themselves, and have confidence in their own good service, rather than to remember the shameful disgrace and foil, received under the leading of the Decemvirs. And even those small bickerings had done them much good already against they should venture upon a set field, and heartened them in assured hope to win the victory. The *Sabins* again for their part, still lusty upon their good success the year before, ceased not to provoke and urge their enemies: very oft asking them what they meant after the guise of robbers, to run in and out in small companies, so to trifle out the

The Oration
of *Valerius* the
Consul to his
souldiers.

Horatius the
Consul to his
souldiers.

the time, and thus by peece meal to make of one entire battel many petty and small skirmishes? Why rather fought they not one field for all, and without more ado, hazzard all upon a cast, and commit the whole to the trial of fortune, to see unto what side she will incline. Then the Romans, besides that of themselves they had gathered heart and courage enough, were with the indignity of this challenge also set on fire: considering, that when the other army was at the point now, with victory to return into the City, their enemies began to insult and crow over them with reproachful tearms: and if now they were not meet and even with them, when should they ever be able to make their parts good? So soon as the Consul perceived the souldiers thus to murmur and mumble within the camp, he assembled them all together, and thus he spake: "Sirs (quoth he) what success hath been, and how the service hath sped in *Algidum*, I suppose you have already heard, namely, such as befieemed the army of a free state and people. By the policy of my fellow Consul, and the manhood of his souldiers together, atchieved is the victory. As for my self, that course will I take, and that resolute mind will I carry, which you my souldiers shall afford unto me. The war may be drawn out in length profitably: it may be also dispatched and ended speedily: If protracted it shall be, look how I have begun already to train you, with the same discipline still I will exercise you, and bring to pass, that your hope and prowels may encrease every day more then other. If your hearts now serve you wel, and that you like to fight it out, Go on in the name of God, and in token of your willing heart and valorous prowels, now let up such a cry and shout, as you will make when you first join battel, and give the charge. After that they had with exceeding cheerfulness shouted aloud: God bless us all (quoth he) I will fulfill your desire, and bring you forth to morrow into the field for to fight. So the rest of that day was bestowed in making their harness and weapons ready. When the morrow was come, the Sabins so soon as they perceived the Romans ranged in battel array, came forth also themselves, as ready and desirous of fight, as they. Here was a battel struck, such as might beleeve two armies, that trusted on both sides in their own valour, and made full account of that days honour. The one eager and greedy to recover their ancient glory, wonted evermore to have the upper hand, the other proudly bearing themselves, upon a new victory lately atchieved. The Sabins besides, mended their strength wel with a stratagem, for when they had equally divided their battalions every way, they reserved two thousand drawn out of the rest, extraordinary without the ranks apart. Who in the very time of the conflict, should hotly charge the left point of the Romans: Then they advancing overthwart with their ensignes, & flanking them on the one side, pressed shrewdly upon that one point, and overcharged it, wel neer environed all about. Then the horsemen of two legions, 600, almost in number, alight on foot from their horsebacks, and as their fellows were even now ready to retreat, rush forward with all speed to the forefront: and withal, made head against the enemy. And first, they put life unto them again, for that they entred equally with the footmen into danger and bare even part thereof: afterwards, for very shame, they gave more boldness and animated them to fight. For abashed they were, that horsemen should be put to double service in both kinds of fight, on horse and on foot: and professed footmen not able to countervail the horsemen, who had taken them to their feet. So they advance forward to the battel, which on their part was abandoned, and make haste to recover the ground which they had lost. And in a trice, at one instant, not only the fight was renewed, but also a battalion of the Sabins began to shrink. The horsemen closely among the ranks and files of the footmen, gat again to their horses, and from thence rode speedily unto the other side, reporting to their fellows the victory: and withal, sharply charged the enemies, who now were affrighted, because the stronger wing of their side was discomfited: neither were there any in this battel also, that were seen to perform better service then they. The Consul, as an overseer, beheld all the manner of it, praising those that stood to it manfully, and rebuking where they fought but faintly. They were not so soon chastised and reproved, but presently they bare themselves like hardy men, and did right good service: and look how much that praise excited some, so much shame stirred up others. Then with a fresh shout and outcry, they bent their whole force on all sides, and compelled the enemies to turn their backs: who were not able after this, to abide the violence of the Romans. The Sabins scattered here and there all over the fields, left their tents for a spoil to their enemies: where the Romans recovered again not the goods of their Allies, as before in *Algidum*, but their very own, which they had lost by the forraging and spoiling of their lands.

For this two-fold victory atchieved in two sundry battels, the Senat right sparingly (such was their misery) decreed in the name and behalf of the Consuls, one days thanksgiving and procession, and no more. But the people, the second day likewise, without order and warrant from authority, solemnized the same in great numbers. And this popular procession, disorderly as it was, and without formality, was with more good will and better affection of men celebrated, then the other. The Consuls of set purpose (as it was agreed afore) came within the compass of those two days into the City: and summoned the Senat to assemble in *Mars* field: where, as they were about to make some speech of their exploits and worthy acts, the chief and principal Lords of the Senat, complained and shewed themselves grieved, that the Senat was assembled on purpose, among the souldiers, to strike a terror into them. Whereupon the Consuls, because they would give no occasion of quarrel and fault-finding, called away the Senat from thence into *Præa Flaminia*, where now the Temple of *Apollo* stands, a place which even then they called *Circus Apollinarius*: wher they being denied triumph with one voice and general consent of the nobles, *L. Iulius*
a Tribune

A A Tribun of the Commons, propounded unto the people, to know what they thought of the Consuls triumph. And among many that stepped forth to cross and dissuade the bill, C. Claudius above all others cried out aloud, that the Coss. intended to triumph over the Nobles, and not over their enemies: and that they sought a thank by way of recompence for a private favour done to the Tribun, and not for an honorable reward, for any vertue and worthy act. For never (quoth he) aforetime, was there held any treaty of triumph before the people: but evermore it was referred to the Senate, to consider and determine of that honor. Neither had the Kings at any time, impaired the Majesty of that highest Court and degree: what should the Tribuns then meddle so much, and have their hand in all matters by vertue of their authority, as to suffer no publick counsel at all to remain in force? For a City can never be counted free, nor Laws equal and indifferent, but when each degree and estate retaineth still their own priviledge, and hold their proper pre-eminence. When the rest of the principal Senators had spoken much to the same effect, all the Tribes notwithstanding in general, allowed by their suffrages that which the Tribun had propounded. This was the first time that ever any triumph was granted by the voyces of the people, without the authority and assent of the Senators. But this victory of the Tribuns and the commonalty, had like to have turned to a dangerous surfeit of licentious liberty: by reason that the Tribuns conspired together and were fully agreed, to be chosen Tribuns again: and to the end that their own ambition should be less seen above others, they alledged to the Coss. for a sufficient reason (that they likewise should continue still in place of government) the agreement and consent of the Senators: through whose holding together and drawing in one line, the liberties of the Commons, to the great disgrace and reproach of the Consuls, were infringed and indamaged. For what would come of it, say they, if before the late Laws were fully established the (new) Consuls with their factious bandings, should set upon the new Tribuns: for we must not look to have alwayes such as the *Horatij* and *Valerij*, to be Consuls, men that would not regard their own weal before the freedom of the commonalty. As it hapned very well for that time, it fell to *M. Duilius* his lot especially, to be chief President of the Comices and Election: who like a prudent and wise man, foreseeing the heart-burning and hatred, like presently to ensue, upon the continuance of the same Magistratos still in place, said flatly, that of the old Tribuns he would not propound any one: and when his brethren in office laboured earnestly with him, to permit the Tribes to go to a free scrutiny, or else yield up the charge to him allotted, of holding the assembly, unto his brethren, who would keep the same and manage the matter, according to Law rather than to the will and pleasure of the Nobles: *Duilius* then, seeing their earnest contention, caused the Consuls to be called into their own pates and seats, and demanded their minds concerning the Election of the Consuls: and when they answered that they would create new, he having once got them to be the authors of a popular sentence, and not popular themselves, went forth together with them into the assembly of the people. Now when the Consuls were brought out into their presence, and were asked the question, what they would do in case the people of *Rome* should elect them Consuls the second time, and that, in remembrance of their liberty received and recovered by their means, and for their good service in war, and worthy acts by them performed: he finding them constant in the same mind still, and nothing altered from their resolution: after he had commended the Consuls, for their steadfast perseverance, unto the last (as altogether unlike to the *Decemvirs*) went presently to the new Election. And when he had created five Tribuns only, seeing there were not other competitors enough to reach unto sufficient voyces of the Tribes, in comparison of the other nine Tribuns his colleagues, who openly stood to be chosen again: he brake up the assembly, and from that time forward called no more about any Election. For he said, That he had fulfilled the Law in that behalf, which without setting down any precise and definite number of Tribuns, so that there were some left behind, and rooms void, gave authority to those that were created, to chuse and take unto them more colleagues, to make up the number. And therewith he recited the words of the Law, which run in this form. *If I shall propound ten Tribuns of the Commons to be created, and they shall that present day make fewer Tribuns: they by vertue of this Law, shall be accounted Tribuns, whom those elected shall chuse and take unto them for their fellows, and as lawful shall they be hold, as those whom this day ye shall create Tribuns of the Commons.* Thus when *Duilius* persisted still resolute unto the end, saying, That in any case the state might bear five and twenty Tribuns, and having thus conquered the greedy ambition of his colleagues: with great favor and the good liking as well of the Nobility as the Commonalty, he gave up his room. The new Tribuns now in the electing and making choise of their companions, carried favour with the Senators, and framed themselves to their will and pleasure, in chusing to them two of the Nobility, and those that had been Consuls, to wit, *Sp. Tarquinij* and *Au. Aternus*. And Consuls there were created, *Sp. Horatius* and *Titus Virginius Cincinnatus*. Who bearing themselves in a mean between Commons and Nobles, and not greatly inclining to one side or other, had peace as well at home as abroad. *Ln. Tribunus*, a Tribun of the Commons, being highly offended with the Senators, and spitefully bent against them, and saying withal, that in the cooperation of the rest of the Tribuns, he had been cunningly over-raught by them, and betrayed by his colleagues, propoied a Law, That whosoever hereafter propounded unto the Commons any Tribuns to be elected, should not give over, but still propound, until he made up the full number of ten. This continued he all his Tribunship in persecuting and molesting the Nobles, never letting them to be quiet: wherupon he was surnamed *Asper*.

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After

After this, *M. Geganus Macrinus*, and *C. Julius*, being created Consuls, appeased the contentious Orations of the Tribuns, which were begun and raised against the young Gentlemen of the Nobility, so as without any bitter invectives against that authority of the Tribuns, they preserved still the sovereign Majesty of the Nobles: and by means of decreeing musters against the wars of the Volscians and Equians, stayed the Commons, and kept the City from all sedition and discord: saying, That by civil unity, all would be at quiet abroad: whereas through discord of citizens, forrainers took heart. The care likewise of outward peace, was the cause of inward and intestine concord. But evermore the one state disquieted the moderation of the other: for whiles the Commons were still and in good temper, the pny Senators began to offer them wrong and hard measure. And when the Tribuns would have assisted the weaker side, at first it bootied little, I and small good they did: but afterwards they themselves escaped not without abuse and hurt: and especially in their latter moneths, when as they received injuries, both by reason of the meetings and packing together of the mightier sort, and also for that toward the end of the year, the edge and vigor commonly of all authority waxeth dull and groweth feeble and weak. So that now the Commons had little, or no confidence at all in the Tribunship, unless they might have such as *Isilius* to be Tribuns: and as for these two years last past, they had them but in bare name, and not to any effect and purpose. The elders and ancient fathers of the Senate on the other side, as they believed verily that their youth were too forward and lusty: so they were of this mind, That if there needs must be trespass and excels, they had rather those of their own degree and coat should exceed measure, and have greater stomach, than their adversaries. So ticklish and dangerous a thing it is to keep a mean in maintenance of liberty: whiles under a colour of wishing and desiring equality, every man advanceth and lifteth up himself so, as that he thrusteth and beareth down another: and in pretending a care and regard that men should not stand in awe and fear of them, they make themselves dread and fearful to others, and so the wrong that we put off and turn from our selves, we impose upon others. As if there were no remedy, but that we must either do, or suffer injury.

Then weremade Consuls, *T. Quintius Capitolinus* the fourth time, and *Agrippa Furinus*: who found neither sedition within, nor war without. But yet both the one and the other was near at hand. For now could no longer the dissention of the citizens be held in, but needs it must break out. And both Tribuns and Commons rose against the Nobles. For in all the assemblies and meetings of the people, one or other alwayes of the Nobles and Senators were served with process: whereupon grew fresh troubles and new contentions. At the first noise whereof, as if the signal of battel had been given, and the al'arm stricken up, the Equians and Volscians took arms: and withal, their Leaders and Captains (such as gaped greedily after spoil and pillage) had born them in hand and perswaded them to believe, That for these two years past, they could not go thorough with their musters proclaimed: for that the Commons refused to obey, and brake their allegiance: which was the only cause, that there were no forces sent out against them. Besides, say they, The use and manner of their warfare, is now with their licentious looseness, discontinued and clean decayed: Rome was now no more a common-wealth and country to her citizens: For, all their anger, quarrels and malice, that they bare aforetime against forrein nations, was now turned upon their own selves: so that at this time they had fit occasion and good opportunity to surprize them, blinded as wolves with mutual rage and fury one against another. Hereupon they joyned their whole power, and first wasted the country of *Latium*: and afterwards seeing none to encounter them and make defence (to the exceeding joy of those that were the authors of this war) they came foraging and spoiling all the way to the very walls of Rome, even before the gate *Esquilina*, there braving and vaunting in reproachful and scornful terms before the whole City, telling them how they had laid their fields and territories wast. From whence they retired themselves without revenge and loss, driving their booties afore them, and marched along to *Corbio*. *Quintius* the Consul seeing this, assembled the people, and there (as I have heard) he made to them a speech in this wise. "Albeir

The Oration
of *Quintius*
the Consul, to
the people of
Rome.

"I am not privy to my self, and my conscience accuseth me not of any fault. O *Quirites*, yea am I
"I exceedingly abashed and ashamed to come forth into this assembly of yours: that ever you
"shon'd know, or the posterity hereafter understand, how the Equians & Volscians (who of late
"dayes were hardly comparable to the Hernicks) came when *T. Quintius* was the fourth time Cos.
"in warlike manner with banner displayed to the walls of the City of Rome: & went their wayes
"again clear and without any hurt by them received. This shameful dishonor, if I had known it
"would have light, so just in this year (and yet for this good while the world hath so gone, and
"such hath been the course of our life and conversation, that my mind ever gave me there was no
"goodness toward) I would have avoided this place of dignity, either by banishment or death, if
"there had been no other way to escape it. And might indeed have Rome been taken in the time
"of my Consulship, if those weapons which were under our gates had been in the hands of val-
"rous men? Then had I indeed enjoyed sufficient honor already, then had I lived long enough,
"and a little too long, and might have dyed well when I was but the third time Consul. But who
"were they, I pray you, whom these most base and cowardly enemies of ours, despised and set so
"light by? Were we they that are your Consuls, or you (*Quirites*) the people of Rome? If we were
"in the fault, take from us as unufficient & unworthy persons, our rule and government: and if that
"be not enough, let us over and besides be wel punished, and abide the smart. But if the blame be
"in you *Quirites*, let neither God nor man chāstise your trespass and offence, only do you repent
"your

- A "your selves. and be sory therefore. It was not your cowardise that they scorned and despised, neither was it their own valour wherein they trusted. For why? they having been so often deiated and driven out of the camp and the field, fined with forfeiture of Lands, forced to go under the gallows, and brought into servitude, knew very well both themselves and you also. No, no, the variance and discord between our own states and degrees, is the only bane, and nothing else, of this City: the jarres and debates, I say, between the Nobles and the Commons. Whiles neither we have any gage or stay of rule and command, nor you know mean of freedom and liberty: while you are weary of Noble men rulers, and we likewise of the Commoners Magistrates, they gave gotten heart, and wax bold. Now, (Gods will) what mean you to do, and what would you have? Tribuns of the Commons yelonged and sought after: for quietness and concord sake, we let you have your longing, Decemvirs you had a great mis of, and them you desired: we granted and permitted them to be created. Weary you were anone, and all too weary of Decemvirs: we forced them to forgo their office. And when your anger continued till against them, being become private persons again, we suffered to be put to death, and to be exiled, most noble and right honorable men. When you would needs elect anew your Tribuns of the Commons, you chose them at your pleasure. To create Consuls from out of your own faction, although we knew it hurtful and prejudicial to the Nobles, yet have we seen that dignity proper to Nobility, given away as it were, and made common with the Commonalty. The assistance of Tribuns, the appealing to the people, the Laws and Acts devised by the Commons, to be tendered and imposed upon the Nobles, to bind them thereto: and that, under the pretence and colour of *Isonomi*, or equal and indifferent Laws, our own rights and privileges should be overthrown we have abidden, and do still endure. When will there be an end once of discord and dissention? Shall we never have one City of it? Shall we never have this to be the common Country of us all? We can be content much better to be at quiet, when we are vanquished, than whiles we are victors. And is it not enough for you, that you are dread and feared of us? but still you seek for more? Against us it was, that you took the Mount *Aventine*, against us it was that you held and kept the Mountain *Sacer*. For when the gate *Esquilina*, was well-near surprised by the enemy, and when the Volscians our enemies were ready to climb our trench and banks, and to scale our walls, none of you there was to be seen, for to remove and set them farther off. Against us ye play the men against us ye can be armed. Well then go to: When ye have here beset the Senate-house, taken up the market place and common Hall with souldiers, filled the goal with Noblemen, and those of the chieftest and best quality, then with like courage and stoutness of heart, sally forth of the gate *Esquilina*. Or, if you dare not venture so much, behold and view all afore you from the walls discover your Lands and territories with fire and sword wasted & consumed, your goods and cattel had and driven away as booties and prizes, your farms and houses burning and smoking in every quarter. But all this time the Commonweal only (you think) by this means is in worse plight and poorer case, the villages fired, the City besieged, and the enemy goeth his way with the honor of the war. And in what taking, I pray you, is your own private estate the while? Tidings will come anon to every man particularly, from out of his own livings and possessions, of his proper losses: and what have you at home (if a man may ask) to make supply again? Will the Tribuns make you restitution, and amends for all your damages? You shall have words of them your fill. They will not stick to speak, to rail, and let fly slanders freely before you against the heads of the City, Laws upon Laws you shall have heaped thick and threefold. Assemblies, convocations, and seditious invectives good store. But from thence their assemblies, never came there any of you home to his house, richer of one gray groat or single denier, nor in better state to live than before. Was there ever any one carried ought from thence to his wife, & children, but hatred and malice, displeasure and rancour, grudges and heart-burnings, both publick and private? From which at all times ye have been shielded and defended, if not with your own virtue and innocency, yet by the help and aid of others. But certainly, when ye served in wars under the conduct of us your Consuls, and followed not the leading of your Tribuns: when you served I say in camp, and not in the Hall and common place: when in battel your enemies quaked to hear you shout, and not in your assemblies, the Romans were in dread of your *ira* and outcries: then you wan prizes, and conquered Lands from your enemies, then you returned home with triumph to your houses, full of riches and wealth full of honor and renown as well publick as private. Whereas now, you suffer your enemies to depart, fraught and laden with your goods. Stick to your Ward-Leets, as if you were nailed and fast pinned to them: dwell still in your Hall, and lead your lives continually there: yet must you needs war when all is done, fly from it as fast as you can. Grieved it you indeed, and thought you is a trouble and painful thing, to take an expedition so far as into the Volscians and Equians country? Lo, the war is come even unto your gates: if it be not put from thence, it will anon be within the walls, it will scale the Castle and Capitol, it will follow you, even into your houses. Two years ago, the Senate gave order and commanded that there should be souldiers mustered, and an army conducted into *Algidum*. But we sit still at home & do nothing, but hide & scold (as it were) one at another like curst and shrewd women, contenting our selves, and joying in a present peace, and little seeing that if that rest, there will come sundry wars again, and that right shortly. I know full well, there are speeches more pleasing & plausible than these. But to speak the plain truth for your good rather than to flatter and sooth for your pleasure, if mine own nature and disposition did not teach and

"admonish me, even very necessity doth force and constrain me. Willing would I be, and most
 "willing, O Quirites, to please you: but much more would I have you to be in safety, think what-
 "soever ye will of me. It falleth out commonly, as a thing that cometh by kind, that who so spea-
 "keth to a multitude in his own cause, and for himself, is better liked, and heard with more ap-
 "plause, than he whose mind aimeth at nothing else but a publick weal. Unless peradventure you
 "think these common flatterers, these clawbacks, and men-pleasers, which give you no rest, nei-
 "ther in war nor peace, do stir you up and provoke you for your good. But will you have the
 "truth? ye being once solicited and pricked on by them, serve their turns in good stead, either
 "for their honor or gain. And because they see themselves to be of no worth and regard, while
 "the states do agree, they desire to play small game, rather than to sit out: to be Captains of mis-
 "rule and lewdness, rather than of nothing: and in one word, to be the heads, the ringleaders
 "and guides of troubles and dissensions. Whereof, if you be so blest and happy, as to be weary now
 "at length, and will betake your selves to the ancient manners and fashions, both of your own,
 "and of your ancestors, in lieu of these new fangles, I will refuse no punishment: nay, let me be
 "put to the most shameful death that is, if I do not before many dayes pass over my head, defeat,
 "discomfit and put to flight these robbers and destroyers of our fields, and send them packing out
 "of their own camp, and finally translate and remove this terror of war, wherewith ye now are
 "so affrighted and astonished, from our gates and walls, even unto their own Towns and Cities.
 Seldom at any time else, had there been a speech delivered by a popular Tribune, more acceptable
 unto the Commons, than was the sharp Oration at this present of a most severe Consul. Yea, and
 the very youth, which amid such terrors of war, had been wont to refuse soldiery, the only keen
 and sharp weapon they had to fight withal against the Nobles, now desired war and to be in
 armes. Over and besides, the country kerns that fled (to Rome,) such also as were spoiled and
 wounded in the villages about, reported more foul and cruel outrages in their ears, than were
 presented unto their eyes, and set all the City in an hot an angry broil. Now when the Senators
 were assembled together in the Councel House, then verily they all cast their eyes upon *Quintius*,
 beholding and regarding him well, as the only patron and maintainer of the Majesty of Rome: but
 the chief peers and Lords of the Senate spake out and said: That he had made an Oration, be-
 seeming the sovereign Government of a Consul, befitting so many Consulships by him already
 born, befitting the whole course of his life, that had passed oft through many honorable digni-
 ties, and yet alwayes deserved more. As for other Consuls, they either in flattering and soothing
 up the Commons, had betrayed the dignity of the Nobles: or else in seeking by hard courses to
 maintain the rights, preeminencies and royalties of their state, and to tame the multitude, have
 thereby made them more fell and untractable. But *T. Quintius*, he hath made a speech, respec-
 tive and tending, as well to the royal dignity of the Nobles, as to the concord and unity of the States,
 and principally regarding the condition of the times. They would request him therefore, toge-
 ther with his brother Consul, to take in hand the care of the Common-weal. They would request
 the Tribuns likewise, to joyn in one accord with the Consuls, and shew themselves willing and
 forward, to have the war kept off and put back from their City walls: and in so fearful and dan-
 gerous a case, to reclaim their Commons to their due obedience to their Nobles: saying more-
 over, That the native Country, the common mother of them all, calleth unto the Tribuns and
 craveth their aid, now that the territories are wasted, and the City at hand to be assaulted. Where-
 upon, they all agreed generally to decree a muster, and presently to make a levy of soldi-
 ers. And when the Consuls had pronounced before the whole people then and there assembled, that it was
 no time as then to hear excuses, but that all the younger sort, should betimes the next morning
 by day-light, be ready to attend in *Mars* field: and that after the war was ended, they would find
 out and appoint a time, to enquire into their allegations and reasons, that entred not their names:
 and that he should be taken for a traitor and rebel, whose excuse they allowed not: the whole
 manhood and youth of the City shewed themselves the morrow after in readines. Each cohort
 or regiment chose their Centiners or Captains, and every Regiment had two Senators for their
 Provost Marshals. All this was performed (by report) with such speed and expedition, that on
 the very same day, the standards and ensigns were by the *Questors* had forth of the Armory and
 Chamber of the City and brought into *Mars* field: and by the fourth hour (or ten a clock) the same
 day, set forward and advanced out of the field. And this new army, with a few bands of old soul-
 diers, who willingly of their own accord followed them, marched on and rested, at ten miles
 end. The day following they discovered their enemies, and at *Corbio* encamped close unto them.
 And by the third day, there was no stay on both hands, but they must needs encounter and fight.
 For why? The Romans for anger were sharp set: the enemies again, upon a guilty conscience that
 they had so often rebelled, were grown desperate. Now, whereas in the Roman army the two
 Consuls were in equal commission, yet gave *Agrippa* place unto his brother *Quintius*, and yielded
 unto him the entire and absolute command. A course most profitable in the managing and exe-
 cution of great affairs. And being thus preferred, he again in courtesy answered and required
 the others Gentleness and inclination to submission, in this wise, by imparting unto him all
 his Counsels: by parting with him all his honor and praise, and by making him his equal,
 who was indeed his inferiour and underling. In the battel, *Quintius* commanded the right
 point, *Agrippa* led the left: *Sp. Posthumius Albus*, the Lieutenant General, had the conduct of
 the main battel. And *P. Sulpicius* the other Lieutenant, they set over the horsemen. The foot-
 men

A men of the right point fought most valiantly, and the Volscians received them with equal valour. *Sp. Sulpitius* with his men of arms, brake through the main battel of the enemies: & albeit he might have retired himself the same way again unto his company, before that the enemies could bring their ranks again into order, that were dilarayd: yet he thought it better to charge them upon their backs. And in one moment he had discomfited and quite defeated his enemies, by assailing them behind, and thus affrighting them on both sides, but that the Volscian and *Æquian* Horsemen recharged him, held him play in his own fight, and so kept him occupied a good while. Thereat, *Sulpitius* said, it was no time now to linger and to drive off, but to bestir themselves, crying out aloud, that they were environed round, enclosed within their enemies, and excluded from their own fellows, unless they set to, and bent their whole force, quickly to dispatch the Horse-fight: and that it would not serve, to put the Horsemen to flight and save their lives: but kill both horse and man, that none might ride back again from thence into the battel to renew the fight. And to make head and resistance against him and his horsemen, they were never able, since that the main thick battel of footmen had given him ground already. Good ear they gave to his words, and soon harkned to his direction: and with one entire assault they gave a fierce charge, and defeated the whole power of the Cavallery, unhorsed and dismounted a number of them, and with their javelins goared both them and their horses. And there's an end of the horse-service. Then they set upon the battel of the footmen and dispatched messengers unto the Consuls with news, what they had done: where also by that time, the battel of the enemies began to shrink. And when tidings came unto the Romans that were already upon the point of victory, they verily were more encouraged: but the *Æquians* that were about to retreat, were stricken with greater fear. In the main battel first began the overthrow; namely, whereas the men of arms before had broken the array. After them, the left point also began to be distressed and driven back, by *Quintius* the Consul. But in the right there was hardest hold, and most ado. Where, *Agrippa* being a tall man of his hands and young withal, seeing in every part of the battel things go better than where he was: caught the ensigns from the ensign-bearers, advanced them forward his own self, yea, and fell to flinging some of them against the thickest of his enemies. For fear therefore of so shameful a disgrace, the soldiers bestir themselves, and freshly assailed the enemy. And so on all hands alike, they achieved the victory and won the field. Then came a messenger from *Quintius*, & brought word, that he had the better hand, and was now ready to give an assault upon the camp, but would not break in, and enter thereinto before he knew for certain, that they in the left point also had gotten the upper hand, and made an end of the battel. In case therefore he had discomfited the enemy, he should joyn his forces to him, that the whole army altogether might gain the spoil and pillage of the tents. So *Agrippa*, who also for his part was victor, came to his brother Consul and the camp of the enemies, and met with mutual congratulation one to the other. There, finding but a few to defend, whom they discomfited in the turning of an hand, they brake into the rampier and munitions, without conflict or skirmish: and so besides the recovery of their own goods again, which they had lost by the overrunning of the country, they gained also a rich booty, and retired back with their whole army. I cannot learn, that either they themselves

E should either refuse, or not hope for that honor. For mine own part, so far as I can guess in so long distance of times, seeing that *Valerius* and *Horatius*, who over and besides the conquest of the Volscians and the *Æquians*, had the honor also of dispatching and finishing the Sabines war, were denied triumph at the Senate's hand: these Consuls might not with modesty, sue for the same: having performed but half the good service of the others: lest if they had gotten it granted, there might have seemed more regard had of the persons, than of the deeds.

But this noble and honourable victory over the enemies abroad, thus achieved, was obscured and foully distayned with a shameful doom of the people, in a controversy of their allies, about the bounds and meers of certain Lands. The inhabitants of *Aricia* and *Ardea*, having warred oftentimes one with the other, about some Lands in question between them, and by giving and taking sundry foils and overthrows outweapied, chose the people of *Rome* their Umpire to decide and determine this quarrel. And when they were come with their counsel to plead the case, the Magistrates granted a Court of Assises of the people. Where was much arguing and dispute on both sides before them: and after the witnesses were deposed and that at length the Tribes should be called to the scrutinie; and the people give their voices, there steps forth an old father, one *P. Scaptius*, a Commoner. And I (quoth he) for my part, O Consuls if it be lawfull to speak for the good of the State, will not suffer the people to erre, and be deceived in this question. When as the Consul's denied him audience, as being an old fool, and of no credit: and commanded him (as he cryed still that the publick cause of the City was betrayed) to be had away, he callerh for the assistance of the Tribuns. The Tribuns then, who lightly are ever overruled by the multitude, rather than able to rule them, yeilded unto the Commons: That for as much as they were desirous to hear what the old man could say, *Scaptius* should speak his mind at large. Then setteth he the tale on end, and beginneth thus: I am (quoth he) fourscore winters old, and three on the head of it: and even upon that very ground for which all this strife and variance is, I served as a souldier, when I was no young man neither but one that had been preft to wars, and received pay twenty years afore. And it was, I remember well, during the siege before *Corioli*. Hither am I now come, to give evidence of a thing by long continuance of time,

A controversy between the Ardeates and Aricians, decided by the people of Rome.

The evidence given by old Scaptius.

“worn out clean and forgotten of other men, but fresh in my knowledge and remembrance: to
 “wit, that the Lands thus litigious, and in controversy, had been sometime within the confines
 “of the *Coriolans*: and after the winning of *Coriolis* were seized by right of conquest, to the Com-
 “mons of the people of *Rome*. I marvel much therefore, by what custome and prescription, the
 “*Ardeates* and *Aricines*, who never had right and interest, and were not possessed of the land,
 “(so long as *Coriolis* stood in prosperity) should hope to defeat the people of *Rome* thereof, whom
 “being the LL. in fee of the ground, they had chosen for their Arbitrator. As for me, I have
 “but a small while to live, and one foot already is in grave: and yet I cannot find in my heart, but
 “(to that Land, which as old, I being a young and lusty souldier, did my best to fight for, and
 “conquered with sword in hand) make claim now that I am aged, by word and mouth, the only I
 “means left me to recover it. I advise the people therefore in good sadness, that in a vain respect
 “of bootles modesty, they condemn not their own cause, nor give away their right. The Con-
 “suls marking well what audience was given to *Scaptius*, and that he was heard not only with si-
 “lence, but also with good liking and contentment, cryed out upon this abominable practise: cal-
 “ling both Heaven and Earth to witness, and therewith sent for the Lords of the Council: and
 “joyning with them, went to the Tribuns, fell in hand with them, and instantly besought them
 “not to go forward with this most lewd action for the present, and a more shameful precedent
 “for the time to come: namely, that Umpiers and dayes men, should convert the thing in suit
 “unto their own and proper vantage: especially considering, that, Admire it were a lawful thing
 “for a judge himself to have an eye and regard to his own commodity: yet would there not be K
 “so much gained and gotten by coming thus between, and interverting the Land, as there would
 “be damage and hinderance another way, in alienating by those hard courses, the hearts of their
 “good friends and Allies. For the losses (verily) and cracks of name and credit, are such as may
 “not be valued at any price. And should the Embassadors indeed, say they, go their wayes home
 “with this goodly award: and make report abroad how they have sped? should our confederats
 “hear this? should our enemies come by the knowledge thereof? with what grief the one? with
 “what joy the other? Think ye that our neighbour nations will impute, attribute, and ascribe
 “this, unto the speech made by *Scaptius*, a prating old busy body, and one that loveth to hear
 “himself speak in assemblies? Nay, this is certain: well may *Scaptius* be famous and much talked
 “of, in the playing of this pageant: but the people of *Rome* shall incur the obloquy, to have acted I
 “the part under the visour of *Scaptius*, of a cunning promoter, and a false interceptor to himself,
 “of other mens right in suit. For, what judge at any time in a private matter, hath done the like,
 “as to award the thing in question, unto himself? Why, even *Scaptius*, past all shame and grace
 “as he is, would never have done it. These and such like words, spake both Consuls and Senators
 “aloud in all their hearing. But the covetousness of men, and *Scaptius* that first set them a longing
 “and their teeth a watering, prevailed more than they all. The Tribes were called to the Scrutiny
 “of their voyces, and gave judgment, That the Lands pertained to the common Territory of the
 “people of *Rome*. Neither can it be denied, but it would have so appeared indeed, in case it had
 “been tried before other judges. But now, for all the goodness of the cause, is not the ignominy
 “of the arbitrement one jot the less: Nay, the *Aricines* and *Ardeates* themselves, thought not M
 “more shamefully and hardly of it, than the very Senators and Peers of *Rome*. The rest of the year
 “continued quiet, from all troubles as well domestical as forraign.

The Fourth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of E. Florus upon the fourth Book.

THE Law concerning marriage between the Nobles and the Commons, was proposed, and with much
 ado enacted by the Tribuns of the Commonalty: notwithstanding, the Nobles withstood it. Tribuns
 military with full authority of Consuls, were created. Under this kind of Magistracy was the State ruled
 for certain years, both in City and in war. The Lands of the *Ardeates*, which had been awarded from
 them by an arbitrement of the people of *Rome*, were restored again unto them, and Coloners sent to in-
 habit the same. In the time of a great dearth and famine at *Rome*, one Sp. Melius, a Roman knight, O
 dealt corn amongst the people freely, at his own proper charges: by which deed he won the favor of the
 Commons: and thereby aspiring to be King, was at the commandment of Quintius Cincinnatus, the
 Dictator, slain, by the hands of C. Servilius Hala, General of the Horsemen. L. Minutius, who dis-
 closed the treason, had a bullock with gilded horns given him for a reward. The Embassadors of the Ro-
 mans, which were murdered by the *Pidenates*, had their Statues or Images erected at the *Roftra*, or the
 common Cross of the City, because they died in the service of the Common-wealth. Cornelius Cossus a
 Colonel, having slain with his own hand Tolumnius, the King of the *Veremians*, was and bare away the
 second

A second royal spoils. Mamercus Æmylius the Dictator, limited the Government of the Censureship, with-
in the compass of one year and six months, which before that time continued five years: and for that act,
was shamefully disgraced by the Censors. Fidene was conquered and subdued, and thither were Coloners
sent to dwell. Whom the men of Fidene slew, and revolted from the people of Rome: and by Mamercus
Æmylius the Dictator were subdued, and the City forced. The conspiracy of the bondslaves was suppres-
sed: Potthumius a Tribune military, was for his cruelty slain by his own souldiers. The souldiers then
first, and never before, had their pay out of the common treasury. Moreover, this book containeth the
wars against the Volscians and Veientians, the Fidenates and Falisci.

B

The fourth Book of T. Livius.

Here succeeded Consuls after these, *M. Genucius* and *P. Curvius*. A year full of
broils, both at home and abroad. For in the beginning of the year, both *Canuleius*, a
Tribune of the Commons, proposed a law, concerning alliance of the Patricians with
Commons, by way of marriage. Whereby the Nobles supposed their blood to be
stained, and the Rights and Privileges of Families and Houses confounded. Also, whereas at
first the Tribuns by little and little had moved, That one of the Consuls might be created out of
the Commons: now the matter proceeded so far, that of ten Tribuns that then were, the other
nine propounded this in plain terms for a law, That it might be in the peoples power to chuse
both the Coss. (if they would) either out of Commons or Nobility. Mary, if that should come
to pass the Nobles thought indeed that the sovereign rule and authority, was not only made com-
mon with the basest sort, but also translated altogether from the great men and best of the City,
to the commonalty. Glad were the Senators therefore to hear say, that the people of *Ardea*, for
the wrongful awarding away of their Lands from them, were revolted: and that the Veientians
had wasted the Frontiers of the Romans: and that the Volscians and Æquians grudged and
muttered for the fortifying of *Verrugo*; So much preferred they any war, miserable though it
were and dangerous, before a shameful and dishonourable peace. Having heard therefore these
news, and taken them in the worst manner: to the end that amidst the rumour and bruit of so
many wars, the Tribunitian troublesome suits might stay and be dead for the time: they com-
mand musters to be taken, souldiers to be levied, all turnure of war, and all manner of force to be
prepared, and (if it might be) with more indeavours, than it had been when *T. Quintus* was Con-
sul. Then *C. Canuleius*, after some hot words which he spake aloud in the Senate; namely, that
the Consuls by frightening the Commons, went about but in vain, to avert them from the regard
of their new Laws: and that so long as he had any breath in his body, they should never go
through with musters, unless the Commons had first ratified those things, which by him and his
brethren had been propounded: forthwith assembled the people together. Thus at one instant
the Consuls animated the Senate against the Tribune, and the Tribune incited the people against
the Consuls. "The Consuls gave it out plainly and said, that no longer now might these furious
courses of the Tribuns be endured. Now were they come to the very height and extremity,
and raised more war in effect, at home, than the enemies abroad. Which thing (no doubt)
happied not so much through the fault of the Commons, as of the Nobles, nor of the Tribuns
more, than of the Consuls. For look what thing was best rewarded in a City, the same always
most increased: thus men in peace (we see) prove excellent, thus in war they come to be singu-
lar. In *Rome* (say they) seditions speed ever best, and have been reputed both to each one in par-
ticular and to all in general most honourable. But let the Senate call to mind the dignity which
they themselves had received from their fathers, and compare it with that which they were like
to leave to their children: and see, whether they may boast as the commonalty doth, how that
their condition is much bettered and more glorious than before. Well, neither is there any end
now, nor ever will be, so long as the Authors of seditions be as highly advanced, as the sediti-
ons themselves are prosperous and fortunate. See what matters and how great hath *Canuleius*
attempted! He would bring in a commixture or rather confusion of kindreds and houses, a
perturbation in the managing both of publick and private affairs: that nothing might be sin-
cere and intire, nothing pure and undefiled: that all difference and distinction being taken away,
no man might know either himself or his. For what thing else do these mixtures of states and
degrees by marriages draw after them, without all order and discretion: but that like brut beasts
in a manner, Commons and Nobles may go and couple together? so that the children between
them born, shall not be able to tell of what blood he is descended, and to what Religion he doth
belong, being a mungrel, as it were, the one half a Noble, the other a Commoner; and not well
serving and according with himself? They thought it not enough (be like) that all divine and
humane Laws, were confused and shuffled together: for now these mutinous persons, these busy
heads and troublers of the common people, address themselves to shoot at the Consulship. At
first, they sounded in private speeches and secret discourses, only, how to compass. That one of
the Consuls might be created out of the body of the Commons: but now they go roundly to
work and carry it before them: they are so bold to prefer laws (forsooth) that the people might
make them both either Nobles or Commons, at their good pleasure. Whereby (no doubt) they
would make chosse from out of the Commons, of the most seditious persons of all other.

The allegati-
ons of the Con-
suls against
the Tribuns of
the Commons.

"We

The Oration
of *Canuleius* to
the Commons,
against the No-
bility,

"We shall have then the *Canuleians* and *Isilians* to be our Coss. But *Jupiter* (that great good God) forbid, that ever the Royal and Imperial Majesty, should come to that low ebb or desperate pass: dye they would a thousand deaths rather, than suffer so great a shame and indignity: knowing this assuredly, that their ancestors also, if they had once suspected or foreseen, that by granting the commonalty every thing as they desired, they would not have proved more lovely and chearful towards them, but rather more churlish and untractable: and when they had obtained their first suits, to proceed still to demand worse and worse, one thing after another: they would sooner have indured at the first, any contending and debate whatsoever, than suffered those hard conditions to be imposed, and put upon them: and because they had once relented, that Tribuns should be created, therefore to grant them again the second time. I So that as now, there is no quietness with them, nor end of quarrels will be none, so long as in one and the self same City, Tribuns and Senators remain together. Nay verily, either this state must be put down, or that office utterly abolished. And better late than never, to withstand and meet with their rash and desperate boldness. What? shall they without controlment, first sow discord at home, and then stir up forrein wars abroad? and afterwards, against those wars which themselves have raised, debar and hinder the City, for to take arms and defend it self? and when as they have as good as sent for the enemies to come to their dores, then, nor suffer an army to be levied against them. But let *Canuleius* (if he dare) speak these words out in the Senate, That unless the Nobles suffer his laws, as if he were a Conqueror to be admitted and received, he will slay the mustering? For what else is that, but to threaten that he will sell and betray his country, and suffer it to be assailed and lost? What encouragement will such a word give as that, I say not, to the commonalty of *Rome*, but to the *Volscians*, *Equians* and *Veientians*? Will not they hope, under the conduct of *Canuleius*, to be able to scale the Capitol and the Castle, if so be the Tribuns shall take from the Nobility their courageous hearts, as they have bereaved them already of their right, their honor and dignity? Let him know therefore, that the Consuls are ready, first to shew themselves to be Captains and Leaders, against the mischievous practises of their own citizens, before they will make head against the armed forces of their enemies? Whiles these matters were debated of with great contention and heat in the Senate house, *Canuleius* for the maintenance of his laws, and to cross the Consuls, made this Oration unto the people. How greatly the Nobles have despised you, O *Quirites*, how unworthy they have ever thought you, to live among them within the walls of one City, me thinks I have, as often heretofore, so now especially and most of all perceived: in that they have risen up altogether so fiercely to check and withstand our proposed laws. "Wherein, what pretend we else, but to tell them and put them in mind, That we are, as well as they, citizens: and although we are not of the same wealth, yet we inhabit the same country with them? In the one, we request marriage; a thing to borderers, yea, and to forrain nations usually granted: and to speak of our selves, we also have afforded even to our conquered enemies, the benefit of our City, which is far more than marriage. In the other, we move no new matter, but only claim again and challenge that, which is the peoples right, to wit, that the people of *Rome* may bestow their offices and dignities, upon whom they please. What reason have they then, I pray you, to set all on an uprore, as if Heaven and Earth should go together? and what is the cause, that erewhile I had like to have had violence offered unto me in the Senate? What moved them to break out and say, they could not forbear nor keep their hands from me, and threaten to abuse and violate the sacred authority of the Tribuns? Set case that the people of *Rome* may have their free voyces and suffrages, to elect the Consuls whom they will, and that no Commoner be denied, so he be worthy of the highest place, for to obtain the sovereign dignity. How then? cannot this City possibly stand any longer? and is our Empire come to an end for ever? And all one it is (be like) and importeth as much, to disable a Commoner, for being made Consul, as if a man inferred, that a bondman or a freed libertine should become Consul. Perceive you not yet (my Masters) in what contempt you live? They would, if they might, bereave you in some measure of this day light: that ye breath and speak, that ye have the shapes of men, they think much, they repine, and it goes to their heart. And what else? They give it out flatly and say (if God will) it is unlawful, that a Commoner should be a Consul. I beseech you hear me a little. If we may not be allowed to read the Chronicles, nor to peruse the High-priests records and registers, know we not those things then, that even all strangers know? namely, That Consuls entred in place of Kings, and succeeded them, and have no other right, preheminance or dignity at all, than Kings had before? Think ye that men have never heard, that *Numa Pompilius*, a man not so much as a citizen of *Rome*, much less then, a Patritian and Nobly descended among them, was sent for out of the Sabines countrey, and by the peoples voyces, and the assent of the Nobles, created King of *Rome*? Also, afterwards, how *L. Tarquinius*, who was no Roman born, no, nor yet so much as an Italian, but the son of *Demaratus* the Corinthian, a stranger inhabitant at *Tarquinius*, and from thence removing, albeit King *Ancus* his sons were living, attained likewise to the crown? Moreover how *Servius Tullius* after him, the son of a captive woman of *Corniculum*, whose father was unknown, whose mother a bondwoman, through wit and vertue, obtained and held the Kingdom? For what should I speak of *T. Tatius* the Sabine, whom *Romulus* himself, the father and founder of this City, admitted to reign together with him? Well, so long as no stock was disdained, no race rejected, wherein appeared sparks of vertue, the Romans Em-
pire

- A "pire became mighty, and flourished. Scorn ye then at this day, a Consul out of the Commonalty, when our forefathers despised not Kings that were aliens and strangers? No, nor when the Kings were expelled, was this City denied and shut against forreiners, that were valorous, and men of action. The kindred and whole name (I am sure) of the *Claudii*, after the Kings were exiled, we not only admitted into our City, from out of the Sabins, but also received into the number of the Patritians and Noble men. And may a meer forrainer indeed become a Noble-man, and so a Consul? And shall a Citizen of *Rome*, if he be of the Commonalty, be wholly disabled and out of all hope for ever of being Consul? Tell me I pray you, Think ye it not possible, that a valiant and hardy man, approved both in war and peace, being one of the Commons,
- B "may prove like to *Numa*, *L. Tarquinius*, or *Servius Tullius*? and if he do, whether shall we suffer him to govern the Common-weal, or no? And whether will ye have our Consuls, such rather as the Decemvirs (the most wretched and wicked persons under the sun, who, by your leave, were at that time of the Nobility) than strangers and new-commers, which of all the Kings were simply the very best? But forsooth, presently after the KK. were deposed and expelled, there was not one of the Com. a Consul. What of that? ought no new thing to be ordained, and which hath not been already taken up afore? For many things have not yet been practised, (as in a state newly incorporate) ought not such then to be put in use, if they be thought expedient? While *Romulus* reigned, there were no Bishops nor Augurs: by *Numa Pompilius* they were created. There was no Sessing of the people at all in the City, no description of Hundreds and Classes. By *S. Tullius* they were instituted. Coff. were never heard of before: when the KK. were driven out, they were elected. The time was, when neither the absolute rule nor yet the name of a Dictator was known. In our fathers dayes it first began. Tribuns, *Ediles*, *Questors* there have been none: it was ordained they should be made. Within this ten years, we have both created and also abolished out of the common-weal, Decemvirs for the making and penning of our laws. And who doubteth, but in a City founded for ever to endure, and increasing still infinitely, there will be brought in new Governments, new Priest-hoods and sacerdotall dignities, new priviledges both of kindreds and private persons? And even this one thing in question, to wit, that the Com. and Nobles might not joyn in marriage, were not the Decemvirs they that first within these few years made that Edict? A most shameful ensample and precedent in a free state, and tending to the manifest wrong of the Commons. Can there be any greater or more notorious injury, than that there should be in a City one part and member, as defiled and polluted, thought unworthy of the bond of marriage? What else is this, but to suffer exile and confining within the same walls, when they debat us that we should not be either allied in affinity or knit in kindred? They provide (forsooth) and take order that blood should not be mixed, nor families confused. How then? If this do pollute this great gentry of yours, which most of you descended from the Sabins and Albans, have not by right line from the Patritians, but by copration and election into the number of the Nobles, as being chosen either by the favour and grace of the Kings, or else by the peoples voyces after the KK. were expelled: could not your wisdoms have kept your blood uncorrupt by some private means and provisi-
- E "on, namely, by taking heed neither to espouse wives from among the Commons, nor to suffer your daughters and sisters to be married to any other than Nobles? No commoner (ye might be sure) would have forced a daughter of any noble house: no, these insolencies of lascivious lust are appropriate to Gentlemen only of the Nobility: none of us would have compelled any of you against his will, to make covenant and contract of matrimony. But I wor, that by an express law it should be forbidden, and that marriage between Nobles and Commons should be condemned, that is it, which to the commonalty is a plain contumely and open injury. And why confer ye not and lay your heads together, that the rich may not marry with poor? That, which at all times and in all places, hath been a matter left unto particular policy and consideration; namely, That into what house soever a woman cast a liking and fancy, there she might
- F "be married: and into what family a man obliged himself by word, promise and covenant, from thence he might take a wife: even that, restrain ye within the bonds of a most proud and tyrannical law: whereby ye might break in sunder all civil society, and of one City make twain. Why forbid ye not by a positive Law, that a commoner should not dwell by a Noble-man, or go the same way that he doth, or frequent the same feast, or converse in the same market or common place of assembly? For in effect what difference is there, if a Gentleman marry a commoners daughter, or a commoner espouse a Gentlewoman? What right I pray you or condition of state is thereby changed? surely the children still take after the father. Neither seek we for any thing else by marching with you, but only this, that we may be reckoned in the number of men and of citizens. Neither is there any cause, why you should so contend and stand upon it (unless it do
- G "you good to cross and take a pleasure to exercise your selves in working us disgrace and shame,) Finally I would gladly know whether the sovereign government of the state resteth in you or in the people of *Rome*? When the Kings were driven out, got you thereby to your selves Lordly sovereignty, or purchased all men equal liberty? It must needs be granted, that the people of *Rome* may at their pleasure publish and ordain a law. And will ye then as soon as any law whatsoever, is by them proposed, appoint a muster presently for their punishment? and as soon as I that am Tribun, shall begin to call the wards to give their voyces, shall you that are Consuls by and by swear all the younger sort, press them to warfare, lead them forth unto the field, and
- "menace

"menace the Commons, menace I say, the Tribun also? What? If ye had not twise already good
 "experience, how little these goodly threats of yours prevailed against the Commons, when they
 "agreed and stuck together, it were somewhat. Will ye say, that ye forbore to strive, ye rendered
 "our good, and for pity spared us? Nay rather, to say a truth, was not this the cause that no fray
 "was made, For that the stronger side was also the more cool and modester of the twain? Neither
 "(O *Quirites*) will there now, I warrant you, be any combat, nor blows dealt: they will al-
 "ways assay and sound, what stomacks and hearts ye have, but never will they feel your fits, and
 "try how keen your swords be. Therefore to these wars (be they falsely pretended, or truly in-
 "deed reported) O ye Consuls, the Commons are ready prest to follow you: provided alwayes,
 "that by granting them liberty of mutual marriage, ye will make at length this City one: that
 "they may be linked, joynd and united unto you, by private alliance and affinity: that hardy and
 "valiant men may have hope and possibility, to honors and dignities: that they may be allowed
 "fellowship and society in the Common-weal: Finally, that (which is due unto equal liberty)
 "they may one with another in alternative course, obey annual Magistrates, and be obeyed again
 "in their turns. If any of you shall gainsay and withstand these conditions, prate still and talk at
 "your pleasure of wars: multiply and make them as many and as great as ye will: There is not
 "one shall give his name, nor one shall take arms, nor one shall fight for those proud Lords, with
 "whom they can have neither fellowship of dignity in the Common-weal, nor alliance of mar-
 "riage in private estate. Now when as the Consuls also were come forth into the open assembly
 "of the people, and that they fell on all hands from continued and long Orations, to short dispute
 "and altercation: the Tribun demanded why a commoner might not attain to a Consulship? Unto
 "whom the Consul returned an answer, as to the substance perhaps truly, so for the present con-
 "tention not very wisely and to the purpose: Namely, because that no commoner had the Au-
 "spices: which was the cause why the Decemvirs ordained distinct marriages, lest upon a doubtful
 "and mingled issue, there should follow a troubled confusion of the Auspices. But hereat, the
 "Commons stormed and stamped most of all: that as odious men unto the immortal Gods, they
 "were flatly denied and deemed unworthy to observe the flight and singing of birds. And never
 "gave they over their heats of clamorous debate (whiles the Commons had gotten unto them a
 "most sharp Tribun to set them a work, and were themselves in obstinacy no whit behind him) un-
 "till at length the Nobles were overcome and driven to grant, that the Law as touching marriage
 "should pass: supposing by that means especially, that the other Tribuns would either clean give
 "over their suit for making commoners Consuls, or at least wise put it off, until the war were ended:
 "and that the Commons in the mean while being well pleased and contented with marriage among
 "the Nobles, would be willing and ready to levy a muster. *Cannuleius* for this his victory over the
 "Nobles, and for the favours he gat among the Commons, became a great and mighty man. Where-
 "upon, the other Tribuns were kindled to the like combat: and for the proceeding of their Law
 "also, indeavoured with all their might and main. And albeit the rumour of the war encreased daily
 "more and more, yet they hinder the levy of souldiers. The Consuls seeing now that no decree
 "and order could pass the Senate-house, by reason that the Tribuns interposed their negative voyce:
 "took counsel together with the chief of the Nobility at home in their private houses. And well
 "they saw that they must yeeld either the victory to their enemies, or the buckler to their own ci-
 "tizens. Of all the Senators that had been Coss, only *Valerius* and *Horatius* were not present at
 "these counsels. *C. Claudius* his opinion was, That the Consuls should put themselves in arms a-
 "gainst the Tribuns: But the two *Quintii*, *Cincinnatus* and *Capitolinus*, abhorred all bloudshed and
 "violent proceedings against those, whom by a solemn covenant made with the Commons, they
 "had received and accepted for to be as sacrosanct and unviolable. But in these counsels they
 "grew to this point in the end, that they suffered military Tribuns of equal power with the Con-
 "suls, to be created indifferently from out of the Commons and Nobles: provided alwayes, that
 "as touching creation of the Consuls, there should be no alteration from the old manner afore-
 "time. And herewith were both Tribuns and Commons well satisfied and contented. A general
 "assembly therefore was proclaimed for the chusing of three Tribuns in Consuls authority, which
 "being once published: forthwith as many as had spoken or done ought tending to sedition, and
 "above all others those that had been Tribuns of the people, began in their whited robes to take
 "hold of men and run to and fro about the common place labouring for this dignity. At the first,
 "the Nobles partly in despair of obtaining the place (seeing the Commons so set a store) partly for
 "disdain and indignation to bear any honourable office joyntly with them of so base condition,
 "were scared and affrighted from standing therefore: at the last (but they were forced thereto
 "first by the heads and the chief Lords of the Senate) they were content to be competitors and sui-
 "ters for the dignity: lest they might seem to be fully excluded forth of the possession of the Com-
 "mon-weal, and leave it entirely for the Commons. The event and effect of this Court, shewed
 "plainly, that mens minds are otherwise affected in contending about liberty and dignity, than
 "presently after such contentions laid away, they are in weighing and judging aright without passi-
 "on and affection. For the people satisfied herewith, that there was some account made of the
 "Commoners, and that they were not shut out, elected military Tribuns all of the Nobles. This
 "modestly, this equity, this noble mind, where shall a man now adaves find in one person, which
 "then was to be seen in the whole people? In the three hundredth and tenth year after the City of
 "Rome was founded, were the first military Tribuns created, that bare office in the room of the Con-

A Consuls, to wit, *A. Sempronius Atratinus*, *L. Atilius*, and *C. Cecilius*: in whose government, concord at home caused also peace abroad. There be writers, who affirm, That upon occasion of the Veientian war, and the rebellion of the Ardeats, because two Consuls were not able to manage so many wars at once, therefore were three military Tribuns chosen: without making any mention of the Law published, concerning election of Consuls of the Commons: and that they were invested both in the jurisdiction, and also in the ornaments of the Consuls. Howbeit, the exercise of that government, stood not fast and sure, nor continued long. For within three months after that they entered, they forewent their office, by a decree of the Augurs, as if there had been some error in their creation. It was alleged that *C. Curatius*, who was President of that Court of Election, had taken his quarters amiss for the observation of the lucky signs by flight of birds, and not according to the Augurs skill.

Military Tribuns first created, with Consuls authority.

B There came from the Ardeats to Rome, Embassadors, complaining of wrong received, in these terms: That if it might be redressed, and amends made, and their grounds restored, they seemed willing to abide still in league and amity. Answer was made them by the Senate, that the judgment of the people, already passed, could not be reversed by the Senate, if it were for nothing else but for concord sake and agreement of the States: besides, they had neither any precedent to lead them thereto, nor Law and authority to warrant them. Marry, if the Ardeats would wait their times, and put to the Senates arbitrement and discretion, the redress and easement of their injury pretended, it would come to pass, that in process of time they should not repent of governing their passions, and bridling their choler: and should well know, that the Nobles had a good regard, that there should no wrong be offered unto their friends, as they were careful, that if any were offered, it should not long continue. Thus the Embassadors, promising, to make a true report, unto their citizens of the matter, wholly as it was: were friendly dismissed, and had their discharge.

C The Senators seeing now the Commonweal, without any sovereign Magistrate of the chair and of State, went together, and made an Interregent: and whiles they strove whether Consuls or Tribuns should be created, the Interregent continued many dayes. The Interregent and the Senate laboured, that there should be an Election of Consuls: the Tribuns on the other side, and their Commonalty, were for the Tribuns Consular. But the Senators prevailed, because both the people seeing they were to confer the one office or the other, upon the Nobles, surceased to strive any more: and also the chief of the Commons, chose rather to have that Election, wherein they should not be once propounded, than wherein they were sure to take the repulse, as unworthy. The Tribuns also gave over to contend any longer to no purpose, and without effect, seeming thereby somewhat to gratify and pleasure the LL. of the Senate. So *T. Quintus Barbatus* the Interregent, chose for Consuls *L. Papirius Mugilanus*, and *L. Sempronius Atratinus*. Whiles these were Consuls, the league with the Ardeats was renewed. And this is the only evidence and proof, that they were Consuls that year, for that neither in the ancient yearly records, nor in the Calendars of the Magistrates, they are found at all. I take it, because the military Tribuns were created in the beginning of that year: and therefore, although these Consuls were in their stead chosen, yet their names were left out, as if the other had remained in office the whole year.

Consuls chosen again.

E *Licinius Macer* affirmeth, that they are mentioned both in the composition with the Ardeats, and also in the linen books or registers in the Church of *Juno Moneta*. Albeit there had been so many terrors and bravados, threatened from the borderers, yet both abroad and at home, all was quiet. And whether Tribuns only, or Consuls also chosen in the room of Tribuns governed in this year: certain it is, that the next following, had Consuls *M. Geganius Macerinus* the second time, and *T. Quintus Capitolinus* the first time. This was the very year when the Censors office came up first. A thing that rose of a small beginning: which notwithstanding afterwards, increased to that height, that it had government of the manners and discipline of the Romans: and under the jurisdiction thereof, the Senate and Centuries of the order of knights, the distinction of worship and shameful disgrace, were reduced. Likewise, the survey of publick and private Edifices, F yea, and the tributes, revenues and subsidies of the people of Rome were at the disposition, ordering, and discretion of that office. The beginning of which thing arose upon this occasion: For that the people in many years space had not been assessed and numbred, and seeing the Cense could be deferred no longer, nor the Consuls (by reason of wars, from so many nations imminent) had leisure to go about and accomplish that business: the Senate therefore made a motion, that the charge being painful, and not for the Majesty of Consuls to busy themselves in, required a special Magistrate, and a peculiar officer by it self. Under whom should attend the Secretaries and Clerks, who likewise should have the keeping and charge of the rolls and publick records: and at whose discretion should pass the scedoles and instruments of all Assessments. The Senators therefore accepted gladly of this overture, although it were but a trifling matter: yet because there should be the more Magistrates of the Nobility. Supposing (I ween) it would come to passe, as (it proved indeed) that shortly the power and wealth of those, who bare the office, should win more authority and credit unto themselves. Yea, and the Tribuns also made no great ado, but suffered it to pass, being an office (as it was in truth, no other at that time) rather of necessity and attendance, than of show, pomp, or honor: because they would not seem to be cross and peevish in every small matter. When as therefore this dignity was of the principal of the City required, the people by their voices chose to that Office, *Papirius* and *Sempronius*, of whose Consulship there was some doubt: to the end, that by that office they might supply and make up the

Censors first
created.

the defect and mis of a Consulship. And of the exercise and function it self; Censors were they H
called.

Whiles these things were a doing at *Rome*, there came Embassadors from *Ardea*, craving as well in regard of their most ancient amity, as also of the late league renewed, their helping hand for their City, welnigh undone and overthrown. For, peace (which wisely and by right good advise they had kept, and maintained with the people of *Rome*) they might not enjoy at home, by reason of inward debate and domestical quarrels. The cause and beginning whereof, as it is reported, arose from siding and factions, which have been and will be to most States more pernicious, than for-
rain wars, than famine or plague, or other adversities, which men attribute to the anger and wrath of God, as the extremity of all publick calamities whatsoever. There was a maid, a Commoners daughter and no better, by birth, but for her rare beauty of singular note and passing renown: whom two young men were suiters unto. The one of the same condition or estate that the maid was of, and who relied upon her guardians and tutors, who also were of that degree and calling: the other a Gentleman, enamoured on her, only for her beauty. As for him, he had the good wills of the best in the City, by whose means the strife of partaking, entred even into the house of the Damoysel. For the Gentleman in the Mothers judgment, was the more welcome and better liked of, whose desire was, that the maid should be preferred by marriage, and be most worship-
fully bestowed. The Guardians also banded themselves, and laboured for their party. But when as the matter might not be ended within doors, it came to suit in Law. And when thereasous and allegations were heard, both of the Mother, and also of the Guardians, the Judges pronoun-
ced sentence of marriage to be at the disposition of the Mother. But might prevailed more than right. For the Tutors aforesaid, openly in the market place of the City, having amongst those of their party and faction, complained of that injurious award, with a troupe of men by force, set the maid out of the Mothers house. Against whom arose a stronger power of the gentry, and following the young Gentleman, who was incensed and set on fire upon this injury offered. Whereupon ensued a cruel fray. The Commons being defeated, went forth (far unlike to the Commons of *Rome*) armed as they were out of the City, and took for their hold a Hill, and in-
vaded the Lands of the Nobles with fire and sword: and having gathered to them a multitude of Artisans and handicrafts men, whom in hope of spoil they had called forth, they purpose and pre-
pare to besiege the City also, which aforetime had been altogether unacquainted with the like
storms. In such sort, as no kind of calamity that followeth war, was wanting: as if the poor City
had been tainted, infected, and poisoned with the furious madness of two brain-sick young men,
seeking a woful and deadly marriage, with the utter ruin and destruction of their native Country. And neither part thought it enough to war and fight at home among themselves. For the Nobles
solicited the Romans for to rescue their besieged City: the Commons stirred up the Volscians, to
help to force and sack the City. The Volscians under the conduct of *Equus Cluilius* came first to
Ardea, and against the walls of their enemies, raised a countermure, and cast a trench, and block-
ed the Town round about. Which tidings being brought to *Rome*, forthwith *M. Geganinus* Consul,
went forth with an army, and incamped himself three miles from the enemies: and the day being
now far spent and drawing toward night, he commandeth his souldiers to refresh and make much
of themselves, and take their rest: and afterwards at the relief of the fourth watch, he brought
forth his ensigns, set his men to work, and sped his business once begun, so that by the sun rising,
the Volscians might see themselves invested more streightly by the Romans, then the City be-
leaguered by them. And on another side the Consul had joyned a sconce to the wall of *Ardea*, by
which way his souldiers might go and come in safety. The Captain of the Volscians, who had to
that day prepared no victuals, but sustained his army only with the corn which he had for the
present from day to day robbed by foraging the Country, seeing himself intrenched, and of a
sudden to be destitute of all things, called the Consul forth to emparle, saying, That if the Romans
coming was to raise the siege, he would remove and dislodge from thence. To which again the
Consul made this reply, That vanquished men were to take, and not to make Articles of Condi-
tions: neither should they, as they were come at their pleasure to assault the allies of the Romans,
so depart again when they list to *Volsai*. He commandeth therefore to yeeld their General, to lay
down their weapons, confessing themselves overcome, and to be at his devotion. Otherwise he
would be a bitter and mortal enemy unto them, whether they departed or tarried still, and carry
home to *Rome* the victory of the Volscians, rather than their faithless peace. The Volscians, when
they had assayed that small hope they had in their weapons (for all hope else was cut off) besides
all other things that were cross unto them, encountred in a place of great disadvantage for fight,
but worse for flight: and seeing themselves on every side beaten down and slain, turned from
fighting to intreating, delivered up their Captain, yeelded their weapons, were driven under the
Gallows, and in their single doublet and hose with great shame and calamity, were let go and sent
away. And sitting them down to rest themselves, not far from the Town *Tusculum*, the Tusculans
upon an old grudge and hatred against them for upon them thus dismissed and naked as they were
at unawares, and were suspect with them, that secretly there remained any one to carry news of
their ill day and unfortunate overthrow. Then the Roman Cpl. appeased the troubles at *Ardea*:
beheaded the chief Captains of that combination, and confiscated their goods to the common
cheft and Chamber of the *Ardians*. And so by this great favour and benefit of the people of *Rome*,
they suppleed the injury of the former arbitrement was done away and recompensed. But yet
the

See the end of
the former
Book.

At the Senat of Rome, thought somewhat behind still for the cancelling of the memorial of publick avarice. The Consul returned, triumphing into the City, leading *Clulius* the Captain of the Volscians before his chariot, with the spoil born afore him of the enemies, whom he had disarmed, and brought under the yoke. *Quintus* the Consul again for his part, in his long robe and gown of peace, countervailed (a thing not usually seen) the glory of his Collegue in his bright armor, who had so great regard at home to entertain concord and peace among the Citizens, by ministering justice indifferently, as well to the highest as to the lowest, that the Senators reputed him a severe Consul, and the Commons accounted him as meek and gentle a person. And more he won at the Tribuns hands by countenance and reputation, than by contention and debate. His five Consulships wherein he carried himself after one and the self same manner and order, the course of his whole life, ever Consul-like, caused his person to be in a manner more revered than his honourable place. By this means, while these were Consuls, no words were made of military Tribuns. Then created they for Consuls *M. Fabius Vibulanus*, and *Posthumius Eburnus Cornelianus*. These Consuls, by how much greater and more glorious the acts both at home and abroad, were achieved by those, whom they saw they were to succeed (and surely that year was right memorable among the borderers, as well allies as enemies, and namely, because the Ardeats in so hard distress, were by them succoured so much the more earnestly endeavoured for their part, to raze out of mens minds the infamy of that judgement afore said, and made an Act and Decree of the Senat in this form, That for as much as the City of the Ardeats, by reason of Civil troubles, was dispeopled and brought to a small number of Citizens, there should be enrolled certain inhabitants to beset the City for a Garrison, and defence against the Volscians. This was openly ingrossed in publick Tables, and Instruments, for a policy, that their secret intent and purpose of reverting and disannulling the arbitrement, might not be perceived by the Tribuns and the Commons. But they closely complotted, that when they had enrolled a far greater number of Rutilians than of Romans, for to inhabit Ardea, neither should any other lands be divided, but those which by that infamous and dishonest award were intercepted: nor that one foot or clod of ground should be assigned to any other Roman, before the whole lands were parted among all the Rutilians. Thus the domain that had been in question, returned again to the Ardeats. The Triumvirs for the conveying of a Colony to Ardea, were created these, *Agrippa Maenius*, *T. Cladius Siculus*, and *M. Eburnus Helus*. Who, besides that, they offended the Commons by their ready service and nothing popular, in regard, that they assigned and set out to their allies, that land which the people of Rome judged their own, were not well thought of neither, by the chief of the Nobility: because in the execution of their charge, they did nothing of affection, and for favour. Howbeit they avoided all troubles and dangers that were toward them (albeit they were accused by the Tribuns before the people.) For when they had registered and placed the Coloners, they remained still themselves in the same Colony, which they had as witnesses of their innocency, and just dealing.

In this year, and the year following, when *Caius Furius Pacilius* and *Marcus Papirius Crassus* were Consuls, there was peace at home and abroad. The plays which had been vowed by the Decemvirs, according to the Senats decree, during the time of the Commons insurrection and departure from the Nobles, were this year set forth. *Petilius* sought for some occasion of sedition, but in vain. Who being made Tribun the second time, albeit he harped still upon one string, and threatened the self same things that he had before, yet he could not bring about, that the Consuls should propose unto the Senat, concerning the division of lands among the Commons: and when as with great ado he had obtained thus much, that the Senators should be moved and their opinions asked, whether they would have an election of Consuls or Tribuns (Consular:) determined it was at length, that Consuls should be chosen. So, that the menaces of the Tribun, that he would hinder the muster, was a ridiculous matter of game: seeing that when the borderers were at quiet, there was no need either of war, or preparation for war. After this great quietness of the State, followeth a year (wherein *Proculus Geganius Macerinus*, and *L. Menenius Lanatus* were Consuls) for sundry calamities and perils memorable: namely, Seditions, Famine, and hazard of receiving upon their necks the yoke of Kings rule again and that, by the sweetness of a Largess. There wanted only forraign war: wherewith if the Common-weal had been afflicted too, hardly could the help of all the gods above, have recovered the State. These calamities began with hunger. But whether it were, for that the year was unseasonable for corn, or that they were so in love with the plausible and seditious Orations, and of the City it self, that they slighted and neglected the Tillage of their ground, it is uncertain. For both the one and the other is reported. The Lords of the Senat blamed the idleness of the Commons: and the Tribuns of the Commons laid the weight, one while upon the fraud and naughtiness, another while upon the negligence and remissness of the Consuls. At the last the commoners enforced and drave the people (but not against the will of the Senat) to chuse *L. Minucius* Master of the provision or principal purveyor of corn and victuals: a man who in that office proved more lucky to preserve the liberty of the City, then happy in the exercise or ministry of his charge: albeit at the latter end, he deserved and had, both praise and thanks, for bringing down the price of Corn. Who, notwithstanding many Embassages sent both by sea and land to the neighbor nations round about, and all to little purpose (but that out of *Hetruria* there was brought some little sprinkling of Corn) nothing eased and mended the Market: and therefore he turned again to the dispensing or dealing the present dearth indifferently.

indifferently among all, by forcing every man to confesse what corn he had, to open his graners, to bring it forth, to vent and sell that, which he had more then would serve a month. But where by this practise, and by defrauding servants a portion of their daily food, and by securing the corn-mungers and exposing them to the furious ire of the people, he had with all his hard courses and sharp inquisitions rather laid open then eased the present need and necessity: many of the common people despairing of all hope, rather then they would live thus miserably constrained, pining and wearing away in hunger, covered their heads, and threw themselves headlong into Tyber. Then *Sp. Melius*, by calling a Knight or Gentleman of Rome, a man (as in those days) exceeding rich, enterprised a thing, commodious I must needs say, but a dishonest precedent of dangerous consequences, and proceeding of a worse mind and intent of his. For having with his own money bought up the corn out of *Britannia* by the means of his friends and vassals, whose ministry he used: which thing (I believe verily) was an hindrance that all the publick care and providence, took small effect, and nothing helped the general want and scarcity, he devised to bring up a free dole and distribution of corn: and to the end that when he had once by this benefit and liberality won the hearts of the Commons, then he might, what way soever he went, carrying a port and majesty with him above the degree of a private person, draw after him a train of the people, promising him by their favour of support, undoubted and assured hope of a Consulship. But himself (as mans nature is unsatiable) not content herewith, aspired to higher matters: then fortune promised him, and those unlawful, and beyond his reach. And for as much as even the very Consulship was to be wrested from the Nobles against their wills, he plotted to make himself King, and thought that, the only guerdon due for so deep reaches and designs, and worthy that great contention and strife which he was to abide with much toil and sweat of brows. Now drew the Election on apace for Consuls, which thing prevented him afore he had brought his devices to full ripeness and perfection. Consul was created *L. Quintius Capitolinus* the sixth time, a man most unfit for his turn, that should go about innovations and to change the state: and with him was joined *Agrippa Menenius*, surnamed *Lanarius*. And *L. Minutius*, was either made again the master victualler, or else created he was at first without limitation of time, to continue so long as the case should require. For there is no certainty thereof, but only the name of Corn-master, recorded both years in the linnen Books or Registers among other Magistrates. This *Minutius* was vigilant, and as careful for the Common-weal, as *Melius* for his private wealth: and upon occasion that men of the same quality, to wit, the Commons, were conversant in both houses, namely, in his own and in the house of *Melius*, he came to the knowledge by their means, of *Melius* his treason: and declared unto the Senat the whole complott. Namely, That there was armor and weapons good store, carried into the house of *Melius*: that he kept conventicles there, and made seditious Orations, and that it was past all peradventure that he practised to be King. As for the time of working the feat and to put it into action, as yet it was not determined and certainly known: all other things were already agreed upon. Item, that the Tribuns were bribed and hired to sell and betray the liberty of the City: That to certain Captains of the multitude divers charges were appointed. And herewithal, he excused himself (and said) That because he would not be reputed the author of any uncertain or vain intelligence, he uttered these matters somewhat M with the latest, and later well-neer, then might stand with the common safety of the Weal-publick. Which news after they were heard, and that on every side the chief Senators had given both the Coss. of the former year a check, for that they had suffered those Largesses of corn, and tolerated meetings of the Commons in a private house: and rebuked the new Consuls also, for that they had stayed so long and waited till a matter of so great importance was by the corn-master detected and declared unto the Senate, which required a Cos. to be not only the informer, but also the reformer: Then *T. Quintius* answered, That the Consuls were blamed without just cause, who being bridled with the laws of appealing, tending to the great prejudice and dissanulling of their sovereign government, had not commission sufficient by vertue of their place, to punish the thing according to the hainousnesse and quality thereof, as they had courage and heart thereto: N and that there was need now, not only of a valiant and stout man, but also of one that was freed from all bonds of laws and tied to none. And therefore he would name *L. Quintius* for Dictator: in whom there was courage answerable to that absolute authority. When all men liked wel therof, *Quintius* himself at the first refused: demanding what they meant, to object and expose him, an unwieldy man & so fast slept in years, to so great trouble, and manifest danger. Afterwards, when as they replied on all hands, and alledged how in that heart of his for all his age there was more valour, and in his head more policy, then in all men besides: heaping on him right due and deserved praises, and commendations: and whiles the Consul also importuned him still and gave not over: then *Cincinnatus*, after he had prayed to the gods immortal, that his decrepit old age in so fearful a case, might not turn either to the losse or dishonor of the Common-wealth, was by the Consul pronounced Dictator. And he forthwith nominated *C. Servilius Hala* General of the horsemen. The morrow after, when he had set and disposed certain guards, in divers places of the City, and was come down into the common place: the common people wondring at the strangenesse of the matter, had their eyes upon him: and the adherents and complices of *Melius*, and he himself their Captain, saw well that the force and power of this so great a magistrate was bent against them. But they that were not acquainted with those plots and designs that tended to the setting up of a King, asked one another, what tumult or sudden war, should require either a Dictators

A Dictators majesty, or that *Quintius* such fourscore years of age, should be the only Ruler of the City. With that, *Servilius* the General of the horsemen was by the Dictator sent to *Melius*. Who said unto him, The Dictator callth thee. Whereat he being afraid, asked again, What he would? and *Servilius* said, That he was to make his answer and purgation, of a crime that *Minutius* had informed against him, before the Senat. Then *Melius* began to retire himselfe back into the throng of his followers, and looking about at the first, thrunk only away from him, and refused to obey. At the last the Apparitor at the general of the horsemen's commandment, began to force him to go with him: but he being rescued by the standers by, found his feet and began to fly, and besought the aid of the Com-mony of *Rome*: saying, That the faction of the Nobles conspired his overthrow, and persecuted him for the good he had done unto the Commons, and for his liberality be-stowed upon them: beseeching them to help him in that extremity, and not to suffer him to be murdered afore their face and in their very sight. As he spake these words, *Hi-la*, *Servilius* overtook him, and killed him on the right hand being sprinkled with his blood thus slain, and guarded with a company of tall Gentlemen of the Nobility, he brought word to the Dictator, how *Melius* being cited to shew unto him, put back the Appari-tor, and raised the multitude, and now had suffered the punishments for his defects. Then (quoth the Dictator) On forth in this valor and yetts of thine. O *C. Servilius*, thou des-ervest great praise, and hast delivered the Common-wealth this day from tyranny: but then as the multitude murmured and made a din upon some doubt, what they should thinke of the fact, and what might be the occasion thereof: he commanded them to assemble together, and openly avowed the deed, and pronounced that *Melius* was justly Min-ya, albeit he had been clear from seeking to be King: for that being summoned and con-vented before the Dictator, and that by the General of the horsemen, he refused and gave not, for my selfe (quoth he) was set judicially to examine and enquire of the cause: and upon the trial thereof, *Melius* should have sped no worse then his cause deserved: but because he went about by violence to withdraw himself from judgment, by violence therefore was he restrained. Neither was he to be proceeded against as a Citizen, who being born in a free state, where justice and law were in force: and in that City, where-
D out, he was not ignorant that the *KK* were sometimes expelled: and where in one and the same year, *Collatinus* sisters sons, and the sons of that *Cos*, that was deliverer of his Country, detected of a complor and conspiracy of receiving again into the City the *KK* blood, were by their own father beheaded: out of which City *Publius* *Collatinus* *Cos*, for the detestation only of the name, being commanded to give up his office, suffered exile: in which City, many years after *Sp. Cassius* for practising and plotting only to be King, suffered condigne punishment: wherein also of late time, the Decemvirs, for a tyrannical pride, where deprived of their goods, banished their country, and bereft of their lives. That in the same City (I say) *Sp. Melius* should conceive any hope of reaching to a Kingdom? And a man (I pray you) of what quality and condition? And yet, no gentility of birth, no dignities nor defects were sufficient to make way to any
E for lordly rule and tyranny. Howbeit, the *Claudii* and *Cassii*, by reason of the Consul-ships, and Decemvirships of their own, by reason of the honourable estate and reputati-on of their ancestors, and the worship and glory of their lineage, took upon them, be-came hangry and proud, and aspired to that, whereunto *Sp. Melius* had no such means to induce him: who might have set him down well enough, and rather wished and prayed to God, then hoped once for so much, as a Tribuneship of the Commons. And supposed he, being but a rich corn-masser, that with a quart (or measure of corn of two pounds) he had bought the freedom of his fellow Citizens? or thought he by ca-sting morsels of bread and victuals afore the common sort, that the victorious people, conquerors of all nations about them, might be allured into thraldom? and whom the City could hardly brook to be a Senator, him they should endure their King, to have the regal ensigns, and the government of *Romulus*, the first founder of the City, de-scended first from the gods, and to them ascended up again: why, it was a thing not so wicked as monstrous. Neither was this act sufficiently satisfied for, with the shedding of his blood, unless the house and walls, within which so horrible madness was conceived and forged, were cast down and razed: and unless these goods, which were tainted and infected with the prices and hire that should have purchased the Kingdom, were forfeit and confiscate. He commanded therefore the Questors, to sell those goods, and to bring the money into the common Treasury. And then he caused forthwith his dwell-ing house to be overthrown and made even with the ground, that the plot or floor thereof, might be a monument of a wicked attempt, smothered and stifled in the very hope and hatching thereof. This is the place which was called afterwards *Aequilium*. As for *L. Minutius* he had an Ox with gilded horns given him for an honour and reward without the gate *Trigemina*. The Commons therewith were not miscontented, for that to them he divided *Melius* his corn, at the price of one *As* a *Modius*. Among some authors

The Oration of *Quintius* the Dictator to the people of *Rome*.

Sol. Appie

* Three far-
things Engl...
* *Modius* a Ro-
man measure,
containing a
peck within a
pint, or the
fourth part of
London bushell
or Warwick-
shire strike.

I find, that this *Minutius* forsook the Nobles and went to the Commons, and was taken in to be the eleventh Tribun of the Commons, and appeased the mutiny that arose upon *Melius* his death. But it was not like that the Senators suffered the number of the Tribuns to be increased: and especially, that such an example should be given and taken up by a man of their coat: or that the commonalty would not keep it still, if it had been once allowed; or at leastwise attempt it again. But above all, this consuteth and reproveth the false tide of *Tribune* set upon his image, for that a few years before, it was by a statute expressly provided, That Tribuns might not chuse and take unto them a Colleague in office. *Q. Cecilius*, and *Q. Junius*, and *Sextus Titinius* were the only men of all the Colledge of Tribuns that propounded not the Law for the honour of *Minutius*: but rather accused unto the Commons, both *Minutius* and *Servilius*, and ceased not to make complaint of the cruel and unworthy death of *Melius*: and in fine prevailed so much, that there should be an election for military Tribuns rather then for Consuls: nothing doubting, but if he were chosen (for so many at that time might be created) some of the Commons also, by promising to revenge the death of *Melius*, might step in and be elected. The Commons for all they were tossed that year with many and sundry troubles, chose no more then three Tribuns with Consuls authority: and among them, *L. Quinctius* the son of *Cincinnatus*: Upon the hard conceit and hatred of whose Dictatorship past, they thought to pick some occasion of quarrel and tumult: and *Mamercus Emilius*, a man of great credit and reputation, was by voices preferred afore *Quintius*, and obtained the first place. And *L. Julius* they created for the third.

Tullius
murdereth the
Roman Em-
bassadors.

Whiles these bare sovereign rule, *Fidene* the Colony of the Romans, revolted to *Lars Tullinius*, the King of the Veientians, and to the State of the Veientians. And besides their revolting, a more horrible fact they committed: For at the commandment of *Tullinius*, they slew *C. Fulcinius*, and *C. Julius*, *Sp. Nautius*, and *L. Roscius* the Roman Embassadors, who came to demand the cause of this their change and sudden alteration. Some here do excuse and elevate the act of the King, saying that upon a lucky cast of dice he uttered a doubtful speech, which was by the *Fidenatians* taken, as though he seemed to bid the Embassadors to be killed; and that (forsooth) was the occasion of murdering the Embassadors (a thing incredible, that at the coming in of the *Fidenatians*, his new allies, who were to consult with him and ask his advice, about a murder that should break the law of Nations, his mind should not be turned away from earnest studying about his game) and so this hainous fact proveth to be but an error. More credible it is, that he had a further meaning and deeper reach: namely, that the people of the *Fidenatians* should be bound unto him, and only rely upon him; being attaint with the guiltlesse of so foul a murder, and not to look and hope for any mercy or favour at the Romans hands. The statues of these Embassadors which were at *Fidene* murdered, were set up openly at the charges of the City in the *Rostre*. [A publick crosse (as it were) or pulpit in Rome, one of which the Magistrates made Orations to the people, beautified with the beak heads of ships and their brazen pikes called *Rostre*.] Thus was there like to be a cruel conflict with the Veientians, and *Fidenates*. Who besides that they were people confining on their frontiers, had also in the beginning of their war given so wicked and horrible a cause of quarrel. Therefore when as the common people and their Tribuns, in regard of the care for the publick State, were at quiet; there was no question, but that *M. Geganius Mucrinus* the third time, and *L. Servilius Fidenus* (named (I suppose) so, upon the war which afterwards under his conduct was fought) should be created Consuls. For this man first encountered with the King of the Veientians on this side *Anio*, and gat the victory: but not without much bloodshed of the Romans. So that the grief was greater for the loss of his own souldiers, then the joy for the discomfiture of his enemies. And the Senate, as in all fearful times and dangerous occurrents, ordained *Mamercus Emilius* to be created Dictator. Who, out of the brotherhood of Tribuns military in Consuls authority, the year before, named for the General of his horsemen, *L. Quinctius Cincinnatus*, who had been a Tribun with him, a toward young Gentleman; and a worthy son of so worthy a father. To those souldiers that were by the Consul mustered and levied, were the old Centurions, experienced and skilful warriors, adjoined: and the number of those, which in that last battel were slain, was supplied. The Dictator commanded to follow him as Lieutenants, *Quintius Capitolinus*, and *M. Fabius Vibulanus*. This greater power and authority, and the man likewise nothing thereto inferior, drave the enemies out of the Roman ground, and set them farther off, even beyond *Anio*. Who removing their camp still backward, seized upon the hills between *Fidene* and *Anio*: neither durst they come down from thence into the open plains, before that the Legions of the *Falisci* came to succour. Then at length, the *Tulcians* encamped themselves under the walls of *Fidene*. And the Roman Dictator likewise rested and abode upon the banks of the Confluent (where both rivers run into one) and flanked himself thereby. And when he had cast up a trench and rampart afront, reaching across from the one river to the other, the morrow after he brought his power forth, and set them in order of battel. The enemies

* A river now
called *Teveron*.

A mies were of sundry minds. The Faliscians, who hardly could away long with military service farre from home, and trusting withal in their own selves, that they were good enough, required battel. The Veientians and Fidenates had more hope in drawing out the war on length. *Tolumnius*, albeit the advice of his own men liked him better, yet because the Faliscians should not endure lingring warfare, sendeth a trumpet, and proclameth battel against the morrow. The Dictator and the Romans, for that the enemies for the present shifted off fight, took more heart unto them: and on the next morning, when as now the souldiers gave out brave words, and menaced, That unlesse they might have battel, they would assault both the Camp and the Town: the armies of both parts came forth into the midst of the plain, between the two Camps. The Veientians, as being more in number and having to spare, sent covertly out certain companies to fetch a compass behind the Hills, who in the time of the conflict should set upon the Roman Camp. And in this order stood the main Army of three Nations together embattelled. The Veientians kept the right point, the Faliscians the left, and the Fidenates the middle of the battel. The Dictator in the right point advanced his standard against the Faliscians, and on the left *Capitellinus Quintius* charged the Veientians: and against the main battel between both, marched the Coronel of the Cavalry, with his Cornets of horse. Thus as they stood arranged in battel array, for a pretty while was there silence on either side, and all quiet. For neither would the Tuscans begin first, unlesse they were urged: And the Dictator looked ever and anon backward toward the Capitol of *Rome*, that the Augurs should set up a signal aloft (as it was agreed between them) so soon as the flight of fowls gave approbation accordingly: which he no sooner espied, but he put out presently the men of arms, with a great shout against the enemies. The army of the footmen followed hard after in the tail, and seconded them with a lusty charge. But on no hand were the Tuscan legions able to abide the force of the Romans. The Cavalry stood hardest to it, and made head still. For the King himselfe, the best horseman and most valiant of them all, when as on every side his enemies charged and pressed sore upon him, rode airon them, held out and maintained fight. There chanced then to be among the Roman horsemen, a Tribune or Marshal, one *A. Cornelius Cossus*, a goodly tall man of body, and as valiant and strong withal, who set before his eyes the noble house from whence he was descended, and carried this mind, as it was right honourable already by his ancestors left him, so to recommend the same to his posterity more glorious and renowned. This man seeing the troops of Romans waving to and fro, for fear of the violence of *Tolumnius*, which way soever he bent and turned; and knowing him by his rich and royal furniture, wherein he bare himself like a brave Knight, riding all over the battel. "Is this (quoth he) the forsworn breaker of humane league, is this he that hath violated the laws of arms, and of nations? Now will I presently, if it be Gods will that any thing in the world should remain wholly and inviolate, be his Priest, I will sacrifice and betake him to the ghosts of our Embassadors deceased. Herewith, setting spurs to his horse, with bent spear in rest, he rode full against that one enemy, singled from the rest: smote him, and dismounted him from his horse. Then bearing upon his staff, alight presently on foot, and as the King was getting up again, he overthrew him backward with the bofs of his target, and laid him stretching long & after many wounds given him, at length fastned him with his spear to the very ground. And when as he was once dead, he disarmed and dispoiled him, and struck off his head: and carrying it aloft on his lance, presented a fearful spectacle to the enemies of their King slain, and so discomfited them. Thus was the strength of the horsemen defeated also, which only had made the battel doubtful. The Dictator having put likewise the legions of footmen to flight, pursued them still, and drave them to their fort, killing them all the way in the chase. Many of the Fidenates which knew the coasts of the Country, fled into the mountains, and escaped. *Cossus* with his horsemen passed over *Tyber*, and brought home into the City a great booty out of the country of the Veientians. As this battel was in fighting, there was a skirmish also in the Roman camp, with that part of the forces, which (as it is aforesaid) was sent by *Tolumnius* to surprise it. *Fabius Pibullanus* first defended the rampart, ordering his men all within, in compass like a garland: and while the enemies were wholly bent about the assault, he with the *Triarii* or souldiers of the rereward, suddenly issued forth at the gate, called *Principalis*, on the right hand, and gave an hot charge upon them: Upon which they were affrighted, but there ensued the less slaughter, because the number was smaller. Howbeit, they fled no lesse in disarray, than those in the very battel. Thus the Dictator having prosperous success every where, returned with triumph into the City, by the decree of the Senat, and grant of the people. In which triumphs the greatest shew and goodliest sight of all, was *Cossus*, bearing the rich & royal spoils of the King, slain by his own hand. For of him the souldiers chanted divers rude ballads without rime and metre, comparing him in their songs with *Romulus*. Which spoils with a solemn manner of dedication he bestowed and hung up in the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, neer unto those of *Romulus*, which

* 36. lib. sterl.
in angel gold.

were the first and only spoils, until that time, called *Opima Spolia*. And as he went he withdrew from the Dictators chariot, the eyes of all the people unto himselfe, and hee in manner alone, carried away the magnificence and glory of that festiual day. The Dictator by order from the people, presented in the Capitol for the honour of *Jupiter*, a golden Crown, weighing one * pound weight, raised out of the common money of the City.

Thus have I set down (as following all other writers before me) that *Aulus Cornelius Cossus*, a Colonel or Marshal, brought into the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, the second royal spoils. Howbeit, over and besides, that those spoils onely are by right accounted *Opima*, or royal, which a General hath taken from a General, and we acknowledge none I for General, but him under whose conduct an high Commission a war is managed, the very title also written upon the spoils, doth check and reprove both them and me. The words whereof are these, [*That Cossus being Consul, won those spoils.*] When I once heard say, that *Augustus Caesar* himself, the founder or repairer of all Temples, entred into the house of *Jupiter Feretrius*, which he re-edified, being by injury of long time fallen to decay, and read it so written in a linnen Jack or Curaze: I thought it little better then sacriledge, to discredit and cancel the testimony of *Cossus* himself concerning his own spoils, and of *Augustus Caesar*, the benefactor of that very Temple. Which error, if it grow hereon, That so ancient Records and Chronicles, and that the Books of the Magistrates, which being of linnen, and laid up in the Temple of *Moneta*, *Macer Licinius* doth very often quote and K cite as his Authors, do represent unto us *Aulus Cornelius Cossus*, the seventh year after Consul, with *Titus Quintius Pennus*: let every man abound in his own sense, and have his opinion by himself freely. For more then all this may be alledged to prove, that so famous a battel could not be transferred to that year: because that for three years space about the Consulship of *Cossus*, there was no war at all, in a manner, by reason of pestilence and dearth of corn: so as some records, as it were, mourning, and bewraying the calamity of the time, deliver unto us nothing but the bare names of the Consuls. In the third year, after that *Cossus* was Consul, he was military Tribun in Consuls authority, and in the same year General of the horsemen also: in which government he fought another notable battel with horsemen. But hereof a man may conjecture and guesse what he will. L But (as I think) we may tols these things of small importance to and fro, according to every mans opinion: and when all is done, the author of this battel his own selfe, having set up these fresh and new spoils in a holy place, in the sight of *Jupiter* himselfe standing thereby, to whom they were vowed, and *Romulus* also, two witnesses, not to bee despised nor abused with a false title, hath written himself, [*A. Cornelius Cossus Consul.*]

When *Marcus Cornelius Maluginensis* and *Papyrius Crassus* were Consuls, the Armies were led forth: the one into the Veientians Country, and the other into the Faliscians, and booties both of people and cattel were from thence driven and carried away. As for the enemies themselves, no where in the Country were they to be seen, nor any battel was M fought: and yet for all that, the towns were not assaulted, because the people at home died of the pestilence. And within the City, *Sp. Melius* Tribune of the Commons sought occasions and pretences to move seditions, but without effect. Who supposing by the popular favour of his name to prevaile and raise some mutiny, both arrested *Minutius* to make his answer, and also put up a bill for the confiscation of the goods of *Servilius Hala*: laying hard to *Minutius* his charge, that *Melius* was falsely accused and circumvented by him: and burdening *Servilius* with the murdering of a Citizen uncondemned. All these surmises were with the people of less credit and importance, than the author himselfe. But the violence of the sickness still encreasing more and more, troubled them: besides the fearful and strange prodigious tokens: but especially, the fresh news that divers houses in the N Country were by many earthquakes cast down. Whereupon the people went in solemn procession and made their supplications, whiles the Duumvir going afore pronounced the prayers, and the people said after him word for word. But the year following, when *C. Julius* the second time, and *L. Virginus* were Consuls, was more contagious by reason of the plague, and caused both in Town and Country, so great a fear of utter desolation, that not only there were none set forth in any roads without the territory of *Rome* to raise booties, whiles the Nobility and Commons had no mind of making war: but the Fidenates also of their own accord, who before time had kept themselves either within their Towns, or Mountains, or Fortresses, entred now into the lands about *Rome*, and foraged all the Country. After this, having gotten also unto them a power of the Veientians (for the Faliscians could not be induced either by the calamity of the Romans, or prayers of their confederates, to take arms again) these two Nations passed over *Anio*, and not far from the gate *Collina* displayed their ensigns. So the fear was no less within the City than in the Country. Then *Julius* the Consul bringeth the forces abroad, and placeth them upon the rampart and the

A the walls: whiles *Virginius* assembled the Senate in the Temple of *Quirinus*, for to ask their opinion. Where agreed it was, to create for Dictator, *A. Servilius*, surnamed (as some say) *Priscus*, or as other, *Strictus*. *Virginius* making no longer stay than until he had consulted with his Colleague, by his permission declared the Dictator in the night season. And he nominated for his General of the Cavalry, *Posthumus Ebutius Helus*. The Dictator commanded every man to be ready without the gate *Collina*, by the break of day: and so many as were able to bear arms were in a readinesse. The Standards and Ensigns were taken forth of the treasury or chamber of the City and brought to the Dictator. Whiles these things were in doing, the enemies were retired and withdrawn to the higher grounds and places of advantage: and thither marched the Dictator with his army in order of battle. And encountering with them not far from *Nomentum*, he discomfited the legions of the *Tuscans*, and drave them into the town of *Fidene*, and cast a trench about it. But neither could the town be scaled for the high site thereof and the strong walls about it: and to lay siege unto it might not avail: for that they had corn not only to suffice the ordinary need of men besieged, but also plenty to spare, of their old store and provision gathered aforehand. Thus the Dictator being without all hope both of winning it by assault, and also of forcing them to yeeld by composition, purposed in certain places for the neernesse to him well known, at the backside of the City which was slenderly guarded, most neglected, and for the natural situation the surest, to undermin unto the Castle. And he himself in places farthest off from thence, approached close under the walls, with his army divided into four parts, to succeed one another by turns in order: and so, by continual skirmishing day and night, he kept the enemies at a bay and withdrew them from all perceiving and intelligence of the work under ground: until such time as by digging through the hill from the Camp, there was a way and passage made straight up into the Castle. And when as the *Tuscans* were wholly amuled upon the vain threatnings, and bravado's of their enemies before them, nothing minding the present danger wherein they stood: behold, the alarm of their enemies even over their heads, made an out-cry, that the town was taken. In this year *Cn. Furius Pacilius* and *M. Geganius Macerinus*, Censors, appointed and dedicated the Large Hall, named *Villa Publica* in *Mars* field: and there first by them was held the Seffing and numbring of the people. I find in *Macer Licinius*, that in the year following, the same Consuls were made again, namely, *Julius* the third time, and *Virginius* the second time. But *Valerius Antias* and *Q. Tuberus*, do name *M. Manlius* and *Q. Sulpitius* for the Consuls that year. Howbeit in so different report, both *Tuberus* and *Macer* professe that they followed the linnen Records: and neither of them both conceal, that which the ancient writers have set down, namely, That the same year were Tribuns military, in Consuls authority. *Lacinius* without doubt is addicted to those linnen Registers, and *Tuberus* is uncertain of the truth. But among other antiquities, not known by reason of long time, this also is left in doubt and not cleared.

Fidene won by a Stratagem.

Villa Publica.

After the winning of *Fidene*, great was the fear in *Hebrunia*: whilest not only the *Veientians* were scared, fearing the like destruction: but the *Falisci* also, remembering the war began first with them, albeit they were not assistant in their rebellion. When as therefore these two States had sent their Embassadours abroad to the twelve Cities about them, and obtained a Diet or General Parliament of all *Hebrunia* should be assembled at the Temple of *Votumna*: the Senat, as if some great troubles were likethereof presently to ensue, thought good that *Mamercus Emplius*, should be created Dictator the second time. By whom, *A. Posthumus Tuberus* was named General of the horfemen. And with so much greater endeavor made they preparation of arms than in the last war afore, by how much more danger there was from all *Hebrunia* banded together, than had been from two nations combined and no more. But this business was much more quiet than all men looked for. When as therefore news came by Merchants, that the *Veientians* were starly denied help, and bidden to end that war by their own means and forces, which they had begun on their own heads: nor seek to embark them in the association of their misery and adversity, unto whom they had not imparted their mind & hope in their upright state, and when they were in their height: then the Dictator, to the end he should not seem to be created in vain, seeing all matter of acquiring renown by war was cut off, desirous yet in time of peace, to doe some notable piece of work for a monument, setteth in hand to abate and diminish the Censorship: either supposing it to be too high an office, or else offended not so much with the greatnesse of the honour, as with the continuance and length thereof. Having therefore assembled all the people together: For as much as the immortal Gods (quoth he) have undertaken to govern the Common Weale abroad, and performed all safe and sure: I for my part concerning that which is to be done at home within the walls, will take order and provide for the freedom of the people of *Rome*. The greatest preservation, and defence whereof resteth in this, when offices of great command are not long enduring: but when they be limited by term of time which may not be restrained or gaged in jurisdiction. As for

A General Diet of all *Tuscanic* at *Favum Votumna*. *Viterbo* at this day, as it is thought. *Ortel*.

The Oration of *Mamercus Emplius*, to the people.

The office of Censors reduced from the term of five years, to one and an half.

Mamercus Amylius disfranchised and made *Æturi*.

Tribuns Military in Consuls room, chosen again.

"for other magistracies they are from year to year: but this of the Censors continuing five years, is very heavy and grievous. And hard it is for men to live so many years, even a great part of their life, in danger of the same Rulers still. Minded therefore I am, to propose a law, That the Censorship continue no longer than one year and six months. With great applause and consent of the people, the next day after, he both published the law and enacted it. And now that ye may (quoth he) O *Quirites*, know in very deed, how I mislike of these long lasting offices, here presently I render up my Dictatorship. Thus having given over his own place, set a limitation to the rule of others, and absolutely ended one, with exceeding congratulation and favour of the people he was brought home to his house. The Censors taking it grievously that *Mamercus* had abridged an office of the people of *Rome*, displaced him from his own Tribe, laying on him an eightfold tax in the subsidy Book, disfranchised and disabled him from giving his voice, and made him no better then a Tributary. Which disgrace (they say) he took with a noble stomach, looking rather to the cause of this shameful note, than to the ignominy it self. Moreover, the Lords of the Senate, albeit they were willing enough that the Censorship nails should be pared and their power taken down, were offended yet, with this example of the rigour and severity of those in place: for as much as they all saw plainly, that they should be both longer time and oftner under Censors, then Censors themselves. But so great an indignation of the people (by report) grew hereof, that by the authority of no man but of *Mamercus* himselfe, could they be restrained from offering violence to the very persons of the Censors. And the Tribuns of the Commons, with their continual Orations and Remonstrances, prohibited the Election of Consuls. When as the matter was well near brought to the point of an Inter-reign, they obtained at length with much strife and contention, that there should be military Tribuns chosen, with Consular authority. But reward of this their victory, whereat they shot, could they get none: namely, that a Commoner might be chosen for one. They were all of the Nobility that were created, to wit, *M. Fabius Vibulanus*, *M. Folius*, and *L. Sergius Fidenas*.

The plague that year was the occasion of quietness from all other troubles. A Temple then was vowed to *Apollo* for the health of the people. Howbeit, great loſs was there both in town and country, by the the mortality of men and murrain of cattel, one with another indifferently. And fearing lest the husbandmen of the country should be famished, they sent for corn into *Hetruria* and the country of *Pomptinum*, to *Cumes*, and at last even into *Sicily*. And not a word all this while about the election of Consuls. So there were military Tribuns elected, with Consuls authority, all again of the *Patritii*, namely, *L. Pinarius Mamercus*, *L. Furius Medullinus*, and *Sp. Posthumius Albus*. That year the violence of the sickness abated: neither was there any danger or fear of scarcity of Corn, because they had made provision aforehand. Great sitting and consultation there was in the general Diets of the Volscians and *Æquians*, and in *Hetruria* at the aforesaid Temple of *Votumnia* about making war. There, the matter was put off for one whole year: and by an Act or Decree it was provided, that no Assembly or Parliament during that time should be held: notwithstanding the M people of the *Veientians* complained but all in vaine, that the same fortune was like to happen unto *Vei*, which had fallen already upon *Fidene*, even the utter subversion of the State. In this mean season, at *Rome* the chiefe heads of the Commons having aspired and gaped now a long time, but still in vain, after higher place of dignity and honour, took their vantage whiles all was quiet abroad, and began to have their conventicles and meetings in the houses of the Tribunes, and there entertained secret Counsels. Some complained that they were much despised of the common people: for whereas in so many yeares, There were Tribunes Military created with Consuls authority, yet never was there any one of the Commonalty advanced to that Dignity. Our forefathers (say they) in great wisdom and deep fore-cast, have done well to take order, that none of the Nobility at any time should have access to any office of the Commonalty: for if that were not, the Commons should have had ere this some of the *Patritii* for their Tribuns: so odious are we become to those of our own coat, and are as little set by of the Commons as of the Nobles. Others excused the people, and laid the fault upon the Senators: by whose ambition, by whose crafty fetches and subtil policies it came to passe, that the Commons were stopped from the highway to advancement and promotion. But if the Commons might have any respite or breathing time, and not be solicited and tempted by their prayers interlaced with threats: they would remember themselves and those of their own calling, in giving of their voices: and having once gotten assistance unto them, would also win the highest pitch and sovereign type of authority. For the abolishing therefore of this ambitious seeking and standing for offices, they agree and resolve, that the Tribuns should prefer and publish a Law, that no man might wear white more then ordinary, or refresh the bright hue of his upper garment, while he sued for any dignity. A smal matter now adayes, and may seem scarcely worth the debating in serious counsel, and not

A not be solicited and tempted by their prayers interlaced with threats: they would remember themselves and those of their own calling, in giving of their voices and having once gotten assistance unto them, would also win the highest pitch and sovereign type of authority. For the abolishing therefore of this ambitious seeking and standing for offices they agree and resolve, that the Tribuns should prefer and publish a law, that no man might wear white more then ordinary, or refresh the bright hue of his upper garment, while he sued for any dignity. A small matter now a days, and may seem scarcely worth the debating in serious counsel, which notwithstanding at that time, set both nobles and commons in a great heat of contention. Yet obtained the Tribuns so much, that this law passed, and it appeared, that the Commons when their blood was once up, would affect their own, and wholly incline to them in their suffrages. But to the end that they might not have their full scope and put it in practice, an Act of the Senate was, that there should be held an Election of Consuls. The occasion thereof, was a tumult or commotion, which, as the Latins and Hernicks advertised them, arose from the Equians and Volscians. *T. Quintius Cincinnatus*, the son of *Lutius* (surnamed also *Pennus*), and *G. Julius Mente* were elected Consuls. Neither was this fearful news of war entertained any longer. For the enemies having by a sacred law (which amongst them was of greatest force to levy an army) suffered their power, set forth two mighty armies from both parts, into *Algidum*, and there met. Where the Equians and Volscians, severally by themselves encamped strongly, and more earnestly studied the Captains to fortifie their camps, and to train and exercise their souldiers, than at any time afore. Whereupon, the news was more fearful, that the messengers brought to *Rome*. So the Senate agreed to create a Dictator. For, although those nations oftentimes had been vanquished by them, yet now they rebelled in more forcible manner, and with preparation, than at any time before. Also, by reason of the late sickness, the youth and flower of the Romans, was sore diminished. But above all, the private discord of the Consuls one with another, and the debate and difference in all their counsel terrified them most. There be that write, how these Consuls had but unlucky fortune, and lost a field in *Algidum*; and that it should be the cause of making a Dictator. But this one thing is certain, that howsoever else the Consuls disagreed, yet they jumped in one to execute the wills of the Senators, in that they would not nominate a Dictator until such time as after news brought, still worse and worse, and yet the Consuls would not be ruled by the Senators: one *Quintus Servilius Priscus*, a man, who right worthy and honourably had borne the highest offices, made this speech: "My Masters, ye that are Tribuns of the Commons (quoth he) in this exigent and desperate case, the Senate calleth for your assistance; that in so great hazzard of the Common weal, ye by virtue of your authority, would force the Consuls peremptorily to make a Dictator. Which speech being once heard; the Tribuns supposing now they had good occasion offered, to stretch and extend their power to the full, departed aside, and in the name of their Colledge or society, pronounced, That it was their pleasure and will, that the Consuls should be obedient unto the Senate: and in case they proceeded to do farther, then the content of that most honourable House would bear them out, they would command them to ward. The Consuls chose rather to be over-ruled of them than of the Senate: saying yet withal, that the prerogative of the highest government was by the Senators betrayed, and the Consulship made thrall and subject to the Tribuns power, if so be the Consuls might be compelled to do ought by vigour of the Tribuns authority, and (than which, a private person could fear no more) be sent also to ward, or committed to prison. The last fell to *T. Quintius* (for in this also they could not agree between themselves) to nominate the Dictator: who named *A. Posthumius Tubertus*, his wives father, a grim Sir, and a man of most severe and stern government. By whom was *L. Julius* nominated for General of the Cavalry: Herewithal was proclaimed a vacation or law-feece, and that throughout the whole City they should go in hand with nothing but war. The taking knowledge of such as pretended to be freed and exempt from souldiery, was put off until the war was ended. So that they that were before doubtful suffered themselves to be enrolled: and souldiers were levied out from the Hernicks and Latins, who from both places obeyed the Dictator to their uttermost. All these things were dispatched with exceeding expedition. Then the Dictator having left *C. Julius* the Consul, for the defence of the City, & *L. Julius* the General of the horsemen for all sudden occasions incident unto wars, that they might not be to seek for any thing whereof they had need in the camp, took with him *Anulus Cornelius* the High Priest, & saying after him certain prayers, word for word, he vowed great and stately playes, in regard of this tumultuous and troublesome war: and thus departing from the City, and dividing his whole Army between himself and *Quintius* the Cos, at length he approached the enemies. And like as they had discovered the two camps of their enemies, a little space distant one from another, so they also, about a mile from the enemy, intrenched themselves: the Dictator neer to *Tusculum*, and the Consul to *Lanuvium*. So these four Armies, and as many fortified camps, had a spacious and large plain in the middle, sufficient not only for small excursions to skirmish in, but also to display their armies of both sides. And all the time that they lay encamped

The speech of
Q. Servilius
Priscus

So desired of T.
Sera in the 130
-101 and 102
-103 and 104

101 and 102
-103 and 104
-105 and 106

encamped one against another, they ceased not to make light skirmishes: for the Dictator was well content, that his men by making proof, and comparing their strength and puissance with their enemies, and assaying by little and little to try the event of these skirmishes, should conceive a forerhand some hope of the entire and general victory.

The enemies therefore having no hope left, to speed well in a set field and pight battel, assailed by night the Consul's camp, and put all to the hazard of a doubtful issue. The sudden cry and alarm, awakened not only the Consul, Sentinels, his *corps de guard*, and so his whole army, but the Dictator also out of their sleep. And where need was of present help, there failed not the Consul, either in courage or counsel. Some soldiers ward and defend the gates, others compass the trench, ranged in a round array. In the other camp of the Dictator, look how much less sleep there was, so much more leisure had they, and studied what was most needful to be done. Forthwith aid was sent unto the Consul his camp, under the leading of *Sp. Posthumius Albus*, a Lieutenant. The Dictator himself in person, with part of his power, fetching a small compass about, gained a place most apart from all noise and tumult, and from whence as unawares he might charge upon the back of the enemies. And leaveth as Vicegerent in the leaguer *Q. Sulpicius*, and to *M. Fabius* a Lieutenant, he committed the conduct of the horsemen, commanding him not before day to stir with his horse, as being unruly and hard to be managed in tumult and troubles of the night. And all things else, that a provident and industrious Captain in such a case might command and do, that commanded he, and did orderly. But for one thing above the rest, he shewed singular proof of policy and courage, and worthy no mean praise: in that he sent out first *M. Cerginus* with certain chosen Squadrons to assail the camp of the enemies, from whence he knew by his espials there was departed a greater part of the forces. Who after that he surprised the enemies there, amused wholly upon the event of other mens dangers, careless and secure for their own selves, and therefore neglecting their fronts and guards; wan their hold, in manner before the enemies knew well it was assailed. From whence the Dictator having descried a smoke (which was the signal agreed between them) crieth aloud, that the enemies camp was won, and committeth news thereof to be carried every way. Now it waxed broad day light, and all was clearly to be seen: by which time both *Fabius* with the horsemen, had given the charge, and the Consul also had made a sally out of the camp; upon the enemies that now already were scared. But the Dictator on the other side, charging upon the rearward and the middle battel, came on every side with his footmen, and horsemen in train of victory against the enemies: who were forced to turn round and fight every way, according to the dissonant cries, and sudden alarms. Thus being environed round about, they had in the midst died for it every one, and suffered punishment due for their rebellion, had not *Vellius Messius*, one of the Volscians, a man more renowned for his valiant acts, then noble by his parentage, rebuked with a loud voice his fellows, being ready now to cast themselves into rings, and said: What will ye here without making your defence, without revenge, offer your selves to be devoured of the enemies sword? What do you with your armour and weapons? Why began ye war first? Are you trouble-some and unruly in peace, and cowards in war? What hope have ye in standing still? Do you look for some god from Heaven to protect and deliver you? You must make way by dint of sword. Go to then, and stick to it like men, and that way whereas ye shall see me go afore, follow ye after, as many of you as mind to see again your home, your parents, your wives and children. It is neither wall, nor rampart and trench, but armed men that must withstand armed men. In valour ye are their matches, but in respect of necessity (which is the last and strongest engin of all other) ye are the better. When he had these words spoken, and done accordingly, with a fresh shout they followed after, and made head to that quarter whereas *Posthumius Albus* had placed against them his cohorts: and compelled the victors to lose ground, until such time as the Dictator came to succour his men thus distressed, and now ready to retreat: and so he bent thither all the force of the whole battel. In one only man, *Messius*, rested all the hope and fortune of the enemies. Many a man was there hurt on both parts, and many a one slain outright, and left dead in the place. So as now the very Roman Commanders, fought not without bloodshed. Only *Posthumius* being smitten with a stone, which had broken and bruised his head, went out of the throng: for neither the Dictator, wounded as he was in the shoulder, nor yet *Fabius*, albeit his thigh was almost nailed to his horie, nor the Consul, for all his arm was quite cut off, once retired or departed out of that dangerous combat. But *Messius* amidst the enemies that there lay dead on the earth, with a guard about him of most hardy & tall men passed through in forcible manner, and escaped clear to the Volscians leaguer, which as yet was not lost: and so the whole battel inclined thither. The Consul, after he had chased them, scattered in parties here and there, even as far as to the trench, assaileth the very camp and the rampart. Thither also bringeth the Dictator his power to another side. Neither was the assault less hot there, then the fight was sharp afore. It is said moreover, that the Consul threw an ensign within the rampart, to animate the souldiers, that they might more eagerly get up after it: and

The speech of
of *Vellius Mes-*
sius to his fel-
low souldiers.

The valour of
Vellius Mes-
sius a Volsci-
an.

A and so by recovering the banner again, was the first breach and entrance made. Thus the Dictator having broken through the mure, came to close fight and hand-strokes even within the camp. Then began the enemies every where to fling from them their weapons, and to yeeld themselves prisoners. So being themselves and their pavilions taken, they were all sold, but those of Senators calling. Part of the pillage was restored to the Latins and Hernicks, namely, to as many as knew their own goods: part thereof the Dictator sold in port-sale. And leaving to the Consul the charge of the camp, rode himself triumphing into the City, and gave over his office. Of which his noble and famous Dictatorship, they blemish the memorial, who write, that *A. Posthumius* (the Dictator his son, for that upon advantage offered of a fortunate service, he departed without leave from

B his quarter and guard) was after his victory achieved, by his fathers Commandment beheaded. But I list not to believe it. And lawfull it is for me so to do, among so divers opinions: and a good proof it is on my side, that such imperious and rigorous proceedings were called *Imperia Manliana*, and not *Posthumiana*. For like it is, that he who had given the first example of such cruelty, should have gotten afore all others, that noted title of cruelty. Besides, *Manlius* it was, that was surnamed *Imperiosus*. But *Posthumius* is not marked with any odious note at all.

Imperia Manliana.

C *Q. Julius* Consul, in the absence of his Collegue, without any casting of lots, dedicated the Temple of *Apollo*. *Quintus* having discharged his army, when he was returned into the City, took not that well. But it was no boot to complain in the Senat house. Moreover, in this notable year, so full of brave and worthy acts, there is recorded one thing, that was thought in those days no

thing pertinent to the State of *Rome*, namely, that the Carthaginians (so great and mortal enemies in time to come) passed the seas then first: and (upon the occasion of civil dissention and discord among the Sicilians) with a power landed in Sicily, for to take part with a side and faction. In the City of *Rome* the Tribuns of the Commons laboured, that Military Tribuns might be with Consuls authority chosen: but it could not be obtained. Consuls were made, *Lu. Papyrius Crassus*, and *L. Julius*. The *Aequians* Embassadors suing to the Senat for a league, and for that league, pretending very often to yeeld themselves, and be in subjection, obtained a truce only for 8. years. The *Volscians* after their overthrow in *Algidum*, fell to continual debate and contention, whiles some perswaded peace, and others war: so long, until at length they grew to brawls and mutinies. So on every side the Romans were at rest. The Consuls understanding that the Tribuns of the

D Commons were comploted (for one false brother among them bewrayed and detected all) to put up a bill, and make a law, concerning the estimation of fines and penalties (a thing right pleasing and acceptable to the people) they themselves prevented them, and preferred it. Then were Consuls, *L. Sergius Fidenas*, the second time, and *Hostius Lucretius Tricipitinus*. In whose year nothing was there done worthy of rehearsal. After them succeeded Consuls, *A. Cornelius Cossus*, and *Titus Quintius Pennus* the second time. The *Veientians* made rodes into the lands of the Romans. And a rumor went, that some of the *Fidenarian* youths were accessory unto them, and had their hands therein. For which were appointed as Commissioners to make inquisition, *L. Sergius*, *Quintus Servilius*, and *Mamercus Aemilius*. Some of them were confined to *Hostia*, for that they could make no sound excuse, and justifie their absence for certain days out of *Fidene*. So the number of the inhabitants there, was encreased: and their lands, who were slain in the wars, assigned unto them.

An act for fines and penalties.

E In that year hapned an exceeding great drouth. For not only there wanted rain water from above, but also the very earth lacking her natural moisture, scarcely sufficed to maintain the running stream in main rivers. The scarcity of water besides about springs that were dried up, and the small rivulets and brooks caused a great death and mortality of cattel for default of drink: whereof some died of the scab: by contagion whereof the people also were diseased generally. The malady first began among the rustical sort, the bond-slaves and hinds: and afterwards spread into every corner of the City. Neither were men only rained and diseased with this infection: but their minds also were troubled and possessed with sundry sorts of superstitious religious, and

A great drouth about *Rome*, and much mortalitye thereupon.

Rome added to superstitions.

F those for the most part strange and forrain: whiles upon vain and foolish prophecies, they brought new rites and ceremonies of sacrificing into mens houses: and made good gain of such as were given to superstitious devotion, and made conscience of every little thing: until such time as now it grew to a publick offence, and the chief of the City were ashamed to see in every street and chappel, strange and unaccustomed purgatory sacrifices and expiations, for to procure the favour and mercy of the gods. Whereupon the *Ediles* had in charge and commission, to look straightly to this disorder: and that no other gods were worshipped, then those of the Romans: nor after any other manner than had been usual in their native country. So their anger against the *Veientians*, and desire of revenge, was put off unto the next year following, when *C. Servilius Hala*, and *L. Papirius Mamilianus* were Consuls. And even then, they made some scruple to proclaime

G war immediately, or to make out any power against them: but they thought good to send their Heralds afore, to make claim for their own and challenge restitution. For whereas of late years there had been a field fought with the *Veientians* before *Nomentum* and *Fidene*: whereupon there followed no peace but only a truce concluded: both the time was now expired, and also before the day they had rebelled. Yet were there Heralds sent unto them. And when they had demanded amends by a solemn oath and other ceremonies according to the ancient manner, they might have no audience, neither were their words regarded. After this there arose some question, whether the war should be proclaimed with the peoples allowance & suffrages,

or

Four military
Tribuns in
Consular au-
thority.

or the Senates decreed were alone sufficient. The Tribuns by giving out and threatening that they would stop the numbers, obtained in the end, that *Quintius* the Consul should propound this matter concerning the war unto the people. And it passed clear through all the Centuries. Herein also had the Commonalty the better of it, for that they prevailed that there should be no Consuls chosen the year following. So there were four Tribuns military created with Consuls authority, *T. Quintius Pennus* immediately from his Consulship, *C. Furius*, *M. Posthumius*, and *Cornelius Cassus*: of which *Cassus* had the charge and government of the City. The other three after they had mustered, took a journey to *Veii*, and made good proof how hurtful in war is the rule of many Commanders. For whiles every man was inclined to his own counsel and advice, and took divers courses one from another, they made way for the enemies and gave them advantage. For the Veientians taking their opportunity and time, entered upon the army thus distracted; whiles some commanded to sound a retreat, others the alarm and to strike up the battel. Whereupon they were disordered and put to flight. But for as much as the camp was neer at hand, either they retired themselves in safety: so, as the shame they gat was more then the harm in this defeat. The City was pensive and hereupon sorrowed, as not used to take foiles and overthrowes. The Tribuns they hated, and required a Dictator: in whom rested ever the whole hope and stay of the City. And when as even in that behalf, they made a matter of conscience, because there might not be any Dictator nominated, but by a Consul, the Augurs were consulted withal: who resolved them of that doubt and rid them of their scruple. So *A. Cornelius* (a consular Tribun) nominated *Mamercus Emilius* Dictator: by whom he was himself also pronounced Grand Master of the horsemen. At such default was the City then, of right valour and true vertue, that notwithstanding the prejudice by the Censors, yet there was no remedy, but the whole government of the state should rest upon that family, which had been wrongfully disgraced and unworthily noted by the Censors.

The Veientians proud of their late good success, albeit they sent their Embassadors about all the nations of *Heruvia*, boasting and vaunting that in one battel they had discomfited three Roman Generals, yet could not they with all their solliciting, persuade any to be seen to take part with them in publick action: but they procured divers from all parts for hope of spoil, voluntarily to aid and assist them. The people of *Fidene* only agreed to rebel. And as though it had been in no wise lawful, to begin any war but with some wicked, heinous and execrable fact: like as afore they had embrewed their hands, and bathed their swords in blood of Embassadors, so then, they began with murdering their new received Coloners: and so handed themselves with the Veientians. Then consulted the Princes and States of those two nations, whether they should make *Veii* or *Fidene* the seat town of the war. *Fidene* was supposed the fitter and more commodious. So the Veientians passed over the *Tyber*, and translated the war to *Fidene*. Great fear was there at *Rome* to see the army of their enemies removed from *Veii*, and implanted at *Fidene*. And being shrewdly danted by their late overthrow besides, they encamped even before the gate *Collina*. On the walls were armed souldiers placed, vacation in all courts of law was ordained, shop windows shut up, and all more like a Leaguer then a City. Then sent the Dictator the Criers about into all streets and lanes, to summon the Citizens thus terrified, to a general assembly. Where he rebuked them for carrying such wavering and doubtful hearts upon so small accidents and events of fortune, having received but a slight loss and smal foil: and that, not through the manhood of the enemy, or cowardise of the Roman army, but only through the disagreement and difference of the Leaders. "Also for that they were afraid of the Veientian enemy, whom five or six times afore they had put to the worst and vanquished, and especially of *Fidene*, which had been oftner in a manner won, then assaulted. As for the Romans and their enemies (saith he) they are even the same still that always for so many hundred years, they had been: bearing the same minds, the same bodily strength, and the same armor; and even my self am the same *Mamercus Emilius*, and no other, who heretofore discomfited at *Nomentum*, the Veientians and Fidenatians, with the Falcians power also adjoined unto them. And as for *A. Cornelius*, he wil no doubt be the same General of horsemen in this battel, as in the former war he was: at what time he being a Knight Marshal, slew *Lars Tolumnius* the King of the Veientians, in the fight of two armies: and brought into the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, the rich armor of him despoiled. Wherefore ye ought to remember this, that we have on our side triumphs, spoils and victory: whereas with the enemies remaineth the wicked and detestable fact of killing the Embassadors, against the law of all nations: also the massacre of the Fidenatian inhabitants, in time of peace: the breaking of truce, and their revolting now seven times to their ruin and overthrow. Take weapon therefore in hand like men: for I trust assuredly, that so soon as we shall join our camps together, and encounter these most wicked enemies, they shall have no long joy of the shameful discomfiture of the Roman army. And the people of *Rome* shall understand, how much better they have deserved of the Common-weal, who made me Dictator now the third time, than those, who for clipping the Censors wings and abridging them of their kingly rule, had disdained and disgraced my second Dictatorship with the shameful blot of ignominy and reproach. After this speech, when he had made his vows accordingly: he entamped a mile and an half on this side *Fidene*, flanked on the right hand with the hills, and on the left with the river *Tyber*. And commanded *T. Quintius Pennus* his Lieutenant, to gain the hills afore, and be possessed secretly of that cape or hill, which was on the back part of the enemies. Himself the next morrow when

The Oration
of *Mamercus
Emilius* Di-
cator to the
Citizens of
Rome.

A when as the Tuscans, (full of pride and stomach for the prosperous success of former dayes, which was much better than their service in fight) came forth into the field: after he had stayed a while, until the scouts and spies brought word, that *Quintius* was gotten safely unto the Hill top near adjoyning to the Castle, or fort of the Fidenatians, he advanceth forth his standards: and with his footmen ranged in battell array, marched against his enemies with full pace: commanding his General of the Horsemen not to charge without his warrant: for that he himself "as need should require, would give the signal for the aid of his cavalry to come in, willing him then, to quit himself like a brave Knight in remembrance of his glorious combat with a King: "of his rich present and oblation: and of *Romulus* and *Jupiter Feretrius*. Thus the legions assailed

B one another and encounter right hardily. The Romans kindled and enflamed with rancour and malice, termed the Fidenatians, wicked and godless wretches: the Veientians, Robbers and Theeves: truce-breakers both, polluted with the abominable murder of Embassadors: sleyned with the execrable massacre of their cohabitants: faithles and treacherous allies, cowardly and dastardly enemies: thus both in word and deed they satisfied their hatred to the full: And at the very first shock forced their enemies to shrink. At which instant all at once, there issued out of the open gates of *Fidene* a strange army, not heard of nor usual, before that day: A mighty number armed with fireworks, and shining all over with burning lights, after a fanatical and mad manner, ran as if they were carried with spirits, upon their enemies: and with the uncouth sight of this kind of fight, amazed the Romans a pretty while. Then the Dictator busy in fight, having sent both for the General of the Cavalry with his troups of Horsemen, and also for *Quintius*

C from the mountains, hastened himself to the left point: which being terrified with a scarefire more like than a battell, had given place unto the flame, and stepped back. Where with a loud voyce he thus spake: "What? will ye be overcome with smoak like a swarm of Bees, and lose your "ground, and retreat from your naked and unarmed enemies? will ye not put out this fire with redoubled stroke of brandishing swords? And will ye not every man for his part, if we must needs "fight with fire, and not with weapons, pull from them their torches and firebrands, and sling "them again at their own heads? Go to, I say, like hardy men, mindful of the renown of Romans, remembering the prowess of your Fathers, and your own selves. Turn this fire upon your "enemies City, and consume *Fidene* into ashes with her own flames: this disloyal *Fidene*, which

D "by no favors and good turns of yours, ye were ever able to win and pacifie. The bloud of your "Embassadors, the bloud of your Colonies thither sent to people their City, your Frontiers and "Borders by them wasted, put you in mind of no meaner revenge. At the Dictators commandment, the whole battaillon was moved and encouraged. Some catch the firebrands as they flew, others by force snatch them from them, so that now both battels were armed with fire. The General of Horsemen for his part, renneth the Horse service: commanding them to pluck the bits out of their Horses mouths, and was the first himself, that setting spurs to, rode with bridle in Horserieck, into the midst of the fire: and the other Horses also being pricked forward, and eased of their bridles, carried the riders with full career against the enemy. The dust rising together with the smoke, took the light from mens eyes, and Horses both. And that sight which had terrified the

E souldiers, nothing at all affrighted the Horses: Wheresoever therefore the men of arms rode: they bare down all afore them as if some Houses had come tumbling upon their heads. Herewith happened a new alarm to be heard, which having caused both armies to wonder and listen thereunto, the Dictator cryeth out aloud, That *Quintius* the Lieutenant and his Regiment, came upon the back of the enemies: and himself reenforcing the shout, advanceth his ensigns forward more freshly. When as now two armies, and two divers battels, pressed sore upon the Tuscans, and environed them both before and behind: and that the enemies could neither flye back to their camp, nor yet retire or withdraw themselves unto the mountains, from whence a fresh supply of enemies, made head, and affronted them: and that the horses being unbridled, carried the riders every way hither and thither: the most part of the Veientians ran scattering in disorder, and highing

F them as they fled toward the *Tyber*: and the Fidenatians that remained to the City *Fidene*. But in that fearful flight they ran upon their own death. Some were killed on the banks of the River, others were driven into the water, and the stream and whirlepirs carried them away. And even they that were cunning swimmers, what with wearinesse, and what with faintness of their wounds and with fright, sunk and were drowned: so that few of many swam over in safety. The other army fled through their camp into the City. The same way also the Romans followed forcibly after: and *Quintius* especially, together with them who erewhile came down from the mountains, and were the freshest souldiers for fight (as who came last into the battell) and so afterwards entred pell-mell among their enemies into the gate, climbed upon the walls, and from the walls set up a banner to their fellows, in token that they had won the Town. Which as soon as the Dictator

G espied, (for now by this time had he made an entrance into the forlorn, and abandoned camp of his enemies) he brought the souldiers, upon desire to run to a spoil, and hoping of a greater sacrifice in the City, streight unto the gate. And being gotten within the walls, marcheth directly forward to the Castle, whereinto he beheld the multitude to flye for refuge and safety. The execution in the City was no less than in the field: which continued until they threw away their weapons, and craving nothing but life yeilded themselves to the Dictator. So both City and camp was spoiled and sacked. The morrow after, the Dictator disposed of his prisoners thus: He drew them by lot, and gave to every Horseman and Centurion one, and to as many as had done more

The words of
the Dictator
to the Veientians
and Fidenatians
to his
souldiers.

valiantly than other, two apiece: the rest he sold in portſale. And ſo with triumph brought home to Rome his victorious army, enriched with a great booty: and having commanded the General of the Horſemen to reſign up his office, himſelf alſo ſurrendreth his own, upon the ſixteenth day after his creation, yeelding up his government in peace; which in time of war, and in a fearful ſtate he had received.

There be ſome that have recorded in their Chronicles, that there was a battel fought with the Veientians at *Fidene* by ſhips upon the water. A thing verily, no leſs impoſſible than incredible. Conſidering that even at this day, the river is not broad enough for ſuch a purpoſe: and at that time, (as by ancient men we have learned) it was far narrower than now it is. Unleſs haply in croſſing over the river ſome veſſels or bottoms, that were put out to meet and to receive them, I were ſtayed. And ſo, men making the matter greater (as uſually it cometh to paſs) have deſired a vain title of a naval victory at Sea. The year following, there were military Tribuns; with Conſuls authority, *A. Sempronius Atratinus*, *L. Quintius Cincinnatus*, *L. Furius Medullinus*, and *L. Horatius Barbatus*. Then was there a truce granted unto the Veientians for twenty years, and to the *Æquians* for three years, whereas they had made ſuit for more. Reſt there was alſo from all ſeditious and broils in the City. The year following, having neither war abroad, nor yet ſedition at home, was famous yet for the playes which in time of war had been vowed: both in regard of the great preparations that the Military Tribuns made, as alſo for the frequent reort and concourſe of the Nations adjoyning. The Tribuns with Conſuls authority were *Cl. Crasſus*, *Sp. Nautius Rutilius*, *T. Sergius Fidenas*, and *Sextus Julius Tullus*. The fight of theſe games and paſtimes, K whereunto thoſe ſtrangers were come by publick conſent of their States, was unto them more acceptable in regard of the courteſy of thoſe friends that gave them intertainment. After theſe “playes: there enſued ſeditious Orations of the Tribuns of the Commons, who rebuked the com- “mon multitude, for that they being beſotted with admiration of thoſe whom they had ſo ha- “ted, kept themſelves in perpetual thraldome. And not only durſt not attempt to put forth them- “ſelves for to bring in again the poſſibility to have Conſuls of their part, as in time paſt: no, nor “ſo much as in the creation of Military Tribuns (the Election of whom was indifferent as well “for Commons as Nobles) were mindful or thought either upon themſelves or their friends, “and thoſe of their own body: And therefore they ſhould ſurceaſe to marvel, why no man plea- “ded for the benefit of the commonalty. For, travel is well beſtowed, and danger well adventu- L “red, where profit and honor might be hoped and looked for. And nothing is ſo difficult but “men would employ themſelves to enterpriſe the ſame, if for the adventuring of great exploits, “there might be propoſed as great rewards. But, that any Tribun of the Commons ſhould run de- “ſperate y and blindly into a world of brawls and troubles, with great hazard of his perſon, and “no hope at all of fruit and profit in the end: for which contention, he might be ſure that the No- “bles againſt whom he ſtrived, would perſecute him with deadly and irreconcilable malice: and “at the Commons hands, for whom he thus contended, he ſhould be honored and advanced “never the more. It was a thing neither to be expected, nor required. The only means to get “courage and magnanimity, is advancement to high place of honor and dignity. And as for them, “they would not diſdain the meanest commoner that was, if they themſelves might be no more M “deſpised. To conclude the matter were worth the tryal in one or two, whether any commoner “were ſufficient to bear a great office of ſtate; or whether it were a wondrous thing and ſtrange “miracle, that a valiant and hardy man ſhould ariſe out of the commonalty. With much a do “(ſay they) we got and obtained that Tribuns military with Conſuls authority might likewiſe be “choien out of the commonalty: and men approved both in war abroad and in affairs of State “at home had ſued therefore. In the firſt years they being nipped by you; and ſo having the re- “pulſe, were had in deriſion of the Nobility: ſo that at length they forbore to give themſelves “thus contumeliouſly to be miſuſed and made fools. We ſee no cauſe therefore, why that law al- “ſo ſhould not be repealed, wherein a dignity was granted, and never like to be obtained. For “leſs ſhame would there ariſe, if the law were not indifferent nor reſpective unto them, than as N “unmeet perſons and unworthy, thus ſhamefully to be paſſed by and take the repulſe. Theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches, were heard with ſo good an ear and general applauſe, that ſome of them were “incited forward to ſue for the Military Tribunſhip: whiles every one promiſed in the time of his “office to do great matters, and to propoſe, ſome one thing, ſome another, for and concerning the “benefit of the Commons. Pretending great hopes of dividing the common Lands, and planting “of colonies abroad, and laying tributes and impoſitions upon landed perſons, for to pay ſould- “diers wages. But the Tribuns military then in place, deviſed to ſpye out a time, when upon ſome “occaſion of the abſence of much people departed out of the City, the Senators by a privy and “ſecret warning, ſhould at a certain day be called home: and then, whiles the Tribuns of the “Commons were away, an act of Senate ſhould paſſe in this form: That for aſmuch as it was O “noſed that the Volſcians were entred into the Lands of the Hernicks to forrage and rob; the mi- “litary Tribuns ſhould go to ſee whether it were ſo or no, and that in the mean while there ſhould “be held a general aſſembly for the Election of Conſuls. The Tribuns military took their “journey accordingly, and left *Appius Claudius* the Decemvirs ſon, Governour of the City, a “ſtout young Gentleman and a forward, who from his very cradle bare an inward grudge and ha- “tred againſt the Tribuns and the Commons. And bootleſs it was either for the Tribuns of “the Commons to find themſelves grieved with thoſe, who made the decree, now that they were “abſent,

The Tribuns
Orations to
the Commons.

Absent, nor yet had they cause to quarrel with *Appius Claudius*, because the thing had been contrived and past afore his time. So, *Comitia* were created, *C. Sempromus Atratinus*, and *Quintus Fabius Vibulanus*.

A forreign matter, but yet worthy to be remembered and here inserted, is reported to have happened that year: to wit, that *Vulsurnum* a City of the *Volscians*, which now is *Capua*, was by the *Samnites* taken: and that it came to be named *Canus* of one *Canus* their Captain, or (which soundeth more like a truth) of the champion field. But they won it by this means. For upon occasion that the *Volscians* were wearied with former wars, they were admitted into the society of their City and territory. And on a solemn festival day, when as the citizens had filled their bellies and were found asleep, the new Coloners the *Samnites*, set upon the old inhabitants and in the night season slew them all.

But now to return. Things passing thus (as I said before) the *Consuls* shovenamed upon the *Ides of December, entered their government. By which time not only they which were of purpose sent to learn the news of the *Volscians* brought word that war was at hand but *Embassadors* also from the *Latins* and *Hernicks*, gave intelligence of the same. And namely that never at any time afore, the *Volscians* were more busy and occupied, either in chusing of good Captains, or in levying an army, giving out their speeches abroad and in every place, That the time was now come, either to forget warfare, and lay away soldiery, and for ever make account to bear the yoke of thralldom: or else not to give one foot, nor come behind those with whom they strove for sovereignty, either in manhood or in painful travel, or in Discipline of warfare. And surely they were no vain tidings that those messengers reported.

But the *Senators* would take no such knowledge, nor be greatly moved at the matter. And withal, *C. Sempromius*, unto whom the charge of that war was allotted, presuming upon fortune, as if she were alwayes right constant and at command, and leading an army of a people used to victory, against those that were wont to be overcome, did all things rashly and negligently. So as to speak a truth, there was more Roman Discipline in the *Volscian* host, than in the Roman. And so fortune (as oftentimes else) went with vertue. At the first encounter, which by *Sempromius* was speedfully and unadvisedly begun, before that either the battailions were reinforced and strengthened with fresh supplies of succour, or the Horsemen ranged in convenient place, they ran together, and came to hand strokes.

D token which way the victory would incline, was the manner of shout at the first charge, which by the enemy was more loud, more shrill and continual: but by the Romans, dissonant, unequal, dead and cold, often begun, and often ceased: and by their uncertain and variable noise, they betrayed the inward fear of their hearts. Whereupon the enemies so much the more eagerly charged them, pressing upon them with their shields, and laying at them thick with their bright swords: on the other side, the Romans helmets wag, and their crests nod every way as they look about them: and as they were to seek what to do, so they tremble and run together on heaps: one while the ensignes stand still, and were abandoned of the foremost fighting in the vanguard, another while they retired in again amongst their own squadrons. Yet was not the flight certain, nor yet the victory. The Romans sought more to cover and shrowd themselves than to fight: to ward blows rather than to strike. The *Volscians* set forward their ensignes, pressed upon the main battel, and saw more enemies under foot slain than running away. And now in all places the Romans retired, notwithstanding *Sempromius* the Consul both rebuked and also exhorted them to stick to it: for neither his commandment nor the authority and Majesty of his countenance availed ought. And immediately had they all turned their backs on their enemies, if *Sex. Tempanius*, a Decurion of Horsemen, had not in this desperate case, with a resolute courage and ready advice, helped at a pinch: Who cried with a loud voyce, that those Horsemen which would the safety of the common-wealth, should dismount off their Horses. And when the Corners of Horsemen bestirred themselves at his words, no less than if the Consul had given commandment: "Un-

F "leis (saith he) this troupe of men of arms, stay the violence of the enemies, we see the last of the "Roman Empire. Follow therefore in stead of banner displayed, the point of my lance: let "both Romans and *Volscians* see, that no nation is comparable to you, either for foot or "Horse. Whose encouragement being approved and received with a shout, he advanced forward, bearing his staff aloft: and what way soever they go, they enter and make room with forcible sway: and where they see their fellows in greatest distress, thither they make speed, opposing their targets afore them. And thus in every place whereas they thrust themselves forcibly, was the fight renewed: and doubtless the enemies had turned their backs, if possible it had been, for so few to have performed every thing at once. Now when as the General of the *Volscians*, saw his men not able to withstand them, he gave a signal and charge to give way to this new band of enemies, to wit, these Targetiers: until such time as they had put themselves so forward, that they might be excluded from their fellows. Which being done, these Horsemen were enclosed on every side: neither could they break through that way which they went, because the enemies were there thickest, where they had made their lane before. The Col, then, with the legions of the Romans, having lost the sight of those that had been a shield of defence and bulwark ere while to the whole army, lest that so many hardy men thus invironed, should be overpressed by the enemies: resolved to adventure any peril or hazard whatsoever. The *Volscians* were likewise diversly occupied & troubled. For on the one side they bare off the Col, and legions: on the other side they affronted *Tempanius* sore, & the Horsemen: who seeing that after many assayes and

* 13 of December.

The valor of *Sex. Tempanius*.

offers they could not break forth to their fellows, such up into a certain little Hill, and cast themselves into a ring and stood to their defence, not without doing some mischief to their enemies: neither gave they over fighting until night. The Consul also maintained the battel so long as he could see, and kept the enemy play. So the night parted them sunder, and uncertain it was who had the upper hand. And for that the event was unknown, who sped the better, so great a terrour came upon both parts in their camps, that leaving the wounded and a great part of their carriages behind, both armies as taking themselves losers, recovered the mountains that were next unto them. Howbeit the Hill or bank aforesaid, continued still beset round about, until midnight. But when word was brought thither to the Assailants, how that their camp was abandoned: they thinking their fellows vanquished, were also for their part affrighted, and made shift and fled in the dark as well as they could. *Tempanius*, fearing an ambushment, kept his men there together until day light. Then went he down with a few to discover the coasts: and finding by enquiry made of the wounded enemies, that the tents of the *Volsicians* were left and forsaken: he was full glad thereof, and called down his souldiers from the mount, and entred into the Roman camp. Where seeing all void and forlorn, and finding the same desolation which was amongst the enemies: before that the *Volsicians* upon knowledge of their error should return again, he took with him those hurt souldiers that he could: and not knowing to what quarters the Consul was gone, marcheth forward the next way to the City of *Rome*. And thither already the bruit of this unlucky fight, and of abandoning the tents, was arrived. But above all the rest, those Horsemen were bewailed, and great moan and lamentation was made for them as well in private as in public. The *Col. Fabius*, seeing the City also terrified with this news, kept ward before the gates: by which time, they might discover the Horsemen aforesaid afar off: but not without some fear of their parts, doubting who they were. But being soon known, they caused so great contentment after former fear, that in most joyfull manner, the posse went through the City, how the Horsemen were returned safe with victory. And out of those mourning and sorrowfull houses, which a while afore had bid adieu to their friends and kinsfolk, and bewailed their death, they ran into the streets and high wayes by heaps. The fearful dames also and wives, forgetting, for joy, all decent and womanly modesty, went out to meet the army, fell every one with open armes upon their own husbands and sons, took them about the neck, clipped and kissed them, and with all their hand and heart received them: yea, and for exceeding joy were almost past themselves.

The Interrogatories tendered unto *Tempanius* by *C. Julius* a Tribune of the Commons.

The modest answer of *Tempanius*, to the former Interrogatories.

The Tribunes of the Commons, who had challenged and accused *M. Posthumus* and *T. Quinctius*, for that by their default, there was an unlucky fight before *Veij*: seemed to have good occasion and opportunity offered now, by bringing the Consul *Sempronius* into fresh and new hatred and disgrace, for to renew the conceived displeasure and malice of the people against them. Having assembled therefore the people together, with open mouth they declared, that the Common-wealth was betrayed first, at *Veij* by the leaders, and afterwards, because they went clear away withal, and unpunished, therefore the army in *Volsi* was likewise lost by the Consul: and that a troupe of most valiant knights were thus call away and given to be murdered, and the camp shamefully left and forsaken. Then *C. Julius*, one of the Tribunes, commanded *Tempanius* the Horseman to be called, and before them all said, "I would know of thee O *Sextus Tempanius*, whether thou think that *C. Sempronius* the Consul, either began battel in good time, or strengthened his battalions with good succors and supplies? or whether thou thy self, when as the Roman legions and footmen were discomfited, of thine own head and policy, causedst the Horsemen to alight on foot, and thereby reenforced the fight? Afterwards, when thou and thy men of arms were shut out from our battel, whether either the Consul himself came to rescue, or sent any succor unto thee? Last of all, whether the morrow after, thou hadst any aid or rescue at all? Whether thou and thy troupe of Horsemen brake through into the camp by your own hardiness and valor? And whether ye found in the camp any Consul or army, or rather the pavilions abandoned, and the souldiers left behind, hurt and wounded? To these premises and points, hast thou to speak this day upon thy vertue, and the faith of a souldier: by which only, in this war-service the Common-weal hath stood preserved. Finally, where *C. Sempronius*, and where our legions be? Whether thou wert forsaken thy self, or whether thou forlookest the Consul and the army? And to conclude; whether we have lost or won the field? To these demands, *Tempanius* made (as they say) no fine Oration, but a grave pithy speech like a souldier: not full of self-praises, nor shewing any gladness for the fault of another, and answered in this wise: How great skill (quoth he) of martial feats, and what sufficiency is in *C. Sempronius*, it is not for me a souldier to judge, nor yet to make any estimate of my General: but it was for the people of *Rome* to determine thereof, at what time as by their suffrages and voyces, in a solemn Election, they chose him Consul. "And therefore ye are not to enquire of me, and to be informed, either of the policies of a General Captain, or vertues and duties of a Consul: deep points to be examined, weighed, and discoursed by great wits, reaching heads, and high minds. But for that which I with mine eye saw, I am able to make report and testify; namely, That before himself was excluded out of the battel, I beheld the Consul fighting manfully in the vanguard, encouraging his men earnestly, and even amongst the Roman Standards; and Pikes of the enemies, busily employed. After which I was carried from the sight of my fellows, howbeit by the stir, noise and shouting, I well perceived, that the conflict continued until night. Neither was it possible (as I thought) for them to break through unto the Hill which I kept, by reason of the multitude

of

A " of enemies between. As for the army, what is become of it, I know not : But I suppose, that
 " as I my self in an extremity and fearful case, defended my self and my men, by advantage of the
 " ground : so the Consul for to save the army, took some more safe place to encamp in. Neither
 " think I verily, that the Volscians stood in better terms than the Romans fortune was. And the
 " darkness of the night (no doubt) caused error and confusion on every side, and in all places.
 After which speech when as he beought them, not to hold him any longer, wearied with travel,
 and faint of his wounds : he was with exceeding praise both of his valiant service and also of his
 modest speech, licenced to depart.

B Whiles these things thus passed, the Consul by that time, had marched by the way of *Lavicum*
 as far as to the Temple of * *Quies* : thither were wains, draught-beasts and sumpter Horses sent
 from the City, to receive and ease the army, toiled out with fight, and tired by journeying all
 night. Within a while after, the Cos. entred into the City : who endeavoured not more, to put
 the fault from himself, than to extol *Tempanius*, and give him his due deserved praises. Now
 whiles the City was sad and heavy for this hard hap, and angry also with the Captains : behold,
M. Posthumius, who before had been accused, was now presented unto the people, for to wreak
 their choler and malice upon. He had been a Tribun Military in place of a Cos. at *Veij*, and now
 was condemned, & a fine set on his head of ten thousand Asles of brais. But as for *Titus Quintius*,
 his fellow in government, because that among the Volscians he had served fortunately as Consul,
 under the conduct of *Posthumius Tibertus* the Dictator : and likewise at *Fidene*, as Lieutenant
 of the other Dictator *Mamercus Amylius*, and laid the whole fault of that other time from him-
 self upon his colleague before condemned : he was found unguilty and acquit by all the Tribes. It is
 said that the fresh remembrance of his father *Cincinnatus*, late a right worshipful citizen, helped
 him much : Yea, and *Capitolinus Quintius* a very aged man, did him no hurt, who humbly besought
 them that they would not suffer him, having but a while in this world to live, for to be the carrier
 of so heavy news unto *Cincinnatus*. The Commons made Tribuns of the commonalty, *Sex. Tem-*
panius, *A. Sellius*, *Sex. Antistius*, and *Sex. Pompilius* in their absence : whom also the Horsemen had
 chosen for their Captains or Centurions, in the former exploit, by the advise and counsel of *Tem-*
panius. But the Senators, because now for hatred of *Sempronius*, the name of Consuls misliked and
 offended them, determined that military Tribuns with Consuls authority, should be created. So
 D there were chosen *L. Manlius Capitolinus*, *Q. Antonius Merenda*, *L. Papyrius Mugilanus*.

* The goddess
 of rest and Re-
 pose.

3 lib. 5 sh. ster.

In the very beginning of the year *L. Hortensius* the fifth Tribun of the commonalty, accused *C.*
Sempronius the Consul of the former year. And when as his other four fellows in office, in the
 sight of the people of *Rome* besought him, not to trouble their guiltless Captain, in whom nothing
 could be blamed or found fault withal, but adverse fortune : *Hortensius* could hardly abide, but
 thought it was but to prove and trye his resolute constancy : and that the party accused, trusted
 not upon the prayer and intercession of the Tribuns, which only for a shew was pretended, but
 upon their support and assistance. And therefore turning one while to *Sempronius* himself, deman-
 ded what was become of that haughty courage and stomach, so ordinary in those of Senators cal-
 ling? and where was that magnanimity which rested and relied upon innocency? since that he ha-
 ving been a Consul, was fain to shelter and shrowd himself under the shadow and protection of
 E the Tribuns? Another while directing his speech to his fellow Tribuns : but you my Masters
 (quoth he) what will ye do? if I prosecute mine action against him still, and convict him in the
 end; Will ye take from the people their right, and overthrow the authority of the Tribuns among
 the Commons? When they again said and inferred, that the people of *Rome* had absolute power
 to do what they would, both with *Sempronius*, and all others : and that they neither would nor
 could abridge the people of their judgment. But if (say they) our prayers in the behalf of our Ge-
 neral, who was to us in stead of a father, may not avail, then will we together with him change
 our weed for company. Nay, God forbid (quoth *Hortensius*) The Commons of *Rome* shall never
 see their Tribuns arrayed in soiled and mournful apparel. And as for *C. Sempronius*, I have now no
 F more to say to him, since that he hath carried himself so, whiles he was General, as that he hath
 gained thus much, as to be so dearly beloved of his souldiers. Neither was the kindness of those
 four Tribuns more acceptable to the Commons and Nobles, than the good nature of *Hortensius*,
 who at their reasonable request, was so easy to be pacified and intreated.

It was no long time that fortune fawned upon the *Equians* : who embraced the doubtful vi-
 ctory of the Volscians, and took it as their own. The next year after, when *Cn. Fabius Vibula-*
nus, and *T. Quintius Capitolinus*, the son of *Capitolinus*, were Consuls : by the leading of *Fabius*,
 unto whom was allotted that Province, nothing was done there worthy of remembrance. For
 when as the *Equians* had made semblance of a battel, and brought their army only in sight,
 they were in fearful wise soon discomfited, and shamefully fled, ministring no matter of great ho-
 G nor to the Cos. And therefore was he denied triumph. But yet because the ignominy of the losse
 which happened by *Sempronius* was partly allayed, it was granted that he might enter *Ovant* into
 the City. A General was said to enter *Ovant* into the City, when ordinarily without his army
 following him he went on foot, or rode on Horseback only, and the people in their Acclamations
 for joy, redoubled *Ohe* or *Oho*. So that *Ovatio* is as much as *Ohatio* : Howsoever, some think
 th t *Ovatio* took the name of sacrificing a sheep. But he rode in triumph, when his souldiers at-
 tended him in his chariot, crying *Io Triumphe*. In this he carried a branch, or wore a garland of law-
 rel, in the other of Myrtle. So that the *Ovation* was a less honor than the Triumph. And it was
 granted

This within
 these marks []
 take as a mar-
 ginal note.

granted to inferior persons, and for meaner desert. Whereas, none usually might triumph, unless he were Dictator, Cof, or Pretor, and had slain in field 5000 enemies at the least, won much spoil and pillage, and augmented the State of the Roman Empire.] Like as the war was dispatched with less ado than they feared: so in the City, after a calm and peaceable state, there arose between the Commons and Nobles, a world of discords and troubles more than they expected. Which began upon occasion of doubling the number of Questors. For when the Consuls had propounded, that besides two Questors or Treasurers of the City, there should be other twain ready to attend upon the Consuls, for all services and charges belonging to war: and when the Nobles also with all their power had approved it, the Tribuns of the Commons entred into a contention with the Consuls, and required that some of the Questors (for until that time they had been created from out of the degree of the Patritij only) might be likewise of the Commons. Against which demand, at the first, both Consuls, and also the Nobles, laboured with might and main. But afterwards having granted thus much, That as the use and practise was in creating of Tribuns with Consuls authority, so in like manner, in the Election of Questors, the people should have their free liberty to chuse. And seeing they gained little thereby, and could effect no good, they wholly let fall their former matter, about increasing the number of the Questors. But although it were thus by them given over, the Tribuns took it in hand again, and set it on foot: yea, and other seditious actions besides very often sprang forth, and among the rest, those also concerning the Law *Agraria*. Upon which troubles, when as the Senate was of mind, that there should be Consuls rather than Consular Tribuns created; and by reason of the Tribuns stepping between with their negative voyce, no decree of the Senate could passe, the government of the Commonwealth was devolved from Consuls to an * Interregnum, but not without exceeding great debate: for that the Tribuns kept the Patritij from meeting and packing together. Now when as the greater part of the year following was spent, with much strife and contention between the new Tribuns and certain Interregents, whiles one while the Tribuns stayed the Nobles from assembling together about the chusing of an Interregent, and another while crossed the Interregent for granting out any Act of Senate or warrant, for the election of Consuls: at the last, *L. Papyrius Mugillanus*, being declared Interregent, sometimes rebuked the Nobles, and sometimes blamed the Commons, and said: "That the Common-wealth neglected and forlorn of all men, was taken into protection of the Gods, and guided by their care and providence: standing upright and safe only, upon the truce observed by the Veientians, and the slow speed or small hast that the *Aequians* made to war. From whence, if any trouble should happen to arise, it is your will (quoth he) and pleasure belike, that the state should be surpris'd and assailed, whiles it is without any Magistrate of the Nobility. For neither is there an army ready, nor yet a Captain to raise an army. What think ye to put back forrain war abroad by civil discord at home? Which if they both should come together, there were no other remedy, though all the Gods in Heaven should set to their helping hand, but that the Common-weal of Rome should utterly be subverted. Yet rather remit every one of you somewhat of the rigor of your full jurisdiction, and (for the love of God) take some indifferent course to joyn in unity: the Nobles for their part, by suffering Military Tribuns to be created in lieu of Coss, the Tribuns again by no more thwarting and interposing their negative, but that four Questors may be chosen by the free voyces of the people, from out of the Commons and Nobles, one with another. First therefore was the High Court held for choosing sovereign Tribuns: and Tribuns there were created in Consular authority, all of the Nobility; namely, *L. Quintius Cincinnatus* the third time, *Sex. Furius Medullinus* the second time, *M. Manlius*, and *A. Sempronius Atratinus*. When this Tribun last named, was president of the Election for Questors, and the son of *Antistius* a Tribun of the Commons, and a brother besides to another Tribun, one *Sex. Pompilius* stood for the dignity, among certain other of the Commoners: neither all their own means that they could make, nor all the voyces they could procure, were able to prevail, but that the people preferred persons to the place, according to their gentry and high birth: namely, whose fathers and grand-fathers they had seen Consuls. All the Tribuns of the Commons stormed and chafed at this, but especially *Pompilius* and *Antistius*, being set on fire at the repulse of these their friends. "What should this mean (say they) that none of the Commons, neither in regard of their own merits, nor considering the injuries at the Nobles hands, nor yet for desire they might pretend to the first hanſel of that authority, which now was lawful, and never heretofore: that none of the Commons (I say) was created, if not a Military Tribun, yet not so much as a Questor? What, that neither the fathers prayer in the behalf of his son, nor a brothers suit in favour of a brother, being Tribuns both of them, invested in that sacred authority, and which first was erected for the maintenance of common freedom, could ought at all prevail? Surely there is some fraud and juggling in the matter: and *A. Sempronius*, hath in the Election used more art and cunning than truth and fidelity, Complaining that by his injurious and indirect dealing, their friends had taken the foil. When as therefore they might not by any violence touch his own person and attach him, being fenced with innocency in this Action, and secured by vertue of the office which then he bare: they wreaked their selves and discharged their choler upon *C. Sempronius*, the counſengermain of *Atratinus* by the brother: and with the help of *M. Canuleius*, one of their colleagues, arrested him for the ignominious service in the Volſcian war. Ever and anon, all the same Tribuns made some words and motion in the Senate-house, concerning the division of Lands, and revived the law

* The vacancy of the sovereign Magistracy.

The Oration of *L. Papyrius Mugillanus*, to the Nobles & Commons of Rome.

The complaints of *Pompilius* and *Antistius* against *Atratinus* the Tribun military.

Agraria

A *Agraria* (which *C. Sempronius* at all times most sharply and eagerly had withstood. Supposing, as it fell out indeed, that the accused person should either by giving over the cause, be less esteemed of the Nobles: or if he stood to it still until the time of judgment drew near, he should displease and offend the Commons. But he chose rather to be the object of the displeasure and malice of the people, that were opposed and bent against him, and so to wound his own private estate: than to betray the common and publick cause: and persisted resolute in the same minde still, that there should no bribing donative be granted, that might win and procure favour unto those three corrupt Tribuns: "For it is not land and living (quoth he) that they shoot at, for the benefit of the Commons; that is not their seeking: but their drift is to work and procure displeasure unto me: and therefore I will for my part, abide that storm and tempest with a resolute mind. And the Senate ought not to esteem either of me, or of any citizen else so highly, as to buy the sparing of one man so dear, even with the harm and damage of the whole state. The day of judicial trial came. When as he had pleaded for himself, and seemed nothing daunted at the matter: yet, for all that ever the Nobles could do, who tried all means, but in vain, to mitigate and delay the heat of the Commons, condemned he was in *fifteen thousand Asses. The same year *Posthumia* a Vestal Nun, was called in question for incontinency and incest, and came to her answer. A Virgin guiltless for any deed done: but scarcely of good name and fame: by reason that she was suspected for her apparel and going more light and garish in her attire: yea, and for her wit, more conceited and pleasant, than became a maid, and nothing respective of the speech of the world. Her trial was put over to a farther day, and she (after she had twice pleaded) in the end was acquit: only the high Priest by the advise, and in the name of the whole college, schooled her, and gave her warning to leave her sports, taunts, and merry conceits: and in her rayment to be seen not so gay as devout, and wear her garments rather saintly than lightly. The same year was *Cumes*, a City inhabited at that time by the Greeks, taken by the Campanians;

The singular constancy of *C. Atatinus*.

* 46 lib. 17 lb. 6 d. Berl. *Posthumia* suspected of Incontinency, for her pleasant wit and gay apparel.

The year following had military Tribuns with Consuls authority, *Agrippa Menenius Lanatus*, *P. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, *Sp. Nautius Servilius*. A year, by the happiness and good fortune of the people of *Rome*, more notable for a danger escaped, than for any harm received. Certain bond-servants had conspired to fire the City in divers places far asunder: for this intent, when the people should be busily occupied, here and there, to save their houses, then by force and armes to surprize the Castle and Capitol. But *Jupiter* turned away and disappointed their wicked designs. For by the peaching and information of twain, the rest of the malefactors were taken and executed. But those that disclosed and revealed the conspiracy, had ten thousand pound in brasse money (which was in those dayes thought to be great riches) weighed them out of the City chamber, and freedom besides, for their reward.

A conspiracy of bondslaves.

31 lib. 5. lb. R.

After this, began the *Æquians* to renew war: and word was brought to *Rome* by credible persons, that certain new enemies also, to wit, the *Lavicans*, joynd together in counsel with the old. These *Æquians*, were good neighbours: for once a year ordinarily, they used to put the City of *Rome* to the pains of warring with them, and not miss. Embassadors then were sent to *Lavicos*, who brought doubtful answers from thence: whereby it appeared that neither at that instant they were ready to war, nor yet were like to continue long in peace. The *Tusculans* were charged, to take good heed, and have an eye that way, that no new stir and troubles should arise at *Lavicos*. There came Embassadors from *Tusculum*, to *L. Sergius Fidenas*, *M. Papyrius Mugillanus*, and *C. Servilius*, the son of *Q. Servilius Priscus*: (by whom, being Dictator, *Fidenas* was won) who were Military Tribuns in Consuls authority the year following. These Embassadors brought news that the *Lavicans* were out, and in armes, and joyning with the *Æquians* army, had foraged the country of *Tusculum*, and encamped themselves in *Atidum*. Then was war proclaimed against the *Lavicans*. And when by a decree made by the Senate, that two of the Consular Tribuns should go to war, and one manage the affairs of *Rome*: there arose a contention on a Sunday, among the said Tribuns. Every one thought himself the meekest and most sufficient man, to be General of the war, refusing the charge of the City, as a bale, dishonourable, and thankless office. As the Senators mused and wondred, to see amongst those that were fellows in government, so undecent a strife and contention; then *Q. Servilius*: "Seeing that (quoth he) there is no reverent regard, either of this honorable house, or of the Common-wealth: the father his countenance and dread Majesty, shall end this debate. My son without any lot casting, shall govern the City as President. God grant, that they which love war so well, may manage it with more discretion and concord than they wish it. As for a general muster to be levied out of all the people indifferently, that was not liked of. So ten Tribes were drawn by lot, out of which, the yonger sort were prest forth to war under the conduct of the two Tribuns. The strife which began to be kindled among them in the City, through the same desire still of sovereignty, brake forth and grew much hotter in the camp. In nothing agreed they, striving whose opinion should stand: each one would have his own way: his own commandments obeyed and none else: one despised another, and were despised one of the other: until at length, upon the Lieutenants reproof, they grew to this point, and this order was taken: That they should each other day, rule one alone by himself absolutely. Which news being brought to *Rome*, it is reported that *Q. Servilius*, a man for his years and long experience right skilfull, prayed of the immortal Gods, that by the variance and discord of the Tribuns, the Common-wealth sustained not more harm, than they had received at *Veiis*. As as if there were no doubt, but that some great loss and overthrow was ready

ready to happen, he was instant upon his son, to levy souldiers, and to provide munition for war. H Neither proved he a false and vain Prophet. For by the leading of *L. Sergius*, whose day it was to rule, when as the enemy under a colour of fear, withdrew unto the trench, and to trayned them thither upon a foolish hope to win the camp, even under the very camp of the enemies in an uneven ground of disadvantage, they were suddenly charged by the *Æquians*, discomfited and chased down the valley: and many in their fall, which was greater than the flight, were trod under foot and slain, and with much ado that day kept they their own tents. The morrow after, when as now the enemies had beset a great part of the camp, they shamefully fled away, at the back gate, and forsook the camp. The Captains, Lieutenants, and the strength remaining of the army, which kept to their ensigns and colours, went to *Tusculum*. Other that were scattered here and there I about the fields by sundry wayes, made halt to *Rome*, and reported there the overthrow to be greater than indeed it was. Less was the trouble and sorrow, because men looked for no better issue and success: and also for that, there was help and succour (which they were to have an eye unto in so fearful a case) provided by the Tribune aforehand. At whose commandment, when as the tumult was by the inferiour Magistrates appeased in the City, espials were sent out in hast: who brought word that the Captains and the army was at *Tusculum*: and that the enemy had not removed his camp. And then (which encouraged them most of all) by the Senates decree, *Q. Servilius Priscus* was chosen Dictator, a man whose Providence over the Common-weal, the City as many other times afore, so in the event of that war had experience of: for that he only suspected the contention of the Tribunes afore this unhappy foil. Who having nominated General of the Horsemen, his son (as some say) by whom being military Tribune, himself was declared Dictator (for others there be that write how *Servilius Hala* was that year General of the Horse) went forth with a fresh army to war, and having joyned unto him those which were at *Tusculum*, he pitched his tents, two miles from the enemy. But see the fruit of good success. The pride and negligence which had been amongst the Roman Captains, went from them to the *Æquians*. Therefore in the first beginning of the conflict, when the Dictator with his Horsemen whom he sent against them, had disordered and put out of array the foremost ranks of the enemies, then commanded he the ensigns of the legionary footmen with all speed to follow hard upon: and one ensign-bearer of his own, who made some stay, he slew with his own hand. Then were they so earnestly set to give an hot charge, that the *Æquians* could not abide their force: and being in fight overthrown, when as they fled all amain to the camp, the assault thereof was both shorter and with less ado, than was the battel. When the camp was taken and spoiled, and that the Dictator had given the pillage unto the souldiers: and that the Horsemen, which chased the enemies from the camp, had brought word back, that all the *Lavicans* were overthrown, and a great part of the *Æquians* were fled to *Lavicos*: the day following was the army also led thither, and the Town compassed and beset round about, scaled, and sacked. The Dictator having brought home to *Rome* his victorious army, upon the eight day after he was chosen, gave over his office. And in very good time, before there was any sedition stirred up about the Law *Agraria*, by the motion of the Tribunes of the Commons, for the division of the *Lavicans* Lands: the whole body of the Senate appointed that a Colony should be sent to *Lavicos*. So there were sent from the City M a thousand and five hundred to inhabit there, and two acres apiece given them of Land.

A Colony
planted at *Lavicos*.

The speech of
Ap. Claudius to
the Senators.

After the winning of *Lavicos*, there were created Military Tribunes with Consuls authority, to wit, *Agrippa Menenius Lanatus*, and *L. Servilius Structus*, with *P. Lucretius Tricipitinus* (all three the second time) and *Sp. Veturius Crassus*: and the year following *A. Sempronius Atatinus*, the third time, and these twain, *M. Papyrius Mugillanus*, and *Sp. Nautius Rutilius* the second time: for these two years there was peace abroad, but discord at home about the Laws *Agraria*. They that troubled the people, were *Sp. Maelius*, who now the fourth time, and *Metilius*, who the third time were made Tribunes of the Commons, both absent. And when they had published their Act, That all Lands conquered from the enemies, should be divided by the poll: by which Ordinance, the possessions of a great part of the Nobility became confiscate, (for since their City was N situate and built in a strange ground, there was in a manner no Land lay to it, which had not been purchased by the sword: neither enjoyed the Commons any, but that which either had been sold or assigned to the Commons) this seemed to be a bone cast between the Nobles and the Commons, to set them together at strife and contention. Neither knew the Military Tribunes any way to take counsel in this case, albeit one while they assembled the Senate, and another while met in private conference with the Nobility. Then *Appius Claudius*, (the nephew or grandson of notorious *Appius* the Decemvir, created for the making of Laws) the puny of all the counsel of the Nobility, made (as it is reported) this speech, and said, "That he would impart unto them that which he had received by tradition from his ancestours, to wit, an old devise, and appropriate to his house, for that his great grandfire *Appius Claudius*, had shewed unto the Nobles O "the only way, to abate and take down the Tribunes power; namely, by the coming between "and negative voyce of their fellows. For men new come up, and risen to promotion, might "soon by the authority of the chief rulers be brought from their purpose, and made to change "their mind if otherwhiles those great men in place would use some speech unto them fitted and "framed rather to the time and present occasion. than respective to their own high place and dignity: for evermore the heart and courage of such, is according to their degree and wealth. And "when they see once their fellows possessed first afore them of the cause, and thereby crept wholly "into

A "into all the favour with the Commons; and that no room is left for themselves to have any part thereof, they will be willing enough to decline and condescend unto the Senate, and take their part: by means whereof, they might wind into the love and good grace of that universal hate, and particularly with the principal Lords of the Nobility. Which speech, when they all had approved; and especially *Q. Servilius* *Perpetuus*, who praised the young Gentleman, for that he was not grown out of kind; nor degenerate from the stock and race of the *Claudij*; then every man was set about this business; to see whom of the College or company of Tribuns they could win and draw to cross and stop the Act for going forward. The Senate now being broken up, the chief of the Nobles caught hold of the Tribuns; and were in hand with them, perswading, exhorting, and assuring them, that they should every one in private gratify not only, but also the whole body of the Senate in general: and never gave over, until they had procured six of them to interpose their negative; and to cross the Law. The morrow after, when as of purpose a matter was propounded afore the Senate, about the sedition which *Mecilius* and *Metellus* had raised, by a Large and dangerous consequence; such speeches were by the principal of the Nobles delivered, that each one for himself confessed, that now they were to seek for counsel; and saw no other help nor remedy but in the authority of the Tribuns: so the protection and safeguard of which Magistracy, the Common-wealth betook her self; and fled for succour, as being beset with danger, like some poor private person, and had no other means to save her self: saying, That it would be both for themselves, and also for their authority, an honorable thing, if it might appear, that the puissance of their Tribunship were not more employed in molesting the Senate; and making discord among the States, than in resisting the peevish wilfulness of their collegues. Whereupon arose a great noise through the whole company of the Senators; whiles out of all parts of the Court there assembled, they called upon the Tribuns for their helping hand. Then after silence made, they (who for the favour of the Lords of the Senate were made aforehand to their cause) declared and confessed, that they were ready to cross that act; by their fellows published, seeing the Senate judged it to be prejudicial to the Common-wealth. These Tribuns for the offer of their good service, were by the Senate highly thanked. But the Authors and Patrons of the Act afore said, calling together an assembly of the Commons, when they had inveighed against their fellows most sharply, terming them betrayers of the Common-wealth, and slaves to the Nobles: and using other bitter speeches, gave over their action and suit.

D Two grievous wars had continued all the year next following (wherein *P. Cornelius Cossus*, *C. Valerius Potitus*, *Quintius Cincinnatus*, and *M. Fabius Vibulanus*, were military Tribuns in Consul authority) but that the Veientian war was deferred by the superstitious fear of their own Princes; whose grounds, *Tybris* (overflowing the banks) had spoiled and overthrown also the villages and houses that stood thereupon. The *Equians* likewise by reason of their loss received three years before, made no great haste to aid and assist the *Volans*, a people of their own nation. For they had made certain rides into the *Lavicans* Country, confining upon them, and wanted upon the inhabitants, lately there planted. Which trespass by them done they hoped to have been able to maintain, by the banding and assistance of all the *Equians*; but being forsaken of their allies, they

E lost both their Town and territory, only by siege, and one light skirmish, and never sought for it any memorable war. *L. Sextius* also Tribun of the Commons, assayed to make an Act, that there might be sent to *Vols* as well as to *Lavicos*, Coloners to people it: but by the negative of his Associates, who shewed, that they would not suffer any Statute of the Commons to pass without the assent of the Senate, it came to nothing.

In the year following, the *Equians* having recovered and won again *Vols*, and brought a Colony thither, fortified the Town with a fresh power, at what time were Tribuns Military in Consul authority at *Rome*, *Cn. Cornelius Cossus*, *L. Valerius Potitus*, *Q. Fabius Vibulanus* the second time, and *M. Posthumius Regillanus*. The war against the *Equians*, was committed to this *Posthumius*, a man of a crooked disposition, as his victory shewed more than the whole course of the

F war. For having levied an army in haste, and brought it before *Vols*, after some small skirmishes, he tamed the *Equians*, and at length entered the Town. And when he had done with the enemies, he began to quarrel with his own souldiers: for whereas during the time of the assault, he had given out by Proclamation, That they should have the sacrage after the Town was once won: he brake promise with them. For I am induced to believe that this was the cause rather why the army mutined and was discontented, than for that in a Town lately sacked before and in a new Colony, there was found less spoil than the Tribun made boast of. But this displeasure and anger once conceived was made the worse after that he returned into the City: for being sent for by his fellows, upon occasion of the Tribunician seditions, there escaped him an indiscreet speech. I must needs say, yea, and without all fence, wily and honesty. Which he let fall in an assembly of the

G Commons: wherein it hapned, that as *Sextius*, a Tribun of the Commons, was preferring the law *Agraria*, and saying withal, That he would propose an Act, that Coloners should likewise be sent to *Vols*, for that they were worthy to have both the Town and Lands of *Vols*, who had by sword and spear conquered the same. *Posthumius* caught the word out of his mouth. And that shall my souldiers, dearly abide (quoth he) unless they be more quiet. Which word being overheard, offended not so the Com. presently there in place assembled, as the Lords of the Senate awhile after. Moreover the Tribun afore said, an active man, and eloquent withal, having among his adversaries met with a proud humorous spirit, and an insolent and intemperate tongue, which walked

The Oration
of Sextus a-
gainst Posthu-
mius.

Posthumius stor-
ned to death
by his own fol-
diers.

An inquisition
about the
murder of
Posthumius.

so freely and so long by his provocation, that he uttered these speeches, which bred not only ill will and displeasure to himself, but also wounded the cause, and the whole state of the Patrij. This *Sextus* (I say) was bold, and quarrelling with none of all the Military Tribuns, more than with *Posthumius*. And even at that time, taking advantage of the same cruel and inhuman speech of his: Hear ye not, O ye Commons (quoth he) how he threatneth mist hiet unto his souldiers, as unto bondslaves? And yet this beast ye will think more worthy of so great dignity wherein ye have placed him, than those that indue you with house and land, that send you abroad to inhabit Colonies, that provide habitation for you against old age, that tending your wealth, take part and defend you against so cruel and proud adversaries. Begin now henceforth to marvel why so few take in hand to maintain your cause: For what may they look for, and hope at your hands? for honors, which ye bestow rather upon your adversaries, than those that are affectionate defenders of the people of *Rome*. Ye sighed even now and groaned again, at the words uttered out of this foul mouth. But what matter makes that? If ye were now to go to an election, and to give your voyces, ye would no doubt for all that, prefer this man (who threatneth to mischief you) afore them that are willing and desirous to establish your Lands, your dwelling places, and the whole state of your substance and living. But when that lewd language of *Posthumius* was reported once to the souldiers, it bred a far greater indignation (be sure) within the camp. How now? (say they) is he, who hath intercepted our booty, and defrauded us poor souldiers of our due, not content therewith, but must menace mischief besides unto us, as his varlets? When as therefore they openly muttered the same, and the Quetor or Treasurer *P. Sestius* thought that the mutiny might be restrained with the same violence by which it was first raised: he sent an Officer to one clamorous souldier, that kept a noise above the rest. Whereupon arose an outcry and a brawl: and he got himself a good rap with a stone for his labour, that he was faine to go out of the presse. And he that smote him, spake aloud besides, and had the Quetor take now that for his pains in a mischief, which the General had threatened his souldiers. *Posthumius* in this huriburly was sent for, and he, when he was come, made all worse and worke with his sharp examinations, tortures, and cruel punishments. At the last, when he could not see to make an end, nor bridle his choler: they all ran on heaps together, at the lamentable cry of those, whom he commanded to be choked in the mire and killed under the hurdle: and he half besides himself, full foolishly stept down in more hast than good speed from the Tribunal fear, to chastise one that contested with him, and made a great brawling. Now when as the Li-
E
gions and Centurions every where laid about them to make way, and ill intreated the multitude in the throng, they moved their patience so much, that in that furious fit of the souldiers, the Military Tribun was by his own army stoned to death. Which horrible act, after it was noised at *Rome*, and the Military Tribuns by the Senates authority, were about to sit in commission for the examination of the death of their colleague, by way of rigour and torture: the Tribuns of the Commonalty opposed themselves, and resisted them. But that contention depended upon another quarrel. For the Senate doubting lest that the Commons for fear of those examinations intended, would in their anger create Tribuns military from out of their own body and degree, were very careful, and studied all they could, that Consuls might be chosen again. But when as the Tribuns of the Commons would not suffer an act of the Senat to pass, and hindered also the election of the Consuls, the matter came to an Interreign. But in the end the Nobles had the upper hand. For when as *Q. Fabius Vibulanus* the Interregent, held a Court for the said Election, there were created Consuls *A. Cornelius C. f. f. f.* and *L. Furius Medullinus*.
M
In the beginning of these Consuls year, the Senate made a decree, that the Tribuns with all speed possible should propose unto the Commons concerning the inquisition of *Posthumius* his death: and that they should make chief Commissioner and Judge, whom they would. The Commons by the consent of the whole people, gave the Consuls commission to see it done, and performed accordingly. Who notwithstanding, that with exceeding moderation and lenity, they dispatched and ended the matter, by punishing a few, who (as it was credibly thought) made themselves away: yet could they not for all that bring about, but the Commonalty took it very
N
hainously, and in the highest degree, saying, That the Acts and Ordinances, which had been propounded concerning their weal and commodities, those lay a long time asleep in the deck, and nothing done: but an order granted for their bloudshed and death, that was presently put in execution. Of so great force and importance was it. Now this had been the fittest time, that after these mutinous souldiers were chastised, the division of the Volane territory, should have been offered unto them, for to comfort their poor hearts again. By which deed (no doubt) their hot desire and longing after the law *Agraria*, had been abated, which tended to dispossess at length the Nobles of the common grounds, which they injuriously were seized of. But this indignity stuck in their stomachs, and was taken neerer to the heart. when they saw the Nobility so stiffly bent, not only to keep the common grounds in their hands, which they held by force: but also unwilling to divide among the people so much as the wast and void ground, lately gotten by conquest from the enemies: but that it was like, within a while (as all the rest) to be a booty, and dividend, to be shared among a few.
The same year were the legions led by *Furius* the Consul, against the Volscians: who foraged the borders of the Hernicks. But finding not the enemy there, they wan *Ferentinum*, whither a great number of the Volscians had retired themselves. The booty there was less than they hoped
for:

A for: by reason that the Volscians, seeing small hope of keeping the Town, trussed up and carried away both bag and baggage in the night, and quit the Town: which was won the morrow after, being left well near destitute and empty. All the Lands were given freely to the Hernicks. When this year now was passed in good quiet by the modesty and peaceable carriage of the Tribuns, then in place: there succeeded another Tribun of the Commons, *L. Teidius*, when *Q. Fabius Ambustus* and *C. Furius Pacilius* were Consuls. Whiles this man in the very beginning of his year, was busy in stirring new seditions (as if it had been a task imposed upon his name and lineage) by proposing of the Agrarian laws: behold, there arose a pestilence, more fearful than hurtful, which turned away mens minds, from their publick assemblies and accustomed contentions, to tend their houses, and to care for the cherishing of their bodies. And (as men verily think) the sickness was less dangerous than the seditions were like to have been. When as the City was now excused, as it were, and well escaped, with the sickness only of many, and death of very few: presently after this pestilent year, followed (as it is commonly seen) a great dearth of corn, by reason of the neglect of tillage. *M. Papirius Atratinus*, and *C. Manlius Rutilius* being Consuls. This famine would have been more grievous than the plague, had they not provided well for corn, by sending forth their Embassadors to the neighbour nations all about, inhabiting along the Tuscan Sea and the Tyber, for to buy grain. Proudly were the Embassadors prohibited all commerce and traffique with the Samnites, who held at that time *Capua* and *Cumes*: but contrary-wise bountifully were they relieved by the Tyrants or Potentates of *Sicilie*. And such was the willing endeavour of *Hetruria*, that great store of victuals came down the Tyber. In what desolation the City was, during this affliction, the Cons. tryed by this: that when they could not furnish an Embassage, but with one Senator, they were compelled to adjoyn two Knights unto them. And letting aside the sickness and dearth, there was no trouble either at home or abroad for those two years. But when these storms were once overblown, and that care past: then began again the old troubles wherewith the City had usually been disquieted: dissention at home, and war abroad.

When *M. Aemilius* and *C. Valerius Potius* were Consuls, the Equians made preparation for wars, and banded with the Volscians. Who albeit they took arms by no publick commission; yet such as would of themselves serve for hire or wages, followed the wars. At the bruit of which enemies (for they were already come over into the Country of the Latins and Hernicks) whiles *Valerius* the Consul mustered his men and levied souldiers: *M. Menenius* a Tribun of the Commons, and a publisher of the Agrarian laws, opposed himself against him. And when as by reason of the protection and assistance of the Tribun, no man would be compelled to take a souldiers oath against his will: suddenly news came, that the Castle of *Carventus* was by the enemies forced. This dishonor thus received, as it was a cause that *Menenius* was hated among the Noblemen, so it gave to the rest of the Tribuns, who were already framed and prepared to withstand the law *Agraria*, more just cause to resist their colleague. The matter being thus for a long time protracted by much debating, the Consuls called both God and man to witness, that whatsoever shame or loss, either had been already received, or were like to be sustained by the enemies: the blame should be imputed to *Menenius*, who hindered the mustering. And *Menenius* protested again aloud, that if the unlawful Landlords, would surrender the tenure of the common fields which they unjustly detained, he would not stay the musters. Then the nine Tribuns, by setting down a decree between them, made an end of the strife: and pronounced by authority of their colledge, that they would assist *C. Valerius* the Cons. (all contradiction of their colleague notwithstanding) to award any penalty restraint or chastisement, upon them that refused to be enrolled for warfare. The Cons. being armed with this decree and warrant, after he had caused some few to be had away by the neck and laid fast, that called upon the Tribun for help, the rest for fear were sworn to serve. Thus the army was led forth to the Castle of *Carventus*. And although the souldiers were as odious to the Consul, as wickedly bent against him, yet at the very first coming, having manfully and lustily dispossessed the garrison, they recovered the fort. The souldiers who were slipt away from the hold, and gone a plundering, by their negligence gave the Romans a opportunity to enter and to surprize in. And a good booty there was: by reason that they had continually gotten prizes, and laid up all there as in a place of safety. Which being sold in portsale, the Consul commanded the treasurers for to bring the money into the common Chamber of the City: giving out these words withal, that the army should then have part of spoil, when they denied not their service in war. Hereupon both Commons and souldiers were more angry with the Consul. And therefore when as by a decree of the Senate he entered the City *Ovant*, in a pery triumph, the souldiers according to their licentious manner (in that case permitted) followed after with songs and sonnets, answering one another in rude time and gross meeter by alternative staves. Wherein the Consul was greatly blamed, but *Menenius* the Tribun, his name was set out to the height, his praises were blasoned and extolled aloft: and at every time that he was named, the affectionate favour of the people that stood in the streets appeared, by clapping of hands and great applause, striving much to exceed the songs charped by the souldiers. Which caused the Nobles to look to it, and troubled them more than the malapert sauciness of the souldiers with their Consuls, which is an ordinary and usual fashion among them. And *Menenius* (who doubtless had been one of the Military Tribuns, if he had sued for it) was excluded from that dignity by an Election of Consuls. So there were created Consuls, *C. Cornelius Cossus*, and *L. Furius Medullinus* the second time.

Never took he Com. the matter more to the heart, that the Election of Tribuns escaped their hands:

A pestilence;

A famine;

hands: which grief of theirs in the Election of Questors, they both shewed and revenged. For H this was the first time that the Questors were made of the commonalty: so that in chusing of 4, there was but one place left for *C. Fabius Ambustus*, a Nobleman: and 3 of the commonalty, *Q. Silius*, *P. Atilius*, and *P. Pipius*, were preferred before young Gentlemen, of most noble houles. I find that the periwaders of the people to use their full liberty in bestowing their voyces, were the three *Teilij*, (descended of that house, which ever was most maliciously bent against the Nobles) who were for that year chosen Tribuns of the commonalty, and possessed the peoples heads with a world of great matters, after which they gaped greedily: but so, as they flatly gave out and said, They would not stir at all, if the people had not courage enough, so much as in the election of Questors, which only the Senat. had left indifferent to the commonalty and Nobility, to effect I that which so long they had desired, and now by law was warranted. Thus the Commons assured themselves hereby of a mighty great victory: and esteemed not the dignity of Questorship to be the end and type of honor, but that thereby they seemed to have made a way and overture for new risen upstarts, to be advanced to Consulships and triumphs. The Nobles contrary-wise stormed, not for that their dignities were made common and imparted to other, but for the utter losse thereof: protesting that if things went so on end, they would neither get, nor bring up children any more: who being put from their Ancestors place, and seeing others in possession of their dignity, should be disabled for bearing rule and authority in the state, and be good for nothing but only to be made Priests for *Mars*, and Flamines for *Jupiter*, imployed about nothing else but to sacrifice (forsooth) for the people. Thus on both parts were their minds nettled and provoked, K while the Commons took heart, and had three champions of great reputation to back them, and maintain their cause: and the Nobles, seeing all would prove like to the Questors Election (if it lay in the peoples choice) addressed themselves to the Election of Consuls, which as yet was not so free, and indifferent both for Commons and Nobles. Contrary-wise, the *Teilij* persisted still, and urged the point, that in any hand Tribuns Military should and must be created. For now it was more than time that the Commons had their part in offices of state. But no Action hitherto belonging to the offices and charge of the Consuls had been presented unto them, by the hindering whereof they might wring from them, that which they desired and sought for. But see, how even then, in wonderful good opportunity, word was brought that the Volscians and Equians were departed out of their own Confinnes, and made an expedition into the Latine pale for to rob I and spoil. To the which war, when as by vertue of an order from the Senat, the Consuls began to muster: the Tribuns laboured tooth and nail to hinder it: giving out that this occurrent fortun'd happily on their sides and the Commons. Three there were of them, and all most quick, active and courageous men: yea (and for commoners) of good birth, and worshipfully descended. Whereof twain took in hand, by their continual travel to attend and watch the Consuls, to keep them awork, and either of them to hold one occupied: the third, was appointed to entertain the commonalty: and in all assemblies, with their Orations, one whiles to rein them in, another while to give them the head, as occasion required. But all this while, neither Consuls went through with the musters, nor the Tribuns with the election which they desired. But afterwards when fortune began to incline to the Commons side, Messengers came with news, that while the souldiers that M lay in garrison at the Castle *Carventiana*, were slept aside to get a booty, the Equians having slain a few warders that kept the hold, entered it: and that all the souldiers were slain: some as they ran into the fort again, others as they were scattered in the fields. This thing falling out so cross against the whole State, gave strength yet unto the designments of the Tribuns. For being dealt withal, that now at length they would surcease from hindering the war, nothing would prevail: for that they neither gave place to the publick calamity and necessity, nor yet regarded their own private peril of displeasure: and they obtained in the end that an Act of Senat was granted for to chuse Tribuns Military. Howbeit with this expresse proviso, it was capitulated: That none of them who had been Tribuns that year of the Commons, should be eligible and propounded: no, nor chosen again Tribuns of the Commons for the year following. Whereby, no doubt, the Senat N noted and pointed at the *Teilij*, whom they charged to seek to be Consuls, for a reward of their seditious Tribunship. Then went the mustering forward, and preparation of war, by consent of all the States.

Sundry Authors write diversly and make doubt, whether both the Consuls went to the Castle *Carventiana*, or whether one of them stayed behind in the City for to hold the foresaid Election. In this they disagree not, but set down for certain: that when they had assailed the Castle a long time without effect they were compelled from thence to remove: and that *Verragus* in the Country of the Volscians by the same army was recovered, and that great foraging there was, and driving of booties, both in the Country of the Equians and also of the Volscians. Now at Rome, as the victory of the commonalty rested in this, that they had the Election which they desired: so O in the issue and successe of the Election, the Nobles had the better. For besides all mens hope and expectation, there were three Tribuns Military chosen with Consuls authority, all of the Nobility, *C. Julius Tullus*, *Cn. Cornelius Cossus*, *C. Servilius Hala*. Men say that the Nobles used a subtile practise and cunning device, which even then the *Teilij* charged them with: to wit, that by intermingling a many of unworthy and unmeet competitors with others of mark and quality, they had alienated the peoples hearts from the commoners, seeing them to be men of no worth, and loathing the notable balenefic that appeared in their persons.

After

- A After this, tidings came, that the Volscians and Equians (were it that the Castle of *Carventus* which they held and guarded still, put them into some hope: or their garrison and fort lost at *Verrugo* drave them into anger) were up in arms, with all force ready to make war: that the Antians were the principal and chief in this intended action: that their Embassadors had solicited the people of both nations, rebuking their cowardize, for keeping within their walls, and suffering the Romans the year before, to forrage and drive booties in their territories, and the garrison of *Verrugo* to be surprized and lost. Moreover, that not only hosts of armed men were sent against them, but Colonies also were planted in their frontiers and marches: and that the Romans not content to divide their lands and goods among themselves, had bestowed upon the Hernicks the town *Ferentinum*, which they had won from them. At these speeches they were kindled and set on fire: and in all places whither they went to solicit, the younger sort and able men in great number were levied. So the youth and manhood of all those nations, gathered together to *Antium*, where they encamped themselves, and expected the enemy. Which tidings being brought to *Rome*, caused more fear then need was. And the Senat presently (which in all fearful occurents was ever their last remedy and refuge) gave order that a Dictator should be created. Which thing *Julius* and *Cornelius*, two military Tribuns (they say) took in great displeasure. And hereof ensued much heart-burning and dissention, whiles the LL. of the Senat of one side complained in vain of their grievances, That the Tribuns Military would not be ordered by the authority of the Senat: and at the last had recourse to the Tribuns of the Commons for help: alledging withal, that the very Consuls power upon the like occasion had been by their authority overruled and set down. And the Tribuns of the Commons on the other side, rejoycing at the discord of the Senators, made answer again, and said, "That for their parts, they were not able to yeeld any succour at all, who were of no reckoning themselves, being reputed neither in the roll of Citizens, nor yet so much as in the number of men. But if so be (say they) dignities and honors were communicated to us, then would we provide and take order, that by no pride of any magistrat whatsoever, the Senats decree should be made frustrat and disannulled. And in the mean whiles, seeing the Nobles were exempt from all reverence of laws, and regard of magistrates, let them of themselves also exercise the Tribuns authority if they would. This discord falling out so unfitly, when so great war was in hand, occupied and possessed mens heads a long time: whiles *Julius* and *Cornelius* one after another, thus reasoned and discoursed: That seeing they themselves were Captains good enough for the conduct of such a war, it was not meet, that the honour once bestowed upon them by the people, should be made void and taken from them. Then *Servilius Hala*, who also was a Tribun Military spake and said: "I have been silent thus long, not for that I was doubtful in mine opinion, or to seek what to say, (For what good Citizen (quoth he) would have his advice by himself, and go from the publick Councel?) but because I had rather, that my brethren of their own accord should give place to the Senats authority, than to suffer the Tribuns power to be called for, against them. And even now also, if the case would permit, I could willingly give them time and space to retract their too too obstinat, perverse and peremptory opinion. But seeing that the necessities of war, wait not upon human counsel, I will have more respect and consideration of the Weal-publick, than of the favor of my brethren. Wherefore, if the Senat persist still in that mind and resolution of theirs, I will the next night following nominat a Dictator. And if any one withstand me, I will ask no more, than the power and vertue of the Senats Act. By which speech of his, having won deserved praise and thanks of all men, he declared *Publius Cornelius* Dictator, and was himself by him nominated General of the horsemen. A singular example to teach as many as beheld him and his Collegues, That otherwhiles favour and honor soonest fall to them that least desire the same. The war was smal and nothing memorable: for in one easie and slight battel were the enemies overthrown and slain at *Antium*. The army upon this victory wasted the Volscians Country, won by force the Castle upon the lake *Fucinus*, and within it took three thousand prisoners: having chased all the rest of the Volscians within their walls, not able to keep their frontiers. The Dictator, after he had performed this war in such sort, as only he might not seem to neglect his wonted fortune but keep it still in ure, returned into the City with greater felicity than glory, and resigned up his place.
- F The Tribuns Military, making no words at all of the chusing of Consuls (for anger, I suppose, that a Dictator had been created) published the election of Tribuns Military. But then the Senators were in greater care and perplexity, seeing their cause betrayed even by those of their own company. Wherefore, as in the former year, by sojsting in the basest of the Commons for competitors, they had caused even men of good worth to be despised: so, now by procuring the principal of the Nobility, both for honour and for favour, to stand for the dignity, they obtained all the places to themselves: so as no one Commoner could be chosen. So there were created four, all having afore born that Magistracy, *L. Furius Medullinus*, *C. Valerius Potitus*, *Cn. Fabius Vibulanus*, and *C. Servilius Hala*. This man was chosen again to the place, as well in regard of other vertues and worthy parts, as for the late favour which he won by his rare moderation, and singular carriage of himself.

The Oration
of *Servilius
Hala*.

In that year, for as much as the time of truce with the Veientian Nation was expired, they began by Embassadors and Heralds of Arms, to challenge of them amends and restitution. Whom as they entred into their territory, the Embassage of the Veientians encountred in the way requesting them not to go forward to *Veii*, before they had presented themselves to the Senat of *Rome*.

Who

Who being thither come, obtained of the Senat, that for as much as the Veientians were at civil discord among themselves, they would not claim any amends at their hands. Lo, how far they were from seeking their own vantage by other mens distress and calamity. Also at the Volscians hands they sustained damage by loss of their garrison at *Verrugo*. But (see what a thing it is to slack the time) For whereas the souldiers besieged there, by the Volscians and sending for aid in due time, might have been rescued if speed had been made, the army which was sent for succour, came too short, and after the fray was ended. Only this exploit they did: The enemies, who after their fresh massacre committed upon the garison, were gone abroad stragling for to raise booties, were by them overtaken and put to the sword. The cause of this slackness was imputed to the Senat, rather than the sovereign Tribuns: who because intelligence was given, that they in the garrison resisted and defended themselves most manfully, little considered, That there is no prowess of man whatsoever, but by valour again it may be overmatched. Most brave and valiant souldiers they, that neither whiles they lived, nor after death were unrevengeed.

The year following, when *P.* and *Cornelius* both surnamed *Cossus*, *C. Fabius Ambustus* and *L. Valerius Potitus* were Tribuns Military in Consuls authority, began the Veientian war by occasion of a proud and arrogant answer returned by the Senat of the Veientians: Who commanded that the Embassadors which came to claim amends, should take this for their dispatch: That unless they departed presently out of the City and Country, they would serve them as *Lars Tolumnius* had done others before. The Senators of *Rome* hardly could digest that: and therefore decreed, that the Military Tribuns should propose unto the people as speedily as might be, even the day before to morrow, concerning proclamation of open war, and sending defiance to the Veientians. Which as soon as ever it was noised and published, the younger sort and men of service, murmured and muttered in this manner: "That as yet they had not tully ended the war with the Volscians: that even of late two whole garrisons were lost, and their throats cut, and the forts kept still with danger and great hazard. There is not (say they) a year passeth over our heads, but one field or other is fought: and as if we had not work and trouble enough already, there was now intended new war with a most mighty nation confining upon us, and which was like enough to raise against us all *Hetruria*. And as they were forward enough of themselves to conceive thus, and utter these speeches, so the Tribuns of the Commons were not behind to buzze more matters into their heads, and set all on a light fire: Who gave out still, That when all was done, the greatest warring was between the Nobles and Commons: and that the Commons on purpose were to be toiled out with travel or warfare, and exposed to the enemies for to be murdered: and that they were to be kept far off from the City, and as it were confined and sent out of the way: left by being quiet at home, and minding their freedom and Colonies, they should consult and devise, both how to dispose of the common grounds, and to give their voices freely. And ever as they could meet with any old beaten souldiers, they would hold them with talk, take them by their hands, reckon up how many years they had done service in war, fall to telling of their gashes and scars, asking them what whole place they had left in their bodies to receive new wounds, and what blood was behind to spend and shed, in the quarrel of the Common-wealth? When as by iterating these and such like speeches, both in their private talk and conference, and also other whiles in their publick assemblies, they had turned clean away the hearts of the Commonalty from taking war in hand: the foresaid Act propounded, was put off until a farther day, and lay still for the time. Which no doubt, had been nipt in the head, and never would have passed farther, in case it had been referred and subject to the hard opinion and conceit of men, as then they stood affected. In the mean whiles agreed it was, that the military Tribuns should conduct an army into the Volscians country. *Cn. Cornelius* alone was left at *Rome*. The three Tribuns, after that they perceived the Volscians in no place encamped, and nothing minded to try a battel, parted themselves three ways to waste and forrage the frontiers. *Valerius* he marched to *Antium*, *Cornelius* to *Eccure*. And every way as they went, they spoiled all before them, both house and field, and all to amuse & keep the Volscians occupied that way. But *Fabius* without any forraging at all, came directly to assault *Anxur*, which was the service most desired. Now *Anxur* was that, which at this day is called *Tarracino*, a City seated upon marishes. And on that side *Fabius* made shew of assault. But there were four cohorts under the leading of *C. Servilius Hala* sent out to fetch a compass: who having gained the hill that over-looketh and commandeth the town, from that higher ground, with a mighty shout and outcry assailed the wall, where it was disurnished of guard to defend it. At which sudden alarm, they were amazed who manned the wall of the base town against *Fabius*: and suffered them to set ladders to, and to scale. By which means every place was full of enemies. And upon the walls for a good while there was nothing but killing, as well those that fled, as those that resisted armed and unarmed, one with another. So that, albeit they were too weak, yet forced were they to fight: because in yeelding they saw no way but one. But upon proclamation once made, that none but armed men should be killed, all the multitude besides willingly were disarmed. Of which number there were upon 2500. taken alive. From the sackage *Fabius* kept the souldiers, until his Colleagues were come: saying, that *Anxur* was taken as well by those armies, which had driven away the rest of the Volscians from the defence of that place, as by themselves. Who being come, the three armies jointly ransacked it, & had the pillage for their labor of that rich town, that had gathered wealth a long time.

Which

A Which courtesie and bountifullness of the commanders, was the first thing that reconciled Commons and Nobles together. Over and besides this munificence of the Rulers, the Nobles also began in a most happy hour to be liberal unto the multitude. For before that either the Commons or Tribuns made the motion, the Senat decreed, that souldiers might have their pay out of the City chamber; whereas before that time, every man in that service had born his own charges. Never was there any thing, by report, so joyfully accepted of the Commons: who ran by heaps together to the Councel house: took the Senators by the hands as they came forth, and said, "They were now truly called *Patres*, i. Fathers, confessing that now the day was come, that in the "quarrel of so bounteous a City, there was no man would so long as his breath lasted, spare either limb or life. Seeing that this commodity they should have to help them, namely, that during the time that their bodies were employed, and busily occupied in the defence of Commonwealth, their private estate should stand at one yet, and not decay. And forasmuch as it came of themselves, and never moved by any of the Tribuns of the Commons, nor called for and craved importunately, by their importune speeches; that was it, that multiplied their joy, and made the boon it self much more acceptable. But the Tribuns of the Commons (who only had not their part in this common joy and concord of all States) came in with their opinion, and said, that it would not prove so joyous and happy to the Nobles all in general, as they supposed: that this courte and order taken, was at the first sight better then it would be found in the practice and execution. For how could that money possibly be made and raised, but by levying a tribute or payment of the people? they were therefore liberal; but of other mens purses. But admit, or say, that the rest would bear it, yet those neither could nor would endure it; who were past war-service, and lived upon their pensions and annual salary: who would grudge and repine, that others hereafter should serve in war for more gain then they had in their time done; who having been charged with the pay of their own service, should now again be put to contribute to the wages of others. With these words they moved part of the Commonalty. Last of all, when there was a levy exacted, the Tribuns also proclaimed, That they would bear as many out, as would not contribute to the souldiers pay. The Nobles continued still to maintain that which they had so well begun, and were the first that opened their purse, and for that as yet they had no silver coin, some of them carried gross pieces of brasse in Wains to the treasure house, and made a goodly shew of Contribution. When as the Nobles had most faithfully paid according to the rate of their wealth: the chief of the Commons also, friends of the Nobility, as it was afore agreed, began to lay their penny to theirs: whom when the common sort saw both to be commended of the Nobles, and to be admired and revered of the souldiers as good Citizens: they all upon a sudden, refusing the Tribuns assistance, began to strive who should pay first. And the decree or act being once passed, of proclaiming war against the Veientians, the new Tribuns Military led an army to *Veios*, consisting much upon voluntary souldiers. Now the Tribuns were *T. Quintius Capitolinus*, *P. Quintius Cincinnatus*, *C. Julius Tullus* the second time, *A. Manlius*, *L. Furius Medullinus* the third time, and *M. Emylius Mamercus*. And these were the first that besieged *Veii*.

E About the beginning of which siege, when the Tuscans held a Councel in a solemn assembly at the Temple of *Vaturna*, they could hardly agree upon this point. Whether the Veientians should be defended by general war of the whole Nation, or no. The year following was the siege not so hor, by reason that some of the Tribuns, and part of the forces, were called away to the Volscian war. The Tribuns Military in Coss. authority, that year were, *C. Valerius Potitus* the third time, *M. Sergius Fidenas*, *P. Cornelius Maluginus*, *Cn. Cornelius Cossus*, *C. Fabius Ambustus*, *Sp. Naminus Rutilius* the second time. With the Volscians there was a pight field fought between *Ferentinum* and *Eccetra*; wherein the Romans had the day. Then the Tribuns began to lay siege to *Artena* a Town of the Volscians: where, by reason of a sallying forth by them attempted, the enemies were driven back into the town; and the Romans took occasion and vantage thereby, to break in with them pell mell, and so they won all, save only the Castle. Into this fort naturally fenced, a good company of armed men betook themselves: but beneath the Castle, many a man was either slain or taken prisoner. Afterwards was the fortress besieged also. Neither could it by assault be forced, for that there was a guard sufficient to man it, considering the bigness of the place: nor gave the assailants any hope of yeelding, for before the town was lost, they had conveyed all their publick provision of corn into the Castle. So that the Romans had for very wearisomness departed from thence, but that a bondslave betrayed it unto them: who let in certaine souldiers at a steep high place, and those were they that won the fortress: for when the warders were by them slain, the rest of the multitude with sudden fright were soon overcome, and yeelded. Thus, when both the Castle and town of *Artena* was sacked and spoiled, the legions were brought back from the Volscians, and all the Romans power employed against *Veii*. To the traitor aforesaid, there was given besides liberty, the pillage of two households for a reward. And he was named ever after *Servilius Romanus*. There be that think *Artena* was a town of the Veientians, and not of the Volscians: the occasion of which error is, for that there was a town of that name between *Cere* and *Veios*. But that town the Roman Kings destroyed: and it belonged to the *Ceretes*, and not to the Veientians: but this other, whereof we have reported the destruction, was in the country of the Volscians.

H

The Fifth Book
Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the
City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the fifth Book.

AT the siege of Veii, the souldiers had holds made them for to winter in. Which being a new kind of service, struck an heat in the Tribuns of the Commons, who complained that they had no rest from warfare, so much as in the winter season. Then the Gentlemen of Rome began first to serve upon their own horses. When the Alban lake overflowed, a certain Prophet or Wizard was taken captive from the enemies, who should interpret that strange wonder. Furius Camillus, after ten years siege, won Veii: he translated the Image of Juno from thence to Rome. The tenth part of the spoil and saccage he sent to Apollo at Delphi. The same Camillus being Tribun military, whiles he laid siege unto the Falisci, sent back again to the parents, his enemies sons that were betrayed unto him: Whereupon the Falisci yielded themselves; and so by his righteous and just dealing, obtained victory over them. When one of the Censors C. Julius was deceased, M. Cornelius was substituted in his place: Which was never done again afterwards, because in that five years space, Rome was taken by the Gauls. Furius Camillus, being indicted by L. Apuleius a Tribun of the Commons, departed into exile. When as the Senones a people of the Gauls, besieged Clusium, and the Embassadors sent from the Senat to conclude a peace between them and the Clusines, fought themselves in person against the Gauls in the Clusines army. The Senones hereupon made quarrel, and with a cruel army came against the City of Rome: and after they had defeated the Romans at the river Allia, they were Masters of the City, all but the Capitol, into which the able and serviceable young men of the City betook themselves. The elders with their ornaments of state belonging to the offices that eachone had born, they flew sitting in the porches and entries of their houses. And when they were now gotten up to the top of the Capitol, by the back side of the hill, they were discovered by the gagling of Geese, and were turned down, principally by the valour of M. Manlius. Afterwards when through famine the Romans were forced to covenant and grant for to give them the sum of 1000. pound weight of gold, and for that to buy their redemption from the siege: Furius Camillus, who was created Dictator in his absence, came with an army, whiles the gold was in weighing: and drove the Gauls out of the City, after they had been possessed of it six months, and slew them. A Chappel was built to Locutius: in that place where before the taking of the City, there was a voice heard, that the Gauls were coming: Whereas it was purposed and propounded to remove to Veii, because the City of Rome was burnt and razed: that course by the advice and authority of Camillus was crossed and dispatched. The people was moved thereto the rather, by occasion of the omen of a word spoken by a Centurion, who being come with his band of souldiers into the Forum, was heard to say thus, Stand souldiers, here will be our best abiding place.

M

The fifth Book of T. Livius.

VWhen peace elsewhere was obtained, the Romans and Veians were at war, with such mutual malice and hatred: that it seemed, whether part were vanquished, should come to final destruction. The assemblies for the election of the Rulers of both Nations, far differed one from the other. The Romans augmented the number of Tribuns Military in Consuls authority: for eight of them (so as never afore) were created: M. Aemilius Mamercus the second time, L. Valerius Potitus the third time, Appius Claudius Crassus, M. Quintilius Varus, M. Julius Tullus, M. Posthumius, M. Furius Camillus, and M. Posthumius Albus. The Veientians contrariwise, being weary of suing for dignities every year (a cause sometimes of civil discord) made themselves a King. Which offended the people of *Hetruria*: who as they abhorred all regal government, so they hated the person of the King himself. He had aforetime oppressed that nation, in regard of his greatness and pride withall: in that he had violently put down their solemn playes, the intermission whereof was held unlawful and detestable. For upon a time, in an anger that he received a repulse, and by the suffrages of the twelve Nations, another was preferred before him to be high Priest, in the very midst of their solemn Games and sports, he took from them the very Players and Actors, whereof a great sort were his own servants. That people therefore given to superstition above all other, and so much the rather for that they excelled in the skill of religious observing the same, decreed to deny the Veientians their aid, so long as they were governed under a King. This decree was suppressed and not spoken of at Veii for fear of the King, who would accompted him that should report such rumor, for a sower of sedition, rather then an author of news. The Romans, albeit they heard that all was quiet from *Hetruria*, yet because they were advertised that in all the Dicters and Councils of that Nation, the question was on foot and much debated, made their fortifications at Veii, so as they stood two wayes: some looked towards the City against all sallies and eruptions of the townsmen: others fronted *Hetruria*, to stop all succours that haply might come from thence. But the Roman Captains having greater hope in long siege, then in quick assault, began to build wintring harbours (a strange thing to Roman Souldiers.) Their intent was all winter time to keep continual war. Which after it was told at Rome to the Tribuns of the Commons

- A Commons (who now a long time could find no matter and occasion of troubles and alteration) they leapt forth into the assembly of the people, sounding and soliciting the minds of the Commons, and often saying, "That this was the only matter, why a set pay was appointed for the souldiers: and that they were not ignorant, That the gifts of enemies would prove to be belmeared with poison: That the freedom of the Commons was bought and sold: That their young men were sent away far off, and as it were banished from the City and Common-wealth, so that now they had not so much spare time as winter, nor any season else of the year, for to visit home and see unto their estate. What think ye (say they) is the cause of continuing this warfare? No other verily should they find it but this, left by reason of the frequent number of those young men, in whom the whole strength of the Commonalty consisted, there might be something dealt in, and effected, concerning their commodities. Over and besides they complained how they were much more hardly used, then the Veientians, For as for them, they spent the winter within their own houses, defending their City, fortified both with goodly walls, and also by natural situation of the place: but the Roman souldiers abode by it still in labour and travel, shrouded under booths of poor hides, overwhelmed with snows and frosts, not laying away their harness and weapons, so much as in winter the ordinary time of rest from all wars both by sea and land. This manner of hard bondage, neither the Kings, nor those proud and imperious Consuls (before the Tribuns authority was ordained to take them down) nor yet the Lordly ruling Dictator, nor the insolent and unsupportable Decemvirs, ever enjoined: thus to dwell in continual souldiery, as these Tribuns Military do: who exercise upon the Commons of *Rome*, an absolute and kingly authority. What would they do another day, when they were Consuls or Dictators indeed, who now but repreienting only the Consuls government (as Vice-Consuls) are so cruel and unreasonable? But we are well enough served, and justly have deserved no less. For that there was not so much as one place for a Commoner amongst eight Tribuns. Afore time, the Nobles were wont with much labour and toil, to fill but three rooms: and now they go eight in a rank together, to obtain all charges and dignities of State and Government: and in that throng, a Commoner cannot have a place amongst them, to put his Colleagues in mind (if he did nothing else) that they that go to warfare were freemen yet, and Citizens with them, and not bondslaves. Who in winter at the least, ought to be brought again to their houses and homes, and once a year visit their loving parents, their sweet children, and best beloved wives: to make some use of their liberty, and chuse their Magistrates. These and such like speeches, whilst they broadly uttered and multiplied, they met at length with an adversary that was able to match them, *Appius Claudius*, left for the purpose at home by his brethren in office, to restrain the Tribuns seditions: a man ever from his tender youth trained up in the broils and contentions of the Commons. Who certain years before (as we have said) gave shrewd and unhappy counsel to dissolve and put down the Tribuns authority, by the contradiction and inhibition of their own Colleagues. This man being not only in wit prompt and ready, but also exercised by long practice, made at that time this or such like speech: "If ever doubt were made, O Quirits, whether the Tribuns of the Commonalty have for love of your good or their own particular vantage, been always the authors and beginners of discord and dissention, this year I know assuredly, ye need no more stand in doubt. And as I rejoyce ye are at length come to an end of this your long wandering, so I congratulate both you, and the Common-weal for your sake, that this error is cleared, and especially in the midst of your prosperity. Is there any man maketh question now, that the Tribunes of the Commons were not offended, nor took snuff so much at the injuries at your hands received (if haply there have sometimes been any) as at the bounty of the Nobles, towards the Commons, in allowing pay to those that serve in war? What think ye else, either they feared then, or would at this day disturb and disquiet: but only the concord and agreement of the States? Which they suppose tendeth most, and is sufficient, to abolish and overthrow the Tribuns authority. And verily, as naughty Artisans or lewd leeches, seek for work still, and would be ever doing: so they likewise desire to have something or other out of frame and amis, in the Commonweal, that to the repair and cure thereof, they might be ever sent for and employed. For whether do ye (and speak truth) maintain or impugn the commonalty? Are you the adversaries or the advocates of them that serve in the wars? Unless peradventure this be your saying, Whatsoever the Nobles do, it misliketh us, be it for the good of the common people, or to the prejudice and dammage. And even as masters forbid their own servants and slaves, to have any dealing at all with strangers, and think it meet and reason, that they meddle neither hot nor cold with them: even so forewarn ye the Nobles from all commerce and entercourse with the Commons: to the end, that neither we by our courtesie and liberalitie, should allure and win them: nor they again become dutiful and obedient to us. How much more ought you (I pray you) if there were any spark (I say not) of civilitie, but of common humanitie and good nature in you, rather to favour, and as much as lieth in you, foster and cherish, as well the gracious kindness of the Nobles, as the willing service and obedience of the Commons? Which accord, if it were perpetual, who would not undertake to warrant, that this Seignory and Empire, within a while, might prove the mightiest and most renowned of all those States that border hard upon our confines? As for this purpose intended, and plot devised by my Colleagues, whereby they would not have the army withdrawn away from the siege of *Vesii*, before the service were brought to an end:

The Oration
of App. Claudius.

"how it would not be only profitable, but also necessary, I will hereafter argue and prove. Now
 "for this time, I list rather to treat and speak of the present condition and state of those that are
 "employed there in warfare. Which Oration of mine, if it were pronounced, not before you only,
 "but also in the camp, and there canvassed and scanned of, by the very army it self, I suppose, would
 "seem equal, and be received for good and reasonable. Wherein, if nothing else should come in-
 "to my head to speak, I would content my self, and rest satisfied with the only speeches given
 "out by the very adversaries. They said of late, That pay was not to be allowed to the souldiers,
 "for that never before it had been allowed. How then can they now be offended, and so male-
 "content, if they who have some new commodity coming to them, be enjoined also new labour
 "proportionably? For never lightly is there travel any where without gain, nor gain common-
 "ly without travel and employment. Pains and pleasure, things of themselves in nature most un-
 "like, yet by a natural kind of society (I know not how) are linked together. The souldier (afore-
 "time) thought much to bestow his labour & service upon the Common-weal, at his own pro-
 "per charges: yet was he glad with all his heart, that one part of the year, he might look to home,
 "husband his land, and get maintainance to find himself and his, both at home in City, and abroad
 "in war. Now, taketh he contentment, and is well pleased, that the Common-weal is gainful to
 "him: and with joyful heart receiveth his wages. Let him likewise be content, with patience to
 "to forbear his house and family (since he is at no great charge) somewhat longer than ordina-
 "ry. Might not the Common-weal, if she would call him to a reckoning, justly say: Yearly
 "pay thou hast, perform therefore thy yearly service? Dost thou think it reason, to receive full
 "wages for the whole year? and to be employed but six months for it? Much against my Sto-
 "mach, O Quirites, enforce I this point, and dwell still in this one part of my Oration: for
 "in this wise ought they to reason that have mercenary and hired souldiers: but we will use
 "them as fellow Citizens, and think it meet likewise that they entreat us kindly, and speak unto
 "us as to their native Country. Either it behoved us, not to have begun the war at all; or else
 "to proceed forward, now it is begun: yea, and for the honour of the people of Rome, to finish
 "it with all speed possible. And finished it will be, if we press upon our enemies thus besieged:
 "if we depart not afore we have accomplished our hope, by the winning of *Vesii*. And surely, if
 "there were no other cause but this, even the very shame and indignity of the thing, might force
 "us to continue siege unto the end. In old time, the whole power, of Greece laid siege full ten years
 "to one City, and that for one only woman: How far (good god) from their own home? how
 "many lands and seas between? Are we then loth and weary being within 20. miles of our dwel-
 "ling place, and almost in the sight of our own City, to endure the toil of one years siege? Be-
 "cause (forsooth) we have but small cause given us to war: and not griefs enough that might
 "justly provoke us to abide and see the end. Seven times already they have rebelled: In peace
 "never were they true. Our Country have they spoiled and wasted a thousand times. The Fide-
 "lats they have caused to revolt from us. Our inhabitants there by us placed, they have slain: and
 "against all law of nations they were the principal instruments of that unworthy and unhuman
 "murder of our Embassadors. All *Hetruria* would they have raised up against us, and at this day
 "about it they go. And when our Embassadors came to demand amends, they had like to have
 "run upon them and killed them. And ought we then with these kind of men to stand at a bay
 "and to war coldly and by leaseure? But if so just an hatred as this move us not: do these things
 "(I pray you) move a whit move you neither? Their City is environed and beleaguered with deep
 "trenches: blocked with mighty sconces, whereby the enemy is pent up and pinned within his
 "own walls. His fields he cannot till, and what so ever was afore tilled, hath been destroyed by
 "war. If we dislodge and withdraw our army back, who doubteth, but that they (not for desire
 "only of revenge, but upon necessity also and constraint to prey of other mens goods, having lost
 "their own) will invade and overrun our country? So that by this means we defer not the war,
 "but bring it within our own borders and confines. But now as touching that which properly
 "indeed concerneth souldiers (of whom our good Tribuns of the Commons would now in all
 "the haste seem to have so great regard, from whom erewhile they would have wrested their wa-
 "ges:) but what is that (I say?) A trench they have cast, a rampart and platform they have raised,
 "(matters of exceeding travel and labour) so far about: sconces at the first a few, but after as
 "their army encreased, they have erected very thick in every place. Forts they have built, not
 "only to command the town, but also looking toward *Hetruria*, to impeach any relief, if any aid
 "should from thence come. What should I speak of the rolling frames and towers, the man-
 "tlets and other Fabricks? What should I speak of the Tarraces, Tortoises, Rams, and all other
 "engins of assault and battery? Think ye it meet, that after so great toil and pains taken, now
 "that the works at length are brought to an end, these things should be left and abandoned, that
 "against summer we should be new to begin again, and sweat afresh about the same? How
 "much less travail rather is it to keep these munitions already made? to be instant, and con-
 "stant to endure, and abide? yea, and to rid our hands of all the care at once? For surely we may
 "soon dispatch the service, if it be plyed throughly and followed on still without stay; and if we
 "ourselves by these intermissions and respits between, make not a long piece of work of it, and
 "draw our hope at length. Thus much of the labour and loss of time. What else? Considering
 "these so many Parliaments, these Diets and Councils continually in Tuscany, about sending
 "aid to *Vesii*, can we forget the danger that we incur by deferring the War? Indeed (as things
 now

- A "now presently stand) I confess the Tuscans with the Veientians are angry, they hate them and deny to send: and for any thing by them done, we might win *Veii* out of hand. But who dare warrant, that if the war be delayed, they will hereafter be of the same mind? Seeing that if the Veientians have any rest and breathing time given them, they are like to send oftner their Embassages, and those more honourable than heretofore. Also the King who newly is set up and created at *Veii* (the only thing that now offendeth the Tuscans) in process of time, may be changed for another governor, either by agreement of the State (thereby to reconcile the hearts of the Tuscans) or of his own accord: who will not peradventure that his princely regiment should be hurtful to the safety of his subjects. See how many things, how many inconveniences follow and ensue upon that course and manner of proceeding. The loss of the fabrick and fortifications, with so great labour already prepared and achieved: the imminent and present wasting our own borders: the Tuscans war instead of the Veientians. These your devices, O ye Tribuns, are much what like to his, that offering a sick man some kind of meat or drink, for the very present to gratifie him withal, to please his palat and to content his taste, maketh his disease long, and peradventure incurable: who might have been recovered out of hand, in case at once, he would have resolutely endured the right cure of a skilful Physitian. And surely, if it were not material to the managing of this war in hand, yet would it import much to martial discipline, that our souldiers should be acquainted, not only with the sweet fruit of a victory achieved, but also if occasion required longer time, to abide this tediousness: and to wait for the end of their hope, be it never so long, and if war be not finished in summer, to stay for winter: and not as summer birds by and by in the fall of the leaf, to look about and seek for housing, harbour and covert. Consider, I beseech you, and see. The love and pleasure of hunting carrieth men into mountains, woods and Forrests: through frost and snow, after their game: shall not we then use the like sufferance in the needful exploits of war, which passimes sports, and delights, are wont to draw and fetch out of us? Think we the bodies of our souldiers so effeminate, their hearts so tender and delicate, that they cannot for one winter abide in a camp, and forbear their home, but must needs war as men at sea, watching times and seasons, and observing the quarters of the year? Cannot they endure both parching heat and chilling cold? They would blush and be ashamed verily, if a man should therewith charge them: and they would stand still in this, and avouch, That they had both in body and mind manlike sufferance and patience: and that they were souldiers as well for winter as summer: and that they set not the Tribuns a work for any patronage of cowardise and shelter of idleness: but remembered well enough, that their forefathers were not under shade for fear of sun-burning, nor had their houses over their heads for taking cold, when they first created and ordained that magistracy of Tribuns. This rather is befitting the valour of your souldiers, this fitteth well the name of Romans, not to have their eye upon *Veii* only, and this war now in hand, but to seek for fame and glory both by other exploits, and also with other nations in time to come. And think ye that there would ensue hereupon a small crack of credit, and hazzard of reputation? Would ye have the neighbor nations confining upon us, conceive thus of the people of *Rome*, That if a City could receive their first brunt, and abide their assault for a very small while, it need not after to fear any more? Or rather should not this dread and terror of our name spread all abroad, both far and neer, That no wearisomness of long siege and assault, no violence of bitter winter, is able to raise the Roman army from any town once by them invested? as knowing no other end of war but victory? and whose manner of service is not by way of violent force more then of obstinate continuance, which (as in all other military occasions) so in besieging of Cities is most needful: the greatest number whereof, being either by strong bulwarks and other fortifications, or by natural situation impregnable, yet by famine, by hunger and thirst, process and tract of time only doth force and overthrow. As it will (I doubt not) *Veii* at length: unless the Tribuns of the commonalty succour our enemies: unless that the Veientians find that relief and aid at *Rome*, which they seek in vain throughout all *Hetruria*. For can there ought happen to the Veientians so wished for, as that first the City of *Rome* should be full of variance, and then the Camp, (as it were by a contagion from thence) as full of mutinies? But contrariwise I assure you, amongst the enemies, so good order there is and government, that neither the tediousness of long siege, nor yet the loathing of Kingly rule, hath caused any stir or commotion amongst them. No, nor the denial of help from the Tuscans hath one whit troubled and distempered their minds: but die he shall forthwith, that is the author of sedition. Neither shall any man there be suffered to speak those words, which are spoken here amongst you without any punishment or controlling. He deserveth the bastinado, to be dry beaten and wel cudgelled, that forsaketh his Colours, or departeth from his guard and quarter. But here, in open assemblies, they that perswade and counsel not one or two souldiers, but whole armies to leave their Standards and Ensigns, and abandon the very camp, have audience with applause. Inomuch, that whatsoever a Tribune of the Commons speaketh, although it were to betray the City, and undo the whole State, ye are used to hearken and give good ear to him: and being ravished and carried away with the sweetness of that authority, ye suffer under it to lurk any mischief whatsoever. There remaineth now no more but this, that the words they give out here with open mouth, the same they might iterate in the camp among the souldiers, to corrupt the army, and not suffer them to obey their Captains. For to such licentious liberty they are grown at *Rome*, that they fear and reverence neither

neither Councel nor Magistrate, neither Laws nor ancient Customs, neither Decree of Senators, nor yet the Discipline of Military service.

Now was *Appius* with his Orations good enough for the Tribuns; and able to meet them at every turn: But see; (a thing that no man would have thought) a loss and foil received before *Vei* made *Appius* to have the better hand of the cause, wrought a greater unity among the States, and kindled an ardent desire to assail *Vei* more hotly, and to besiege it with more resolution. For when they had raised up a mount neer unto the City, and approached in a manner to the walls thereof, with their rolling towers and roofed mantlets, whiles (I say) they were not so vigilant in the night season to tend and watch these Fabricks, as they were busie and earnest in the day time to rear and plant them; behold, all of a sudden the enemies opened a gate, and armed in great numbers, especially with burning firebrands, set all on a light fire: and in the space of one hour consumed both the mount and the mantlets, which had cost so long time in making. And many a man besides that came to help (but in vain) by sword and fire lost his life. Which being reported at *Rome*, made all men heavy and sad, and caused the Senators to take care and fear, how upon this accident, they might possibly prevent and stay, either commotion in City, or mutiny in camp: doubting lest that the Tribuns would have insulted over the Common-weal, as if they had gotten a great conquest. At what time, they that were by calling Gentlemen and so assailed, and had no hopes of service assigned them from the City, after some consultation together among themselves, suddenly came into the Senat: and having liberty granted of speech, promised to serve in the wars with horses of their own. After that the Senat had right honourably thanked and given them most gracious words, the news thereof was no sooner bruited through the market place and whole City, but behold, all on a sudden the Commons came running unto the Councel house, saying, that as they were then to serve as footmen, so they offered their service to the Commonweal extraordinarily without mustering, whether they should be led, either to *Vei*, or to any other place whatsoever. And if they were conducted to *Vei*, they would not return again (they say) from thence, before they had won that City from their enemies. At which words, the Senators so exceedingly joyed above measure, that hardly they could temper themselves. For they took not order, as they did by the Gentlemen and horsemen afore, that they should be praised by the mouth of the Magistrates thereto appointed, nor called them into the Councel house, there to give them an answer, neither could they keep themselves within the Councel house door. But every one of them in his own behalf, so well as he could signified from aloft, both by word of mouth, and gesture of hand, unto the multitude standing in the *Comitium*, a general joy conceived: saying, That the City of *Rome* in that concord and unity would be happy, invincible, and perpetual: commending the horsemen, praising the footmen, extolling and magnifying that very day, and confessing that now they had surpassed the courtesie and bounty of the Senat. So that Nobles and Commons both, for joy wept again who could weep most, until the Senators were recalled into the Court: where a decree was made, That the Tribuns Military should assemble the people, and give thanks both to horsemen and footmen, and promise in the name of the Senat, that they would be mindful of their affectionate kindness to their Country: and to signify that it was their pleasure, that they all, who had offered extraordinary service so willingly, should have their pay notwithstanding: yea, and for the horses also there were assigned a certain rate and proportion of wages. This was the first time that the Gentlemen began to serve on horseback for money. This voluntary army marched to *Vei*, and not only repaired again the works which had been destroyed, but also went in hand to erect new. And from the City was provision of victual brought, with greater care of convoy than afore, that nothing might be wanting to an army so well deserving of the Common-weal.

The year following had for their Military Tribuns in Consuls authority, *C. Servilius Hala* the third time, *Q. Servilius*, *P. Virginus*, *Q. Sulpitius*, *A. Manlius* the second time, and *M. Sergius* the second time. In these Tribuns time, whiles every mans care was bent to the *Veientian* war, the sort of *Anxur* being neglected, by occasion that the garrison souldiers were disbanded and ranged much abroad, and commonly received *Volscian* Merchants into the town, was suddenly surpris'd, by reason that the warders of the gates were betrayed. Less company of souldiers there were slain: because that all of them (besides those that were sick) found themselves occupied and traded all the country over, and in the Cities adjoining, like to lawless lackies that follow the Camp. Neither was there better success at *Vei*, wherein rested the chief care now, of all their publick affairs. For not only the Roman Captains were more angred one at another, than courageous against the enemy: but also the forces of the enemies were encreased by the sudden coming of the Captains and the *Falisci*. Which two nations of *Hetruria*, because they inhabited next, supposing when *Vei* should be forced and lost, that their turn would be next to be warred upon by the Romans: and the *Faliscians* besides, upon a special grudge and old quarrel of their own, for that aforetime in the *Fidenat* war, they had intermeddled and interested themselves, sent their Embassadors to and fro, and by binding themselves by a solemn oath one to the other, came unlooked for with their power to *Vei*. And by chance they assailed that side and quarter where *M. Sergius* a Military Tribun had the charge of a sconce. Who gave a great alarm and caused exceeding fright: because the Romans supposed certainly that all *Hetruria* was raised out of every part, and there present, with all the power they could make. The same imagination animated the *Veientians* also within the City, to make a sally. So was the Camp of the

A the Romans assailed on both sides. And while they ran together up and down, and turned their ensigns every way, and could hardly keep the Veientians within the strength of their fortress, nor yet repulse the violence from their own fortifications and ramparts, and defend themselves from their forraign enemies behind: their onely hope was to have help from the greater leaguer: that the legions in sundry places might make head, some against the Capenats and the Falisci, others against the sally of the townsmen. But *Virginus* had the charge of that main camp, one that bare a privat grudge and inward malice against *Sergius*, and was hated again of him. This man, when word was brought that most of the Fabricks and bulwarks were assaulted, that the ramparts and trenches were won, and that the enemies on both sides charged lustily, kept his souldiers well appointed in arms: saying, that if there were any need of help, his Colleague should send unto him, if he would. And he for his part was not so arrogant and insolent, but the other was as peevish and wilful. Who because he would not seem to seek unto his adversary, nor crave aid at his hand, chose rather to be vanquished of his enemy, than to overcome him by help of a fellow-Citizen. Thus between them for a good while the poor souldiers went to wrack, and were slain. At the last, forsaking their ramparts, a very few of them escaped into the maine camp. But the most part, with *Sergius* himself, went through to *Rome*. Where when he had laid all the fault upon his fellow in government, it was thought good that *Virginus* should be sent for out of the camp: and that in the mean while their Deputie, and Lieutenants should command the forces. Hereupon was the matter debated in the Senat, and the two Tribuns kept a taunting and reviling: and many hard tearms were dealt between them. Few there were that rendered the common good, but took part either with the one or the other, as each of them were fancied and beloved. Howbeit the I.L. of the Senat thought good, howsoever that so shameful chance hapned either through the default, or unlucky fortune of the Captains, not to expect the ordinary full time of the election, but that presently there should be new Tribuns military created, to enter into their office on the * Calends of October. To which opinion when they were all agreed, the other Tribuns military nothing gainsaid it. But *Sergius* and *Virginus* (for whose sake it appeared that the Senat was weary of the Magistrates that year) at the first made means & besought them not to disgrace and discredit them so: and afterward assayed to cross the decree: denying that they would give over their place, before the * Ides of December, which was the set and usual day of entering yearly into new offices. Amid this business, the Tribuns of the Commons, who had kept silence even against their wills, so long as men were at unity and the affairs of the City prospered, upon a sudden brake out and threatened sharply the two Tribuns Military, that unless they would submit themselves, and rest in the authority of the Senat, they would commit them to ward. Then *C. Servilius Hala*, a Military Tribun, stood up and said, "As for you and your threats, O ye Tribuns of the Commons, in good faith, I would gladly see once, that there were no more power and authority in these here, then will and stomach in you. But who seeth not that there is no striving against the authority of the Senat? And therefore hold ye content: and forbear you to seek opportunity and occasion upon our variance to offer wrong. And my brethren for their parts shall either do that which the Senat thinketh good: or else if they shall continue E stubborn still in their contumacy, I will presently nominate a Dictator, to force them to leave their office. This speech was approved with a general accord. And the Senators being glad that without the terrors and affrightments of the Tribuns authority, there was found out another greater power to bridle magistrates: the two military Tribuns aforesaid, were overweighed with the content of all parties, and held a new election of military Tribuns, to begin their government on the * Calends of October: and before that day they resigned up their places. Thus were *L. Valerius Potius* the fourth time, *M. Furius Camillus* the second time, *M. Emilius Mamercus* the third time, *Cn. Cornelius Cossus* the second time, *C. Fabius Ambustus*, and *L. Julius Tullus*, Tribuns military in Consuls authority.

* 1. day of October.

* The 13. day of December.

* 1. day of October.

In whose time many worthy Acts were performed both at home and abroad. For not onely they had war in sundry places at one time, namely, at *Veii*, at *Capena*, against *Falerii*, and with the *Volsci*, to the end that *Anxur* might be won again and recovered from the enemies: but at *Rome* also, what about musters and paying the tribute for souldiers pay, there was much trouble. Besides, there was some variance, about taking in certain Tribuns of the Commons to the rest: and the two arraignment of those, who a little before had governed in Consuls authority, caused no small stir. But the principal care of the Tribuns military, was that the muster should go forward. Neither were the younger sort and serviceable men only prest forth, but the elder also compelled to give their names, and to keep watch and ward in the City. But look how much greater was the number of souldiers, so much more money they needed for their payment. And the same was levied by a contribution: but unwillingly of as many as tarried at home. For that besides the levy G they were enjoined to become souldiers also, in defence of the City and to serve in person for the Commonwealth. These things, grievous as they were of themselves, so by the seditious Orations of the Tribuns in their assemblies, they seemed more grievous and heavy. Who argued and discoursed thus, "That wages was appointed for souldiers to this end, only that what by warfare, and what with exactions and impositions, they might undo the Commons, and make an end of them at once for ever. One war (say they) hath now continued three years, and the same, on set purpose, ill managed, that it might be drawn out the longer. Again, in one muster there were armies enrolled for no fewer than four wars, whereunto beardless boyes and old crasse men, were

"were taken up and haled forth. Now there was no difference of winter or summer: so as the
 "poor Commons at no time can have any rest. Who now at last are taxed also and racked to the
 "uttermoſt, ſo that after they have brought home with them their bodies overtöyled with travel,
 "weakned with wounds, and laſt of all, waſted and ſpent with age: and finding all things at
 "home unhuſbandred by reaſon of the long abſence of the maſters and owners, they muſt be fain
 "to pay tribute even out of their poor decayed quick ſtock, and repay again with great uſury to
 "the Common-wealth, their wages received in war, as it were upon intereſt.

* *Lex Trebonia*
 published by
L. Trebonius.
 See the third
 Book.

The inveſtive
 ſpeech of *C.*
Trebonius a-
 gainſt *Sergius*
 and *Virginus*.

Between the muſters of one ſide, and the levy of ſouldiers pay on the other ſide, and their minds
 occupied about greater affairs, at the election of Tribuns of Commons, the number could not
 fully be made up: Whereupon there was great labour made, that into the rooms that were void, I
 there ſhould be ſome of the Nobility taken in and admitted. When that could not be obtained, yet
 to impeach and overthrow * the Tribuns law, it was effected or brought to paſs that they ſhould
 aſſume unto them for Tribuns of the Commons, *C. Lacerius*, and *Marcus Atilius*, by the might
 and praſtiſe no doubt of the *Patritii*. It hapned, ſo that the ſame year *C. Trebonius* was a Tribun
 of the Commons, who would ſeem to undertake the patronage and defence of the Law *Trebonia*,
 and diſcharge it as a duty to that name and houſe belonging. He ſpake aloud and ſaid, " That
 " whereas the Tribuns Military had won that, whereof ſome of the Nobles had born the repulſe
 " in their firſt ſuit, and that the Law *Trebonia* was diſannulled, in that certain Tribuns of the Com-
 " monalty were taken into their fellows, not by ſuffrages and free voices of the people, but by the
 " rule and commandment of the Nobles: and that the matter was come to that paſs, that either K
 " Noble men, or their favourites and followers were to become Tribunes of the Commons: that
 " their ſacred laws were taken from them perforce, and the Tribuns authority wreſted from our
 " of their hands by violence: all theſe inconveniencies he complained to have hapned through
 " the fraudulent praſtiſe of the Nobles: and the miſchievous lewdneſs and treachery of his own
 " companions in office. Thus whiles there grew great heart-burning among them, and that not
 " the Nobles only, but alſo the Tribuns of the Commons, as well they, which were elected, as they
 " that were electors, were hardly thought of by the people: Then three of the Company, *P. Cu-*
riatius, *M. Metilius*, and *Minutius*, fearing ſome ſhrewd turn, like to fall upon *Sergius* and *Virgi-*
nus, (the Tribuns military of the former year) and by ſerving proceſs, giving them a day to an-
 ſwer, turned from themſelves the anger and diſpleaſure of the Commons, upon thoſe two perſons: I
 publiſhing openly, " That whoſoever were grieved for the muſters and the Tribute, whoſoe-
 " ver thought the war long, and the continual ſouldiery tedious, whoſoever ſorrowed for the
 " damage and diſcomfiture received at *Veii*, whoſoever for the loſs of their Children, Bre-
 " thren, Kinsfolk, or any of their alliance had heavy and mournful houſes: to them they offered
 " liberty and power to vent their publick and privat grief, upon theſe two guilty perſons and of-
 " fenders, *Sergius* and *Virginus*, the very cauſes of all the miſchiefs and calamities that were hap-
 " ned. For why? the adverſary charged them with no more then was confeſſed by the very par-
 " ties: who finding themſelves both faulty, laid the blame one upon the other: whiles *Virginus*
 " reproached *Sergius* with running away, and *Sergius* laid treaſon to *Virginus* his charge, in that
 " he denied his help in time of need. For to ſay they were both of them ſo inconfiderate and M
 " fooliſh only, were to ſpeak beyond all compaſs of belief. But much more likely it was, that
 " there was ſome packing rather, and that the matter was contrived, and praſtiſed of ſet pur-
 " poſe, and by an ordinary and common fraudulent plot of the *Patritii*. By whoſe means both
 " at the firſt the Veientians gat opportunity to fire their works, thereby to draw out and pro-
 " long the war, and alſo now the army was bought and ſold, and the Roman camp betrayed to
 " the *Falifci*. And all this to no other end, but that the youth and flower of the City might wax
 " old at *Veii*, and that the Tribuns might not propoſe and conſult with the people about the di-
 " ſtribution of lands, or any other commodities of the poor Commons, or in frequent and full
 " aſſembly of Citizens intend and follow their publick actions, and withſtand the conſpiracy of
 " the Gentry and Nobles. Moreover there is already (ſay they) a prejudice paſſed againſt theſe N
 " offenders, both by the Senat and people of *Rome*, and alſo by their Colleagues. For as they
 " were diſplaced and depoſed from their office, by an Act of the Senat: ſo when they reſuſed to
 " give over, they were for fear of a Dictator forced by their own companions to reſign up their
 " government: and the people of *Rome* had created other Tribuns military to enter into their
 " charge, not upon the uſual day which was in the * Ides of *December*, but forthwith in the Ca-
 " lends of *October*: as who would ſay, the Common-wealth had not been able to ſtand any lon-
 " ger, if theſe men had remained ſtill in place. And yet for all this, theſe perſons thus convicted
 " and fore-condemned by ſo many prejudices, come now to be judged of the people: thinking
 " they are ſufficiently quit, and diſcharged, yea, and have ſuffered puniſhment enough, in that
 " they were two months ſooner then ordinary, made private perſons; and perceive not, that O
 " thereby was taken from them the power only to do any harm, and no puniſhment inflicted up-
 " on them. For as much as, even their very Colleagues, who had not offended, were likewiſe
 " diſcharged as well as they: Let the *Quirites* therefore and people of *Rome*, take that heart to
 " them again, which they had upon the late overthrow, freſh and bleeding new, when they be-
 " held the army running in fearful flight, ſore wounded and agast, arriving at the gates, bla-
 " ming no fortune, nor any of the gods, but only theſe their two brave leaders. And as for us,
 " we know aſſuredly that there is not one of all them here preſently aſſembled, who that day cur-
 ſed

* The 13. day
 of *December*.

- A sed not in his heart and detested the head, the house, and whole estate of *L. Virginii*, and *M. Sergii*. Neither is it convenient, that upon whom, erewhile every man prayed that the anger and vengeance of God would light against them now when they both may and ought, they should not extend their full power with rigour. Since that even the very gods never lay hand themselves upon sinners and offenders: but it sufficeth that they arm the wronged and oppressed persons with means and opportunity of revenge. The Commons upon these speeches moved with indignation, condemned their two offenders in 10800. brazen Asses a piece: notwithstanding that *Sergius* pleaded for himself, blamed the common fortune of war, and laid all upon fortune: and *Virginii* besought them (but both in vain) that he might not be more unhappy, and speed worse at home, than abroad in war. Thus the peoples wrath being diverted upon these two, obscured and darkned the remembrance both of the assumption and admitting of the Tribuns aforesaid, and of deluding and disannulling the Law *Trebonia*. The Tribuns thus having got the upper hand, to the end that the Commonalty might have a present reward for awarding this doom, publish the Law *Agraria*, and forbid the levying of the Subsidy for souldiers pay: seeing there was need of pay for so many armies: and sped so well they had, in the managing of warfare, as they were like to come to an end, without any warring at all. For at *Veii* the pety camp which was lost, being recovered again, was fortified with strong bulwarks, and furnished with good guards. The Tribuns Military, *M. Emilius* and *Q. Fabius*, had the charge there. And as for *M. Furius* in the Faliscan, and *Cn. Cornelius* in the Capenat Country, they could meet with none enemies without their town walls. But they drave away booties, and wasted their marches, by firing their villages and their corn: but as for their towns, they neither assaulted nor besieged them. But in the Volscian country, after their territory was wasted, *Anxur* also was assaulted (but in vain) for that it was situate on high. Whereupon *Valerius Potitus*, who had the charge of that province, seeing that force would not prevail, began by trench and rampart to lay siege to it, and invest it round. The affairs of war abroad standing in these terms, there arose domestical strife and sedition at home: and the same was followed more earnestly and with greater ado, than the wars weremanaged without. And when by reason of the Tribuns there could no subsidies and exactions be gathered, nor money for souldiers pay sent to the Generals, and that the souldiers called on them hard, and were hasty for their wages: the camp also had like to have been troubled and infected with the contagion of those civil mutinies. During these heats and angry fits of the Commons against the Nobles, albeit the Tribuns of the people said, That now the time was come of establishing their freedom, and translating the chiefest dignity from the *Sergii* and *Virginii*, to the Commoners, such as were men of valour and action: Yet they prevailed no more then thus, that one only of the Commonalty, (as it were) to make entrie and take possession in the right of that dignity to wit, *P. Licinius Calvus*, should be created Tribun Military with Consular authority: the rest were all of the Nobility, *Pub. Manlius*, and *P. Titinius*, *P. Melius*, *L. Furius Medullinus*, and *L. Popilius Volsens*. The very Commons themselves marvelled that they had obtained so great a thing, and not he only who was created, a man that aforetime had never been in place, and born no magistracy, yet an ancient Councillor of State, an elderly person, and well
- E slept in years. Neither as yet is it for certain known, why he first and above all others was counted a meet man to have hance, or make essay of this new dignity and promotion. Some think, that for his brother *Cn. Cornelius* his sake, who had been the year afore a Tribun Military, and had given to the horsemen triple pay, he was through favour drawn in, and called to so great honour. Others, for that himself had picked out a convenient time, and made a plausible Oration, that both Nobles and Commons liked very wel, concerning the agreement and unity of the States. The Tribuns of the Commons rejoicing highly for this their victory in the Election, remitted and called in the Inhibition of the subsidy or imposition aforesaid, the thing that most of all prejudiced the service of the Common-wealth. By means whereof payment was made in all dutiful obedience, and sent it was unto the army. Then within short time was *Anxur* (in the Volscians
- F Country) recovered: by occasion that on a festival holy day, the watch and ward of the City was neglected. This was a year notable and famous for the cold and snowy winter, so as the high ways were choaked up, and *Tyberis* was unnavigable; Howbeit, by reason of provision brought in aforehand, the price of corn arose not. And for because *P. Licinius*, as he entred his government without any troubles, and with greater joy and contentment of the Commons than indignation of the Nobles: he also ruled and executed it all the year long accordingly: therefore their teeth watered at the next election also, to make Tribuns military of their own body. Only *M. Veturius*, of all the Nobility that stood in suit for the dignity, had a place among them. But as for the other Tribuns Military in Consular authority, all the Centuries in a manner chose Commoners, to wit, *L. Titinius*, *P. Menenius Raquilus*, *Cn. Genucius*, and *L. Attilius*.
- G After this hard Winter, either by reason of a distemperature and disposition of the weather, suddenly changed to a contrary, or upon some other hidden and unknown cause, there followed presently a contagious and dangerous summer, by occasion of a pestilence, noisom to all kind of living creatures. Of which incurable malady, when as neither the reason could be found, nor any end thereof seen, the Books of *Sibylla*, were by a decree of the Senat perused: and *Dumvirs* appointed for Divine Rites and Ceremonies, by celebrating a Lectistern (then first instituted in the City of *Rome*) to appease and pacifie *Apollo*, *Latona*, and *Diana*, *Hercules*, *Mercury* and *Nep-tune*: feasted them (as it were) for the space of eight days together, & for that purpose they set out three

* 26. lib. 5. lib.
Perl.

P. Licinius Calvus the first
Commoner
advanced to
soveraign go-
vernment.

three beds or banquetting tables, with as magnificent and stately furniture as could be for that time possibly devised. Which solemnity was privately also performed; All the gates and doors through the City stood wide open; all sorts of viands were set out abroad to be used in common: open house kept for all comers, one with another, as well unknown strangers as their acquaintance, with all friendly welcome, and entertainment. Kindly, and courteously would they talk and devise, even with their adversaries: all chiding and brauling was laid aside and put under foot. The prisoners also for that time were enlarged, yea, and conscience made afterwards; that any should be laid or kept in irons, unto whom the gods had vouchsafed that gracious meed.

But all this while much trouble there was, and many alarms before *Veii*, by reason that three wars were joyned now in one. For when as all at once the Capenats and the Falisci came (in manner as afore, about the fortifications and trenches of the Romans) for to rescue the besieged, they were forced to make head, and hazard a doubtful battel against three armies. But the best help they had, was the remembrance of the late condemning of *Sergius* and *Virginus*. Therefore having conducted by a neerer way, their forces from the greater camp (which before lay still and would not come to succour) they set upon the Capenats backs, as they turned against the ramparts of the Romans. The battel there begun, made the Falisci also afraid: in which affright of theirs they suddenly sallied out of the lesser hold, in so good time that they forced the enemies to turn their backs, all quaking for fear. And having got the upper hand, they followed the train of the victory, and in the chase made a very great slaughter and destruction of them. And not long after, the forragers that wasted the land of the Capenats, as they ranged abroad here and there, encountered the residue and remnant of this battel, as if fortune of purpose had presented them to their hands, and swept them up clean. Also many of the Veientians as they fled back into the City, were cut in pieces before their very gates: whilst they within for fear lest the Romans at once should rush in, made the gates fast and so shut out the hindmost of their own men. These were the achievements of this year.

And now approached the Election of the Tribuns military, whereof the nobles had in a manner a great care then of the war: as who saw now that the sovereign rule was not only parted with the Commonalty, but welnear on their own behalf quite lost. Therefore albeit of set purpose they had prepared most noble and excellent men to stand in suit, whom to pass by and let slip, they thought the people would have been ashamed: yet nevertheless they themselves (as if they had been the parties that stood) tried every way, and not only sought the help of men, but also craved it at the hands of the gods: making it great scruple and a matter of conscience: and alledging that the elections for two years past were not according to the wil of God: as appeared by this, say they, that in the former year there was an intollerable winter, and such as portended some heavy judgements from above; how also the year following, there were no prodigious tokens shewed aforehand, but even the very events and effects thereof, were seen and felt: namely, the pestilence both in Country and City, through the very indignation, no doubt, of the gods, for that in the fatal Books of *Sibylla* it was found out, that they ought to have been pacified, for the diverting away of that pestilent influence. As if in those solemn assemblies which ought in the name of the gods & religiously to be held, the gods thought it an indignation and unseemly thing, that the honourable offices of state should be made common: no distinction of degrees, no difference of houses observed, but all confused and shuffled together. The people therefore being driven into amaze, not only in regard of the Majesty and Dignity of those that were competitors, but also of a very remorse of conscience, chose for Tribuns military in Coff, authority, all of the Nobility: and a good part of them, the most honorable personages of the rest, to wit, *L. Valerius Potitus* the first time, *M. Valerius Maximus*, *M. Furius Camillus* the third time, *L. Furius Medullinus* the third time, *Quintius Servilius Fidenas* the second time, *Quintus Sulpitius Camerinus* the second time. Howbeit in this year no great exploit worthy of record, was performed at *Veii* under these Tribuns. All the service that was, consisted in forraging and wasting. The two Lord Generals raised huge booties, to wit, *Potitus* from *Falerii*, *Camillus* from *Capena*: leaving behind them nothing whole and untouched, that might be spoiled by fire or sword. In this mean time, many fearful prodigious tokens were reported, the most part whereof were slenderly credited, for that of each there was but one only author: and because there were no soothsayers, by whom they might make procuration therefore (since that the Tuscans were now professed enemies) they were altogether neglected. But one especially there was, which all men had an eye and regard unto, namely, for that a certain pool within the Alban Forrest, without extraordinary rain from above, or any other occasion which might make the thing seem less miraculous and wonderful, was risen unto an unusual height. Certain Orators therefore were sent to the Oracle of *Delphi*, to know what the gods foresignified by that prodigious token. But they, as god would, met with an interpreter of the Destinies neerer home, to wit, an ancient Veientian, Who (upon a time, when as the souldiers, both of the Romans and Tuscans, let fly one at the other taunts and scoffs from their stations and guards) thus spake in propheticall wise: That until the water were drained and let out of the Alban poole, the Romans should never be masters of the town of *Veii*. Which saying of his was at the first contemned as a foolish word, rashly let fall from him: but after, it began to be much talked of, so long, until a certain Roman souldier from out of his ward, enquired of a townsman that warded next unto him (for now by reason of long war they had entercourse of speech one with another) what he was who had cast out such an ambiguous riddle of the Alban Lake?

When

The Alban lake risen to a wonderful height.

A When he heard that he was a southsayer, being himself also a man not without some sense of religion, he trained that wisard forth to communication, pretending that he would gladly be resolved himself, as touching a particular prodigious object that troubled his mind: & therefore requested him at his good leisure, to take so much pain as to confer with him, and give him counsell about the expiation and diverting the danger thereof. Now when they were both gone a good way from their fellows, unarmed, and without all fear and suspicion one of the other, the Roman being a lusty tall young man, caught the feeble old fellow in the sight of them all, and notwithstanding a great stir that the Tuscans made (but all in vain) had him away perforce to his own company; Who being brought before the General, was sent afterwards to Rome unto the Senat. And being demanded what the meaning of that should be, which he had prognosticated and prelaged concerning the Alban lake, answered thus: "Certainly the gods were offended with the people of *Vei*; that day on which they put this into his mind to bewray the fatal and inevitable destruction of their State and country: and therefore that, which as then he being stirred by divine inspiration had prophesied, neither might he call back again and unspeak: and besides, happily by concealing those things, which the immortall gods would have to be published, there might be committed as great sin, as by disclosing mysteries to be concealed. Thus therefore (quoth he) is it written in the fatal books of fortunes, and thus in the Tuscans learning, to us is delivered, *That when the Alban water overflowed, if then the Romans with due and religious ceremonies let it out, they should have the victory of the Veientians: but before that the gods would not forsake the walls of the Veientians.* Then went he on still, and shewed what was the solemn and right manner of deriving the water. But the Nobles, supposing without to be the light of credit, and not of sufficient account in so weighty a matter to beleeved, resolved to expect the Embassadors, and the answer of the Oracle of *Apollo*. But before these messengers were returned from *Delphi*, or any expiation found out for this Alban miracle, the new Tribuns Military with Consuls authority, *L. Julius Tullus*, *L. Furius Medullinus* the fourth time, *L. Sergius Fidenus*, *A. Posthumius Regillensis*, *P. Cornelius Maluginensis*, *A. Manlius*, began their government.

The prophesie
the Destruction
of *Vei*.

In that year there arose new enemies, the Tarquinians, they seeing the Romans busied with many wars at once, with the Volscians at *Anxur*, who laid siege to the fort there: with the Etruscians at *Lanuvium*, who assaulted the colony of the Romans: besides, with the Veientians the Faliscians and Capenates: and that within the City there was no greater quietness, by reason of variance between the Nobility and Commons: supposing, I say, that hereby they had good opportunity to do some injury and harm, they sent forth certain bands of souldiers lightly appointed, into the territory of Rome, to forrage and make spoil: thinking that the Romans would either put up that wrong at their hands without revenge, because they would not charge themselves with a new war: or encounter them and make head with a small power and the same but slender and distressed. The Romans was more offended at the indignity of these bravadoes, then they cared much for the spoil done by the Tarquinians. And thereupon they neither made much ado about the matter, nor drove it out any long while, *A. Posthumius* and *L. Julius* levied a power without any ordinary muster (for letted they were by the Tribunes of the Commons) even in a manner of voluntary souldiers, whom they had procured with good words and comfortable speeches. And passing throughout the country of the *Caeris* by crooks & crooked waies, surprized the Tarquinians upon the sudden, as they returned from plundering & laden with great prizes. Many they slew, all they eased of their loading: and thus having recovered the spoils of their lands, they returned to Rome. Two daies were allowed for the owners, every own to own his proper goods: & on the third day, such goods that were unknown (whereof the most part belonged to the enemies) were sold in port-sale: and that money which was made thereof was divided among the souldiers. All other wars, and especially the Veientian, had doubtfull issue. For now the Romans despairing of a I mans help, regarded and expected only the course of destinies and the will of the gods. By which time the Embassadors were returned from *Delphi*, bringing the answer of the Oracle, agreeable to the former answer made by the wisard, which was taken prisoner: and it ran in this forme: *Be ware O Romans that the Alban water be not kept too long in the pool. Bewear thou let it not discharge itself into the sea. Let it forth and wear the fields therewith, by sundry rivulets or streams thou shalt waste it and draw it dry. Then assault valiantly the enemies walls, remembering that one of this City which so many years thou hast besieged, victory is promised to thee assuredly, by those destinies which now are revealed. And after the war ended and conquest achieved, see thou bring unto my temple, an ample and honourable present: and perform the sacred ceremonies of thy country according to the old custome, and renew those a fresh which have of late time been neglected.* Here grew this capitaine prophet above said to be greatly accounted of: and the Tribunes military, *Cornelius* and *Posthumius*, began to take his counsel and advice, about the procuration of the Alban miracle, and to appeale the gods in due order. And found it was at last where it was that the gods blamed the neglect of ceremonies & for letting the ancient solemnities and sacrifices: and that certainly it was nothing else, but that there was an error committed in creation of the Magistrats: and they so created, had solemnized the Latine holidays wrong and celebrated the sacrifices in the Alban mount amiss. The only purging or expiation wherof was, that the Tribunes military should give over their office, and that they should take new Auspices again by the sight & singing of birds, and so to proceed to an Interreign. All which things were according to a decree of the Senat performed. Whereupon there interre-

The answer of
the Oracle.

gents succeeded one after another. *M. Valerius, Q. Servilius Fidenas, M. Furius Camillus*. But all this while no end there was, nor intermission of troubles and dissensions. For the Tribunes of the Commons disturbed and staid the assembly for the election to long, untill it was agreed that the greater part of the Tribunes military should be created from the Commons.

During these affaires, the Tuscans held certain Diets and Councils at the Temple of *Volumna*: where when the Capenats and Falisci required that with one common assent and resolution, all the people of *Hebrunia* should raise the siege from *Vesii*, this answer was returned: "That heretofore they had denied the Veientians their help in this regard, that they were not to seek for aid at their hands, from whom in so weighty a matter they had not sought for counsell: but now their own fortune made answer for them. For such was the difficulty of their present estate, That if they would, yet they well could not: considering especially how into that part of *Hebrunia* there were newly arrived to seat themselves there, the Gauls, a strange nation unto them: with whom they neither had assured peace, nor yet certain war to trust unto. Howbeit for blood-lake, and for the very name, and in regard of the present perils of their kinsmen, they would grant thus much: that if any of their youth would go forth to the war willingly and of themselves, they would be no hindrance. Now was it noised at *Rome*, that a mighty great number of these enemies were come to raise the siege. Whereby the civill discords of (as it is commonly seen upon a generall fear) began to wax more calm and to slake. For the principall Tribe that had the prerogative to give their first voice, chose *P. Licinius Calvus* Tribune Military, without his own suit (but not against the will of the Nobles) a man of approved good carriage, and moderation in his former government, but exceeding old. And it appeared evidently, that all the rest for that year, should be chosen anew after him, out of the Colledge of those that had been Tribunes Consular befores: namely, *L. Titinius, P. Menenius, Q. Genucius, L. Atilius*: who befores they were elected and pronounced, *P. Licinius Calvus* spake in this manner (by the permission of the Interregent) unto the other Tribes, that were called in their right and orderly course, to their suffrages. "I see well, my masters O ye Citizens of *Rome*, That in this election, wherein ye have in remembrance our former Magistracy, ye guess and presage happily against the year ensuing, concord and unity: the only thing at this time of all others most profitable: in case I say, you chuse again, those who by experience also are become now more sufficient. But as for me, you see I am not the same man I was: but a bare shadow and name only is all that is left of *P. Licinius*. The strength of my body crasie, and feeble, the sense of my eyes and ears dim and dull: my memory faileth, the quicknesse of my spirit grown heavy and lumpish. But behold (quoth he, laying hand on his son) this young man, the very image and portraiture of him, whom ye afore time made Tribune Military, the first that ever was out of the commonalty. Him trained and brought up after my own order and discipline, in stead of my self, I bequeath, I give, I dedicate unto the commonweal. And I beseech you O *Quirites*, that the dignity which of your selves you have offered unto me, without my seeking, you would bestow upon him at his own humble suit, and the rather shew him this favour at my earnest request in his behalf. The father had his desire granted. And so his son *P. Licinius*, was with them, whom befores we named, declared Tribune Military in Consuls authority. *Titinius* and *Genucius* Tribunes Military, made an expedition against the Falisci and Capenats: Who managing the war in greater heat and courage, than with sage advise and counsel, plunged themselves headlong into an ambushment of their enemies. *Genucius* paid for his rashnesse, and made amends by an honorable death: For he was slain even befores the ensignes, valiantly fighting in the vanguard of the battell with the foremost. But *Titinius*, having after much fear rallied his soldiers, retired himself unto an high hill, and made head again: Howbeit he durst not encounter the enemy on even and plain ground. The shame of this defeat was greater than the losse otherwise. And yet it had like to have turned into a right great damage and overthrow. So great was the fear, not at *Rome* only, whither much news came diversly reported: but also in the camp befores *Vesii*, that hardly could the soldiers be kept from running away. For it was noised all over the camp, that the Capenats and Faliscians had got the victory, slain the Generals and the whole army: and that all the flour and strength of Tuscany was not far off. But at *Rome* there was much more hurly-bury: For there it was verily beleevved, that the leaguer about *Vesii* was assauked, and that, part of the enemies already were coming in warlike manner against the City: so as they came running on heaps to man the wals. And even the very matrons and dames of the City, whom publike fear had caused to leave their houses, fell to their beads and supplication in the churches: beseeching the gods to avert and divert destruction from the houses, Temples, and wals of the City of *Rome*, and to turn away that fear from them upon *Vesii* if they renewed aright their festivall daies, if they made satisfaction by sacrifice for the prodigious fights, and no otherwise.

Now by this time were the solemn plaies & the Latine holidays renewed, now was the water let out of the Alban lake into the fields, now *Vesii* drew neer to her final end, hastned by the course of the Destinies. Therefore there was created *M. Furius Camillus* Dictator, the fatal captain, predestined to destroy that City, and to save his own country: who appointed *P. Cornelius Scipio* Collo-nell of the horsemen. The change of the General made a change soon of all things else. The hopes of men were other than afore, the minds of men were altered, yea, the fortune of the City seemed not the same. But first of all, he proceeded by martiall law against them, who in that fearfull

The Oration
of Licinius Cal-
vus to the peo-
ple.

A fright at the last alarm, were fled from *Veii*: and taught his souldiers not to fear their enemies most, but likewise to stand in awe of their own Commander. And after he had published to take musters upon a certain day, himself in the mean while rode post to *Veii*, there to encourage the hearts of the souldiers. From thence he returned to *Rome*, for to levy a new army: and there was not one that refused to serve under his standard. For even the youth of the forrainers both Latins and Hernicks, came & offered their service in that war. Unto whom, when as the Dictator had in the Senat house yeelded thanks, and that all things now were in sufficient readinels, by a decree of the Senat he made a vow, that when he had won *Veii*, he would incontinently celebrat the great games, and reedifie and consecrat anew, the Temple to dame *Minerva*, which afore time had been dedicated by King *Servius Tullius*. Thus when he was gone forth from the City, and his army on foot, with greater expectation of the people then hope: first he fought a field with the Faliscians and Capenats in the Country of *Nepe*, [called at this day *Nepe*] where he ordered all the exploits with as great discretion and policy as might be: and as it commonly falleth out he sped as well and fortune favoured his designs. He not only defeated his enemies in batell, but also drave them out of the field, and gained a huge booty, whereof the greatest part came to the Treasurer his coffers; and somewhat (though not much) was given to the souldiers. From thence he marched with his armour to *Veii*, and there he caused more sconces and bastillons to be made, and to stand thicker together. And having made proclamation, that none should fight without speciall commandment, he withdrew the souldiers to the making of trenches and rampiers, from their skirmishes that they made oftentimes, and that rashly, between their camp and the wall of the town. The greatest work of all the rest and most laborious, was the undermining that was begun into the Castle of the enemies. And to the end that this work should not be intermitted, nor yet the continuall labour still under the ground might over-toil them: he divided the pioners into six parts, and each of them wrought six hours round by turns, so that both night and day, they never gave over before they had wrought a way to the Castle. The Dictator seeing now the victory as it were in his hands, and a most rich City ready to be taken, and that there was like to be such saccage, as never had been the like in all the wars put together aforetime: lest that he might incur either any mutiny and anger of the souldiers in pinching and scant parting of the pillage, or displeasure and discontentment of the Rulers and Nobles of *Rome*, by so prodigall a largesse in sharing all: dispatched his letters to the Senat, to this effect, "That whereas by the goodnesse of the immortal Gods, his own policy and direction, and the travell of his souldiers, the City *Veii* was now in a manner at his devotion; what they would advise, should be done with the rich spoils thereof. There were two divers opinions that mightily distracted the Senat: the one of the old *P. Licinius*, whose mind being asked of his son, spake first (by report) and said: that his opinion was, there should a proclamation be published abroad among the people, that whosoever would be partaker of the booty, should go to the Leaguer before *Veii*. The other of *Ap. Claudius*, who finding fault with this new, prodigall, unequal, and undiscreeit largesse, in that they thought it unlawful and unfit, that the treasure got of the enemies should come once at leastwise to the common purse of the City, which had been emptied to often by reason of wars: was of advice, "That the souldiers should have their pay out of it, that the Commons thereby might be eased, in the charges of the subsidy levied of them: for so should every mans house equally feel the society and part of that benefit, and the hands of idle persons remaining at home in the town, greedy now of rising, and who would be fingering of Pillage, should not pluck from the hardy warriors their due rewards. For as much as it is usually seen, that as the valiantest man commonly aimeth at the greatest part of travell and perill, so the more coward alwaies reacheth at the biggest portion of the spoil, and hath his hand deepest therein. Contrariwise, *Licinius*, alleged that such mony laid up would be alwaies suspected and odious, and would mixt matter unto the Commons of criminations & finding one fault or other, whereof seditions and commotions may arise, and would give occasions of new laws to be preferred: and therefore better it were: that by this gift and boon the hearts of the Commons were won and reconciled: who being spent and eaten out by reason of their charges of so many years, herewith might be well relieved. And that they ought to tast the fruit and sweetnesse of the booty out of that war, in which they had spent their years, and were waxen old men. And that it would be more welcome and acceptable, that every man should be his own carver, and with his own hand catch from the enemy what he could, and bring it home with him, than if they should receive much more by a great deal at the discretion and pleasure of another. And the Dictator himselfe (saith he) hath avoided as neer as he could, the displeasure, hatred, and offence that might arise thereof, and therefore posted it off to the Senat: the Senat ought likewise seeing the matter is put to them, to let the Commons alone therewith, and permit every man to have such share as the fortune of war will allot him. This advise which made the Senat gracious with the people, was thought to be the safer and better of the twain. Whereupon proclamation was made, That whosoever would have part of the spoil of *Veii*, should shew himselfe before the Dictator in the camp. So there went a huge multitude, that they filled the camp againe. Then the Dictator after sacrifice done, and advice taken of the lucky signes of birds, went forth and commanding his souldiers to take armes and weapons in hand, spake these words and said: "By thy conduct and the instinct of thy divine power O *Pythius Apollo*, I let forward to the winning of the town of *Veii*, & now to thee I vow the tenth part of the spoils thereof.

Difference in
the Senat a-
bout the pill-
lage of *Veii*.

“And thee withall (ô Queen *Juno*) who at this hour dost inhabit within the compasse of these wals, I beseech, that thou wouldst vouchsafe, to follow us after conquest into this city, ours now, and thine within awhile: whereas thou maiest be shrined in a Temple meet for thee, and the grandeur of thy majesty. Having made these prayers, with an exceeding multitude he invested the city, and assaulted it round on all parts: to the end that they within might have lesse perceivance of the peril intended towards them from the undermining. The Veientians little knowing that they were betrayed, partly by their own prophets, and partly by the Oracles abroad, and that some of their gods were invited and bidden to part of the spoil and sacrifice, and other by vowes and prayers trained and called out of their own city; began to look after the temples of their enemies & their new habitations: little weening that this was their last day, & fearing nothing less than that their wals should by undermining be overthrown, and that their Castle was full already of enemies: every man for himself ran armed to the wals, marveling what the matter should be, that whereas for so many daies space no man stirred out of the Romans Leaguer, then of a sudden (as if it were in a wood rage) they ran upon head so rashly to the assault. But hereto belongeth a tale; That when the Veientian King was at sacrifice, this voice of the Southsaier was overheard out of the mine under ground, *That he whose hap was to cut forth the Inwards of that sacrifice should obtain victory*, and moved the Roman souldiers, to break out of the undermining, and to catch up the entrails and bowels, and carry them to the Dictator. But as in things of so great antiquity, it sufficeth me, that those which carry some likelyhood of truth, be received for true: so for fabulous matters fitter indeed to make a shew in a stage play (where people take delight in such miracles) than to be sadly beleaved, it will not quit for the pains either to avouch them, or disavow them. The mine or cave at the same time (no doubt) full of chosen souldiers, yeelded forth all at once armed men into the Church of *Juno*, which was in the castle of *Veii*, and some of them set upon the backs of their enemies that were on the wals: others pluck up the portcullis of the gates: some of them, whiles from the houses the women and servants flung down stones and tiles, cast fire abroad. So that every place was full of cries and voices, partly of them that frightened others, and partly of those that were affrighted, with a confused screeching of women and children. When as now in a moment, the armed souldiers were thrown down from the wals every where, and the gates let open: whiles some entred marching in aray, others scaled the naked wals, the city was filled with enemies: and skirmishes there were in every place. After great massacre and execution committed, the fight began to quail: and the Dictator commanded the Bedles to proclame and give commandment, to spare the unarmed. Thus the bloodshed ended. Whereupon the unarmed people began to yeeld: and by permission of the Dictator the souldiers ran to the spoil. Which being brought in sight of the Dictator, of greater price and value a good deal, than either was hoped or looked for: it is said that he stretched forth his hands towards heaven and prayed, “That if his own fortune and the felicity of the people of *Rome* were thought by any god or man to be excessive, the envy belonging thereto might be mitigated with as small privat losse of his own in particular, and with as little common calamity of the people of *Rome* in generall, as might possibly be. And it is recorded, that in this maner praying and worshipping, as he turned himself about, he slipt forward and caught a fall. And as men afterwards guessed by that which fell out, it was supposed that the ominous token presaged the condemnation of *Camillus* himself, and the ruin of the city of *Rome*, which hapned within a few years after to be forced and sacked. Thus was that day spent in the slaughter of enemies, and in rifling of that most wealthy city. The morrow after, the Dictator sold in portsale the bodies of as many as were freeborn. That many only came into the common treasury not without some anger and repining of the Commons. And as for that booty and spoil which they brought with them away, they counted themselves beholden therefore, neither to the Generall himself (who to colour and excuse his own nigardise had referred the matter to the Senat: wherein he might have used his own liberty and discretion) nor to the Senat: but unto the house of the *Licinis*, whereof, the son propounded the matter before the Senat, and the father was the author of so popular an overture.

The City of
Veii won by
Camillus

When as now worldly and earthly riches, were carried forth and tumbled out of *Veii* by heaps, then began they to remove and have away the sacred gifts and oblations of the gods with the gods themselves, but after the maner of devout worshippers, rather than of greedy spoilers. For chosen there were out of the whole army, certain youths in the flower of their age, who having their bodies clean washed, and being arrayed in robes, had in charge to carry Queen *Juno* to *Rome*, and entred into the Church with great adoration and reverence: and at the first very charily and religiously laid hand upon her, for that (after the Tuscan maner) there used none to handle that Image but the Priest of one certain tribe. After this, when as one of them, whether it were upon a certain divine inspiration, or in some youthfull sport, cast out these words, *Wilt thou march to Rome dame Juno?* The rest with one voice cried aloud, That she gave a nod, and seemed thereto to give assent: whereupon this also was added to the tale, that she was heard to say, *I will*. But for certain it is reported, that she was stirred out of her footstall, with the help of a small lever, and that as she willingly was displaced, so she was easily removed & translated, and so safe and sound conveyed into the mountain *Aventine*, there to abide and remain for ever; which was the place assigned unto her by the vows of the Roman Dictator. And there *Camillus* according to his vow, dedicated to her afterwards a temple. This was the finall end and fall of *Veii*, the richest City of all the Tuscans, which

A which even in the last and most calamity shewed her mightiness, and having been besieged round about continually the space of ten summers and winters, & in that time done much more annoyance and hurt then it received, was now at last through the necessity of fatal destiny, gained rather by long siege and secret undermining, then won by forcible assault and violence.

When tidings came to *Rome* of the winning of *Vej*, albeit both the prodigious sights that were seen, had been expiated by sacrifice, and that the answers of the Prophets and wisemen, yea, and the Oracles of *Apoll* were well known: and that so far forth as mens counsel and policy might help, they had chosen for General *M. Furius*, the most noble captain and warrior of all other: yet considering they had there warred so many years with variable fortune, and received many losses and overthrows, their joy was exceeding great, as if a thing had happened unlooked for. And before that the Senat could make a decree, all the churches were full of the dames of *Rome* giving thanks to their gods. And the Senat ordained by an act, that supplications should continue for four daies, the like as never had been before time in any way. The Dictator also was met upon the way as he came home by all degrees and estates in great number, and was more welcomed and honoured then any man afore time, to that day. And the triumph far exceeded the usual manner of the solemnity to that day belonging. But most of all was he himself all goodly to be seen, entering into the city in a chariot drawn with white steeds. And that was thought an honour, not only in respect for the quality of a citizen, but hardly befitting the condition of any man whatsoever. For they made it a matter of conscience, that their Dictator should be equal with *Jupiter*, and the sun, in respect of their barres: for which only cause especially, the triumph was more glorious than gracious, and taken in good part. Then assigned he & let out to Queen *Juno* a church in *Avventine* hill, and dedicated another to dame *Minerva*, and so having achieved and performed those divine and human deeds, he resigned up his Dictatorship.

The temple of Queen *Juno*, so, the temple of *Minerva*.

After this began some speech about the Present to *Apoll*. Unto whom, when as *Camillus* said that he had vowed the tenth part of the spoil: and the Priests and Prelates thought good that the people should discharge their conscience in that behalf: there could no ready mean be found how to command them to give back again the spoil, that the due portion thereof might be set apart for the holy oblation. At the length they grew to this point, which was thought the easiest course of all, that whosoever would acquit himself and his house in conscience, should, after he had made an estimat to himself of his own share in the spoil, bring the value & price of the tenth part into the common Chest: that thereof might be made a golden oblation, meet for the state of that Temple, befitting the power of that god, and answerable to that dignity of the people of *Rome*. Yet even this contribution alienated the hearts of the people from *Camillus*.

A mid these affairs there came Embassadors from the Volscians and Equians, to treat for peace, and peace obtained they, rather because the city, wearied with continual wars, might now take rest and be at quiet, than for any defects of them that sued for it. After *Vej* was taken, the year following had six Tribunes Military in Consuls authority, two *P. Cornelij*, namely, *Cossus* and *Scipio*, *M. Valerius Maximus* the second time, *C. Fabius Ambustus* the second time, *L. Furius Medullinus* the second time, and *Q. Servilius* the third time. Unto the *Cornelij* fell out by lot the Faliscan war, to *Valerius* and *Servilius* the Capenats. Who neither assaulted their cities by force, nor wearied them with siege: but foraged the countries, and drove boories away of such things as were in the fields, not a tree that beareth fruit, not any fruitful things besides, escaped their hands. This distresse and calamity subdued the Capenats: who thereupon sued for peace, and had it granted. But amongst the Faliscians the war continued still. In the meantime, at *Rome* there were sundry seditions. For the appeasing whereof, it was thought good to send a Colony to *Vols*, and thither three thousand citizens were appointed in checkroll. And Triumvirs were thereto chosen, who divided to every man three acres of ground and a half, and one twelfth part. That began to be despised, because they thought it but a poor comfort offered to stop their mouths withall, and to put them beside a greater hope. For why should the Commons be sent away into the Volscians land, seeing there was *Vej* within their eye-sight, a most fair city, and the land about more plentiful and large than that of *Rome*? And as for the city it self, they preferred it, either for the site, or state of privat or publick buildings and other places, before the city of *Rome*. Moreover a motion also was made (which, after that *Rome* was won by the French, was more hotly followed) concerning a General transmigration and removing to *Vej* for ever. Marry, they intended that *Vej* should be inhabited, partly by the Commons, and partly by the Nobility: saying, That the people of *Rome* might well enough inhabit two cities joyntly in one state of Commonwealt. Against all this, the LL. of the Senat laboured what they might, and plainly said, they would sooner dye in the sight of the people of *Rome*, than any of those matters should passe. For why? if there were now in one city so much dissention, what would there be in twain? Would any man be so mad, as to prefer a conquered city, before his own country that had conquered the same? and suffered *Vej* after it is won to be in better estate then it was afore, even when it was at the best? Finally, well might they be forsaken at home in their own country by their citizens, but to forsake their country and citizens, they would never be brought by any force whatsoever. They would not follow to *Vej*, *T. Sicinius* as their founder, for he amongst the Tribunes of the Commons perswaded this Act, and leave their god *Romulus* the son of a god, the first stockfather and beginner of the city of *Rome*. While these matters were in handling with foules stir and much debate and variance (for the nobles had won to their opinion some of the Tri-

Tribunes) there was nothing else that staid the Commons hands from outrage, but this, that when there was an outcry made to begin the quarrell, and to set them together by the ears, the chief and principal Senators first came forth to the multitude, and offered themselves to be laid at, smitten and slain. In regard of whose age, dignity, and honour, they forbearing to do violence, were likewise for shame stayed in their mood, for any the like attempts besides. *Camillus* taking vantage hereof, ever and anon in all places, made speeches unto the people, and said: "That it was no marvell truly, that the city was in a rage and madness, which being charged with a vow, made more care of all things else, then to discharge their conscience thereof and see it performed. As for the collation and gathering of a small donative, rather then a tithe, he said nothing of it: seeing that every man privately bound himself thereto, and the body of the people stood freed therefrom. But one thing there was that his conscience would not suffer him to hold his peace, that out of that booty only which was of moveable things, the tenth was appointed to be levied: as for the city and ground that was won, which also was comprised within the vow there were no words at all made. When as the debating of this matter, which to the Senat seemed doubtful and hard, was put over to the Priests and Prelats: their collage calling to them *Camillus* thought good, that whatsoever the Veientians had before the vow made, and whatsoever after the vow, came into the hands of the people of *Rome*, the tenth part thereof should be consecrated to *Apollo*. So both the city and the lands were valued: and money taken forth of the city chamber. And the Tribunes Military Consular joyued therewith to buy gold. Whereof there being not store enough, the dimes of the city, having their assemblies and meetings by themselves for to consult therabout, by a common decree made promise to the Tribunes Military, and brought into the exchequer their own gold, and all the ornaments and jewels they had. This was as acceptable a thing, and as well taken of the Senat, as ever any had been: and for this liberality (men say) they had this honour granted unto them, as to ride to church and to places in hanging of ship-coaches, and as well on working daies as holidays, to be at their wagons. When the gold was of every one received by weight and priced to the worth, that they might again be paid money therefor: it was agreed that a standing cup of gold should be made thereof, and presented as an oblation to *Apollo at Delphi*. So soon as they had eased and disburdened their minds of this religious vow, the Tribunes of the Commons began sedition anew: So as the multitude was incited and stirred up against all the peers but above all other against *Camillus*: charging him, that what by consecrating and consecrating the booty of the Veientians, he had brought it to just nothing. Those nobles that were absent they blamed and they cried out against mightily, but of such that were present in place, and offered themselves unto them in their anger, they had some reverence. Now so soon as they saw the matter in question to be deferred and continued past that year, they chose again for the year following, those Tribunes of the Commons, which were the authors of that act and law. The Nobles likewise endeavoured the same for those that should oppose themselves against the law. So the Tribunes of the Commons (a good part of them) were chosen the very same again. But at the Election of the Tribunes Military, the Patriarch after very much ado got at length, that *Furius Camillus* was created. They made semblance and pretended, that they would be provided of a General for war, but indeed their purpose was to be furnished of an adversary to withstand the acts and proceedings of the Tribunes: Together with *Camillus* were made Tribunes Military in Consul authority, *L. Furius Medullinus* the first time, *C. Amyllus*, *L. Valerius Publicola*, *Sp. Posthumius*, *P. Cornelianus* the second time.

In the beginning of the year, the Tribunes of the Commons stirred not untill *M. Furius Camillus* was gone against the *Falisci*, as his charge required for that war. And by delays afterwards the matter was well cooled. As for *Camillus*, whom of all other they most feared to be their adversary, he waxed great and glorious, by his service against the *Falisci*. For whereas at the first, the enemies kept themselves within the wals, thinking it the safest way: he by walking their country, and setting fire upon their villages, forced them to come forth of their town, howbeit they feared to be too bold, and to go far forward: and encamped themselves a mile and lesse from the town, reposing their safety and security in nothing else, but in the dangerous and hard passage, the waies all about being rough, ragged, and stony, in some places straight and narrow, in other up hill and steep. *Camillus* having tak en a prisoner out of the fields, and being guided by his direction, late in the night dislodged his camp, and betimes in the morning at break of the day, shewed himself upon the higher rounds a good deal. The Romans on three sides, fell to fortifie by trenching and casting rampiers, whiles the rest of the army stood ready ranged for the battrell. And whereas the enemies assaid to hinder the work, he discomfited them and put them to flight, whereupon the *Falisci* were so frightened, that as they fled again in disaray, they passed beyond their own camp, which was neerer: and made as fast as they could to the town. Many were slain and many wounded, before that in this affright they could hit upon the gates. Their camp being taken, the booty thereof came into the Quæstors coffers, with the great grudging and anger of the souldiers. Howbeit yielding to the severity of discipline and good government: the same virtue which they had hated before, they now honoured and held in admiration. After this was the city besieged, and ironces and platform raised about it. Otherwhiles also, as occasion was offered, the townsman would fall forth and assaile the Romans camp, and make light skirmishes. Thus the time passed without any great good hope of either side: for that they within the town besieged, had of their former provision more store of corn & other necessaries than they that

A that lay at Siege without. And it seemeth they would have had as long a piece of worke there, as they had at *Ferri*, had not fortune yielded to the Romans General both a trial of his approved vertue in war, and also speedy victorie.

It was the manner among the Fallicians, to entrust for the government of their Children one that should teach and instruct them in school, and withall bear their company wheresoever they went, and many children together (as the *Scotte* continued till even to this day in *Grined*) were committed to the charge and tuition of one man. As for the Nobles and principall mens sons of this City (as it is usually every where else) a speciall man had the teaching of them, such an one, as was thought most learned and the greatest clerk of all other. This man, having in time of peace

B begun to bring the children forth before the town, to sport and exercise themselves, gave not over his wonted manner now in time of war. And using still to train them abroad one while heere, another while further off from the gate, it fell out so, that one day what with playing, and what with pleasant talk and discourses he drew them further then he accustomed, and feeling his time, went forward as far as the *Camillus* pavilion, and to forth on, till he had brought them within the compasse of the camp. And even to *Camillus* his pavilion. Where to his wicked intended act, he added also a more gracefull speech, saying, "That he yielded *Falerii* into the

Monte Fiascome.

Romans hands, in that he gave them their march to us, with what they would, whole parents were the rulers and commanders of the city. Which words when *Camillus* heard, had comen not (quoth he) flew forth as thout, with my sword and armed pretent, either to a people or to a

The words of *Camillus* to the traitorous school-master of the Nobles mens sons of *Falerii*.

C man concluded and established: yet by nature, there is and will be still a kind of smile or love-ety between us and them. There are laws due for war as well as for peace: and those we learned to observe no less justly, than valiantly. We bear yms not again that I say, which usually is said in raising and lacking of rowns, but against armed men, and those who being

by us neither harmed nor provoked, have assailed the Romans camp at *Ferri*. And yet those who mics (as bad as they be, like as thou hast for thy part exceeded them in a new and strange kind of wickednesse: to will I conquer. I doubt not, by feats that the Romans professe: by vertue, by

travell, by hardy fight: like as I have done *Ferri* already. After this he caused him to be stripped naked, and so with his hands bound behind him, he delivered him to the children, for to bring him back to *Falerii*: and gave them rods withall, wherewith they might whip and drive this traitorous

D perion forward into the city. At which sight the people at the first came running together, and then the Magistrats called a Councell to sit upon this strange occurrent. But see what a change it wrought in their hearts. They who a while before were with hatred and anger so cruelly let as that they wished rather in a manner to be destroyed with the *Veientians*, then to accept of peace

as the *Capenates* had done, now through out the whole city required to be at accord with the Romans. No talk in the Market place, no speech in the Councell house, but of the faithfulness and truth of the Romans, and of the justice of their General. And with one generall consent of all, Embassadors were sent to *Camillus*, into the camp. And from thence by permission of *Camillus*

E to the Senat of *Rome* they went, to deliver up *Falerii*: and being admitted into the Senat house, in this wise (by report) they spake: "In that victory (right honourable) which neither God nor man can chide but allow, are we by you and your General overcome and vanquished. And here we render our selves into your hands: supposing this (than which to a conquerour there can be no

The Oration of the Embassadors of *Falerii* to the Senat of *Rome*.

thing more honourable) that we shall live better under your government, than under our own proper laws and liberties. The event & issue of this war, hath afforded to mankind two worthy examples to follow. Ye for your part have made choice to observe faithfulness in war, rather then to achieve a present conquest: and we again, by this your faithful dealing incited and provoked

F have willingly yielded unto you the victory, confessing our selves now presently to be your liege & lawfull subjects. Send whom you will, to receive our armor, our hostages, our town with open gates. Neither shall you ever repent of our allegiance nor, we think much of your rule & government. *Camillus* had thanks both of the enemies and of the citizens. The Fallicians were charged with money for that years pay, that the people of *Rome* might be freed of their subsidy. Thus when peace was granted, the army was brought back again to *Rome*.

When as *Camillus* was returned after this conquest of his enemies into the City, with much better commendation, than when as in triumph he rode in a chariot drawn with white horses through the city, as being now famous for his just dealing and faithfulness: secretly the Senat was abashed for very reverence of the man, and could no longer bear, but without farther delay to acquit him of the vow he made. So there were sent *L. Valerius*, *L. Sergius*, *A. Manlius* as Embassadors in one galley unwaited, to present unto *Apollo* at *Delphi* by way of obligation, a standing cup of gold.

G Who not far off from the narrow less of *Sicily*, were encountered & boded by certain *Liparenians* pirates or men of war, and had to *Lipara*. Now the manner was of that city, as common rovers (to do) for to divide the prize among them. Happly the chief officer or Magistrat for that year, was one *Timasthemus*, a man more like to the Romans than his own countrymen. Who having him-

self some reverent regard of the name of Embassadors, and the present of the god to whom it was sent, and the occasion thereof: possessed the multitude also (which also rightly resembled their governor) with due religion and prick of conscience. This head ruler brought the Embassadors into their lodging, & entertained them courteously at the cities charge, waited them with the convoy of a sufficient fleet: accompanied them in person to *Delphi*, and from thence conducted them

them

them home again safe to Rome. Whereupon by an act of the Senat, there was a contract made with him of amity and mutuall entertainment, and gifts bestowed upon him at the cities cost. The same year there was doubtfull war with the Equians, so it was uncertain both in the army and at Rome whether they had won or lost the victory. The Generals for the Romans, were of the Tribunes Military, *C. Aemilius*, and *Sp. Posthumius*. At the first they warred both together, but after, when the enemies were in fight discomfited, it was agreed, that *Aemilius* should keep *Ferrago* with a garrison, and *Posthumius* wait the borders. Where, as he marched somewhat negligently with his army out of order, as presently after field won, the Equians set upon him, and having put him in fear chased him to the hills next hand. The fright whereof came from thence to the other garrison also at *Ferrago*. *Posthumius*, after that he had retired his men into safety and assembled them together, and there in an Oration greatly blamed and cried out upon their fear and running away; and that they were discomfited by a most dastardly fugitive enemy: the whole host cried out with one voice, that they deserved to be told of it, and confessed that they had committed a foul fault; but they themselves would make amends therefore: and promised that the enemies should carry it neither to heaven nor hell, nor so long therewith. Requiring that he would conduct them presently to the enemies camp (which in light was pight upon a plain) promising to refuse no extremity of punishment, if they were not masters of it before night. He then commended them, and willed them to refresh their bodies, and to be ready at the reliefe of the fourth watch. Now lay the enemies likewise in the passage, to intercept the Romans, as they fled by night from the hill, even in the way which leadeth to *Ferrago*. And before day they encountered together (but you must think the moon shone all night) and saw how to fight, as well as by day light. The noise being heard to *Ferrago*, strake so great fear amongst them, shoking the camp of the Romans had been assailed, that for all *Aemilius* could do to hold them, and to beleech them to the contrary, they fled scattered unto *Tusculum*. From whence the news came to Rome, That *Posthumius* was slain, and his army lost. But heiding about the host (after that in the morning betimes the day light shewed them that followed apace on every side, that there was no fear of ambushments and forsayings) charged them with their promises, and set them in such a heat, That the Equians could no longer abide their violence. Then slew they the enemies in the chase every one, and made havock of them as they fled, more like men that do things in a fury and rage then by plain valour. And presently from the Tidings from *Tusculum* (which put the city in a vain & causeless fright) there came from *Posthumius* letters, dight with lawrell: importing news, that the Romans had the victory, and the Equians the overthrow.

Because as yet the actions and votes aforesaid of the Tribunes of the Commons could come to no end: but the Commons laboured to continue the Tribuneship in them that were the maintainers of the law preferred, and also the Nobles endeavoured to make those rulers again that had opposed themselves against the same law. But as the Commons in their own Election prevailed and had the better: so the Nobles were revenged of them againe for this grieffe they tooke, by an Act of the Senat, that Consuls (hated Magistrates of the Commons) should be created. Thus after fifteen yeares were Consuls reelected, *L. Lucratius Flavius*, *Servius Sulpitius Camerinus*.

In the beginning of this year, when as the Tribunes of the Commons desired themselves stoutly to go through with their law, for that none of their brotherhood was about to deny and nip the same: and whiles the Consuls for that very cause resisted them as earnestly, and the whole city was here-about smuled: the Equians won *Fusilia*, a Colony of the Romans, seated within their own country. Most part of the Coloners (because the town being by night betrayed and won, yeelding unto them free passage to escape away on the back side) fled safe to Rome. So that service befell unto *L. Lucratius* the Consul, Who went with a power and vanquished the enemies in fight, and with victory returned to Rome to a greater conflict a good deal. *Aulus Virginius*, and *Quintus Pomponius*, two Tribunes of the Commons the two yeares past, were accused: for whose defence it was for the Credit of the Senat, That the Nobles should agree and stick close together. For no man laid to their charge either dishonest behaviour in life, or corrupt carriage of themselves in their office, but only this, that to please and gratifie the Nobles, they had set themselves against the Tribunes law. Howbeit the anger of the Commons went beyond the favour of the Senat, and (that which was a most shamefull precedent) they (guiltlesse men) had fine set on their heads of * ten thousand pound of brasse coin: Whereat the Nobles took great displeasure. *Camil- lus* openly blamed the Commons for this their wicked part: who now setting themselves against their own patrons, perceived not that by a perverse proceeding in judgement against their Tribunes, they had lost their liberty of opposing themselves with their negative voice: and take that away once, and farewell all authority of the Tribunes for ever. For where as they hoped that the Nobles would endure the unbridled and licentious liberty of that office, they were much deceived: for if these hard courses of the Tribunes might not be restrained by help of the same Tribunes, the Nobility would find some other weapon to fight withall. He rebuked the Consuls also, for that they suffered those Tribunes to faile of their protection and safe conduct, who had done and said nothing but by the authority and warrant of the Senat. Whiles openly he used to make these and such orations to the people, he thrust himself daily more and more into mens anger and displeasure. But to stir up the Senat against the foresaid law, he ceased not still: willing them, that when the day came of proposing the law, they should come into the Common Hall, with no other mind but this, to remember they were to fight for god and country

* 26 lib. 5. lb.
sterle.
Camilus rebuketh the Commons.

Camilus his speech in the Senat.

- A try, for the temples of the gods, and the very soile wherein they were born. And as for his own self privately, if it were lawful for him amidst these civil troubles of his native country, to think upon and respect his own proper glory, it were right honourable for him, to have the city which he had won, peopled and resorted unto : and daily to behold and enjoy the memorable monument of his own glory : to see before his eyes the very City, whereof the counterfeit was born in the pomp of triumph : and that all men else should tread in the steps of his noble acts. But he thought it a shamefull and abominable thing, that a City left and forsaken of the immortal gods, should be inhabited : and that the people of *Rome* should dwell in captive soile, and to make this exchange, to leave a naturall country which hath conquered, for it that hath been conquered.
- B With these perswasions & exhortations were the chief rulers excited, the Nobles old and young, came in multitudes, (when as the law should be propounded) into the Hall. And as they were dispersed and sorted into Tribes, every one taking hold of those of his own tribe, began to beseech them even with tears, not to forsake that Country now, in the quarrell whereof they and their fathers had fought most valiantly and happily : shewing herewith ever and anon the Capitoll, the Temple of *Vesta*, and other Temples thereabout of the gods : that they should not therefore drive the people of *Rome*, as exiled and banished out of their native soile from their own home and house gods, into their enemies City, nor bring the matter thus about, that it had been better that *Vesta* had not been won, rather then *Rome* should be abandoned. Because their dealing was nothing but by way of praier and perswasion, and in their praiers much mention and naming of the gods, the most part of them were touched in conscience : so as more Tribes nipped that one law forgoing forward, than gave their voices to approve it. Which victory was so joyfull to the Nobles, that the morrow after, by the motion of the Coss. a decree was made, That amongst the Commons should be a division of seven acres for a man out of the Veientian lands : and not for householders only, but that consideration and reckoning should be had also in every houle of all free born persons : to the end, that they should be willing to breed up children to the like proof, and for the hope of like commodity. When the Commons by this bountifull gift and liberality, were well pacified and stilled, there was no stir at all to hinder the election of the Consuls. So there were created Consuls, *Lu. Valerius Potitus*, and *M. Manlius*, who afterwards was surnamed *Capitolinus*.
- C These Consuls set out the great solemn games and plaies, which *M. Furius*, the Dictator had vowed in the Veientian war. In the same year the Temple of *Juno Regina* vowed by the same Dictator and in the same war, was dedicated. And it is reported, that the dedication thereof was celebrated with exceeding great resort and forward endeavour of the dames of *Rome*. War there was (but not greatly to be spoken of) *Algidum* with the *Equians*, for that the enemies were in a manner discomfited before that they joyned battell. *Valerius* because he followed still and killed the enemies in chase, was allowed by decree to triumph at full : and *Manlius*, that he should enter into the city only *Ovans*, in petty triumph. The same year arose a new war with the *Volscians* : against whom by reason of a famine and pestilence that grew about *Rome* upon exceeding drought and heat, an army could not be led forth. For which cause the *Volscinians* puffed up with pride, joyning unto them the *Salpenates*, invaded first the country about *Rome*. Whereupon war was proclaimed against both nations. *C. Julius* the Censor departed this life. In whose room *M. Cornelius* was substituted. Which after bred some scruple of Religion, for that *Rome* in that five years space was taken. So that never after that is there any Censor chosen into the place of the deceased : And the Consuls also being sick and thereby disabled to govern, it was thought good to take new counsell & advice of auspices or tokens of birds, by an Interregnum. When as therefore by an act of the Senat, the Consuls had resigned their office, *M. Furius Camillus* was created Interregent. Who named after him *P. Cornelius Scipio* : and he afterwards *Lu. Valerius Potitus* to be Interrex. By whom were made six Tribunes Military with Consuls authority : that in case any of them should be sick and crasic, yet the Common-wealth should have governours enough. The first day of *July* entered they into their office : namely, *L. Lucretius*, *Servius Sulpitius*, *M. Aemilius*, *Lu. Furius Medullinus* the seventh time, *Agrippa Furius*, *C. Aemilius* the second time. Of these *L. Lucretius* and *C. Aemilius* had in commission to go against the *Volscians* : but *Agrippa Furius*, and *Servius Sulpitius* against the *Salpenates*. And first were the *Volscians* fought withall. A great war in respect of the number of enemies : but for the conflict and battell, nothing fierce and sharp. For their army at the first encounter was put to flight, and eight thousand souldiers were by the Roman horsemen environed, whereupon they threw their weapons away and yeilded. The tidings of this war caused the *Salpenates* not to adventure upon fight : but they kept themselves armed within the walls, and stood upon their guard. The Romans then all abroad drave booties both out of the *Salpenates* Country, and the *Volscians*, and no man withstood their violence : so long untill the *Volscians* wearied with war, and truce granted unto them for twenty years, upon this condition, to make restitution again to the Romans of their goods, and to pay the souldiers for that year their wages.
- D The same year one *M. Caelius* a commoner, gave notice to the Tribunes that in the new Causey, where now there standeth a Chappel above the Temple of *Vesta*, there was in the still time of the night a voice heard, louder than any mans, willing that the governours might have intelligence, that the Gauls were coming. This, by reason of the balenesse of the author (as commonly it is seen) was not credited : besides, they were a nation far remote, and therefore less known and of small account. Thus were not only the advertisements of the gods despised, when as their fatal time of destruction

struction was toward : but also the help of man (which rested only in *Furius Camillus*) they rid out of the City. Who being arrested to appear at a day by *L. Apulcius* Tribune of the Commons, and to make answer for the sackage of *Vesii*, and having buried about the same time his son, a to-wardly young Gentleman, sent for home to his house, those of his own tribe, his skinfolk and fol-lowers, wherof a great part were of the Commons. And when he had founded their minds, and re-ceived this answer from them, That they would defray and lay down so much, as he should be condemned in : but as to acquit him, that they could not possibly. Hereupon he departed in ex-ile : praying to the immortall gods, that as he was guiltlesse and wrongfully dealt withall, so they would with all speed, cause that unthankful City to stand in need, and to have a misse of him. In his absence condemned he was in * fifteen thousand pounds of brasse coine. When this citizen was thus expelled, who if he had tarried still, (so far as we may make reckoning of any earthly securi-ty) *Rome* could never have been won: behold, embassadors came from the Clusines, request-ing aid against the Gauls.

This nation (as it is reported) allured with the sweetnesse of corn and wine especially (dainty chaffer and a new delight in those daies) passed over the *Alps*, and possessed those countries which had been aforetime by the Tuscans inhabited. The voice goeth, that there was one *Arnus* a Clusine, who had brought wine into Gaul, to entise that people withall, upon an anger and dis-pleasure that his wife had been deflowered by one *Lucumo* (whose guardian *Arnus* himselfe had been) a young gentleman of great might and power, and whom *Arnus* could not chastise and bridle, without assistance of forein forces : This man was the Gauls guide in passing over the *Alps*, K and the principal instrument to set them a work for to assault *Clusium*. I would not for my part deny, but that the French were brought to *Clusium* by *Arnus* or some other Clusine : but most certain it is, that they who assaulted *Clusium*, were not the first that passed the *Alps*. For the Gauls two hundred years before they assaulted *Clusium* and won the City of *Rome*, came over into *Italy*. Neither fought the Gauls first with this nation of the Tuscans, but long afore, and that oftentimes, with those that dwell between *Apenninus* and the *Alps*. For, the Tuscans had all sovereign com-mand, both by land and sea, before the Roman Empire was erected. The names of upper and ne-ther sea, wherewith *Italy* is compassed about, as it were an Island, may be a sufficient proof, how great and puissant they were : seeing, that the one is by the general name of the Nation, called of *Italians*, the Tuscan sea: & the other the Adriatick, of a town of colony or the Tuscans called *Adria*. L The Greeks do call the self same seas that (a) *Tyrrhene* and the Adriaticke seas. These Tuscans ben-ding to both seas, inhabited those countries, consisting of twelve Cities : having sent before on this side *Apennine*, toward the nether sea, and afterwards beyond the (b) *Apennine*, as many Colo-nies in number according to the Princes at the first beginning, and held in possession all those parts beyond the *Po* unto the *Alps*, except that Angle only of the Venetians, that are seated about the gulf of the Adriatick sea. And doubtlesse, the Nations about the *Alps*, especially the Rhetians, had their beginning thus: whom the very country it self made savage, so they as retained nothing of old, but the sound of their language, and the same broken and somewhat corrupted. Now for the coming of the Gauls over into *Italy*, thus much we have learned. In the daies of *Priscus Tarquinius* King of *Rome*, the (c) *Celtes* which are a third part of the Gauls, were under the rule of the (d) *Bitariges* who chose a King over the Celtes, named *Ambigatus*, a great potentat and mighty, both in re-gard of valour and vertue, and also of his own privat wealth and publick weal : for that under his regiment, Gaul was so fertile of corn, and grew so populous, that the exceeding number of the people could not well be governed. This man being of great age, and desirous now to disbur-then his Realm of that pestering multitude, declared that he would send *Bellovesus* and *Sigovesus* his sisters sons (two forward young men) to seek adventures, into what lands soever the gods and goddesses should by their token direct them : giving them commission to gather what number of men they would, to the end that no nation might withstand their coming. So it fell to *Sigo-vesus* lot, for to enter the Forrest and woodland country of *Hercinia*. *Bellovesus* his fortune was a good deal better, to take his way (by the gods guidance) unto *Italy* : and he leivied of the *Bitariges*, (e) *Averni* (f) *Senones* (g) *Helvii* (h) *Ambarrs* (i) *Caranates* and (k) *Anseres*, those that might be spared out of those Countries : and setting forward with a mighty power of footmen & horsemen, came unto the (l) *Tricassides*. Now stood the *Alps* full against them in their way, which I marvel not were thought & insuperable impassable, as having not as yet any way made over them, (so far as any constant record maketh date) unlesse we list to beleieve the tales of *Hercules*. Now when as the Gauls there, were hemmed in as it were on every side with those high montains, and that they looked every way about them, how they might get over those high hills reaching up to the heavens, and so passe (as one would say) into an other World ; they were staid there and went no further, upon scruple of conscience, for that it was reported, that certain strangers seeking land to inhabite, were by the people of (m) *Sallies* set upon and assailed. These strangers were the (n) *Massilians*, who sailed from *Phocis*. This the Gauls supposing to be a fortunate presage of their suc-cess helped them forward, and took part with them : so as what place first they gat after they were landed, they fortified within the wide or broad Forrests. They themselves passed through the Country of (o) *Taurini*, and over the straights of the *Alps*, called (p) *Julia* : and having vanquished the Tuscans in fight not far from the river (q) *Ticinus*, hearing that the Country wherin they abode and settled, was called *Insubrinum* (after the name of a territory and shire of the *Heduans*) they fol-lowing and imbracing the lucky name of that place, so conformable to the other of their own, builded

M. *Furius Ca-*
millus goeth
into the exile.

* 39 lib. 7. lb.
6 d Berl.

a Mar. *Tosco* or
Mare de Mar-
seilles
b *Monte Fisel-*
lo.

c *Languedoc*
Provence, and
Dauphine.
d Berry at this
day.

e *Auvergne*.
f *Sens*.
g *Bugognions*.
h *Charvolois*.
i *Chartres* or
Chartreame.
k *Eureaux*.
l *Entrecafeaux*.

m *Solies*.
n *Ot Marseilles*

o *Piemont*.
p *Juin*.
q *Ticino*.

A builded a City and called it (r) *Mediolanum*. Afterwards another power of Germans with their captain *Eluvius*, following the steps of the former Gauls, by the same streights (with good leave and favour of *Belovesus*) passed over the *Alps*, and remained there: and where now (s) *Brixia* and (t) *Verona* two towns stand (the u) *Liguri* than inhabited those parts made their abode. After these, the *Saluvii* passed over, who expelled all the *Ligurians* that dwelt on this side the river *Tecinus*, but only the *Levi*, an ancient nation. After them the (x) *Boii* and (y) *Lingones* passed over the hill (z) *Penninus*, dispossessed the *Tuscans* & the *Umbrians* of their territories, yet so as they kept them within *Appenninus*. Then the *Senones* which were the last comers of these strangers, inhabited the country from the river (a) *Venus* unto (b) *Arbois*. This nation I find to have come to (c) *Clusium*, and afterwards from thence to *Rome*; marry it is not certaine whether this nation alone came, or that they were aided by all the Gauls, that dwelt on this side the *Alps*.

The *Clusines* terrified with this new war, advising well both their number and the unaccustomed looks, and visages of the men, which they had not seen afore, and the strange armour withall: & hearing besides that the legion of the *Tuscans* both on this side the *Pe* and beyond, had been oftentimes by them discomfited: Albeit in the *Romans* they had no interest at all in regard of any league or amity, only this, that they had not maintained their kinfolk the *Veientes* against the *Romans*, sent their *Embassadors* to *Rome*, to crave aid of the *Senat*. Aid they obtained none. *Embassadors* there were sent three, the sonnes of *M. Fabius Ambustus*, who in the name of the *Senat* and people of *Rome* should treat with the Gauls and persuade with them, not to let upon the confederats and friends of the people of *Rome* namely, such as at whole hands they had received no wrong: saying moreover, that if they would put the *Romans* to it, The *Romans* were to defend Gauls by war, howbeit they thought it better, if it might be, to have no wars at all: but that the them a new-come nation should grow into knowledge and acquaintance, rather by peace than by war. The embassage was mild and modest enough, but the *Embassadors* themselves were over fierce & hasty, and more like Gauls than *Romans*: Who having done their message in the assembly of the Gauls, were thus again answered. "Although the name of the *Romans* was but of late heard of, yet they, yet they were persuaded that they were hardy men, at whole hands the *Clusines* in their fear, fought and requested succour. And whereas they choole rather to defend

D their allies by way of embassage, than by open war, they likewise neither did daunt nor reme peace, which they offered: If the *Clusines* would grant the Gauls (which wanted ground to inhabit) a part of their marches, whereof they held in possession more than they did well people and happy. Otherwise, no peace would be had. And hereof would they have an answer, while the *Romans* were in place: and if they were denied ground, they would also fight even before the *Romans* face, that they might make report at home, how much the Gauls went beyond other men in valour & chivalry. And when as the *Romans* demanded again what right they had to require ground of the owners or to threaten war? For what interest or title had the Gauls in *Tuscany*? They again stoutly made answer: that they carried their right in their words, point and that valiant men were Lords of all the world. So they were on both sides to let on fire, that they ran to their weapons & skirmish'd with the *Tuscans*. Then against all law of nations a thing that bafled the destruction of the *Roman City* the *Embassadors* took arms. Neither could this be so secret but it was known; For even before the enignes of the *Tuscans*, there were seen three most noble & valiant knights of the *Romans* for to fight so far exceeded the valour of those strangers above all the *Clusines*. Moreover and besides, *Quintus Fabius* riding out of the battell on horseback charged his lance upon the captain of the Gauls, as he fiercely assailed the enignes and cartel of the *Tuscans*, ran him through and slue him: and as he rifled and disarmed him, the Gauls took knowledge of him, and throughout the whole host notice was given, that it was an *Embassador* of the *Romans*.

E So leaving their quarrell against the *Clusines*, they founded the retreat and threatened the *Romans*. There were of them, that thought good presently to advance forward to *Rome*; but the elder sort prevailed, that there should be sent *Embassadors* first to complain of the injuries, and to require that for the law of arms broken, the *Fabii* should be yielded unto them. When as the Gaul *Embassadors* had declared their message according to their commission, the *Senat* nothing liked of the *Fabians* deed, and thought the barbarous Gauls required nothing but just and reason. Howbeit his friends and priyat respects, would not permit to make an act of that in personages of so great mark and nobility, which they deemed meet and requit. Therefore to the end it might not be imputed to them & they blam'd, if peradventure any roil or overthrow should hap unto them by warring with the Gauls: they referred the hearing and discussing of the Gauls demands unto the people. Where might and favour so much prevailed, that even they who were in question to be punished, were created for the year following *Tribunes Military* in *Consul* authority. At which the

F Gauls being offended (as good cause they had) with open threats and menaces of war returned again to their company. There were with the three *Fabii*, *P. Sulpicius Longus*, *Quintus Servilius* the fourth time, and *P. Servilius Mucianus*. When as now so great danger was towards and neer at hand (see how fortune blinded mens eyes, when as she will have her way and not be hindered) that City which against the *Fidicini* & *Veient* enemy & other nations bordering thereby tried the utmost help, and oftentimes made a *Dictator*: now being threatened with a strange enemy never heard of before, coming to war upon them from the *Ocean* sea, & the farthest parts of the world, sought neither for governor nor help more then ordinary. Even those *Tribunes* by whole rash deal-

Millaine.

s Brescia

t Verona

u About La

v xzro.

x Burbonois.

y Lungha.

z S. Barnardi

a Aufence.

b Ladice.

c cbiusi.

The answer of the Gauls to the Embassadors of Rome.

dealing that war was first caused, had the managing of all, and made no more choise, nor mustering of souldiers than usually had been in common wars, making but a light matter of it and of no consequence, & setting little by, and elevating the honour of the war. The Gauls in the mean time (having heard, how on set purpose those breakers of human law were loon advanced to honour, & how their embassage was deluded and dallied with, all on fire, as they are a nation that way impatient and in anger outrageous) pluckt up their standards forthwith and marched with all expedition on their voyage. At whose noise and horribly (as they passed by in such hast) when as the towns thereby were put in fear, and ran to their weapons, and the country peasants fled away: they with open mouth gave out and signified, that they went to *Rome*. All the way as they journeyed, what with horse and men, both in length and breadth, they took up a mighty room in their march. But what with the same that went before, and the messengers of the Clulines and of other people that followed one at the heels of another, this speedy coming of the enemies brought right great fear and terror to *Rome*. For notwithstanding, that they went with a power of men in all hast suddenly mustered, hardly met they them at eleven miles end, where as the river *Alia* running down from the hills of *Crustumium*, with a very deep channell (not much beneath the highway) discharge it self into the *Tiber*. And now by this time the whole country before them, and all the coasts about were overspread with the enemies. And as they are a nation naturally given to vain tumults and therein both bred) with an hideous and dissonant kind of singing (like a black Santus) they filled also about with a fearful and horrible noise. There the Tribunes Military without getting shorehand a convenient place to pitch their tents in, without fortifying the same with any trench or rampiers, whereunto they might safely betake themselves, even without any regard of God, whom at least wife they should have been mindfull of, if they had forgotten man, without Auspices and bird-tokens, without reconciliation to God by sacrifice, full unhappily and in an ill hour, ranged their battels divided into wings for fear of being compass'd with multitude of enemies. Yet might nor the vanguard answer the breadth of the enemies, notwithstanding they made their ranks and files so thin, that the middle ward of the battell was weak, & feart joyning close together. On the right hand there was a little higher ground, where they thought to bestow men for supply, which as it gave the first occasion of fear and running away, so was it the only safety of them that fled. For *Brennus* the Duke or Prince of the Gauls, fearing exceedingly in that small number of the Romans some stratagem, and supposing that the higher ground was for this purpose kept, that when the Gauls should have encountered with the forefront of the legions, then the reserves would charge them both upon their backs and their flanks, displayed and advanced his standards against those in rescue: nothing doubting but if he had once driven them from their hold upon higher ground, on the plain he should loon have the victory, considering that in number he overwent them. See how the Barbarians had not only luck, but policy also on their sides! Contrariwise, the Romans in their camp were nothing like themselves, either for captains or souldiers, their minds were so possessed with fear and thinking of running away, and so forgetfull besides, that the greater part of them chose rather to flee to *Rome*, (their enemies City) although the *Tiber* were full in their way, then to take the straight coule to *Rome*, to their wives and children. For a while, the advantage of the ground defended those that were for rescue: but in the rest of the host, so soon as they that were next, heard the shout from the sides, and those that were furthest off from behind, before any stroke smitten, and before they were once touched, they fled from their unknown enemy, in a manner before they saw him. And so far off they were from trying fight, that they answered them not so much as with a counter shout again, so as there were not any slain in fight. But they were killed behind at their backs, even by occasion of their own selves, who with their hurrying hindered one another in their flight. About the bank of *Tiber*, whereunto the whole host was fled down, and had flung away their weapons, there was a great slaughter. For many of them that could not swim, and were weak by reason of their weighty corselets and other harness, were drowned and swallowed up of the urging whirlpools. Howbeit, the most part escaped safe to *Rome*. From whence they came to *Rome*, not only to succour to guard the City, but not so much as a messenger to bring news of this their overthrow. But from the right wing which kept farther from the river, and he more under the hill, they all went to *Rome*. And finding not so much as the gates of the City that they all fled into the Castle. The very Gauls themselves allowed it to wonderfull and sudden victory, stood still at the first in a great amaze, as who knew not what had happened, and wist not what to make of it. Afterwards they feared some ambush, and at length fell to gathering the spoils of them that were slain, and to lay all their armor and harness upon heaps, as their manner is. At last, seeing no enemy nor shew of hostility, they put themselves in their journey forward, a little before sunsetting, and marched to the City of *Rome*. Where, upon word brought by the foreriders, that the gates were not shut, nor any ward kept afore the gates, nor armed men upon the walls, they stood in the like amaze as before, upon so strange and wondrous a thing. But fearing the night and the situation of a City unknown, they let them down, and rested between *Rome* and *Anagnina*, having sent their signals and scouts about the walls and gates, to understand what their enemies meant to doe in so desperate a state. The Romans, for that a greater part had taken their way to *Rome*, then to *Rome*, and weening that there was none left alive, but those that were fled back to *Rome*, bewailing and bidding adue, both to those that were dead and those alive, let the whole City almost a weeping and lamenting. But afterwards the publick fear allayed them, and took all sente away of their privat sorrows, when they heard

A once that the enemies were come, And within a while, as these barbarous people coasted and ranged about the walls by troops, they might hear their yelling, their houting, and uncouth, confused hideous cries. So were they held all the time in suspense of mind, untill the second day after: one while thinking, that at their first coming they would have surprised the City, for unless they had so meant, they would have tarried (they thought) at *Allia* still: again, a little before sun-setting (because the day was well-nigh done) they supposed they would enter upon them before night. But anon they feared that they deferred this enterprise untill night was come, to the end they might strike a greater fear & terror amongst them. And last of all the day light approaching, astonished them clean so as they were in a continual agony, even untill the mischief came indeed which they so long doubted, & that now the bloody banners of their enemies were displayed before their gate. Howbeit neither that night nor the day following, was the City in the like fear, as when they fled so fearfully at *Allia*. For being past hope, that the City could be defended with so small power as remained, they determined that with their wives & children, all their serviceable youth, such as were meet to bear arms, yea, and the more able men, and strength of the Senat should retire themselves into the Castle & Capitol: and after they had thither brought their armor and corn, from thence as from a defensible place to protect their gods, their men, and the Roman name: to save from fire and sword (so far as they could) the Flamin of *Jupiter*, the vestal Nuns, and sacred images, and holy reliques of the City: and not to abandon the worship and due solemnity unto them, so long as any were left alive, to do them honour and worship. For thus they conceived, That if the Castle & Capitol, being the seat of their gods, if the Senat, which is the head & chief of their publike counsel, if the hardy and fighting yong men remained after that imminent ruin and fall of the City, the less would be the loss of the aged folk, a number, (God wot) left behind of purpose in the City, no otherwiselike but to perish. And to the end that the multitude of the common sort might bear this more patiently, the elders that had triumphed aforetime, and been Consuls, openly gave out and said, That they would live and die together with them. Neither would they with those bodies of theirs which were unmeet to bear armour, and to defend the City, surcharge and pester the company of able and armed men, in this their penury & want of victuals. These and such like were the consolations and comforts of the ancients amongst themselves, now resolute to end their lives. After which, they turned their exhortations to the companies of the young and lusty men, whom they followed into the Castle and Capitol, recommending unto their manhood and to their youthful courage, all the estate remaining of that City, which for the space of three hundred and threescore years, had in all their wars been victorious, and gotten great conquests. Now when they, in whom rested all hope and help were departed, and had taken their leave of them, that resolved fully not to survive the winning and destruction of their City: as the very thing in it self, and the sight thereof was a lamentable and woful spectacle unto them, so the pitious weeping of women, and their uncertain running up and down, following now after one, and now after another, and asking their husbands and children, to what end, to what fatal destiny they betook them, was as dolorous a pageant, as could happen to any earthly creature. Nevertheless, a great sort of them accompanied their friends into the Castle, and no man either bad or forbade them. For although it was good and commodious for the besieged, namely, to diminish the number, and discharge themselves of the feeble multitude, yet it seemed unto them an inhuman and unkind part. The rest of the common people especially, whom so small an hill was not able to receive, and could not possibly be kept in so great scarcity of corn & victuals, departed by heaps out of the City: and marching as it were in one company together in a row, took their way to *Janiculum*. From thence they divided themselves sundry waies. Some slipped into the fields and country, some to the next Cities there bordering, without any Captain, without any common consent: every one following his own hope, his own head and wit now that all publike counsel was in despair, and past remedy. In this mean while, the Flamin of *Quirinus*, and the religious Vestal virgins leaving the regard of their own private affairs, consulted with themselves what sacred Images to carry with them, and (seeing their strength would not serve to rid away and save all) what to leave behind them, and what place was meetest to bestow and lay them up most safely. They agreed at length and thought it best, to put them in small barrells or rundlets, & within the ground to bury them in a little chappell, standing next to the Flamins house: which place for very devotion unto this day, may not for any thing be spit upon. All the rest they parted amongst themselves. And every one carrying her own burden, took the way, which over the wooden bridge leadeth to *Janiculum*. Upon the ascent or rise of that hill, when *L. Albinus* (a Commoner of *Rome*) saw them going, as he among other company (which unmeet for war, departed out of the City) carried his wife & children in a wain: he making even then in that hard calamity, a difference yet between divine and humane things, and thinking it an impious part, and void of all religion, that the publike Priests with the sacred Images of the people of *Rome* should go on foot, whiles he and his were seen riding at ease in a wagon, caused his wife and children to alight and come forth, and set the Nuns with their holy Images in their room, and brought them to *Care*, to which place they minded to go. All things now being set at *Rome* (as in such a time could be) in order sufficiently, for the defence of the Castle; the aged persons abovesaid being returned to their houses, waited for the coming of the enemy, with hearts prepared and resolved to die. Such of them as had borne offices of the chair, to the intent, that they might end their daies in the ornaments & robes of their former estate and honour,

Cominate vel
Rio de Mossa.
Leandro.

honour, and according to their vertue and deserts: in their most stately garments and habiliments, which they wear when they carried their sacred chariots upon festival daies, or wherein they rode in triumph, now sat upon their ivory chairs in the very midst and entry of their houses. There be that write, how they willingly devoted and bequeathed themselves to die for their Country and Citizens of Rome: and that *M. Fabius* the High Priest read and pronounced unto them a certain hymn and prescript form of prayer to that purpose. The Gauls, both for that now they had rested from fight a whole night, and so their choler was somewhat cooled, and also because they had not in any place fought a bloody and dangerous battell with them, nor even at that time won the City by any assault or force, entered the morrow after into the City, without anger and heat of furious rage, by the gate *Collina*, standing wide open, and so passed forward to the common place of assemblies, casting their eyes about them towards the Temples of the gods, and to the castle, which only presented some shew of war. And there leaving a sufficient guard, left haply from the Castle and Capitol they should be violently assaulted, after they were once alunder parted, they fell to ransack and rife: and meeting none at all in the void streets, some rush by heaps into the houses next hand, others go to those that were furthest off, supposing them at leastwise to be untouched, full of riches, and fit for to fill their hands. From thence again (as frightened by reason of such desolation, and fearing lest haply any fraud of the enemy might entrap them as they wandred one from another) they returned round in a ring together, into the market place, and the places near thereto. Where, when they saw the Commoners houses fast shut to & locked, and contrariwise the stately palaces of the Noblemen and chief Senators standing wide open, they were at a stand, and doubted more in a manner to enter upon the open places than the shut. And they beheld as it were with capping and crouching after a reverend manner, certain ancient personages sitting in the porches and entries of their houses, who besides their ornaments and apparel, above the ordinary estate of men, for a certain majesty which they carried in their countenance and gravity of visage, resembled the gods. And when as they turned to them, & stood looking upon them, as if they had been Idols and sacred Images, *M. Papius*, one of them, when a Gaul began to stroke his beard (which then they used all to wear long) with his ivory staffe (as they say) gave him a rap on the pate, and moved his patience. Whereupon he was the first that was murdered and so the rest were all killed as they sat in their chairs of state. After this massacre of these honourable personages of the Nobility, they fell upon all the rest, and spared no creature: they ransacked their houses, and when they were empty, set fire on them. But whether it were that they were not all of them desirous to destroy the City utterly, or that it was the mind of the Leaders and chief of the Gauls, that for a terror there should be seen some scarefires (if haply for the love of their houses, they that were besieged, might be induced to yield themselves:) or that all their houses were not burned at once, to the end that the remainder of the City might be as a pawn and pledge to mollifie their enemies, and make their hearts to relent: howsoever, I say it was, the fire for the first day (as usually in Cities forced and won) spread not all abroad every where, to make a generall havock. The Romans from the Castle, seeing the City full of enemies, and in every street running up and down, and in all places fresh calamities and miseries one in the neck of another, were not able to conceive the same in mind and spirit, no, nor so much as to have the right use of their ears and eyes. For to what place soever the shouts and noise of the enemies, the howling and wailing of women and children, the noise of fire, and the rattling and cracking downfalls of houses turned them aside in exceeding fear, thither they bent their minds, their faces, and eyes, as men by fortune set up aloft, as upon a stage or scaffold, to behold the fall and ruin of their Country: reserved to save nothing of all their wealth and substance, but only their own bodies: by thus much, more miserable and pitifull above all others that ever were besieged, in that being shut out from their native Country and City, they were besieged and beheld it, and all that they had, in the enemies hands. Neither as ill as the day was spent, followed there a better night. Yea & when after this troublesome night the like morrow was come, there was no time but ministered still some heavy object: and one spectacle or other of new and fresh calamities. And albeit they were loaden and overwhelmed with so many miseries, yet they nothing at all let fall or abated their courages, but resolved still, notwithstanding they saw all fired, all ruinate and laid even with the ground, manfully to defend that poor naked little hill which they held, and was their only hope left them to recover their freedom. And now seeing the same desolations daily happen they were so inured to misery, that past all sense and feeling of their own state and private fortune, they regarded nothing but their armour on their backs and swords in their hands, as the only remnants and reliques of their hope. The Gauls likewise for certain daies, had made war with the poor houses only of the City, and all to no purpose: and when they perceived in all this burning and ruins of the City, so conquered, nothing now left but armed enemies, who were not, for all so many calamities, one jot terrified, nor their minds once inclined to yeeld without further force and violence were used; they determine to try the utmost, and to make an assault upon the fortresse. So on the morrow morning very early at sound of trumpet, all the whole multitude of them, arranged themselves in the market place. From whence with an out-cry and shout, under a fence of targets over their heads, they approach the Castle. Against whom the Romans behaved themselves, neither unadvisedly, nor fearfully, strengthning their wards and quarters, with a good *Corps de guard* against all Advenues: and whereas they saw the banners displayed, that

A that way they opposed their strongest guards: and suffered the enemies to climb up the hill, supposing that the higher they were got up, so much the easier they might be beaten down. And being come up to the midst of the cliff, there they staid: and thence from the higher ground, which of it self in manner bare out against the enemy, with all their force they charged upon the Gauls, overturned them, and sent them down headlong: so as never after that, either any part of them, or all together would attempt that kind of service. Being therefore past hope to get up by force and arms, they make preparation for long siege: whereof untill that time they had no mind: both for that the corn which was within they had consumed in burning of the City, and in the mean space, that which was in the country about, was carried and brought to *Veii*. Whereupon they divided
B their Army, purposing with one part thereof, to forrage and drive booties all about the nations thereby adjoining, and with the other to invest the Castle: to the end, that the forragers abroad might bring in corn to serve them that lay at the siege. Now as those Gauls departed from the City, it was their hap and fortune to come to *Ardea* (where *Camillus* abode in exile) there to make triall of the Romans valour. This *Camillus* being more penfive in the behalf of the publike calamity, than careful of his own: spending his spirits and wasting his body with crying out upon gods and men: thus fretting and chafing with himself, and wondring what was become of those valiant and hardy men, who under his conduct won *Veii* and *Falerii*, and who had fought other wars more valiantly alwaies than fortunately: of a sudden he heard that the Army of the Gauls approached, and that the *Ardeates* in great fear, fell to consultation thereabout what to do: and
C even as if he had been inspired from God above, he put himself forward and entred into the midst of the people assembled, who heretofore, had obtained and forborn such publike meetings and consultations. And thus he said: "You my Masters of *Ardea*, mine old friends sometime, "and now my new neighbours and fellow-Citizens, for so it is fallen out by your kindness & desert, and by mine own fortune and condition: let no man think, that I, forgetfull of mine own estate am come forth hither into this audience. But the present object and publike danger forceth every man to utter and bring forth in so fearfull a time and business as this is, what help he can. And when shall I ever be thankfull unto you for your favours and demerits, if now I stand still and do nothing? Or where shall I ever stand you in stead, if not in war? By my skill herein, "I flourished in my Country, and being in war invincible, was in peace by unthankfull neighbours and unkind Citizens banished. And now have ye good occasion offered, and opportunity (O ye *Ardeates*) both to make recompence, for those so great pleasures and curtesies in times past received of the people of *Rome*, as your selves do well remember, (and therefore be it spoken without upbraiding and reproaching of any mindfull persons) and also to win great honour of war, unto this City, by defeating a common enemy unto both. This nation, which thus cometh towards us with a dissolute and disordered army, are those to whom God and nature hath given bodies more big and corpulent than strong and able, hearts more stout and courageous than constant and resolute: whereby they bring with them alwaies into the field more shew of terrour, than true valour and execution. Whereof, the late foil and discomfiture of the Romans may be a sufficient proof and triall. They won the City when the gates stood open unto
E them: a small power from the Castle and Capitoll was able to withstand and repell them. And weary already of the tediousness of siege, they are faine to depart. stragling up and down, and wandering along the country. Their manner is when they have filled their bellies with wine and good victuals, (which they devour full greedily and hastily wheresoever they can come by it:) so soon as night cometh on, without any place of defence, without watch or ward to lay themselves along like brut beasts, here and there by the waters sides. And now upon their good success, are they more secure and retchless, than they were wont to be. If ye be disposed to defend your wals, & not all to turn French, gather your selves together, & at the first watch of the night arm, and to your weapons: Follow me to a massacre, and not to a skirmish: for if I do not deliver them unto your hands fast asleep to be hewn in pieces like sheep and oxen, I refuse not to see the
F same end of mine estate at *Ardea*, that I have found already at *Rome*. There was not one there, howsoever affected he was, friend or foe to *Camillus*, but was perswaded that the like warrior was not in those daies to be found again. The assembly being broken up, they refresh their bodies, ready to fight so soon as ever the Signall should be propounded. Which being put forth, in the beginning and first watch of the night, they were ready with *Camillus* at the gates. And gone they were not far from the town, but they found (as it was foretold them) the Gauls camp without *Corps de guard*, neglected on every side: and it with a mighty cry they assail. There was in no place fight, but killing every where: and their naked bodies (as they lay fast asleep) were hacked and cut in pieces. Howbeit, some of those that were furthest off, being scared out of their couches not knowing what violence or from whence it was, took to their heels and fled: other some stumbled at unawares upon the very enemy. A great part of them being come into the territory of *Ardea*, were by the townsmen who sallied out upon them as they were dispersed, environed and slain. The like slaughter to this there was of the *Tuscans* in the Country of *Veii*: who had so little pity and compassion, to see a City which well near for four hundred years space bordering upon them, was now surpris'd by a strange enemy not heard of afore, that even at that very time they made rodes into the Territory of *Rome*, and laden with booty from thence, purposed to assail even *Veii* also and the garrison, being the only place and means of rescue, and the last hope of the Roman name.

The Oration of *Camillus* in the Assembly of the *Ardeates*.

The Roman souldiers that lay in garrison there, had espied these Tuscans ranging about the country, and gathered together in a body to drive booties afore them: and withall they descried their Camp pitched not far from *Veii*. Where, at first they pitted their own estate, but alter, they fell into an indignation and anger that the Tuscans also, from whom they had diverted the Gauls war upon themselves, should in their calamities thus scorn them and have them in derision: so as they could scarcely temper themselves and forbear, but presently set upon them. But being staied perforce by Captain *Ceditius*, a Centurion whom they themselves had made their Ruler, they put off this exploit untill night: Only their Commander and Leader was not to be compared with *Camillus*: else all the service was archieved in the same order, and with as good speed and happy success. Over and besides, by the guidance and direction of those prisoners which remained unchain I over-night, they went forward as far as *Salina*, to another power of the Tuscans, and in the night following, upon a sudden they made a greater havock and slaughter of them, and so in joyous manner with double conquest they return to *Veii*. At *Rome* in this mean time, the siege for the most part was but cold and slack, and all quiet on both sides: whiles the Gauls regarded and looked to this only, That none of their enemies should make an escape through their guards. At what time a certain valiant yong Roman behaved himself so, as his own countrimen and enemies too had him in great admiration. There was a set sacrifice or solemnity to be celebrated by the house and linage of *Fabii*, in the Mount *Quirinalis*. For the accomplishment whereof, *Caius Fabius Dorsuo* in his holy robes, after the *Gabins* fashion, bearing in his hand the holy complements thereto belonging, came down from the Capitol, passed through the midst of the enemies *corps de K guard*, and nothing moved, whatsoever was done or said to terrifie him, went on forth right to the mount *Quirinal*. And when he had there performed and dispatched all solemnities, returning the same way with like constant countenance and comly pace, hoping assuredly, that the gods would be mercifull and gracious unto him, whose worship he had not left undone for any fear of death: he retired again to his company into the Capitol: whether it were that the Gauls were astonied at his wondrous boldness, or rather were touched in conscience with a reverent regard of Religion, wherein that nation is very zealous and devout. At *Veii* in the mean while, they gathered not only heart every day more than other, but strength and forces also; for that not only Romans thither repaired out of the country, such as either in discomfiture of the battell, or for the calamity of the City now taken, had been scattered: but also out of *Latium* divers of their own accord L had flocked thither, to have their share in the pillage. Now they thought it high time to return to their country again, and to deliver it out of the enemies hands. The body was strong enough, but without an head it was. The very place put them in mind of *Camillus*, and a great part of the souldiers were such as had atchieved prosperous exploits under his leading and conduct. And *Ceditius* gave out plainly, that no god or man should make him give over his government, but would himself as mindfull of his own place, call for a General. So by general consent it was agreed, that *Camillus* should be sent for from *Ardea*, but with the advice before of the Senat which was at *Rome*. So modest were they in all their carriage, and so precisely observed they (even in their desperate case) the due respect and regard of every action. Now to pass through the wards of their enemies, was an hard and dangerous adventure. To this exploit therefore, *Pontius Comini- M us*, a valorous young man, promised his service. Who bearing himself upon a bark or corke under him, hulled along the *Tyber* down the water to the City; and so the next way from the strand, over a steep cliff (which was negligently or not at all guarded by the enemy) he passeth through the Capitoll, and being brought to the Magistrates, declareth there his message from the Army. When he had received the Senates decree to this effect: *Imprimis*, That *Camillus* should be called back again out of exile by a Ward-leet, or the suffrages of the *Curia*: *Item*, that by the voices of the people he should be created Dictator out of hand: and that the souldiers might have for their Generall whom they desired: the messenger returned the same way back again to *Veii*. And Embassadours were sent to *Camillus* at *Ardea*, who conducted him to *Veii*. But I would rather believe that he departed not from *Ardea*, before he had certain intelligence of the Act of the Senate. N And for that neither without the will of the people, he might change the place whereto he was confined, nor unless he were named Dictator, have the conduct of the Army; there passed an Act of all the Wards, and Dictator was he declared in his absence. Whiles these things were a doing at *Veii*, the Castle of *Rome* and the Capitoll was in very great danger. For the Gauls, either having found out a mans footing, that way as the messenger went from *Veii*, or espied at the cliff of *Carmentis*, an easie place to climb up: in a clear night sent a man before unarmed to assay the passage, & then gave him up his armour, and where it was steep, one helped, lifted up, and drew up another, as the difficulty of the place required. So as they got up to the top with such silence, that not only the Sentinels were not aware of them, but also the dogs (a watchfull creature at every noise in the night) were not once awakened therewith. But they could not so escape the geese, O which were consecrated unto *Juno*, and for all the scarcity of viſuals, were spared and not killed up. And this it was that saved them all. For with their gagling and fluttering of their wings, *M. Manlius* who three years before had been Consul, a right hardy and noble warrior, was awaked. Who taking weapon in hand, speedily went forth and raised the rest withall to take arms. And whiles all else made hast in a great fright, he stroke the Gaul who now stood upon the top, with the boss and pike of his buckler, and turned him down. The fall of whom overturned them that were

The adventure of *Pontius Cominius*.

Camillus chosen Dictator.

A were next. Then slew he others, (whiles they were in fear) who had laid their weapons out of hand, and took hold of the stones whereto they clinged close. By which time, the rest being come together, some flinging darts, others casting down stones, tumbled their enemies back, and the whole power of them lost their sure footing and fell down headlong. This tumult being appeased the rest of the night (so far forth, as men might with troubled minds, seeing that even the danger, past disquieted them) they gave themselves to sleep. When day was come, the souldiers by sound of Trumpet were summoned to assemble before their Tribunes, and considering there was reward due both to well-doing and mis-doing: *Manius* first for his valour was commended and rewarded, not only by the Tribunes military, but also by consent of all the souldiers. Upon whom,

B they amongst them all, bestowed and brought home to his house (which stood upon the Castle hill) wheat-meal by the half-pints, and wine by the quarts. A matter of small reckoning to be spoken of: but in that scarcity, this might be an argument of their love and affection, when every man beguiled his own belly, pluckt from himself and the necessities of his life, and conferred the same to the honour and recompence of that one man. Then were summoned to appear the sentinels of that place where the enemy climed up undescried. And when as *P. Sulpicius* a Tribune Military, had pronounced that he would exercise martial law upon them all, the souldiers cried out with open mouth, and laid all the fault on one watchman: and so for fear of a mutiny he spared all the rest: and with their generall consent and approbation, he caused that undoubted guilty person to be thrown down from the rock. Whereupon they were more careful and circumspect

C in their watch, both amongst the Gauls (because it was commonly noised that there passed messengers to and fro between *Veii* and *Rome*: and also amongst the Romans, for the remembrance of the late danger by night. But above all other miseries, that follow war and siege, the famine was fore in both the Armies. The Gauls were plagued with pestilence besides: for that they had pitched their tents in a place lying between two hills: exceeding hot by reason of the fires, and full of smoak, carrying both dust and ashes, when any wind was stirring: which be things that of all others, that nation cannot abide, as being used to wet and cold. Thus being smothered with heat, and therewith stifled and choaked again, they died with contagious diseases like rotten sheep. And now for idleness that they would not bury them severally one by one, they laid the dead bodies on heaps one with another, and so burnt them: and made that place famous and notable by the name of *Busta Gallica*, i.e. Gaulbury. Hereupon, they grew to make some truce with

D the Romans, and emparled together by sufferance of the Generals. In which parlies, when as the Gauls very often alledged the famine, and upon that extremity perswaded them to yeeld: it is said, that the Romans for to put them by that opinion of them, in many places from the Capitol flung out loaves of bread into the very stations and *corps de guard* of the enemies. But at length neither could their hunger be dissembled, nor sustained any longer. Therefore, whiles the Dictator mustereth a power at *Ardea* by himself, he commandeth the Generall of horiemen, *L. Valerius*, to have away the Army from *Veii*: and maketh so good preparation, and furnisheth himself so, as he might be able to match his enemies, and to charge upon them. In the mean season, the army of the Capitol wearied out with watching and warding, having surmounted all humane miseries besides

E hunger, which only of all others, nature would not suffer to be overcome: looking day by day for succour from the Dictator now, at last when not only their food, but their hope also failed them, and were grown to that weakness, that when they went to keep their guard, they could hardly bear the weight of their armour, they agreed and gave consent either to yeeld or to ransom themselves upon any condition, they cared not what. Whiles the Gauls also gave forth plainly, and said, they might be entreated for a smal consideration to give over siege. Then the Senat went together, and gave Commission to the Tribunes Military, to bargain and go through with them. So by a parley or treaty had between *P. Sulpicius* Tribune Military, and *Brennus* the Duke of the Gauls, a conclusion was made, and that people, who within a short time should be Lords of the world, were valued and esteemed at a thousand pound weight of Gold. This in itself was

F a most odious and shameful thing, but there was adjoynd thereunto a foul indignity. For the Gauls brought forth false weights and uneven ballances. And when the Tribune refused them, behold, the insolent and proud Gaul would needs have his sword weighed too for vantage, adding this speech moreover, (which was intolerable for the Romans to hear) *Woe worth men conquered, and down with them still.* But neither God nor man would abide the Romans to live ransomed. For by good hap, before that shameful sum of money by composition was paid, before (I say) that upon some wrangling that fell between, all the Gold was weighed out, cometh the Dictator in the manner, and commandeth the gold to be had away, and the Gauls to void. And when as they made resistance and pleaded the capitulation and bargain, he again replieth, and saith, That the composition was not good, nor ought to stand, which after he was made

G Dictator, had been by an inferiour Magistrate concluded, without his commandment & warrant: and withall warneth the Gauls to prepare themselves to fight: commanding his own souldiers to cast all their bag and baggage down on a heap, to put on their harness, to make ready their weapons, and by dint of steel, and not by weight of sword to redeem their Country, having in sight before their eyes the Churches of their gods, their wives and children, and the soil whereon the City stood (deformed now with miseries of war) and all things else which they ought by good reason to defend, recover, and be revenged for. Hereupon he marshalled his battell as the

Busta Gallica

† 26000 lib, English,

ground would give him leave, being the plot only of a City half ruinate and lying along, and with all of it self naturally uneven. Forcassing and providing for all things with special choice and preparation to serve his souldiers turn, as far as martiall skill could possibly reach. The Gauls affrighted at this so strange an occurrent, betook them to their weapons, and in a furious fit of anger, rather than with any considerate discretion, they ran upon the Romans. Now had Fortune turned her wheel: now Gods help and mans policy assisted the Romans. Therefore at the first encounter the Gauls were discomfited with as little difficulty, as they themselves had atchieved the victory at *Allia*. Afterwards also, in another more set battell in the way of *Gabes*, about eight miles from *Rome* (to which place they were fled) they were vanquished by the conduct and leading of the same *Camillus*. For there were they slain in every place, their Camp taken, and not so much as one left to bring news of their overthrow. The Dictator having thus delivered his Country out of the enemies hand, returneth again with triumph into the City. And in all the sports and pleasant ditties which the souldiers rudely after their manner devised, he was stiled *Romulus* the father of the Country, the second founder of the City, which were no vain titles of commendation.

When he had saved his Country thus in war, he preserved it afterwards again undoubtedly in time of peace, namely, in gain saying their transmigration to *Veii*: whiles both the Tribunes enforced that matter more earnestly, now after the burning of the City, and the Commons also of themselves were more enclined thereunto, than before. Which was one cause, that after his triumph he resigned not up his Dictatorship: being requested also by the Senat not to leave the City in so doubtful terms of perplexity. And first and formost (as he was evermore a most precise devout man and religious) he proposed those things which concerned the immortal gods: and causeth enact of the Senat to be made. *Imprimis*, that all the Temples (for that the enemies had held and possessed them) should be repaired, bounded out new, and purged. *Item*, that the manner of cleansing them should be searched out of the books of *Sybill*a by the *Duumvirs*. Moreover, that with the inhabitants of *Cere*, there should be made a league of publike and mutual hospitality, for receiving the sacred Images and Priests of the people of *Rome*: by the means and favour of which people, the honour and service of the immortal gods was not forelet and discontinued. *Item*, That there should be set out the Plaies called *Capitolini*, for that *Jupiter Optimus Maximus* had stil defended and preserved his own seat, and the Refuge of the people of *Rome*, in that fearful time of trouble. And that *M. Furius* should ordain a guild, or fraternity out of those that dwelt in the hill of the Capitol, for the celebration of those plaies. Finally, to the end there should be also some satisfaction and expiation made of that night voice which being the fore-messenger and warning-giver of their destruction before the coming of the Gauls, was heard and yet neglected, a motion was made, that a Temple should be erected in the new cansey to *Aius Locutius*. The Gold which was recovered by force from the Gauls, as also that which out of other Temples in that fearful hurly-burly, was brought into the chancel or chappel of *Jupiter*, because they could not call to mind precisely into which Churches they were to carry it again accordingly, was all judged holy and sacred to *Jupiter*; and order taken, that it should be bestowed and laid up under his shrine. And how devout the City was, appeared before in this, That when there was not gold enough in the common chest, to make up the full sum of the ransom that was agreed upon between them and the Gauls, they took that which the matrons and wives of *Rome* contributed, and all to spare and save the gold appointed to holy uses. The Marrons were therefore thanked, and this honour besides done unto them, That after their death they as well as their husbands, should be openly praised in a solemn funeral Oration. When those things were once accomplished which appertained to the Gods, and all that belonged to the Senate for to do: then and not afore, upon the stirs that the Tribunes kept with the Commons continually, with their speeches in all their assemblies, soliciting them to leave the ruins of the City, and to remove with all they had to *Veii*, a town readily furnished to their hand: then (I say) and not before, *Camillus* accompanied with the whole Senat, came up into the common place of audience, and there before the people spake in this wise. "So grievous to me, O *Quirites*, is all contention and variance with the Tribunes of the Commons, that while I lived at *Ardea* I found no other comfort and solace, in that most heavy and woful banishment of mine but this, That I was far enough off from those debates and jars. In regard whereof, I would never have come again, I assure you, but that you called me back, both by act of Senat, and also by approbation of the people. And it is not in me any change of mind, but your calamity and distressed estate, that hath forced me to return again unto you. For this was the very point that you stood upon, namely, that our country might continue still and keep her ancient place: and not I wis, that I should remain and dwell therein again. And even now verily, would I be still, and keep silence willingly, but that this quarrel also is in the behalf of my foresaid country: the which to fail (to long as life doth last) for others O might be a shameful reproach, but for *Camillus* it were most impious & abominable. For to what end have we returned to it again? To what purpose, when it was besieged have we delivered it out of the enemies hands, if when we have recovered it, we our selves abandon and leave the same? And when as the gods and men of *Rome* kept still, and inhabited the Capitol and the cafile, notwithstanding the Gauls were Lords, and possessed of the whole City, is it possible that both Castle and Capitol, after the City is regained, should be forsaken and abandoned of the Roman

The Oration
of *M. Furius*
Camillus to the
people of
Rome.

- A "Roman victors? And shal our prosperous hand over our enemies bring greater desolation to our City, than adversity hath? Verily, if it were so, that we made no reckoning of that religion and divine solemn service, instituted even with the foundation of our City: & that we counted all vanities that have been delivered unto us by tradition from our ancestors: yet so evident a power of God hath assisted the Romans, that I must needs think, that men can now no longer neglect the worship of God. For confide with me I pray you, either the prosperity or the adversity of these years late past, one after another; ye shall find, that as long as we served God and followed his will so long we prospered & went forward: and all the while that we despised the same, we ever went backward and fell to decay. And first and foremost the Veient war (recount I beseech
- B "you) how many years lasted it? how troublesome and painful was it? And ended it was not, before that by the direction and advertisement of the gods, the water was let out of the Albane pool? What shall I speak of this late & strange calamity of our own City? Began it (and say truth) before that voice which came from heaven was made so light of, concerning the coming of the Gauls? before the law of nations was by our Embassadors broken? and before that through the same neglect of the gods, that fact was by us winked at and put up, which indeed should have been punished and revenged? This was the cause that we were vanquished, made captive, put to our ranfome, and suffered such condign punishment both at Gods hand and at mans, as that we are made an example and amazement to the whole world. Then our adversity and affliction put us in mind of our religion, and the fear of the gods. We fled into the Capitol to the gods, even
- C "to the very seat of *Jupiter Optimus Maximus*: and when our own privat estate went to havock, the sacred monuments yet and holy Images, some we hid in the earth, some we conveyed away into the neighbour Towns, and removed them out of our enemies sight. And albeit we were forlorn and given over both of God and men, yet gave not we over, nor discontinued the service of the gods. And therefore gave they us our country again, they gave us victory, and the ancient honour of war which we had lost; and upon our enemies heads, who (blinded with covetousness) in the weighing of gold brake both covenant and fidelity, they have turned all fearfulness, all flight & slaughter. Considering then, O Quirites, by these so great and apparent signs, & testimonies in the course of this world, what it is to serve God, & what it is to dishonor him, perceive ye not what wickedness we go about to plunge ourselves into, being scarcely got forth
- D "and escaped out of the shipwrack and perill of our former sin and calamity? A City we have founded and built, by the will of God and due observation of Augury and Auspices, no corner therein, but full of religion, full of divine Majesty: and for solemn sacrifices, there are set daies when they shall be celebrated, there are places also appointed wherein they ought to be performed. And are ye about then, O Quirites, to leave all these gods both publike & privat? how forgetteth this deed of yours with that, which lately during the time of the siege, was seen with no less admiration of our enemies, than our own selves in that Noble young Gentleman *C. Fabius*? when through the pikes of the Gauls, he departed out of the Cattle, and performed a solemn duty of the house of *Fabius*, even upon the mount Quirinal? What, can ye allow and like that the sacred ceremonies of privat families, should not so much as in time of war be intermitted:
- E "and suffer now the publike sacrifices and the Roman gods, in time of peace to be neglected, and the City abandoned? That our High Priests and Flamins should be less curious and precise in the publike service of God, than a private Citizen was in the Anniversary feast of his family and kindred? But peradventure some one may say, We will do the same at *Vesii*, or we will send from thence our Priests hither, for to execute that ministry. Neither of which can be done, saving the due observance of holy ceremonies. For, to say nothing in general of all other holy daies, and of all the gods besides; In that one high feast and solemn dinner of *Jupiter*, can a Pulvinar be celebrated, or a sacred Table be spread and furnished in any place, but in the Capitol? What should I speak of the eternal fires of *Vesta*? and of that Image, which as a pawn and security of our imperial state, is kept within the safeguard of that Temple? What should I speak of
- F "those your *Ancilia* and Scutcheons? O *Mars Gradivus*, and thou father *Quirinus*: are ye well contented that all these festivall and sacred solemnities, which are all of equal time with the City, yea, and of more antiquity (some of them) than the foundation of the City, should be forsaken in a profane place: But see what ods there is between us and our ancestors? They left unto us certain solemn feasts and sacrifices to be celebrated in the Alban mountain and in *Lavinium*. Was it then a matter of conscience and religion, that some festival solemnities were brought unto us from our enemies Cities to *Rome*? And shall we translate the same from hence to our enemies City *Vesii*, without a great and hainous offence, that would require expiation? Do but call to mind I pray you, how often our feasts and sacrifices have been renewed and reformed clean, for that some one old accustomed ceremony, either by chance or for want of taking heed, hath
- G "been over-slipt and left out. And even of late, what was it else that (after the strange miracle of the Alban Pool) relieved our Common-weal so distressed with the Veient war, but the reformation of our divine service, and renewing of our Auspices? And more than this, we as it were in remembrance of antient religion and devotion, have both brought unto *Rome* forrain gods, and also have instituted and devised new. What a notable and festival day was that (in regard of the exceeding zeal and forward affection of the Matrons) upon which Queen *Juno* late translated from *Vesii*, was dedicated in *Aventine*? And to *Aius Locutius*, for a voice from heaven heard

"heard in the new cause, we caused a Temple to be erected. The Capitoline plaies have we ad- H
 "ded to other solemn feasts; & thereto we have ordained and founded a new guild or fraternity,
 "even by the advice of the Senat. And what need was there, that we should have done any of these
 "things, if we meant, together with the Gauls, to leave the City of *Rome*? If we abode not in
 "the Capitol (so many months while we were besieged) willingly and without constraint? And
 "if we were for fear of our enemies, held back from going elsewhere? Thus much of our festival
 "daies and temples. But what shall become now, I pray you of our Priests? Never think ye once
 "of it, what a sinfull deed you are about? As for the Vestall Virgines and Nuns, it is certain, this
 "is their only place, forth of which nothing ever could drive them but the winning of the City.
 "The Flamin of *Jupiter* may not lie forth of the City one night: and will ye make these Priests I
 "of Romans to become Veientians? And shall thy virgins indeed, O *Vesta*, leave thee now? and
 "shall the Flamin dwelling in a strange place, for every night he is absent, taint with so great impi-
 "ety, both himself and the Common wealth? As for other matters, which we do with great so-
 "lemnity by the direction of the Augurs (and all well near within the Pomeri or compass of the
 "City) how can we forget or neglect them? Namely, the Ward-leet or assembly of the *Curia* for
 "matters of war: also the other of Centuries, wherein ye chuse your Consuls and Military Tri-
 "bunes, where can they be held (if we respect the will of the gods and regard the Auspices) but in
 "the places accustomed? Shall we remove all these to *Vei*? or shall the people repair hither from
 "thence with so great trouble and inconvenience, to a desolate City, forsaken of God and man,
 "whensoever they would hold those assemblies? But the present necessity (they will say) forceth us K
 "to leave a town that is wasted with fire, and wholly ruinate, and to go to *Vei*, where all stands
 "safe and sound, and not to put the poor Commons to the toile and charge of new building. That
 "this is a pretence and cause rather devised, than meant in earnest, if I should say nothing, I think
 "appeareth manifestly unto you already, O Quirites, who remember that before the coming of
 "the French men, whiles your publike buildings and privat houses were whole, and whiles the
 "City stood upright on foot, this self-same motion was made and debated, as touching the remo-
 "ving to *Vei*. Consider now ye Tribunes what difference there is between mine opinion and
 "yours: ye are of mind, that if it had not then been meet to be done, yet now verily it were
 "good and requisite: I contrariwise (I marvel not I pray you before you hear what I will say) am
 "of opinion, that albeit we might then gone, whiles our whole City flourished, yet now we L
 "were not to leave it thus ruinate & decayed. For at that time we had some cause to remove into
 "a conquered City, namely, Victory, a glorious thing to ourselves and our posterity: but this re-
 "moving now, were reproachfull and shamefull to our selves, but glorious and honourable to the
 "Gauls. For we shall not be thought to have left our country as conquerours, but to have lost it as
 "conquered. And shall it be said, that our running away at *Allia*, the winning of our City, the be-
 "sieging of the Capitoll, hath imposed this necessity upon us, as to leave our house and home and
 "to make shifts, to seek our own exile and departure out of that place which we are not able to
 "defend? And were, indeed, the Gauls able to pull down and rase that City of *Rome*, which the
 "Romans shal not be thought able to reedifie and set up again? What remaineth now in case they
 "should come upon us afresh, with a new power of men, for certain it is that their multitude is M
 "incredible) & were willing to dwell here in this City by them conquered, & by you abandoned,
 "but that ye gently permit and suffer them? Nay, What and if not the Gauls, but your old enemies
 "the *Aequians* and the *Volscians* would remove and come to *Rome*, would you be willing to have
 "them become Romans, and your selves Veientians? Would ye not rather, that this desert and
 "waist ground as it lieth, were yours, than to be a City peopled by your enemies? For I cannot see,
 "I assure you, whether of the twain, were more to be detested. And because (forsooth) ye are loath
 "to set to building, are ye resolved to abide these mischiefs & these shameful reproaches? If through-
 "out the whole City there might not be built a more commodious or stately house, than is that
 "cottage there, of our founder, were it not better to dwell in cottages like shepherds & peasants, so
 "it be among your sacred monuments and household gods, than all at once generally to go into N
 "exile? Our ancestors and forefathers being a mixture of divers countries, and no other than herd-
 "men, finding in these parts nothing but woods and bogs, in a short time built a new City out of
 "the ground: and are we loath, having yet our Capitol, our castle safe, the Temples of our gods
 "standing still, to reedifie it now that it is burnt. That which every one of us would have done, if
 "our houses had been fired, refuse we altogether to do in the common scarefire of the City? Give
 "me leave a little. What & if by some villany, or by mischance there should be a scarefire at *Vei*, &
 "by reason of the wind (as it is often seen) the flame spread & catch, and so consume a great part of
 "the City, shall we go from thence by and by, and seek to *Fidena* or *Gabii*, or some other City
 "near at hand to remove unto? Is the very native soil of our country, and this ground which we
 "call our mother, of no power at all to keep us here, but doth the whole love and affection of O
 "our country, rest in the superficial outside, and in the timber and rafters of our houses? Verily,
 "confess I will unto you (although I take less pleasure to remember the wrongs you did me, than
 "the calamity which I endured) when I was absent and in exile, so often as I thought of my coun-
 "try, all these things ran in my mind: the hills, the plain, the *Tyber*, the coasts all about, which was
 "my daily prospect; and this air, under which I was born and brought up. All which, O Quirites,
 "let them move you rather now with an affection to them for to tarry stil in this your habitation,
 than

A "than disquiet you hereafter, and torment you for the want and mis- of them, when you have
 "once left and forgone them. Nor without good cause both God and man chose this place for
 "the building of this City: most healthy and wholesome hills: a very convenient and commodi-
 "ous river: to bring in corn and other fruits out of the inland parts, to receive provision and o-
 "ther victuals from the sea-coasts: the sea it self near enough for commodities, and not exposed
 "and open by too much nearness to the dangers of forrain navies: the very heart and centre of
 "all *Italy*, a place as a man would say, naturally made, and only for that City to grow and encrease
 "in. And that doth the very largeness and greatness of a City so newly founded, plainly prove.
 "It is now three hundred threescore and four years, and not above, since the foundation there-
 "of, O *Quirites*. Amongst so many Nations of greatest antiquity, thus long ye have made war:
 B "and all this while (to say nothing of particular Cities) neither the *Volsicians* together with the
 "*Æquians* peopling so many towns, and those so strong, nor all *Hetruria* so mighty by sea and
 "land, and containing the whole breadth between the two seas, are in war to you comparable.
 "Which being so, what reason have you (in the devils name) when ye have had sufficient proof
 "already of it, to try again new experiments? considering now, that albeit your valour and vertue
 "may go with you eliewhither, yet surely, the good luck and fortune of this place can never de-
 "part and remove from hence? Here is the Capitoll, where sometimes upon the finding of a
 "mans head, answer was made by diviners and wizards, That in that very place should be the
 "head of all puissance, and the imperiall seat of the whole world. Here, at what time as the Ca-
 "pitoll, by the direction of the Augurs should be voided and cleared of all other Chappels, Lady
 C "*Juventus*, and god *Terminus*, to the great joy of our forefathers, would not suffer themselves to
 "be stirred out of their place. Here are the fires of *Vesta*, here be the Scutcheons come down from
 "heaven, here are all the gods, favourable & gracious still unto you, so long as here ye make abode
 "and remain, *Camillus* in all his Oration throughout moved them much: but that part thereof
 "touching religion (by report) was most effectuell. But that which struck it dead, and put all out
 "of doubt, was a certain word that fell out to be spoken fitly to the purpose. For at what time as
 "the Senat a while after was gathered together in the Court *Hofilia*, to debate about these things
 "and certain companies of souldiers that returned from their guards, chanced in the mean time
 "to march through the market place, one Captain hapned to speak in the *Comitium*, and said,
 D "*Pitch down thy ensign standard bearer, here will be our best abode*. Which voice was not so soon
 "heard, but both the Senat being come out of the Council House, cried with one accord, That
 "they took that omen for good luck, and happy presage: and also the Commons all gathered
 "thereabout, approved the same. After this, when the foresaid Act of transmigration was once
 "clean dashed and abolished, the City began to be built confusedly, and without order. Tile was
 "allowed at the common charges: to dig either stone, or hew timber, every man had liberty
 "where he could, putting in sureties, that within the compass of that year they would finish their
 "buildings. The haste they made, caused them to have no regard of drawing out the streets di-
 "rectly, whiles every man built in the void places without respect of his own or other mens
 "ground. Which is the cause that the out-sinks and vaults which first were conveyed through
 E "the common streets, now run every where under mens houses, and the form of the City seemeth
 "as if it were built at random (as every man could catch a place for himself) rather than distinct-
 "ly ranged, and set out in good order unto them.

The Sixth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the Sixth Book.

I T containeth the fortunate wars against the *Æquians*, the *Volsicians*, and *Tuscans*. Four Tribes were
 added to the former, *Stellatina*, *Sabbatina*, *Promentina*, *Arniensis*. M. Manlius, who had defended the
 Capitoll from the Gauls, whiles he discharged the debts of those that were in danger of their creditors,
 and released such as were then imprisoned, was convicted of aspiring to be King, and thrown down from
 the cliff *Tarpeia*. In whose reproach a decree was made by the Senat, that none of the house of Man-
 G lius should be surnamed Marcus: C. Licinius, and L. Sextius, Tribunes of the Commons, proposed a
 law, that Consuls also might be chosen out of the Commons, who were created before from among the
 Nobles only. And albeit the Senators withstood them with earnest endeavour, yet by reason that for
 five years space the same Tribune continued the only Magistrates of the City, they went through with
 that law and got it enacted. And L. Sextius was created the first Consul that ever was of Commons.
 A second Law there passed likewise, That no man might possess above five hundred acres of land.

What

The Sixth Book of T. Livius.

H

The Recapitulation of the former five Books.

Vhat acts from the building of the City of *Rome* unto the taking of the same, the Romans have atchieved, first, under the government of Kings, afterwards of Consuls and dictators, Decemvirs, and Tribunes Consular, as well in the wars abroad as seditions at home; I have in five books declared, Matters obscure, both in regard of exceeding antiquity (as things that a far off hardly be discerned:) and also for that in those daies there were very few writings and monuments, the only faithfull safeguard, and true remembrancers of deeds past: and besides, whatsoever was registred in the Commentaries of the Priests, and in other publike or privat records, the same for the most part, when the City was burned, perished withall. But now from henceforward, their civill affairs of policy, and martiall exploits in war, ensuing after a second beginning of the City (as springing again with more fresh shoots and fruitfull sprouts from the root of the old stock) shall be delivered in more plain and certain manner.

Camillus bare the Dictatorship a whole year, which otherwise was limited within six months.

Q. Fabius censored.

Dismal daies.
† 18 of July.

† 16 of July.

And to begin withall, look by whom the state first was underropped and set upright, upon him (as chief and principall) it still bare and rested, and that was *M. Furius*: whom the Romans would not suffer to give up his Dictatorship before one year was fully expired. As for those Tribunes (Consular) in time of whose government the City was lost, they liked not that they should call and hold an assembly for Election of Magistrates the year following. So the matter came to an Interreign. Now while the City was busie in continuall work and labour, about reedifying and repairing their buildings, *Q. Fabius* so soon as he was out of his office, was by *C. Martius*, a Tribune of the Commons, arrested to make his answer at a day appointed. Who laid to his charge, That he contrary to the Law of Nations, had fought against the Gauls, unto whom he was sent in embassage, and as an Orator only. But he avoided his judicciall trial, by his death: and died so just against the time, that many men thought it was voluntary and wrought by his own hands. Then *P. Cornelius Scipio* first entred upon the Interreign: and after him *M. Furius Camillus* the second time. He created Tribunes Military in Consuls authority, *A. Valerius Publicola* the second time, *L. Virginus*, *P. Cornelius*, *A. Manlius*, *L. Aemilius*, and *L. Posthumus*. These men presently after the Interreign, were not so soon entred into office, but before all other things, they consulted with the Senat in matters concerning Religion and conscience. And first of all they commanded, that all the instruments of leagues and confederacies, the ordinances and laws also (& those were the twelve tables, & certain Statutes made by the Kings) should be sought up as many as could be found extant. Whereof some were published abroad, even amongst the Common people: but such as pertained properly to holy Rites, and divine service, were by the Priests and Prelates suppressed; especially, of purpose to hold the minds of the people in a reverent awe of religion and devotion. Then began they to reason and debate about the dismal daies. And the fifteenth day before the * Calends of *August*, so notorious for a twofold loss and overthrow; upon which day at *Cremera* the *Fabii* were all slain, and after at *Allia* an unfortunate field was fought, even to the utter ruin and desolation of the City, they named of the latter misfortune, *Alliensis*: and set this unlucky mark upon it, That it should be reputed unmeet and inconvenient for any business, as well publike as private. Some think, because upon the next day following the * Ides of *July*, *Sulpitius* the Tribune Military could not by sacrifice find any tokens of happy speed, nor obtain the grace and favour of the gods; whereupon three daies after, the Roman host fell shamefully into the hands of the enemies: therefore, the morrow also after the Ides was interdicted, and men were commanded to forbear and abstain from doing sacrifice: and thereupon likewise, the day next following the Calends and the Nones, were by tradition held as ominous and dismall as the other.

But long they might not quietly sit about the devising of means to reform the Common-weal, and set it upright again after so grievous and dangerous a fall. For of the one side, the *Volscians*, their old enemies, took arms, intending the finall destruction of the Roman name. On the other side, the Merchants brought news, That the Princes and chief of all the Nations of *Hetruria* were banded and confederate together in a Diet held at the Temple of *Voltumna*, to make war upon them. Besides a fresh and new fear came upon them by reason of the rebellion of the *Latines* and *Hernicks*, who after the battell at the pool *Regillus*, for the space almost of an hundred years, had continued fast in loyall league and amity with the people of *Rome*. Therefore being thus greatly affrighted on every side, that all the world might see apparently that the State of *Rome* was not only hated of her enemies, but despised also of her allies: it was thought good and resolved upon, that by his direction and rule, the Common-wealth should now be maintained and defended, by whose conduct and guidance it was relieved and recovered: and that *M. Furius Camillus* should be created Dictator. He being declared Dictator, named *Q. Servilius Hala* for Generall of the Horsemen. And having proclaimed a law-yeed (or vacation from Courts of Law) he took muster of all the younger sort and serviceable men: but so, as the elder people were not left out, as many as were of strength sufficient for service. Unto whom he likewise ministred the military oath of Alleageance, and enrolled them by hundreds in the muster book. When he had

A had thus levied a power of men, and furnished them with armour, he divided them into three parts. The one he opposed against *Hetruria* in the Country of *Veii*: another he commanded to lie encamped before the City. Over these *A. Manlius* a Tribune military was made Captain: those which were sent against the Tuscans had *L. Amylius* for their Commander. A third part he himself led against the Volscians: and not far from *Lanuvium* (the place is called *Ad-Metium*) he began to assault their Camp. The enemies had put themselves on this their journey, with a kind of scornful contempt, as thinking the whole manhood in a manner of *Rome*, was by the French clean spent and wasted. But when they heard once, that *Camillus* was the Lord General, it stroke such a fear and terror among them, that they were glad to defend themselves by the strength of their trench and rampier, yea, and to fence it round about with huge-piled heaps of wood and trees, that their enemies might have no passage to enter in upon their munitions. Which when *Camillus* perceived, he gave order to set on fire that Barricado which stood in his way. And as good hap was, the wind was big and high, and blew full upon the enemy. So that not only he made way by fire, but also with the flames thereof that went toward the Camp, with the vapour like-wile and smoke, and the crackling noise of the green wood, he so amated & astonied the enemies, that the Romans had less ado to pass the trench and pallisado, into the Camp of the Volscians, than in getting over the mound and enclosure consumed with fire. Having thus defeated and slain his enemies, and won withall the Camp in the same brunt, the Dictator gave the whole spoile unto the souldiers: which to them was so much the more welcome, as they less hoped for it at their General's hand: who was never known to be lavish of gift, and over-liberal in dealing rewards.

C After this he followed them that fled, in chace, wasted and foraged their whole country, and at length (in the seventieth year of the war) he wholly subdued the Volscians, and forced them to yield subjection. After this conquest, he departed from thence against the *Equians*, who likewise made preparations for war. Their forces he surpris'd and defeated at *Bola*, and assailed not only their Camp, but also forced the City, and at the first assault won both.

But while fortune smiled thus, what way soever *Camillus* went, as being the only stay of the Roman state: so on another side the fear of peril greatly encreased. For the Tuscans well near all up in arms, lay before *Sutrium*, and besieged it being in league with the people of *Rome*. Whose Embassadors came unto the Senat to entreat for succour in their distrels, and had a decree granted unto them, that the Dictator with all speed should rescue the *Sutrin*s. But being so straightly beleaguered, that they might not abide the delay of this their hope, for that the townsmen, who were but few in number, were over-wearied with working, watching, and bloody fighting, (all which lay still upon the same men without intermission) they were driven by composition to surrender up the City to the enemies: and being disarmed and sent away with a single sute of apparel (after a piteous sort all a-row) departed the town, & left their dwelling places. But see, it fortun'd that *Camillus* at the same time came in the very manner with the Roman Army and met them. At whose feet the multitude all sorrowfull lay prostrate: their Nobles and chief men in this extremity fell to beseech him to be good unto them: the women and children which went along with them, as partakers and companions of their exile, seconded them with woful tears and lamentations.

E But he willed the *Sutrin*s to forbear their mourning plaints, and give over their dolefull moan: saying that he brought the Tuscans heavy and weeping cheer. Then caus'd he his souldiers to lay down their packs and load, the *Sutrin*s likewise there to abide with a mean guard, and his men to follow him with armour and weapons only. Thus march'd he forward with his Army lightly appointed for ready expedition, and advanced before *Sutrium*. Where, according to his expectation, he found the enemies all careles and secure (as commonly it falleth out upon a prosperous success.) No warders, no *corps de guard* quartered before the walls, the gates wide open, the Conquerours here and there saccking, rifling and flinging the goods out of their enemies houses. So was *Sutrium* in one day twice won. The Tuscans (for all their former victory) were hewn in peeces on every side, by a new-come enemy. They had no time to cast themselves

Sutrium twice won in one day.

F found nor gather together into one place, no, nor to take weapon in hand: while every man for life, made in all haste to the gates, if haply any way they might escape into the fields. But when they came thither, the gates they found fast shut, for so the Dictator had given order afore-hand. Hereupon some betook themselves to their weapons: others (namely, such as hapned to be armed when this sudden tumult surpris'd them) fell to call their fellows together for to begin a skirmish: which no doubt in that desperate case of the enemies had been hotly fought, had not the *Criers* and *Trumpets* which were sent into all parts of the City, made proclamation to lay down their weapons, to spare them which were unarmed, and that none should have any harm but those that were found in arms. Upon this, even they who in that extremity and despair were fully bent to fight it out, for hope of life on all hands flung away their weapons: and thus disarm'd as they were (for as the case stood, it was the safer course) presented themselves to the enemy. A great number of them were bestow'd in several places, and were attended upon with good guards. And before night the town was deliver'd again unto the *Sutrin*s, safe and sound without any hurt at all done unto it, as being not won by force, but surrendred upon composition. *Camillus* then returned with triumph into the City of *Rome*, victor at one voyage in three sundry wars. The greatest number by far, of prisoners, whom he led before his chariot in triumph, were Tuscans: whom he sold in port-sale at the spear, and rais'd such a sum of money, that when he had

had out of it repaid the dames [of Rome] to the worth of their gold, there were of the surpluseage thereof three bouls made of massie gold: which with the title and inscription of *Camillus* his name, were for certainty, before the Capitol was burnt to be seen in the chappell of *Jupiter* set up and bestowed at the feet of *Juno*.

The same year, there were enfranchised and made Citizens of Rome, such Veientians, Capenates and Faliscians, as in the time of those wars were fled to the Romans: and for these new Citizens were certain lands set out. Those also, who for idleness loath to build at Rome, were gone to *Vii*, there to inhabit the vacant houses, were by an Act of the Senat recalled home from thence. And they at the first grumbled & refused to obey: but after that a day was set them, & they threatened upon pain of death to return again to Rome: as stout as they were, and obstinate all of them together, now for fear every one became obedient. As Rome now increasd in number of inhabitants, and became well peopled: so on all hands in every place they fell to building new edifices: whiles the Common-wealth somewhat eased them of charges, and the *Ædiles* by vertue of their office called hard upon them, hastning them forward as to a publike workiyea, and every man privately made all speed possible, according as each ones need required, to make an end and finish his own house. So as within the year the City was new built and stood on foot again.

Rome new
built.

At the years end was the great Election held for Tribunes military in Consuls authority: Wherein were created *T. Quintius Cincinnatus*, *Q. Servilius Fides*: as the fifth time, *Julius Tullus*, *L. Aquilius Corvus*, *L. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, *Ser. Sulpitius Ruffus*. One army they set out and led against the *Æquians*, not to war with them (for they granted themselves conquered) but upon meer spight and deadly hatred, to waste all their borders utterly, and to leave them no power and strength to enterprife any new rebellion. The other, into the territory of *Tarquinius*. Where, two towns of the Tuscans, *Cortuosa* and *Contenebra*, were by assault won and rased. At *Cortuosa* was no resistance made. For the Romans surpris'd them on a sudden, and at the first shout and impression they were masters of it: The town was sacked and burned. As for *Contenebra*, it endured the assault for some few daies: but the continual labour, slacking neither day nor night overcharged them: whereas the Roman Army divided into six parts, fought six hours in their severall turns round one after the other. And the townsmen being but few, and those overtoiled, were fain without any supply, still to maintain fresh skirmishes. Whereupon, at last they retreated back & yielded, giving the Romans leave to enter the City. The Tribunes were of mind and thought good, that the spoil should be confiscat and go to the common treasury: but the commandment and proclamation was more slack than their purpose on that behalf. For whilest they lingred and protracted time, the souldiers already had seised in their prizes: and taken from them again without much offence and hatred, the booty could not be. In the same year, because the City should not flourish in private buildings only, the Capitol was also built of squared ashler stone: A piece of work even in this so glorious estate, and magnificence of the City, to be had in price and esteemed excellent. And now before this time, the Tribunes of the Commons, whiles the City was busied about their buildings, began often to move for the Laws *Agraria* (about the division of the lands) in all their assemblies and speeches before the people. For to draw them on and to set forward their hope, they presented unto them very often the Pomptine Territory, which then above all others, so presently upon the subduing and subversion of the *Volscians* by *Camillus*, was, no doubt, the rightfull possession of the people of Rome. Complaints were made, that those grounds sustained much more detriment and damage by the Nobility, than they had received before from the *Volscians*. For they, so long only as they were able to bear arms and maintain war, made inrodes thither: but the Noblemen forcibly entred and made havock in the possessions of the common lands: and unless (before they had set sure footing there, and got all into their hands) a division were made, the Commons should never enjoy one foot of ground there. These Remonstrances of the Tribunes little moved the Commons, both because few of them resorted to the common place of assemblies, whiles they plied their building: and also for that money was away, and their purses so emptied in the charges of workmen, that they had little mind of holding those lands, which to store N and stock they were not able.

The Capitoll
built of square
stone.

The Temple
of *Mars* dedi-
cated.

Four new
Tribes adjy-
ned to Rome.

The City was now given much to their devotions and religions, and the rulers also somewhat superstitious upon their late calamity: Insomuch as they minded to renew the *Auspicia* [or the solemnity of presages taken by bird-flight] for some errorr supposed therein: and therefore they agreed that the government should return to an Interreign. So there were Interregents one after another *M. Manlius Capitolinus*, *Ser. Sulpitius Camerinus*, *L. Valerius Potitus*, *Valerius* at length held the assembly for to elect Tribunes Military in Consuls authority, and created *L. Papirius*, *Cn. Sergius*, *L. Æmylius* the second time, *L. Licinius*, *T. Valerius Publicola* the third time. These presently after the Interreign, began their government. That year, the Temple of *Mars* vowed in the Gauls war was dedicated by *T. Quintius*, a Duumvir deputed for the executing of holy duties. Four Tribes of new Citizens were now adjoynd *Stellatina*, *Pomatina*, *Sabbatina*, *Arniensis*. and these made up the number of the 25 Tribes. And now *L. Sicinius* a Tribune of the Commons, was in hand with the people in greater number assembled together, about the Pomptine lands: and more enclined they were and forward to hearken after grounds, than they had been afore. And whereas it was moved in the Senat house, to make war upon the Latines and the Hernicks, that matter was not followed, but put off to a further time: by reason of preparation for a greater war, because

A *Hetruria* was already up in arms. And all was laid again upon *Camillus* his shoulders, who was made Tribun Military with Consuls authority, and had five other brethren in office joyned unto him *Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis*, *Q. Servilius Fidenas* the sixth time, *L. Quintius Cincinnatus*, *L. Horatius Pulvillus*, *P. Valerius*. In the beginning of the year, the minds of men were turned clean away from the careful regard they had of the Tuscan war, by reason that a number of people that fled out of the Pomptine country, came all of a sudden in great haste to the City, and brought word, that the Antiates were up in arms, that the nations of the Latins had sent their able youth to that war closely underhand, thereby disavowing it to be any action of the State, and standing upon this point, that by the covenant there was no proviso, but that voluntary souldiers might serve in what wars soever they would. Now had the Romans been well taught, and learned, to set light no more by any wars. The Senat therefore thanked the Gods, that *Camillus* was in place of government, who if he had been a privat person, was no doubt to have been nominated and created Dictator: yea, and his companions in office, confessed frankly that he was the only man to have the sovereign and absolute Regiment of all, in case there were any fearful and dangerous war toward: and were fully resolved, to yeeld up all their interest in government unto him, thinking it no disparagement at all unto them, nor any loss of their own honour and reputation, in conferring the same upon the Majesty of so worthy a person. The Senat highly commended the Tribuns, and *Camillus* was much abashed in his mind, howbeit he gave them hearty thanks, and spake in this wise. "A weigthy burthen (quoth he) I see is imposed upon me by the people of Rome, in that they have elected and nominated me Dictator now the fourth time: a greater charge is enjoyned me by the Senat: the whole state and body of which order, hath delivered so singular good opinion and judgement of me: but the heaviest load of all is laid upon me by the exceeding kindness and obsequious benignity of these my honourable brethren and colleagues. If any painful travel of mine therefore, and watchful care may be redoubled, I wil earnestly endeavour, I wil strain and strive to answer thereunto: that the opinion which the City with so great consent hath conceived of me, right as it is exceeding great, so it may continue still and be perpetual. As to that war of the Antiats, there are more brags and threats than any danger and peril from thence. But as I would counsel and advise you to be afraid of no war, so I would not have you to be careless and secure of any. The City of Rome is beset on every side: partly envied, and partly hated of her neighbour borderers. Need there is both of more Captains, and also of more armies, to manage the affairs of the Common-weal. I think it good therefore (quoth he) O *Valerius*, that you assist me in government and counsel, and have the leading together with me of certain legions against the Antiat enemies. That you *Q. Servilius*, with another army wel appointed, and in readines, lye encamped hard by the City side, having an eye and good regard, lest either *Hetruria* in the mean while, (as of late dayes) or the Latins and Hernicks (who trouble us now afresh) break out and make some rising. Assured I am, that you wil behave your self, and quire you in this service so worthily, as may answer the famous memory of such a father and grandfire as you have had, may beseech your own honourable person, and those six Tribunships which you have already performed. As for *L. Quintius*, let him leavy a third power of men, consisting of those that are by reason of sickness or otherwise excused for warfare, and are above the ordinary age for military service, to be in stead of a garrison for defence of the City and the Walls. Let *L. Horatius* provide harness, weapons, corn, and other necessities for war, at all occasions whatsoever. Finally, O *Sergius Cornelius*, we your fellow Tribuns, ordain you President of this publick Council, the *Custos* and keeper of Religion and Church-matters, of general assemblies, of the Laws and all other civil affairs of policy whatsoever. Now when they had all made promise, and that most willingly to do their endeavour in performing their severall charges, *Valerius* whom he had joyned with himself in commission, added moreover and said, That as he would take *M. Furius* to be Dictator, so would he be unto him again in stead of his Coronel of Horsemen. And turning to the Lords of the Senat, exhorted them, that what opinion they had of one only Sovereign General, the same hope they would conceive of the whole war. The Senators hereat took great joy and contentment, giving out willingly with one accord, that they hoped exceeding wel of war, of peace, and generally of the State. Neither shall the Common-weal (say they) ever stand in need of Dictator, so long as such Magistrats be in place, so jointly agreeing in one mind together, so indifferent and ready as well to obey as to rule, and rather yeelding their proper praise to the honour of the Common-weal, than dismembriing and plucking from it to their private glory and reputation.

The Oration
of M Furius
Camillus, to his
companions in
government

After a Vacation or Law-steen proclaimed, and the Musters taken and past: *Furius* and *Valerius* set forward to *Saturnum*: whither the Antiats had not only sent the flour of all the Volsci, the choice youth out of a fresh fry and new generation; but also had raised a mighty power of Latins and Hernicks, out of those Nations that by long peace were most fresh and lusty. These new enemies and old thus combined together, troubled the minde of the Roman souldier, and made him to startle. Which when the Centurions reported to *Camillus*, as he was Marthalling and setting his bartels in array: and that in these terms; to wit, that the hearts of his souldiers were disquieted and dismayed, that they took themselves but slowly to their weapons, made staving and idling when they should come forth of their tents, yea, and that there were some of them overheard to say, that, They must fight one to an hundred, and that so great a multitude of

their

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The Oration
of M. Furius
Camillus to his
Souldiers.

their enemies (if they were unarmed) might hardly be encountred; much less, being so well armed and appointed: he mounted presently upon Horseback, and rode before the ensigns, and then turning himself afront his army, traversing between the ranks and arrais; "What heaviness is this my souldiers (quoth he) what means this strange and unwonted lagging behind? Why? Know ye not your enemy? Know ye not me? Or, know ye not your own selves? The enemy, what is he else but the perpetual matter and subject of your valour and glory? And ye again are the men, who under my conduct (to say nothing of the winning of *Falerii* and *Veii*, and of the slaughter of the Gauls Legions, put to the sword by us, even when our native City was by them taken, and they masters thereof) of late, and but the other day, made a three-fold triumph, upon a triple victory, over the same Volscians, Equians and people of *Hetruria*. What, do ye not agnize and accept me for your General, because not as Dictator, but as Tribun, I gave you the watchword, and put out the banner of battel? For mine own part, I stand not much upon absolute and sovereign command over you: no more likewise should ye regard ought else in me, but mine own self. For never yet did my Dictatorship make me haughty and set me up aloft, no more than my banishment abated my courage and cast me down. We are the same men still all of us: and since we are come to this war, furnished with the same means that we carried with us unto the former, let us look for the same event of our service, and no worse. So soon as ye shall encounter and joyn battel with them, perform each one that which he hath been taught and wonted to: the journey surely will be ours, and they (no doubt) shall run away. Then after he had sounded the battel, he alighted from his Horse, and caught the ensign-bearer that stood next him, with his hand, haled him forward against the face of the enemy, crying very often aloud, On afore with thy banner, Port-ensign, and advance forward, souldier. When they saw that *Camillus* in person, a man well steeped in years, and thereby weak to perform the parts of bodily strength, put himself forth against the enemy: all at once they pressed forward, set up an outcry and shouted, every man calling upon his next fellow, to follow their General for shame. Over and besides, some say that by the commandment of *Camillus*, there was an ensign hung into the very battel among the enemies. Whereupon they of the forefront, bestirred themselves lustily to recover it again. And thereby were the Antiates first discomfited, and the fear nor only came upon them in the vanguard, but entered also and reached as far as the rereward, that stood ready for supply. And as the violent force of the souldiers, provoked by the presence of their Captain, much troubled the enemy: so nothing more daunted the hearts of the Volscians, than the very sight of *Camillus* himself, when they chanced to espie him. So surely carried he the victory with him, which way soever he went. And that appeared most evidently in this. That when he saw the left wing at the point to give back and run away, he took himself in all haste to his Horse, rode thither with his light footmans buckler, and with his only presence renewed the fight, shewing unto them how the rest of the battel had the better. Now were the enemies put to the worst, and the victory inclined to a side. But their multitude both hindered themselves in their flight: and also a long peece of work the wearied souldiers of the Romans had to put so great a number, all to the sword. But behold, there fell a great tempest of rain all of a sudden, which poured down with so mighty winds and storms, that it rather put them by the execution of assured victory, than parted any battel or stayed the fight. Whereupon the retreat was sounded: and the night ensuing, whiles the Romans were at rest, made an end of the war. For the Latins and Hernicks forsook the Volscians and departed home, with as ill speed, as their enterprise was bad. The Volscians seeing themselves abandoned and left in the lurch by them, (upon whose trust and confidence they had rebelled) quit the camp and field, and put themselves within the walls of *Saturnum*: whom *Camillus* at first began to besiege, casting a trench and rampier about them, raising bastillons and plat-forms against the Town. And seeing his munitions and fabricks by no falling forth of the enemies impeached, he supposed there was no such courage in them, that he should need to stand so long about the hope of victory: and thereupon, encouraged his men not to wear themselves out in a tedious and toilsul piece of service, as if they lay at the siege of *Veii*: assuring them that the victory was in their hands already: and so with exceeding cheerfulness of his souldiers, he set ladders upon every side, scaled the walls, and entered the Town. Then the Volscians flung away their weapons and yielded themselves.

Saturnum won.

But the General his mind was bent upon a greater exploit, and that was the winning of *Antium*, being the seat Town of the Volscians, and from whence the beginning of the last war arose. Howbeit because so strong a City might not be won without great preparation of artillery, ordinance & engins of battery, leaving his colleague behind him with the army, he went himself to *Rome*, to perswade with the Senat. for to destroy and rase *Antium* utterly. And whiles he was emparling with them (such was the will of God I believe, that *Antium* should stand still & continue longer) there came Embassadors from *Nepes* and *Sutrium*, craving aid against the Tuscans, saying: That it was more than high time, that they were succoured and relieved. Upon which occasion it fell out, that *Camillus* was withdrawn thither from *Antium*. For seeing that those two Towns stood even against *Hetruria*, as it were the very keyes and bar-gates from thence: both the enemies laboured to gain them afore-hand, against the time that they went about to make new wars; & the Romans also held it a matter of great consequence, to rescue and defend those frontier Towns. The Senat therefore thought good to be in hand with *Camillus*, for to leave *Antium*, and to undertake the war with the Tuscans. The City-legions under General *Quintius*, were appointed unto him.

And

A And albeit, he rather would have had the leading of that army, which lay now in the Volscian Country, and which he had good tryal of, and were acquainted better with his government, yet refused he nothing: only he required to have *Valerius* his associar still, and joyned with him in commission. So *Quintius* and *Horatius* were sent to succeed *Valerius* in the Volscian war. *Furius* and *Valerius* took their voyage from the City to *Sutrium*, and found the one side of the Town possessed already by the Tuscans. On the other side, the Townsmen, for that the enemy had stopped all passages between, hardly able to repel the force of the assailants. But the coming of the Roman aids, and the name besides of *Camillus*, (so highly renowned as well amongst the enemies as Allies) both for the present gave them heart to abide the brunt, and stick to it till that were before at the point to give over: and also gained time and respite, to come in with fresh supplies and succours. *Camillus* therefore divided his forces, and gave direction to his colleague, for to bring about his power, to that side which the enemies held; and there to make an assault: not so much for any hope he had, by scaling the walls to win the City; as by withdrawing the enemies thither, not only to ease the Townsmen of their toil, and give them a breathing time (who were now wearied with assaults) but also to get himself some opportunity and vantage, to enter the City without skirmish and resistance. Which being put in execution on both hands accordingly, and performed at once: the Tuscans beset with a two-fold fear round about, seeing the walls assailed most fiercely one way: and the enemy got within the Town another way: hung out at one gate, (which as it happened was not beset) and in great haste all together sought to escape away. But as they fled, they were slain by heaps both within the Town and abroad all over the fields. The greater number were killed within the walls by *Furius* his souldiers. *Valerius* his men were more ready and nimble in the chase, and gave not over the execution until the night came, that they could not see and discern them.

Sutrium recovered.

When *Sutrium* was thus recovered and restored again to their allies, they led forward the army to *Nepe*: which Town the Tuscans held wholly, as surrendered already into their hands. Every man thought it would be a busie peece of work to win that City again: not in this regard only, that it was fully in the enemies possession, but also because some of the *Nepe*nses, by treason had yielded it up. Howbeit, they resolved to send unto the heads and principal citizens, that they should sever themselves from the Tuscans, and perform on their behalf trusty and faithful loyalty, like as they had craved and belought at the Romans hands their friendly help and protection. From whom they received this answer again, That it lay not now in them to do anything at all, for that the Tuscans kept the walls, and warded the gates. Whereupon they first terrified and scared the Townsmen with foraging and spoiling their territory: after that, seeing they made more reckoning of keeping their faithful loyalty to their enemies unto whom they had lately surrendered, than observing the league with their friends, which they had long before concluded: they provided themselves out of the fields of a number of faggots, of brush wood, and such like trowsers, and so approached the City with the army filled up the ditches close to the walls, set ladders to, and at the first shout and assault given, the Town was taken. Then proclamation was made, that all the *Nepe*nses should part with their armour and weapons, and so many as were found unarmed, should be spared. But the Tuscans, as well armed as unarmed were put to the sword every one. As for the chief authors, that perwaded the *Nepe*nses to deliver the Town to the enemies, they were beheaded. The harmless multitude had their goods restored, and so the Town was left with a garrison. Thus the two Tribunes (Consular) having regained out of the enemies hands two confederat Cities, returned in great glory to *Rome* with their victorious army.

The same year the Latins and Hernicks were required to make amends for harms done, and restitution of goods wrongfully detained: and the cause demanded why of late years, according to a covenant in that behalf provided they had set forth no souldiers to the Romans wars. Answer from both Nations in their solemn Councils was returned: "That neither the fault was generally nor proceeding from counsel of the State, in case some of their youth served under the Volscians: and yet themselves had well payd already for their lewd and rash projects, in that not one of them was come home alive. And as to the not sending forth of souldiers, the cause was, for that they were in continual fear and danger of the Volscians: which noisome plague (as it were) sticking so close unto their sides, unless they could be rid of, notwithstanding so many wars one in the neck of another. When relation hereof was made unto the Lords of the Senat, they thought so well of their answer and excuses, that they deemed they had quarrel and occasion good enough to war upon them, if they might have had while and time as well to follow it."

The excuse of the Latins and Hernicks.

In the year following, when *A. Manlius*, *P. Cornelius*, *Titus* and *Lucius Quinctius*, both *Capitolini*, and *L. Papirius Cursor* the second time, were Tribunes Consular, there arose a grievous war abroad, and a more dangerous sedition brake forth at home. The war, from the Volscians, bandied with the Latins and Hernicks, that were fallen away and revolted. The sedition (wherein was least feared) from a personage of noble lineage descended, of great name and reputation, *M. Manlius Capitolinus*. Who being a man of too lofty and harty a minde, despised all other of the Nobility, and envied one above the rest, *M. Furius*, so singular, as well in regard of his honourable dignities, as his worthy parts and commendable vertues. He could not brook and endure, that he only should ever be Lord General in the field: who now was exalted so high above others, that even those who were created with him in equal authority, he accounted not as

The discontentments of *M. Manlius*, intending sedition.

his peers and fellows, but employed as his Ministers and Servitors. "Whereas (quoth he) if men would weigh aright, and duly consider every thing, *M. Furius* could never have delivered his Country from the siege of the enemies, had not the Capitol and Castle cliff been saved by me afore. *Camillus* set upon the Gauls, when they were amused in receiving their gold, when they were upon terms of peace, and their hearts quiet and secure: whereas my self chased them away whiles they were in arms, and at the point to win the Castle Hill. In that exploit of *Camillus* the souldiers, had each one his share proportionably of the glory, who together with him did their parts: but in the service performed by me, no earthly creature was fellow and partner with me. With these conceits he fed his own humours, and puffed up his proud spirit, being withal by corrupt disposition of nature, hot and hasty, arrogant and insolent. Discontented besides, that of the Nobility, his gifts and qualities were not esteemed of that worth, as in his own judgement they deserved: first, of a Senator he became popular, and began to break his mind, and impart his designs unto the Magistrats of the Commons: finding fault with the Nobility, and complaining of them: soliciting and inveigling the Commons, to cast a liking and favour toward himself: carried away with the vain gale of the peoples opinion: not guided by sage counsel and discretion: and in one word, chusing rather to be of great name, than of good and honest report. And not contenting himself to deal in the Laws *Agraria*, about the division of Lands, which had alwayes ministered to the Tribunes of the Commons matter enough of murmurings and seditions: he began to intermeddle between the debtors and their creditors, and to overthrow all keeping of credit. And indeed, deep debts are sharp goads, and prick shrewdly: threatening not only poverty and shame, but also terrifying the bodies of free men with hard imprisonments, little ease, and irons. Now there were exceeding many far in debt (a thing most dangerous and hurtful to mens state) even of the richer sort, by reason of their great expenses defrayed in building. The war therefore of the Volscians, which was it self of great importance; but much more, in regard of the Latins and Hernicks Rebellion withal, was in shew pretended, as a cause to seek for to have a more sovereign and absolute power to govern the State: but in truth, these new designments and plots of *Manlius*, rather than the war, forced the Senat to create a Dictator. And *A. Cornelius Cossus* being created, nominated for his General of Horse, *T. Quintius Capitolinus*. The Dictator, albeit he saw a greater contention toward, at home than abroad, yet (were it that the war required some speedy expedition, or because by victory and triumph, he thought to make his Dictatorship more mighty and powerful) he took musters, and set forward into the Pomptine Land, into which parts he had intelligence, that the Volscians had proclaimed their forces, to repair.

A digression
of the author.

"I doubt not, but they that read in so many books already, of these continual wars fought with the Volscians, besides their tedious satiety of reading, will muse also at this (which to my self was likewise a wonder, when I perused the writers that lived neer about the times of these acts) how these Volscians and Equians, so often vanquished and defeated, were furnished with supply of souldiers to maintain their wars. But seeing by the ancient Chroniclers it hath been overpassed with silence, what should I alledge, but only mine own opinion and bare conjecture, which every man hath liberty to put in for himself? Likely it is, that either between the times of wars (as now we see in the Roman musters) they used to breed up one supply under another, of the younger sort, to the maintenance and renewing so oftentimes of their war: or that their armies were not alwayes levied out of the same States, albeit the wars go under the name of one and the self same nation: or that those countries yielded in those dayes an infinite number of freemen, which now are well near wast and desert, but for some Roman slaves, which keep those parts yet from being void and disposed, as having but a very small seminary, or none at all, left, of serviceable souldiers.

"Certainly, the Volscians army, as all authors agree, was very great at this time: albeit of late dayes by the leading and conduct of *Camillus* they were sore weakened, and their strength much abated. Besides, there were with them in field, the Latins and Hernicks, some of the Circeians, and other Colonies from *Volturnus*. The Roman Dictator having that day pitched his camp, and the next morrow come abroad with happy tokens of good speed from the Birds: having also slain a sacrifice, and procured thereby the favour and grace of the Gods, in joyous manner shewed himself unto his souldiers: who according as they were commanded, were ready early in the morning, by break of day in arms, attending the sound of Trumphet for battel. The day is ours (quoth he) my valorous souldiers, if either the Gods or their Prophets can foretell future events.

The Orati
on of *A. Cornelius
Cossus* Dicta-
tor to his soul-
diers.

"Therefore as resolute men of assured hope, and such as shall encounter with far meaner than our selves, pitch we our javelins down at our feet, and draw our swords only. Neither would I have you to run out of the main battel, and to give the charge, but to keep your ground, to stand Redoubt, and abide the first Thock of the enemy. And when they have spent their volley of shot in vain, and shall with full force come upon you as you stand, then brandish your swords, and let them glitter in their eyes, and think every man of the Gods, that they will help the Romans. The Gods I say, which in happy hour, by the lucky approbation of their Birds, have sent us into the field to fight. And as for you, O *Quintinus*, keep your Horsemen close together, marking advisedly the first beginning of the skirmish: and when you see the battels buckle together pell-mell, and come to hand-strokes, whiles they are busied and occupied one way, fight them another way with your Horsemen, ride among their ranks as they fight, and break their arrayes. Thus fought both Horse and Foot according to his direction. And

A as the legions wanted not a worthy Captain, no more missed the Captain of happy speed. The multitude of the enemies trusting upon nothing but their own number; which they measured and compared together only by their eye, interviewing both the one army and the other, rashly gave battle, and as rashly gave over again. In shout only and shout shewing themselves hot and eager at the first encounter: but were not able to abide the sword-fight, the closing together foot to foot, and the fiery countenance of their enemies; which for the very heat of their courage, shined and glistered fully in their eyes. So the forefront being put back, a fear came upon them likewise, that stood behind for supply, and withal, the Horsemen for their parts set to, and fought most terribly. Whereupon the ranks of the enemies in sundry places were broken, and all set out of order, so as their battalions seemed to stote and wave up and down to and fro, in suspense whether to fight or fly. Afterwards, when they saw the foremost smitten down and slain, and every one thought no other but his own turn was next to be killed; they turned their backs and fled. The Romans came forward still and chased them. And so long as they went their way armed and thick huddled together, it was the footmens work to pursue them: but when it was perceived once, that they flung away their weapons on all hands, and that the enemies army fled dispersed all abroad in the fields: then were the troupes of Horsemen set out after them, with this caveat and charge, to make no stay and forlet the time, by killing them one by one, and so to give the main multitude of them in the mean while sufficient respite to escape: but that they should content themselves, only to let flye some shot amongst them, and by scaring them to hinder their running: and when they were ridden beyond, to cross upon them and stay them, until the footmen might overtake them, stay them down right and make an hand of them clean. Thus fled they, and thus were they followed in chase until night. The very same day was the Volscians camp taken and rancked, and the whole pillage, besides the bodies of free men, was given unto the souldiers. The greatest part of the prisoners were Hernicks and Latins: and those not of the common sort, and such as might be thought to have served for pay: but there were found among them certain young Gentlemen of good mark, a plain proof and evidence, that the Volscian enemies had aid from thence by the publick and general warrant of the State. There were known also to be among them some of the Circeians: yea, and certain of the Velitern colony likewise. All of them were sent to Rome. Where being examined before the chief of the Senators, they confessed every one in plain terms, the revolting of their own Nation, like as they had before bewrayed it unto the Dictator. The Dictator still kept his forces together within the standing camp, making no doubt, but that the rulers and Senators of Rome would determine to war upon those countries.

The Volscians
defeated.

But even at that time a greater heap of troubles which arose at home, caused him to be sent for to Rome, by occasion of a sedition which grew daily more and more: and by reason of the Author thereof (a man of quality and note) was more feared than any usually had been afore time. For now by this, had *M. Manlius* not by speeches only, but by plain deeds also, (which in outward shew seemed popular and plausible) shewed evidently upon what troublesome and tumultuous spirit all proceeded: For seeing upon a time a Centurion, of good worth for his service in war, condemned in an action of debt, and upon an execution of judgement carried to prison: he in the mids of the Forum, came running unto him with a rout and crew of his followers and retinue, laid hand on him, and took him perforce from the officers: and after he had given out some words aloud touching the pride of the Senators, the cruelty of the usurers, the calamities of the Commons, the valour and present distress of the party: Marry then (quoth he) have I done a great deed, to no purpose, in saving the Capitol and the Castle with this right hand of mine, if I could abide to see my fellow souldier (as if he were taken prisoner of the Gauls by way of conquest) had away into bondage and captivity, and laid up fast in gyves and fetters. And therewith openly in sight of all the people paid the whole debt downright on the nail, unto the creditor: and so after the usual and solemn ceremony by a brasen peece of coin and the ballance, he set him at liberty out of the creditor his hands, and let him go at large: "Who prayed heartily to God and man, for to requite accordingly *M. Manlius* his only deliverer, and the very patron and protector of the Commons of Rome. And when he was once got into that unruly and seditious throng, he presently himself set all a madding, shewing the scars of his wounds received in the Veientians and Gauls wars, and in other services one after another: saying, That whiles he thus followed souldiery, and rebuiled his house that was destroyed, he became indebted, and that so deeply (by reason that the interest alwayes overgrew the principal, which he by that means had paid and paid again) that he was not able to creep out of the usurers book, but was plunged therein over head and ears. And now behold (quoth he) by the only goodness of *M. Manlius*, I have the liberty again to see the light of the Sun, to behold the Common place, to look my neighbours and fellow citizens in the face: at his hands I acknowledge to have received all the benefits that mine own parents could give me: unto him I vow whatsoever in me is left, and in his quarrel to spend that little life and blood which remaineth in my body: and in one word look what priviledge I may enjoy in right of my country, and in the communion of the Gods, publick or private, the same do I impart and communicate with that one man. By these speeches the Commons were set on, and pricked forward mightily, as wholly devoted unto one person: and who but *Manlius* now in every mans mouth? And presently in the nick he entred into another action that tended more effectually to mar all quite, and to set every thing out of order. His Land in the territory of *Veii*; which was the chief and capital

The mutinous
speeches of a
Centurion.

Manor of his inheritance, even the fairest flower of his garland, he set upon sale, causing it openly to be cryed: and said withal, I will not O *Quirites*, so long as I have one foot of ground, or any thing else left, see one of you condemned and upon execution carryed to prison. This let them so a fote, that they were ready, as it seemed, to follow him as the only protector of their liberties, in any action, were it right or wrong, they cared not which way, all was one with them. Besides, at home in his own house, he spared not to cast out slanderous speeches against the Senators, as if he had been at the open Cross, making Orations. Amongst which, without all regard whether he spake true or false, he let fall these words, "That the Senators kept in secret certain hidden treasures of the Gauls gold, and were not now contented to hold in possession the common grounds, but they would also embezzle the treasure publick, which if it came abroad, the Commons might soon be acquit and discharged of their debts. This gap being once laid open, and this light given the people, they thought (ye may be sure) an unworthy indignity, that when there was gold to be levied for redemption of the City out of the Gauls hands, it then should be gathered by a general contribution of all: and the same gold, now recovered from the enemies, should be as a prey in the clutches of a few. Therefore they followed instantly upon him and were very earnest to know, where so great a masse of money and stoll good was hidden. But when he posted them off, and said he would in due time disclose all: they were not content, but setting all other matters apart, their whole care was employed about this business, and nothing else. So as it plainly appeared that neither he should reap a mean thank if he reported a truth, nor incur a small offence and displeasure, in case he told a false tale.

Things hanging thus in these doubtful terms, the Dictator who was sent for, returned from the army into the City. The next day he assembled the Senat: and after he had thoroughly sounded and felt the minds of them, that were there mer, he commanded the Senators not to depart from him: and assisted as he was with that company, he caused the Ivory chair of estate to be set in the *Comitium* or common Hall, and sent a serjeant for *M. Manlius*. Who being thus peremptorily summoned by the Dictators expresse commandment, gave warning by a token to his complices and favourites, that there was a broil and fray toward: and with a mighty retinue of his followers, he presented himself before the Tribunal. On the one side, stood the Senators, on the other the Commons: either part beholding their Captain, as it were in a pight field ready to joyn battell.

The speech of
A. Cornelius
Cossus Dicta-
tor to *M. Man-*
lius.

Then after silence made, "Would to God (quoth the Dictator unto *Manlius*) I and the Sena-
"tors of *Rome*, might in all other things sort as well with the Commons, as I am assured, we shall
"agree all together about thee, and the matter which I shall ask and demand of thee. I see thou
"hast put the City in some good hope, that by the Gauls treasure which the principal and chief
"of the Senators detain with them secretly hidden, all men may keep their credit, and fully pay and
"discharge their debts. Which I for my part, so God me help, am so far from hindring, that con-
"trary-wise I would exhort thee, O *M. Manlius*, to ease the Commons of *Rome* of the usurers
"book: to discover these fellows and make them known, that gape so greedily after the common
"treasure, and to disappoint them, and turn them out of this their privy booty. Which if thou
"do not effect, either for that thy self wouldst have a fleece with them, or else because it is but
"a forged tale that thou hast made of thine own fingers ends, I will not fail, but commit thee
"to ward, and suffer no longer the multitude upon a vain and deceitful hope, thus by thee to be
"abused and disquieted. To this, *Manlius* made answer and said, "I was nothing deceived but
"wist well enough, that a Dictator was created not against the Volscians, who are enemies (for-
"sooth) so oft as our great Masters think it for their purpose: nor against the Latins and Hernicks,
"whom they drive and provoke to rebellion by false and forged surmises: but against my self and
"the Commons of *Rome*. For now I see well, that the Dictator professeth to maintain and bear
"out the Usurers against the Commons: and that against my self, for the favour that the multi-
"tude beareth unto me, there is matter devised to charge me withal, and to procure my utter
"ruin and overthrow. Doth it offend and grieve you indeed, O *A. Cornelius*, and you my Lords
"of the Senat, that the people thus stand about me on every side? Why do not ye every man for
"his part, by your good deserts divide asunder this company, and draw them away with you from
"me? Namely, by your mediation and intercession, by giving your word for them, by ridding
"out of gyves and prison your fellow citizens, by saving them that are condemned, from being
"awarded to the thraldom of their creditors, and out of the overplus and superfluity of your own
"living and goods by relieving their present need, and supplying their necessities? But what mean
"I to perswade you to forgo anything of your own, and bestow it upon them? Take another
"course with them, and make them another offer. Do but deduct out of the principal debt, that
"which hath been payd, for consideration of the loan: you shall soon see that my retinue will
"make no greater shew, than any othermans else. But why am I the only man so careful of the
"citizens and people? Certainly, I can make no better answer hereunto, than if one should ask me,
"wherefore I alone saved the Capitol and the Cliff? As I then yielded my helping hand to all in
"general, so will I now to my power relieve each one in particular. For as touching the treasure
"of the Gauls: the thing in it self being easy, this demand of yours maketh hard and difficult.
"For what need you ask me that which you know already your selves? Why lay you not that
"open which is in your secret bosom, rather than to have it sifted and bolted out? but that there
"is some privy juggling, some cunning practise and packing therein? The more ye would seem to
"have your leiger demain to be sought into and detected: so much the more, I fear me, ye will
"hide

The answer of
Manlius to the
Dictator.

A "hide it even from the eyes of those that are watchful and quicksighted. And therefore am not
 "I to be forced to reveal and shew where your stolen goods are: but you would be made, if you
 "were well served, to bring them abroad into the view of the World. At those words, the Di-
 "stator commanded him to leave off these foolish vapourings and trifling haits; urging him either
 "to go through with his challenge and prove it true: or if he could not justify it, to confess that
 "he had falsely slandered and wrongfully charged the Senat, and sought to bring upon them the ill
 "will and hatred of men, for a vain surmise and insinuation of Thevery. But as he stoutly inferred
 "and replied again, that he would not speak at the pleasure of his enemies, nor owed them any
 "such service: he commanded him to be had away to prison and kept in bonds. And as he was
 B apprehended by the Officer, "O Jupiter (quoth he) *Optimum Meritum*. O Jove Queen of heaven, *M. Manlius*
 "O *Minerva*, with other gods and goddesses, that inhabit the Capitol and the Castle: Suffer ye
 "your Knight and Defender, to be thus sugged, misused, and evil entreated by his adversaries?
 "And shall this right hand wherewith I deigned the Gauls, and drove them from your Chap-
 "pels and shrines, be now pinnioned and manacled? There was no one man there, that saw and
 "heard him, who could indure this indignity. But this City, as most patient of all other Cities to
 "abide any just, righteous and lawful commandment of the Magistrate, contained her self and was
 "content in some cases to be overruled: so far forth, that against the authority and absolute power
 "of the Dictator, neither the Tribuns of the Commons, nor the Commons themselves, durst
 "either cast up their eyes to look awry, or once open their mouths. But after *Manlius* was com-
 C mitted, it was for certain known, that a great sort of the Commons, changed their weed
 "and put on their worst apparel and mourning array: many a man let his head and beard grow
 "long; yea, and a number of them with sad and heavy cheer, kept commonly about the Goal-
 "dore.

Now when the Dictator triumphed over the Volscians, his triumph bred him more hatred
 "and displeasure than honor and glory: for it is commonly spoken, that he got it at home and not
 "abroad, and triumphed over a citizen not over an enemy: and this only wanted, (say they) to
 "make up his pride to the full, that *Manlius* was not led before his chariot. Whereupon there was
 "like to grow much scandal and very sedition. For the appealing and mitigation whereof, the Se-
 "nat upon a sudden, without any motion made, of themselves became bountiful and assigned 2000

D citizens of *Rome* to be sent to *Satricum* to inhabit as a Colony. And to every man was let out
 "two acres and an half of Land apiece. Which the Commons construed to be a matter of no-
 "thing, a small boon bestowed upon a few, the very hire and reward for betraying *Manlius*. So
 "that this proved a mischief for a remedy: and by this salve, the sore rather festered and rankled,
 "than healed up, and the sedition thereby fretted more and more. For now the crew of *Manlius*
 "his followers made shew of greater mourning and heaviness, in their vile clothes and sad coun-
 "tenance, after the guise of persons acculed during the time of their troubles. And when the fear
 "and terrour was once overblown, by reason that the Dictator after his triumph, reigned up his
 "authority, then folks hearts were set at liberty, and their tongues walked at will. Some were
 "heard in open audience to upbraid the multitude and cast in their teeth, "That it was their fa-

E "thions alwayes to lift up and advance their Protectors and Defenders into high places, and
 "afterwards, in the very pitch of danger and point of downfal, to forsake and leave them defi-
 "nite. Thus was *Sp. Cassius* served, that solicited the Commons to the division of Lands: thus
 "was *Sp. Melius* overthrown, that put his hand to his purse, and at his own proper charges kept
 "extream famine from the hungry jawes of the poor citizens. Semblably, *M. Manlius* endea-
 "vouring to deliver a great part of the City (drowned as it were and overwhelmed in debt) and
 "to enlarge them and set them abroad at liberty, now for his pains is betrayed unto his deadly
 "enemies: so that the Commons do feed and frunk up, even for the shambles and butchers knife
 "the factors and maintainers of their weal and liberty. And ought indeed (say they) a Noble
 "man, that sometimes had been Consul, thus to be misused, if he answered not to the good liking

F "and pleasure of the Dictator? Suppose, he had over-reached and made a lie afore, and so had
 "not a present and ready answer at the time: was there ever any servant and slave, for leasing cast
 "in prison and laid up in Irons? And how could they forget that night, which was like to have
 "been the last night that ever the Romans should have seen: that fatal night of their final destru-
 "tion for ever? Or how could they chuse, but have still in their eye the army of the Gauls, clim-
 "bing up the Cliff *Tarpeia*? and how *M. Manlius* in person, so bravely beseen in his armour,
 "all sweating, all bleeding, rescued and saved *Jupiter* himself in a manner out of the enemies hands?
 "What? Did they think that with half-poued measures of wheat meal, they had sufficiently re-
 "compensed the Saviour of their Country? And whom they had well near canonized amongst
 "the holy hallows of Heaven, or at least-wise by his new addition of "surname made equal to

G "*Jupiter Capitolinus*, was it well done to suffer him imprisoned in chains, lying in a dark dungeon,
 "to draw his lively breath at the pleasure of the Hangman? Was he alone able to succour you all,
 "and are ye all not able to help him alone? Thus ceased not the multitude to exclaim and make
 "their plaints, and would not depart from that place, no, not all the night long, but threatened to
 "break the prison by force: until such time as they got that remitted, which otherwise they would
 "have wrested, and *Manlius* by an act of the Senat was released out of prison and enlarged.
 "Whereby the murmur was never the more ended, but rather a Captain given them to maintain the
 "Sedition.

M. Manlius
apprehended.

Satricum made
a Colony, and
peopled with
Romans.

audited and
to be made
of the same
quantity of
the same

The seditious
speeches of
the multitude
in the behalf
of *M. Manlius*.

* *Capitolinus*,
because he sa-
ved the Capi-
tol.

About

About the same time the Latins and Hernicks, the inhabitants also of the Colony *Circeia*, and they of *Velitres*, who came to excuse themselves for the Volscian war, wherein they were charged to have had their hands, and required to have the captives delivered, for to proceed against them, according to their own Laws, had a heavy answer. But the Coloners received the sharper check and rebuke, because they being Roman citizens, were entred into that wicked plot and abominable action, to combine against their native Country. And they were not only denied their prisoners, but also (wherein the Romans dealt more favourably with the rest that were their Allies) were warned and commanded in the name of the Senat, to avoid and that with speed out of the City, from the sight and presence of the people of *Rome*; for fear lest the privileged of Embassage, provided for the security and safe conduct of forrainers and not of citizens, should not serve to protect them. Now when the Sedition of *Manlius* was set on foot again, somewhat before the end of the year, the great assembly was holden for the Election of Magistrats: wherein there were created Tribuns in Consuls authority *Serg. Cornelius Maluginensis* the second time, *P. Valerius Potitus* the second time, *M. Furius Camillus* the fifth time, *Ser. Sulpitius Ruffus* the second time, *C. Papirius Crassus*, *T. Quintius Cincinnatus* the second time, all of Senators calling.

In the beginning of this year, peace they had with forrain nations; a matter very commodious both for the Senat and the Commons. For the Com, in this regard, that being not called away by any musters, they had some good hope (especially having so mighty a champion) to be rid at once for ever of usury. For the Senators again, because their minds being not distracted by any fear from abroad, might attend about curing and healing the intestine maladies at home. When both parts therefore were now more sharp set, and eagerly bent, they thought out of hand to trie what would be done, and to make either a shaft or a bolt of it. *Manlius* calling the Com. to his house, devised with the principal heads of them both day and night, to bring in a change and alteration of the State: and fuller of stomach, anger and gall he was now a good deal than aforetime. Nettled he was, the rather by his late disgrace and shame, who never before had been touched in credit, nor tasted of any reproach and contumely. Heart he took unto him, for that the Dict. durst not execute that rigor against him, which *Cincinnatus Quintius* had extended upon *Sy. Melius*: and it seemed unto him, that not only the Dict. sought to wind himself out, and in resigning up his room, to avoid the offence given by his imprisonment; but also that the very Senat was not able to endure the manner of proceeding. With these imaginations being puffed up and galled too, he failed not withal to prick forward and exasperate the minds of the Commons, who of themselves already, were kindled and set on fire. And with these and such like speeches he entertained them. "How long (quoth he) I pray you, will ye be ignorant, and not know what ye may do, and what power ye have? A thing that nature it self would not have so much as the very dumb beasts, but to understand. Do but count how many you are in number your selves, and how few adversaries ye have against you. If ye were but one to one, yet (I would think) you should more eagerly strive for to maintain your liberty, than they, to set up their Lordship. For, look how many favourites ye have been, following and courting one patron, so many shall ye now be opposed to one enemy. Make but shew only of war, ye shall have peace. Let them see you once ready to make head and offer violence, soon will they yeeld and part with their right: Either ye must adventure, all joyntly together to do somewhat, or else make account each one, to abide and suffer all. How long will ye stand looking from every side upon me? I for my part, surely, will not fail any one of you. Look ye then to it, that fortune fail not me. I, even I, that was your redeemer and deliverer, was all at once (when it pleased mine enemies) taken down and made no body. And ye, all of you saw him led to prison, who saved every one of you from prison. If happily those mine enemies should attempt to do me more spight, Where am I then? and what were I best to trust unto? Should I look for that end that *Cassius* and *Melius* came unto? Ye do well to signify how you dread the presage, and with the contrary. And the Gods forbid that it should so come to pass. But look not that ever they should come down from Heaven to protect me. That mind they must give you, to preserve me from so hard a hap, like as they gave me a resolute heart, both in mine armour to save you from barbarous enemies, and in my gown to defend you from proud citizens. Is there so little courage in you (so mighty a people otherwise) as to think it sufficient, and to stand contented, if you may be backed only, and meet with some help against your enemies; and to know no other scuffling with your adversaries (the Senators) but wherein you suffer your selves to be commanded in the end? This baseness cometh not to you by kind. By use and custome only, you are become their vassals and subjects. For what is the cause ye are so courageous against your enemies abroad, that ye think it meet and reason to rule and govern them? No other in truth but this, because with them you have been ever wont to strive for sovereignty, whereas against these ye have been used rather, to make some slight proof and tryal what you may do by your liberty, than to do your best, and to put your selves forth for to maintain it and extend it to the most. And yet what manner of captains soever ye have met withal to lead you, and howsoever affected ye have been your selves, obtained ye have hitherto all things that ye shot at, were they never so great: Such was your might, or such was your felicity. Wherefore now it is high time to give the adventure of greater matters also. Make but tryal only of your own good fortune, and of my self, whom I hope ye have had happy experience

The seditious
Oracion of
M. Manlius to
the Commons
of Rome.

A "experience of already with Iulius shall ye be provided of one to over-rule and command the Senators, than ye have been hitherto of those, that were to resist only their imperious government: Down we must with these Dictatorships and Consulships both, and lay them level with the ground: that the commonalty of Rome may once be aloft, and bear up the head. Behir your selves therefore, and play the men. Hinder protests and course of law for actions of debt. I profess myself a Patron of the Commons, which name my care over you; my faithfulness to you; hath induced me with. And if you please to entitle your leader and Captain, with a more glorious stile of honour and Majesty, ye shall find it more potent and available to effect that which you long for and desire. And so from that time forward, began some practice to set up the Government of a King: But neither who were the agents in this action, nor to what terms these plots proceeded, is it plainly enough recorded. But on the other side, the Senators sat in Council, and debated about the Secession and secret meeting of the Commons in the private house of *M. Manlius* and that house, which stood (as it fell out) upon the Castle Hills likewise of that imminent engine and fabrick, devised for the overthrow of the present liberty. Many were of opinion, and spake it aloud, That there was need of a *Servilius Huly*, who not by commanding a publick enemy of the State to prison, would provoke him and make him more eager; but by dispatching of one wicked member out of the way, and cutting him off, might end this intestine and civil war. But they came down at length, and grew to a resolution, in words milder, yet indeed and effect all one; That the *Adversaries* should have a careful eye, that by these mischievous plots and practices of *M. Manlius*, the Commons were incited to damages and hurt. Then the Tribunes in Consul authority, and the other Tribunes of the Commons (for even they also seeing, that in the loss of the publick liberty of all, their power likewise should come to an end, had yielded to be advised and ruled by the Senate) laid all their heads together, and consulted what course was best to be taken. When as no man could be think of any way, but plain violence and bloodshed (a piece of work in all appearance, of great adventure and doubtful hazard) then *M. Menenius*, and *Q. Publilius*, two Tribunes of the Commons stepped forth and said, "What means we to make that, a quarrel between the Senators and Commons, which the whole body united of the City indeed should undertake against so dangerous and pestilent a member? Why trouble we our selves to set upon him and the Commons with him, whom by the means of the very Commons themselves, it were the safer course, and lesse offensive to assail? that being surcharged and overweighed with his own power whereupon he presumeth, he may fall down and take his overthrow. We are fully minded to arrest him, to convert him judicially, and call him to his answer. Nothing is lesse popular, and more odious to the people, than to hear of Kings government again. The multitude shall not so soon see and perceive, that our quarrel is not with them, but that they shall become his competent Judges, and pass upon him, who now are his Advocates: also, that his accusers from out of the Commons, shall behold one of the Nobility to hold up his hand at the bar, and the indictment framed, upon the crime of usurping the Kingdom: but (be ye sure of it) they will tender and favour the fair looks and person of no man, before the cause of their own free estate. When all the house liked well, and allowed of this advice and overture, they made no more add, but served *Manlius* with process to answer at a day appointed. Which was not so soon done, but the Commons at the very first, began to storm and be enraged, especially when they saw the accused man, during his trouble so rudely arraigned, accompanied with none of the Senators, nor so much as one of his kindred and affinity, no, nor his very brethren *M.* and *T. Manlius*. A thing before that day never seen nor known, but that in so great a danger as this was, the nearest kinsfolk in blood, did change their weed. For even when *Sp. Claudius* his adversary, yet, and the whole lineage and name of the *Claudivi*, were mournfully clad, and poorly apparelled. Now intirely (say they) it is a very compact amongst them all, that this popular man, so gracious and wellbeloved, should be confounded and overthrown, because he was the first that ever fell away from the Senators to the Commons. When the day was come of his arraignment, I can find no anchor, what was objected against the prisoner by his accusers, directly tending to prove the crime of aspiring to a Kingdom; but only the conventicles of the multitude, certain seditious words, his overmuch larges, and his forged formis and false information of the gold: I doubt not but there was matter of great importance, urged and enforced against him, seeing that the Commons delay in proceeding to his condemnation, was not long of his cause, but occasioned by the place only. This one thing seemeth worthy to be noted, and for all mens learning, the how notable and how great soever his honors, worship, and commendable parts were: the foul and cursed desire of tyrannical rule, made not only unpleasant and without grace, but also odious and detestable in the eyes of the people. He brought forth, as it is reported, welnear four hundred mess, whom he had laid out money for *proci*, and without any interest or consideration: those whole goods he saved from port-sale, and kept from the bondage of their creditors, after they were condemned. Over and besides, he not only reckoned up, but shewed also in open sight, the honorable testimonies of his service in the wars: as the spoils of his enemies by him slain and disarmed, to the number of 30. gifts bestowed upon him by Generals in way of reward 40. amongst which were two goodly mural garlands for scaling and entering upon the walls first: eight civick coroners for saving the lives of citizens in danger. Moreover, he presented there in place, the parties themselves in person, whom he had rescued out of the enemies hands: and amongst them he nominated *C. Servilius* at that instant General of the Horsemen, and now absent.

i. of King.
M. Manlius al-
pireth to a
Kingdom.

A form of
commission
granted in
great dangers
of the State.

On overture
to the over-
throw of *Man-
lius*.

M. Manlius ar-
raigned, and
answered for
himself.

* Fashioned in
form of the
battlements of
a wall.
* Made of oke
branches,

abient. And when he had rehearsed his noble feats of arms, and amplified them according to the height of their worth in a most glorious and eloquent Oration, as one whose words were suitable and answerable to his deeds: at the last he stripped his breast bare, and shewed the scars there remaining of wounds received in the wars: and ever and anon looking to the Capitol, very often he called aloud upon *Jupiter* and the other Gods, to help him now in this extremity and peril of his state: and prayed that the same mind which they had given him to defend the Capitol cliff, and even to the safeguard of the people of *Rome*, they would vouchsafe the same people; in this distress of his woful calamity: beseeching them both all and some, to look up to the cliff, and to the Capitol, to turn themselves toward the Gods there, and so to proceed to judgement of him. All the whiles the people were cited and called by their Centuries, and the prisoner stretched forth his hands, and converted his prayers from men to the Gods: the Tribuns evidently saw that unless they freed the eyes of the people from beholding the memorial of so great a deiert, it would never be that so long as their minds were thus forestalled and possessed with that benefit of his, they would find the enditement, were it never so true. So the matter being put off and deferred to another day, the people were summoned to assemble in the grove *Petelinus*, without the gate *Flumentana*, from whence they might not have a sight of the Capitol. There the accusation prevailed more than compassion, and the matter went against him: and so with hard and obdurate hearts, they pronounced a heavy and dolorous sentence, and which the very judges themselves had in horror. Some there be that say there were *Dumviri* ordained for the purpose, to make inquisition and sit upon this treason against the State. Thus being condemned the Tribuns caused him to be thrown headlong down the rock *Tarpeia*. Which place was the self same that yielded to that one man, a monument and memorial both of singular glory, and also of extreme punishment and ignominious death. After his death there remained two infamous marks behind him of shame: the one publick, occasioned by his dwelling house. For whereas it was situate, where now the chappel and work-house, or mint-house of *Menes* standeth, an Act was proposed unto the people, That none of the Senators lineage should dwell on the cliff or Capitol Mount. The other proceeding more properly from his own line and kindred: For that by a general decree of the house of *Manlius* it was provided, That none of that family and race should ever after bear the name of *M. Manlius*. This was the end of him, who, but that he was born in a free City, had been a right worthy and renowned man.

But the people being now past all danger from him, calling to mind and considering without all affection, his virtues as they were, found a misse of him shortly after. Yea, and for the pestilence also which ensued soon upon, for that there could be no causes known of so great mortality, was imagined of many a man, to have grown upon the execution of *Manlius*: arguing thus, That the Capitol was polluted with the blood of the Saviour thereof: and the Gods took no delight and pleasure to have (as it were) presented unto their eyes, the punishment of that man, by whose means their Temples had been delivered out of the hands of the enemies. Upon this plague and scarcity of corn withal, and the common brute that spread abroad both of the one and the other, there ensued the year following many wars, when as *L. Valerius* the fourth time, *A. Manlius* the third time, *Ser. Sulpicius* the third time, *L. Laetorius*, *L. Aemilius* the third time, and *M. Trebonius* were Tribuns Military in Consuls authority. For besides the Volscians, who by destinie were appointed for ever in a manner to busy and keep occupied the Roman souldiers: besides the Colonies *Circeia* and *Velitris*, which a long time were about to rebel: besides *Lavinium*, that stood in doubtful terms, and was suspected, the *Lanuvines* also, who had been a most fast and loyal City, all of a sudden rose and became new enemies. The LL. of the Senat supposing all this grew upon contempt, for that the revolting of the Velltrians, who were their natural citizens, had so long time escaped punishment, decreed with all speed to move the people to denounce and proclaim open war against them. And to the end that the Commons might be more forward in this Military service, they created certain *Quinquerviri* for the division of the Pomptine Lands: and *Triumviri* for the planting of a colony at *Nepes*. Then they propounded unto the people, that they would appoint and determine of the war to be made. And notwithstanding the Tribuns of the Com. laboured earnestly, but all in vain, to dissuade, yet the tribes throughout generally granted it, and gave their voyces for war. All that year passed in preparations only, but no army set forth by reason of the plague: which proroging of time and long delay, gave the inhabitants of the Colonies respite to sue unto the Senat for peace. Many of them were inclined and stood thus affected, to send a solemn embassage with humble supplication to *Rome*: but that (as commonly it falleth out) the publick peril was entangled and interested with the jeopardy of some private persons: and the authors of the backsliding and revolt from the Romans, fearing lest they alone should bear all the blame and be delivered up as a sacrifice to satisfy the wrath of the Romans, turned away clean and alienated the Colonies from all consultation of seeking for peace. And not only in their Council-House was this Embassage then crossed, but many of the Commons also: they excited to invade the territories of *Rome*, to drive booties, and make spoil. This new wrong by them offered, clean put them by all hope of peace. In that year was the first rumour raised, concerning the Rebellion also of the *Preneestines*. And when the *Tusculans*, *Gabines*, and *Lavinians*, into whose marches they had made inrodes, complained unto the Senat, and laid much matter against them, they received at their hands so calm and cold an answer, that it seemed they gave less credit to their complaints, because these were not willing they should prove true.

Five officers called *Quinquerviri* created.

The

A The year following, *Sp.* and *E. Papirius*, new Tribuns Military with Consuls authority, led the legions to *Velitrae*, whose four Collegues, *Sen. Cornelius Maluginensis* the fourth time, *Q. Servilius*, *C. Sulpicius*, *D. Amylius* the fourth time, were left Tribuns behind for defence of the City; and for fear lest they should hear some intelligence of new and fresh stirr out of *Hetruria*, where they suspected all would be naught. At *Velitrae* they had the better hand of their enemies: there they found more *Preneftins* well met, that came to succour, than the very Coloners themselves. For the City was so near at hand, that it both gave the enemies occasion to flye the sooner and yielded them the only place of safe refuge, after they were fled. The Tribuns forbore to assault the Town, as well in regard of the dangerous enterprise, as also for that they thought it not good to hold fight to the utter destruction of that Colony. Letters were dispatched to *Rome* with tidings of victory, implying more sharp informations against the *Preneftins* than the *Veliterns*. So by an Act of the Senat and assent of the people there was proclaimed war against the *Preneftins*: who in the year following joyned with the *Volscians*, and by force wan *Saturnum* a Colony of the people of *Rome*, notwithstanding it was manfully and valiantly defended by the Townsmen even to the last: where most bravely and cruelly they exercised their victory upon those that they took prisoners, and put them to the sword. The Romans took this in a very ill part: and elected *M. Furius Camillus* Tribun Military the seventh time: who had for his companions in office, *A. and Lucius Postumius Rebellens*, *L. Furius* and *L. Lucretius*, and *M. Fabius Ambustus*.

The cruelty of the *Preneftins*.

C The *Volscian* war was appointed to *Camillus* extraordinarily: and to assist him therein, it fell to *B. Furius* his lot, one of the State-Tribuns, not so much for the good of the Common weal, as to minister unto his fellow all matter of honour and renown: as well in publick, (for that he set all upright again, which by the rashness of *Lucius* was fall down) as also in private, for that out of his error and misdoing *Marcus Furius*, rather fought for thanks and love at his hands, than aimed at any vain glory to himself. *Camillus* was now far grown and kept in years and very aged, and when in the assembly for Election, he was about to take the usual form of oath, for to excuse his feeble and crazy body, the people with one consent would not permit him. Howbeit for all his age, he carried a lively spirit and lusty courage with him still: his senses were all fresh and sound: and the late civil affairs had stirred him up and gave him an edge, who now had no great mind to manage martial exploits. So he gathered a power of four legions, consisting of 4000. apiece, and made proclamation that all his forces should be ready the next day, at the gate *Esquilina*, and then he put himself in his journey to *Saturnum*. The enemy who had won the Colony, nothing dismayd therat, and trusting in the number of his followers, wherein he had the better by odds, expected and stayd his coming there. And so soon as he understood that the Romans approached, forthwith came into the field, minding without delay to put it to an hazard and try it out: presuming, that the skill of the Romans General, were he never so singular (in whom their enemies only trusted) would little or naught avail in regard they were so few in number. The Roman army was as hot as they, and one of their Generals as forward every way. And presently without any stay, had they tried the fortune of a battel, but for the policy and rule of one man: who by holding off, and protracting time of fight, fought so to help himself through good order and skill. But so much the more the enemy urged still, and was more sharp set: To as now he not only ranged his men before his own camp in battel array, but also set forward into the mids of the field: and advancing himself with ensigns displayed, neer unto the trench and rampier of his enemies, made a proud bravado and shew of his strength, wereupon he bare himself so confidently. This could the Roman souldiers hardly endure: and *L. Furius* one of the Tribuns Military, had more ado by far to digest and put up that at the enemies hand. And a venturesome Knight he was, both by reason of his youthful years and natural disposition: and also puffed up with hope of the multitude, which commonly taketh heart, and presumeth upon smallest grounds, and buildeth upon greatest uncertainties. And the souldiers being of themselves already not enough, he inflamed and set them more on fire, by elevating and making light of his fellows reputation, in regard of his old age, the only thing that he could alledge: giving out ever and anon, "That wars were for young-men, that mens hearts flourish and faded as their bodies did: which was seen in *Camillus*, who of a most valorous and forward warrior, was now become a draw-back and a temporiser, and one that would take his leisure: and he that was wont, so soon as he came to a place, with the first assault to win Forts and strong Towns, now within his mures and rampier sat still and crised out the time. And what hopes had he? Dreameth he, that either his own power should encrease, or his enemies strength decrease? What occasion, what opportunity of time, what place of vantage for ambush laid he for? Tush, these policies and inventions of the good old man, are cold and dull, God wor. In faith,

L. Furius to his souldiers.

G "*Camillus*, as he hath lived long enough, so hath he gained glory enough. To what purpose then (quoth he) should we suffer the whole puissance of a City, which ought indeed to be immortal, for to age and wax old with the body of one man, whom all men see to be but mortal. With these and such like words he had drawn away the whole camp after him: and when from all parts thereof, they called hard and cryed for battel: "We are not able (quoth he) *M. Furius* to keep in and repress any longer the violence of our souldiers: and as for the pride of the enemy, whose courage by our delays we have encreased and who insulteth over us, it is intolerable. "Give place then, you that are but one man, and yeeld unto us all. Suffer your self to be overcome

L. Furius to *M. Furius*.

"come

M. Furius his
answer to L.
Furium, and the
souldiers.

M. Furius Ca-
millus to his
souldiers, fly-
ing away.

L. Furius to his
souldiers.

The Volscians
defeated.

"come with reason and counsel, that you may sooner overcome by force and arms. Hereunt o
 "Camillus made answer again: What wars soever (quoth he) unto this present day have by mine
 "own entire conduct, and sole direction been managed, neither can you nor the people of Rome
 "deny, but that in them you never repented, either of my policy or happy success. Now I know
 "full well, that I have a companion, joynt with me, in government & rule of equal commission;
 "for the prime and lustiness of youth, much above me, and my better. And as to the army, I have
 "indeed been used ever to command, and not to be commanded: but yet my fellows authori-
 "ty, I cannot be against. Let him do in Gods Name, what he thinketh good for the Common-
 "weal, and God speed his hand. Only in regard of mine old age I crave this favour, that I may
 "not be set in the forefront: but for other labours, look what an old man may or ought to do
 "in war, therein surely I shall not fail. And this one thing would I crave at the hands of the im-
 "mortal Gods, that some notable mishap befall not, to make my former counsel good and praise-
 "worthy. But neither would men be ruled by his advice so profitable and wholesome, nor the
 "Gods vouchsafe to hear his prayers so holy and devout. Then Lucius Furium, the author and prin-
 "cipal perwader of battel, setteth the vanguard in array. Camillus he fortifieth the Regiments and
 "Squadrons for supply in the rereward: but above all, he placeth a strong guard before the camp.
 "Himself took up his standing on a higher place, to behold and mark the issue of another mans
 "counsel. So soon as at the first brunt and encounter, they rustled and made a noise with their ar-
 "mour, the enemies on purpose (of policy, and not for fear) gave footing and lost ground. Now,
 "there was behind them on their back a pretty rising of an Hill between their camp and the battel:
 "and by reason that they were well stored of men, they had left behind them in the camp certain
 "strong companies armed and well appointed: with this instruction that whiles both armies were
 "hard in fight, and when their enemies should come near their trench and rampier, they might fall
 "out on a sudden upon them. The Romans following out of measure upon the enemies as they re-
 "treated, were drawn upon the disadvantage of the ground, and gave occasion and fit opportunity
 "unto the enemy to issue out of the camp upon them. So the terror returned upon the supposed vic-
 "tors, by reason both of the new supplies of the enemies, and also of the fall and descent of the
 "Hill: and forced the battel of the Romans to give back. The Volscians that charged them from
 "out of the camp, and were fresh and lusty, pressed hard upon them: they also that made as though
 "they fled, began now to fight again. The Romans souldiers forgetting now both their late lusti-
 "ness, and their ancient honour, retired not easily and softly in good order, but plain turned their
 "backs on all sides, fled amain by heaps, and ran away toward their own camp. Whereat Camillus
 "being by them that attended about his person, mounted upon a good Courser, and with all the
 "speed he could make, opposing the Squadrons of the rereward against the enemy: "Is this (quoth
 "he) the fight, you souldiers, that ye so called for? what God, what man can ye lay the weight
 "on now? It was your rashness and fool-hardiness afore: and it is your dastardly cowardise
 "now, and nothing else, that is the cause of all this. Followed ye have already one General.
 "Follow Camillus now a while: and as ye have been always wont by my leading, once more
 "win the victory. What look you toward the hold and the camp? there is no coming thither,
 "there is no being there for any of you without victory. At the first they were ashamed, and
 "stayed themselves from farther flight: but after that they saw once the ensigns wheel about, and
 "the Squadrons turn again, they made head, and charged the enemy amain. And the General
 "himself, a man renowned for so many triumphs, and besides, for his venerable age so revered, even
 "amongst the foremost ensigns, amid the greatest perils, and most distresses, advanced forth in per-
 "son. Hereupon every one for his part, set the better leg forward, provoked his fellow withal, and
 "encouraged one another, so as with a cheerful and lively shout, the whole field rang again. Nei-
 "ther was the other Tribun behind hand for his part: but being sent by his Colleague unto the
 "Horsemen (whiles he in the meantime marshalled again the Footmen in order) not by way of
 "chiding (for what might he avail thereby, so long as he was himself in fault as well as the rest?)
 "but laying aside all Lordly command, fell wholly to entreating, and besought them both all and
 "some to quit themselves like men, and acquit him of the guilt and blame of that unlucky dayes
 "work. "Indeed (quoth he) when my brother Camillus would not agree thereto, but expressly
 "forbad, yet I chose rather to be partaker of the folly and rashnes of all, than the wisdom and
 "sage advice of one. Camillus (come what will of it, speed you well, or speed you ill) seeth the
 "glory will be his: but I, unless the battel be revived, shall take such part as you all, (a most mi-
 "serable and pitious case) but the shame will redound and light upon my head and none else.
 "Well, at length they agreed, and thought it best to abandon their Horses to bestow them among
 "the waving and disordered companies, and on foot to make head upon the enemies. Thus they go
 "both together, as bravely minded with resolution, as they were richly and gorgeously armed. And
 "in what part soever they saw the footmen most distressed, there wanted neither in the Generals
 "nor in the souldiers, courage in the highest degree to fight it out lustily. Well was it seen by the
 "happy event, that valorous endeavours speed ever well. For the Volscians the same way that
 "erewhile they made semblance of giving ground upon a counterfeit fear, now fled in good sadness
 "as hard as they could. A great number both in the conflict, and after in the chase were slain. As
 "for the rest that remained in the camp, which presently at one brunt was won, more of them
 "were taken prisoners than killed. In the view & account taken of the captives, there were some of
 "them known to be Tusculans, who were severed apart from the rest, and brought before the
 "State-

A State-Tribuns, And upon examination, confessed fully, that they served by the publick warrant of the City. *Camillus* herewith disquieted, for fear of war from so near neighbors, said he would forthwith have those prisoners with him to *Rome*, that the Lords of the Senat might not be ignorant how the *Tusculans* were revolted from their society. In the mean while, his brother Tribun might, if he so pleased, have the regiment of the legges and the host. That days work had taught him now, not to prefer his own ways before the better counsel of another. And yet neither he himself, nor any man else in the army, thought that *Camillus* would quietly digest this fault of his, whereby the State of the Commonwealth was driven upon so dangerous a point of downfall. And as well in the host, as also at *Rome*, it was ripe and currant in every mans mouth. B that whereas the fight with the *Volscians* was variable, and the service doubtful: for the ill speed, the discomfite, and the running away, *L. Furius* was all in fault: but for the good success, *Camillus* only had all the honour.

When the captives were brought into the Council House, and the Lords of the Senat were of opinion and determined war against the *Tusculans*, and had laid the charge thereof upon *Camillus*, he requested to have an assistant joined with him in Commission: and being left to his own choiceto take whom he would of all his Companions in office, contrary to all mens expectation, he chose *L. Furius*. By which moderation of his affections, and good carriage of himself, he both delayed the infancy of this Colleague, and won himself great glory and commendation. Yet for all this, proceeded not they to any war with the *Tusculans*. For they by their constant observation

C of peace, kept off the violence of the Romans, which by force of arms they had not been able. When the Romans entered and invaded their territory, they went not so much as out of those places that lay near the high way, whereas the enemy marched: they forsook not the tilling of their grounds, but kept the gates of their City wide open, came forth solemnly in their long gowns to meet with the LL. Generals in the way, and brought victuals right courteously to serve the army, as well out of the City as Country. *Camillus* having pitched down his tents before the gates, and desirous to know, whether there were the same appearance of peace within the wals, as bare shew abroad in the Country, entered the City: and seeing the doors standing open, the shop-windows up, all kind of wares set out to sale upon the bulks: the Craftsmen and Artisans busily every one occupied at his work: the Grammar schools ringing again with a chime of scholars, learning and

D saying their lessons; the streets full of women and children amongst the other common people going to and fro about their business: he could perceive no where about him any thing that carried a resemblance of fearful men, no, nor so much as of those that made any wonder at their coming in that warlike order. Thus cast he his eyes into every corner, seeking where this war should be. For there was not so much as any token to be seen, either of ought removed out of the way, or brought in place, upon this present occasion; but all in so settled quierness and peace, as if they had scarcely heard any inkling or rumor of hostility. Being therefore overcome with this patience and sufferance of the enemies, he caused their Senat to assemble, unto whom he spake in this wise: "Ye alone to this day of all that I know, O *Tusculans*, have found the only armor of

E "proof, and the forcible sense indeed, to save your selves and all ye have from the Romans ire. "Go your ways to *Rome* unto the Senat there. The Lords of the Council wil weigh and consider, "whether ye deserved more punishment Before, then pardon now. I wil not forestal and pick my self a private thank for a publick benefit. At my hands ye shal have this favour and liberty, to "speak for your selves and plead your own cause: as the Senat shal think good, so shal you speed "of your suit. After that the *Tusculans* were come to *Rome*, and their Senat (who but a while afore had been faithful Allies and kept their allegiance) seen to stand waiting with heavy cheer, and giving their attendance at the entry of the Court and Council Chamber: the Lords of the Roman Senat, were presently moved thereat, and caused them forthwith to be called in, and received by way of hospitality, more like then hostility. Then the Dictator of *Tusculum* made this speech and said: "Right honorable Senators, we against whom ye have proclaimed and made war,

F "came forth to encounter your Generals and Legions, armed and appointed as ye see us at this "present standing in the porch of your Council House. This was our array, this was the habit of "our Commons, and always shal be, unless at any time we shal put on arms for you and in your "quarrel. Thanks we yeeld to your Captains and to your Armies, that they have beleevd rather "their eyes than their ears: and where they saw no hostility at all, there they offered none themselves. That peace which we have shewed and observed, the same crave we humbly still at the "hands of your clemency. Turn we beseech you from us your forces thither, where war is to be "found. And if we must needs make trial (by suffering ought) of your puissance and power bent against us, we will try it surely without armor. This is our full resolution. God grant it prove "as fortunate, as it is well meant and proceeding from a single heart. As for the trespasses where-

G "upon ye were moved to denounce war against us: although it be bootless and to no purpose to "disprove that by words, which by deed is already proved: yet surely were they never so true, "we think verily, that without prejudice to our selves, we may safely confess the same, since that "we have so evidently repented thereof. And for you, so long as you be worthy to have so full "satisfaction made, it skilleth not what default or transgression be committed against you. Thus much in effect spake the *Tusculans*. At the very instant they obtained peace: and not long after, the right of free burgeoisie, to be made Citizens of *Rome*. So the Legions were withdrawn back again from *Tusculum*. Thus *Camillus* having won great honor by his policy and valour both, in the Vol-

The prudent dissimulation of the *Tusculans*:

Camillus to the Senat of *Tusculum*:

The Dictator of *Tusculum* to the Senat of *Rome*:

scian war : by his happy success in the journey of *Tusculum* : by his singular patience and carriage of himself, toward his companion in government, as well in the one place as the other, went out of his Magistracy: there being created Tribuns Military for the next year, *L. Valerius* the fifth time, and *Pub. Valerius* the third time, *C. Servilius* the third time, *Licinius Menenius* the second time, *P. Papirius*, *Serg. Cornelius Maluginensis*.

There was this year need of Censors also, by reason especially of the doubtful rumors that ran concerning debts : whiles of the one side the Tribuns of the Commons did aggravate the greatness thereof, and made it seem an odious matter : and they again of the other side, did elevate and made little of the same for whom it was good and beneficial, that the lent money should be thought abroad, in danger of being lost: for that (say they) the debtors cautelously rather would not, than for ability could not, keep their credit and make payment. So there were created Censors, *C. Sulpicius Camerinus*, *Sp. Posthumius Regillensis*. And this matter now already commenced, was broken off by the death of *Posthumius*, because it would have bred a scruple to chuse another Censor in the room of him deceased. When *Sulpicius* therefore had resigned up his place, it fell out so that other new Censors upon some error committed in their creation, exercised not their office: and to chuse a third time they made a scruple, so tender conscienced were they, as if the gods were not well pleased with that office for that year. But the Tribuns would not endure this deluding of the Commons, but gave it forth that it was intollerable: saying, "That the Senat sought to avoid the exhibiting of publick records and books, which gave testimony of the valuation of every mans substance to the worth: because they would not have the sums of debts to be seen and known: which might bewray and plainly shew, that one part of the City was even eaten up and devoured of the other: and in the mean time the poor Commons so deeply engaged, were packed away, and sent forth against these enemies and those: and now without all regard and discretion, they sought occasions to quarrel and make war in every place. From *Antium* to *Satricum*, from *Satricum* to *Velitre*, from thence to *Tusculum* have your Legions been posted. And now, forsooth, there is war intended against the Latins, Hernicks and Prenestins: for hatred rather of the Citizens here at home, then of the enemies abroad: and all to wear out the Commons with continual wars, and to afford them no breathing while within the City: that in time of rest, they might remember and think upon their freedom, keep their rooms in common assembly, where they might at the length hear their Tribuns voice pleading for the easement of usury, and for a final end of all injuries. But and if the Commons had the heart, and carried that mind with them, as to call to remembrance their ancestors liberty, they would suffer neither any Citizen of *Rome* to be awarded to bondage for debt, nor any musters for to be taken, until a view were made and just account had, of every man his debts, and some course taken for abating the same: that each man might know, what he had of other mens goods, what remained of his own: whether his body were left free, or at the mercy of his creditor, to lie in cold iron and baleful prison. This hire and salary of sedition, this reward once propounded aforehand, stirred up (you may be sure) a mutiny soon after. For whereas there were many adjudged to be bound unto their Creditors, and the Senators had decreed new Legions to be believed, for the bruit and rumor that went of the Prenestin wars: both matters began to be hindred for taking any effect, as well by the Tribuns help as the Commons accord. For neither would the Tribuns suffer those that were condemned to be led to prison: nor yet the younger sort of the Commons, enter their names in the Muster-master his book. And the Senators for the present, less minded the execution of judgement for the Creditors behoof, then the mustering. For why? News came already, that the enemies had put themselves in their journey from *Preneste*, and were encamped in the Sabins country: And all this while, the very tidings hereof rather quickned and provoked the Tribuns of the Commons to the broil that was begun, than frightened them any jot from it. Neither would any thing serve to quench the sedition in the City, until the war was come in manner to the very walls. For the Prenestins had intelligence given them, that in *Rome* there was no army gathered, no General certainly known: the Senators and Commons at jar and together by the ears. Their Captains hereupon, taking this advantage and opportunity, with a running camp invaded, spoiled and wasted the fields all afore them as they went, and came with banners displayed before the gate *Cullina*. Great fear was in the City, every man cried Alarm, ran up to the walls to man them, and to the gates to ward them. And at the last they left their mutinies, turned to the wars, and created *T. Quintius Cincinnatus* Dictator. He appointed for his General of horsemen, *A. Sempronius Atratinus*. This was not so soon voiced abroad, (so great a terror went always with that magistrate) but the enemies withal dislodged and departed from the walls: and the younger sort of the Romans, without any trifling and drawing back, upon the proclamation, gathered together. Whiles forces were thus arising at *Rome*, the enemies pitched their camp not far from the River *Allia*: and as they foraged the Country all about, they bragged and vaunted among themselves, that they had got that very plot of ground, which was ever fatal to the destruction of the City of *Rome*. "Here wil be (say they) the like fight, from hence wil they fly, no doubt, as sometimes they did before in the Gauls war. For if the Romans feared that dismal and unlucky day, noted with the infamous name of this place: how much more wil they dread the river *Allia* it self, in memorial of their so great overthrow, than the only bare day *Alliensis*? Certainly, when they are come hither, they will think they see again the grim looks, and hear the hideous voices of those savage Gauls. Thus rolling & tossing with

The Tribuns of the Commons against the Senat.

The Prenestins invade the territory of Rome.

A with themselves these toyish conceits, rising of as vain and foolish presumptions, they rested wholly and reposed their full hope in the lucky persuasion only of the place. The Romans contrariwise knew full well, that their enemies the Latins, were (wheresoever they were) the very same men still, and no other, whom for the space of one hundred years they held peaceably and quietly as their devoted vassals in subjection. And as for the place noted indeed, for the memorial of that late defeat and loss sustained, it might rather stir them up and set an edge upon them to abolish and cancel the remembrance of that shameful disgrace, then put them in fear, that any ground should be so unfortunate, as to be a bar unto their victory. Nay, if the very Gauls themselves came now in their way, they would so fight with them even in that ground, as they did at *Rome*, in the recovery of their country: as they did the morrow after at *Gabii*: when they bare themselves so valiantly, that no one enemy that entered within the walls of *Rome*, went ever home again to tell news how they sped, well or ill. Thus on both sides being resolute, and courageously bent, they met at *Allia*. The Roman Dictator discovering the enemies arranged in battle array, within sight. "See you not (quoth he) *O A. Sempronius*, how they have stayed at *Allia*, presuming upon the luckiness of the place? No sure confidence, no greater help may they have; I pray God. But you, with trusty armor, keen weapons, and doughty courage set spurs to horse, gallop amongst the thickest of their main battel with your horsemen, I, with the legions on foot, will advance mine Ensigns, and display them, in their faces, and charge them hotly when they are disbanded once, and put in fear. Assist us now, and aid us, O ye gods (the witnesses of our league) and punish them duly for their deserts, both in dishonouring your divine Majesty, and deceiving us in your name, whom they called solemnly to witness. Neither horsemen nor footmen could the *Preneftins* abide, but at the very first shout and shock were the ranks broken. And seeing their Battailions in no place whole and kept together, they fled: and amazed as they were in that confused fear, and carryed away beyond their own camp, they stayed not running for life, until by good footmanship they were come within the sight of *Prenefte*. There, all such as had been scattered in the flight, met together, and chose a plot of ground, to fortifie in that haste as well as they could: lest peradventure, if they had put themselves within the town, forthwith their villages should have been fired, and after all consumed and spoiled, the town also might fortune to be besieged. But when the Roman Conqueror after the rising of their camp at *Allia*, was once come toward them and discovered, they abandoned that Fort also, and gat within the town *Prenefte*, thinking themselves scarce safe enough within the walls thereof. Eight towns besides there were under the seignory of the *Preneftins*, against which the Dictator warred round: and having won them all, one after another without much ado, he brought his army against *Velutre*, and got that town also by assault. Then came he to the principal head and very seat town of the war, *Prenefte*, which was not by force won, but by surrender, yielded up into his hands. And *T. Quintius* thus having obtained one victory in a pight field, won two camps and holds of the enemies, conquered by force nine towns, and regained *Prenefte* surrendered unto him, returned home again to *Rome*. In his triumph he carried aloft the Image of *Jupiter*, surnamed Emperor, which he brought from *Prenefte*, and set it up in the Capitol, where it was placed and dedicated between the shrines of *Jupiter* and *Minerva*; and in a table of brasse fixed under it, was the monument of this noble exploit recorded and engraven in these or such like words: [*T. Quintius Dictator, by the gracious help of Jupiter, and all the rest of the gods, won nine Towns.*] So on the 20. day after his creation, he resigned up his Dictatorship.

Then was the assembly holden for electing of *Tribuns Military* with Coſt. authority, who were equally chosen from out of the Nobility and the Com. Of Nobles were created, *P* and *C. Manlius*, with *L. Julius*. The Commons yielded *C. Sextilius*, *M. Albinus*, and *L. Anstius*. Upon the two *Manlius*, for that in blood and degree they were above the Commoners, and for far our more gracious then *Julius*, the province of the *Volscians* was bestowed extraordinarily, without casting lots or parting together by agreement of the Collegues amongst themselves. Which both they themselves rued, and the Senators also (that would have it so) repented afterwards. For without any espials, sent out aforehand to icour the coasts, they had set forth certain cohorts or companies (of footmen) a foraging, and when upon a false alarm that those were beset & intrapped, they marched themselves apace after, to their rescue & convoy, & kept not with them till the reporter of these tidings (who being indeed a Latin and an enemy, but disguised in the habit of a Roman souldier, had deceived them) they fell headlong into a train and ambushment laid of purpose for them. And whiles they made resistance with main force only in a ground of great disadvantage (giving & taking the like measure) they were killed & slain on either side. But in the mean time their enemies from another quarter, entered the camp of the Romans lying open in the plain. Thus in both places, things went but badly and untowardly, & all through the rashness and unskillfulness of the leaders.

G And what remained unfoiled for the fortune of the people of *Rome*, that was preserved by the hardy and resolute valor of the Roman souldiers only, without the help of general and commander. Upon which news reported at *Rome*, at the first it was thought good to chuse a Dictator: but afterwards, when tidings came, that all was whole & the *Volscians* quiet, and that it was well seen they knew not how to use a victory when they had it, nor to take the opportunity of the time, whiles it offered it self: both the Generals & the army were sent for home from thence & so for the *Volscians* they were at rest afterwards. Only in the very end of the year, ther arose some new stir & sudden tumult, by reason that the *Preneftins* having solicited the people of the Latins, entered into rebellion.

rebellion again. In the same year the men of *Setia* made moan of themselves for want of people, and thither new Coloners were assigned to inhabit there.

Albeit the Romans sped but badly in wars, yet the quietness at home was some comfort: which the Tribuns Military chosen from out of the Commons had procured, by reason that they were so gracious and revered among those of their own coat and faction. All the beginning of the year following, was at the first on a light fire with horrid discord and mutiny, when *Sp. Furius*, *Quintius Servilius* the second time, *Licinius Menenius* the third time, *P. Clatius*, *M. Horatius* and *L. Geganus* were Tribuns Military with Consuls authority. The matter and cause of which seditious broils, were the debts above specified. For the due inquisition wherof, and to know to what sums they amounted, *Sp. Servilius Priscus* and *Clatius Sienus* were made Censors, but stopped they were for doing anything, by occasion of wars. For first, fearful messengers in all haste brought word, and after, the flight of the Country people confirmed it, that the legions of the Volscians were entred into the confines, and fell to spoiling every where the territory about *Rome*. Notwithstanding which fear and forraign terror, so little were the civil discords appeased, that contrariwise the Tribuns of the Commons extended their power with more violence to hinder the levy of souldiers, until they had indented and capitulated with the Senators, that so long as the wars lasted, no man should either contribute and be charged with any impost, or be sued in any action of debt. When the Com. took hold once of this easement and liberty, the musters were delayed no longer. And after they had levied and enrolled two new legions, it was thought convenient that the legions should be divided, and two armies sent forth into the Volscians Country. So *Furius* and *M. Horatius*, went on the right hand along the sea coast to *Antrum*. *Q. Servilius* and *L. Geganus* on the left hand, by the way of the mountains to *Ecetra*. But on neither side met they with the enemy. Whereupon they fell to foraging the Country, not here and there in scattering wise, as the Volscians had done, after the manner of robbers, at starts upon advantage taken of their enemies discord, and by stealth for fear of their valour: but being a full power and army of men, and justly provoked to anger, the longer they continued there, the fouler work they made. For the Volscians standing in fear, left in the mean while they should be encountered with a power from *Rome*, had made roads only into the utmost frontiers: But contrariwise, the Romans made stay in the enemies land, the rather to train them forth and draw them to a field-fight. Having therefore burned up, in a manner, all the uplandish houses and granges, and some villages also, and left behind them no fruitful tree standing, nor the sown corn for hope of grain, and driven away whole booties of men, women, and cattel, which they could light on without the walls: they reduced their armies of both sides home again to *Rome*. In this mean while the debtors had some little respite to breath themselves in: But so soon as all was quiet from enemies abroad, they began a fresh to be sued and troubled by their creditors at home. And so small hope they had to be released of their old usury, that they fell into a new, by reason of a contribution collected toward a wall, which the Censors had let out to be made of square Ashler stone. To yeeld unto this imposition and burden, the Commons were driven, because there was no muster for the Tribuns of the Commons to hinder. Forced they were likewise through the might and power of the great men, to admit for Tribuns military, all of the Nobility, to wit, *L. Emilius*, *P. Valerius* the fourth time, *C. Veturius*, *Servius Sulpitius*, *L.* and *C. Quintii Cincinnatus*.

By the same strong hand also they prevailed so much, that without impeachment of any man, all the younger sort took the military oath, so that they levied three armies against the Latins and Volscians: who joining their legions together, had encamped themselves at *Satricum*. One army was gathered for the defence of the City: another to be set out against all sudden wars, if haply elsewhere some tumult should arise: & a third, of all other the strongest, was under the conduct of *P. Valerius*, and *L. Emilius*, led to *Satricum*. Where, finding the enemies embattelled in good array upon a plain & even ground, they charged upon them presently. But ere that they had got the victory evidently in fight, and were but only in some good hope of having a fair day of their enemies, the rain so poured down with huge storms and tempests, that it parted both hosts asunder. The morrow after began a fresh conflict. And for a good while, the legions of the Latins especially, which by long alliance with the Romans had learned their manner of warfare, stood to it as valiantly, and sped as fortunately as the Romans. At length, the Roman horsemen that rood in amongst them, brake their ranks: and when they were once disarrayed, the footmen displayed their ensigns, and advanced upon them: and look how much the Romans battel set forward, so much the enemies gave backward. But when they began once to faint in their fight, than the violence of the Romans was intollerable. Thus the enemies were discomfited and scattered: and flying not toward their camp, but to *Satricum*, which was two miles off, they were by the horsemen especially beaten down, trod under foot and slain. Their tents were taken and rifled. From *Satricum* they dislodged, the next night after the battel was fought and marched in great haste (as if they fled) to *Antrum*. And albeit the Roman army followed them by the tracks hard at heels, yet their footmanship served them better in their fear, than it did the Romans for all their anger. So the enemies put themselves within the town walls, before the Romans could overtake them, and either cut off the tail of their rearward, or force them to stay. After this, some days were spent in wasting the Country. For neither were the Romans sufficiently provided with warlike engines of battery and artillery to assail their walls, nor they well appointed to abide battel in plain field. Then arose some discord within the town, between the Latins and the Antiats. The

Antiats,

A Antiats, of one side wearied with calamities that follow long wars, wherewith all their life time they had been exercised even to their old age, were of mind to yield. The Latins by reason of their late revolt and rebellion (whiles after so long peace, their courages continued yet fresh) were more forward and earnest to maintain wars still. But when they saw on both sides that they might do as they purposed, and follow their own deligments, without being hindered one of another, their strife was soon ended. So the Latins leaving their fellowship & society of peace, so unhonest & dishonourable (as they thought it) departed from them, and stood out still to revenge their own quarrels. But the Antiats being well rid of these Counsellors of their, so cross up to all wholesome courtes, tending to their good and safety, yielded up their town and country to the Romans. But **B** the anger and furious rage of the Latins, for that they could neither annoy the Romans by wars, nor keep the Volscians still in arms, brake out thus far, that they fired the City *Satricum*, which had been the first place of refuge, after their defeat and unhappy fight. Neither left they any house in that City standing, but set fire upon all indifferently, as well profane as holy edifices: only the Church of Dame *Maia* they spared. From which, it was neither any religion and conscience of their own, nor fear of the gods that kept them, but (as men report) a fearful voice heard out of the Temple with heavy threats, inlesst they held their hands, and kept them far enough from burning the sacred habitations so impiously. In this rage and mad fit of theirs, to *Tusculum* they go: for very spite that they forsaking the general council of the Latins, had not only yielded themselves to be in league with the Romans, but also became incorporate Citizens **C** with them. And coming upon them on a sudden, while their gates were open, at the first shour the whole Town, all but the Castle, was surprized. The Townsmen with their Wives and Children were thither fled: and sent messengers to *Rome* with certifiat to the Senat of this sudden and unlooked for accident. And with all speed (as appertained to the fidelity of the people of *Rome*) an army was led to *Tusculum*: whereof *L. Quintus* and *Servius Sulpitius*, had the conduct. At *Tusculum* they found the gates fast shut against them, and the Latins, as men both besieging and besieged. And whiles of the one side they intended the defence of the walls, on the other side assaulted the Castle: at one time they were afraid themselves, and put others in fear likewise. But the coming of the Romans wrought a great change and alteration in the hearts of both parties. For it caused the Tusculans of fearful men to become exceeding cheerful: and the **D** Latins who made full reckoning to win the fortress out of hand, as being masters already of the town, had but small hope now to help and save themselves. The Tusculans they set up a great shout from the Castle: and answered it was again with a greater from the Roman army. The Latins were put to it hard on both sides: For neither were they able to abide the violence of the Tusculans running down the hill upon them, nor to put by and keep off the Romans, coming hard under the walls, and assaying to break the bars of the gates. First, they scaled the walls and and gat upon them: after, they brake the port-cullis down. Thus the Latins environed with enemies both before and behind, that pressed sore upon them, having neither strength enough left to fight, nor room of ground to make an escape, were slain in the midst between the enemies, every mothers son. So when *Tusculum* was recovered out of the enemies hands, the army was **E** brought back again to *Rome*.

But the more quietness there was that year without the City by reason of prosperous wars, the more increased the violence and hard dealing of the Senators within: and the calamities of the Commons grew every day more than other. For they wanted means and were not able to pay for the interest that needs must be paid. When nothing therefore was to be had, to make payment out of their goods, they were adjudged and awarded to satisfy their creditors in their body and name: and so their punishment served in stead of keeping their credit and discharging the consideration. Whereupon, not only the meanest of the Commons, but also the very chief, began now to let fall their hearts and stoop so low, that there was not a witty and humble headed man and of experience amongst them, that would put himself forth to stand to be a Tribun Military, in **F** concurrence with the Nobles, (which they had so earnestly shot at and laboured for) no, nor so much as to bear and sue for any offices of the Commons. So as the Senators now, seemed to have recovered again for ever to themselves, the possession of that dignity, which the Commons of late, for some few years, had usurped and occupied over their heads. But that this order side might not joy too much herat, a small occurrent hapned between which (as it falleth out most commonly) gave the occasion and first footing to an enterprize of much importance.

M. Fabius Ambustus a great and mighty man, as well amongst those of his own calling, as also with the Commons (whom he was reputed never to despise, as other did of his condition and estate) had two daughters married forth: the elder unto *Servius Sulpitius*: the younger unto *C. Licinius Stolo*, a man verily of good worth and reckoning, but yet a Commoner. And *Fabius* dis- **G** daining not this alliance and affinity, was himself much loved and favoured among the Commons. Now it fell out so, that these sisters were upon a time together in the house of *Servius Sulpitius*, then Trib. Military: and as they passed the time away (as the manner is) in much good talk, discoursing one with another of many matters, it chanced that a Sergeant or Verger of *Sulpitius*, at what time as he was coming home from the *Forum* or common hall, rapped as the order was, with his rod at the door. When the younger *Fabius* not acquainted with those fashions was therat somewhat amazed, her sister making a wonder at her ignorance, laught her to scorn. But that laughter (as womens minds got wor, are soon kindled with a little) set her a work & hammered in her head,

The Laws of
Licinius and
Sextius.

* I forbid. It
was the nega-
tive voice of
Tribuns.

Besides, the train of many that came about her, waiting and giving attendance ready to know her pleasure and what she would, mended the matter much. I suppose she thought her sister happily wedded, and repented her own marriage: upon a ill and sinister judgment, whereby every man repineth that his neighbor and nearest of kin especially, should go beyond him and do better then he. Upon this discontentment and self heart-burning of hers, her father haply seeing her dismayed, asked her whether all was well at home? But when she would have turned the cause of her grief another way, (for that it stood neither with her love and kindness towards her sister, to envy her estate; nor yet with the reverent honor that she was to yeeld unto her husband, to find fault with her own) he with mild questioning came about her so, that he drew from her the truth: so, as she confessed her grief to arise upon this, that she was disparaged; and namely, married not according to her quality, but into an house uncapable both of worship and favour. Then *Ambustus*, comforting his daughter, willed her to be of good cheer, and said: That ere it were long, she should see the same state, the same advancement and dignity at home, which she had seen already in her sisters house. Hereupon began he to plot with his son in law, joyning also unto them, *L. Sextius*, a stout young man, and one that was like enough to come to preferment, but that he was not of noble race. Good occasion and opportunity they seemed to have of compassing some alteration in the State, by reason of the excessive debts that men were grown into: for the redressing and easing of which malady, the Com. had no other hope, but in advancing some of themselves into the sovereign room of government. They thought it needful therefore, presently to address themselves to the execution of these designments, considering that by endeavor and industry, the Commoners were climbed to that degree already, from whence if they would enforce and put themselves forward, they had but one step more unto the highest, and might be equal with the Nobles, as well in honour as in vertue and prowesse. And for the present, it was thought good to make them, two Trib. of the Com. in which office they might open a way unto themselves, for other dignities. So *C. Licinius* and *L. Sextus* proposed laws, all tending to abate the power and might of the Nobles, and wholly for the good and benefit of the Com. One, as touching taking order for debts: That when so much was defaultted and deducted out of the principal, as had been paid for the use and interest, the residue should be discharged by even portions in 3 years. A second, concerning a proportion and quantity of lands, That no man might hold in possession above 500. acres. The third, That from thenceforth there should be no election of Trib. Military, but of Coss. provided always, that one of them be chosen out of the Com. Matters all of right great weight and consequence, and such as with out exceeding strife and contention, could not possibly be carried and obtained. Thus when all those things at once lay a bleeding, and were in hazzard to be lost, which the whole world unmeasurably coveteth and longeth after, to wit, land, money, and promotion: the Senators were put in a bodily fear, and began to fattle. And laying their heads together both in publick consultation and privat conference, they could devise no other remedy, but that which in many commotions already they had tried, namely, the stepping between and negative voice of some of the Tribuns. And so, to cross those bills aforesaid put up by these two Tribuns, they had wrought and made to their purpose certain of their own brotherhood. Who so soon as they saw the wards and tribes called forth by *Licinius* and *Sextius*, to give their suffrages, being well backed and guarded with the assistance of the Senators, would suffer neither those laws to be read, nor any other besides (as yearly they used) to pass by the voices of the Commons. Thus the two Tribuns aforesaid, having oftentimes (but ever in vain) assembled the people together, and seeing their laws still nipped, as it were, in the head for ever going forward: "It is very well" (quoth *Sextius*) and since ye like so well that these inhibitions may prevail so much: "we will likewise defend the Commons with the same weapon and no other. Go to now my Masters of the Nobility, proclaime an election for the creation of Trib. Military: I will make it row, that this word [* *Veto*] shall do your selves no good at all: howsoever now ye take so great pleasure to hear our brethren keep that note still, and evermore sing that sweet concert of musick. And surely, those threats proved indeed to good earnest and took effect. For there was no election at all but of *Ediles* and Tribuns, and those both of the Commons. For *Licinius* and *Sextius* being chosen Tribuns again, suffered no Magistrates of the Chair, or of State, to be created. Which defect and desolation of sovereign Magistracy continued in the City for the space of five years: whiles the Commons for their part chose the same two Tribuns still, and they again ever laid a bar and put in a caveat against the election of Tribuns Military.

All other wars, as good hap was, were asleep for the time. The Coloners only of *Velure*, upon so long rest and quietness began to be lusty and wax wanton: and for that there was no army of the Romans stirring abroad, they not only made inrodes sundry times into the territory of *Rome*, but also assailed the town *Tusculum*. And when the *Tusculans*, the ancient Allies and new enfranchised Citizens of *Rome* craved help, the Senators and Commons both, were moved especially for very shame to succour them. And the Tribuns of the Commons yeelded at length, and permitted an assembly for election, to be holden by an Inter-regent: and Trib. Military there were created, *L. Furius*, *A. Manlius*, *Ser. Sulpitius*, *Ser. Cornelius*, *A.* and *C. Valerius*: Who found not the Commons so tractable in the mustering, as they were pliable in giving their voices at the Election. Yet after much ado & great contention they levied an army, and set forward on their journey: drave the enemies not from *Tusculum* only, but forced them within their own walls: besieged *Velure* more straightly a great deal, and in more forcible manner, than *Tusculum* had been by them.

Howbeit

A Howbeit, they that began the siege were not able to win the town. For before that time, were new Tribuns Military chosen, *Q. Servilius*, *C. Volumnius*, *A. and M. Cornelius*, *Q. Quinctius*, *M. Fabius*. Neither performed these Tribuns any notable exploit at *Vesivie*. But the State at home stood in more dangerous terms than before. For besides that *Sextius* and *Licinius*, the publishers of those laws aforesaid, were now the eighth time made Trib. of the Commons again, *Fabius* also a Tribun Military, *Scio* his wives father, was seen openly in the action, to see forward and persuade for the same laws, which in every deed himself had devised. And whereas at the first, eight of the Colledge or Company of the Tribuns of the Commons, had crossed the proceeding of them, now there were but five left that shewed themselves, and those (as commonly they use to do that disband from their own faction) like men bereaved of their wits and amazed, being indeed the tongues and trunks that others spake by, pretended and made allegations in their prohibition, only as they were schooled and taught their lessons at home: (to wit) That a great sort of the Commons were in the army at *Vesivie* and absent, and that the solemn Session or Assembly for enacting laws, ought to be adjourned until the return home of the soldiers: to the end that all the Commons generally, might give their voices concerning their own commodity and benefit. *Sextius* and *Licinius* with part of their brethren Tribuns, and *M. Fabius* one of the Tribuns Military, being their own traffickers, knew well enough by so many years experience, how to manage and handle the minds of the Commons: and piled the chief of the Senators (produced forth before the people) so hard with interrogatories of every particular that was proposed, that they wearied and tired them out: Demanding, how they could require to be allowed themselves to possess more than 500. acres a man; whereas the Commons had but two a piece divided amongst them? Whether that every one of them might in equity hold the lands well near, of 100. Citizens: and a Commoner to have hardly ground enough for to build him a necessary house upon, and to serve for a place to bury his dead? Also, whether their will and pleasure was, that the Commons oppressed with usury, should yield their bodies to bear irons and suffer torment, unless they paid the interest before the principal? And that daily by whol companies they should be had away from the bar, condemned to chuldomy, and Noble mens houses to become goals, filled and pestered with prisoners? And whereas ever a Plebeian dwelt there should be a private prison: These indignities and piteous matters to be heard, when they had with a load, were charged upon them, even before those that were afraid of the like measure themselves; with more indignation and disdain of all that heard them, than they themselves shewed in the uttering and delivery: But these Senators say they (and that they redoubled) will never make an end either of getting more land still into their hands, or spoiling and undoing the Commons with usury, until the Commons make once out of their body one Consul, for to be the maintainer and protector of their liberty. As for the Tribuns of the Commons, they were now just nothing let by: as who by their privilege of Inhibitions and negative voices, spoiled themselves and overthrew their own power. And never will there be any indifferent and equal course taken, so long as the Nobles keep the sovereign place of command, and the sword to strike whiles the poor Commons have only the buckler hand to ward all venues. For unless the government be parted between both alike, the Commons shall never have their due and equal portion in the Common-weal. Neither is it reason that any man should stand contented with this only, that in the Election of Consuls, the Commons are eligible and capable of the dignity: for in case, it be not concluded absolutely, that one Consul at the least should be of necessity a Commoner, there will never be any at all. Have ye forgotten already (say they) that notwithstanding an Act made, that there should be Tribuns Military created rather then Consuls, for this intent that Commoners might aspire and reach unto the chief place of honor; yet for all that in 44. years space, there was not so much as one of the Commoners chosen Tribun Military? And will any man believe that they will of their own accord confer upon the Commons (when otherwise they may chuse) that dignity in the disposing only of two places, who were ever wont in the making of Tribun Military, to take up eight rooms all wholly to themselves? And will they allow them a way into the Consulship, who thus long have held the (Consular) Tribunship so guarded, as no man might have access thither but themselves? Nay, it must be got by a positive law, which in their Assemblies for Election, by favour and grace might not be obtained. One of the Consuls rooms must be set aside, past all peradventure and question, and that for a Commoner, to enter into: For as much as if it stand still upon a choice, the mightier man will ever go away with the gaffe clear. And whereas heretofore they have been wont to alledge and say, That the Commons afforded not sufficient and able men to bear the offices of the chair and of state: that, now cannot be truly objected. For was the Common-weal, I pray you more slackly and negligently governed upon the (Consular) Tribunship of *P. Licinius Calpurnius* (who was the first Commoner that ever was made Tribun Military) than it was ruled for those years space, in which there was not a Tribun Military but of the Nobility? Nay, on the contrary side it will be justified that some of the Nobles were condemned after they were out of their Tribunship; and not one of the Commoners. And whereas for many years past, we began to make Questors or Treasurers out of the Commons, like as we did Tribuns Military, the people of *Rome* repented never of the choice of any one of them. It remaineth now, that the Commoners bear the office of Consuls too: That were a fortress of their liberty, that were a strength and sure hold to trust unto. If they were once come and kept to that degree, then may the people of *Rome* think assuredly and be persuaded

Sextius and
Licinius against the
Senators for the
commons people.

"swaded, that the KK. are banished indeed our of the City, and their freedom fully establish-
 "ed for ever to endure. For, from that day forward shall the Commons be partakers of all those
 "things, wherein the Nobles now surpass them: namely, sovereign rule and authority, martial
 "renown, parentage and Nobility: great ornaments doubtless, unto themselves to enjoy here in
 "this life: but far greater to leave behind them unto their Children and Posterity. These and
 such like Orations when they saw to be plausible, and willingly accepted, they preferred a new
 Statute, That in stead of the two Duumvirs for holy Ceremonies and matters of the Church,
 there might be chosen ten Decemvirs: Provided always, that one part of them should be crea-
 ted forth of the Commons, and another from among the Nobles. The Session for enacting of all
 those Laws, they deferred until the army was returned, which lay then at the siege before I
Vellure.

But the year was come about and fully expired, before the legions were reduced home from
 thence: and by that means the whole business about these new Laws, hung still in suspense, and
 was put off unto the entrance of the new Tribuns Military. As for the Tribuns of the Commons,
 the Commonalty chose the same again, even those again who had been the proposers of those
 Laws. And the Tribuns Military were these, *T. Quinctius, Ser. Cornelius, Ser. Sulpicius, Sp.*
Servilius, L. Papirius, L. Venerius. Presently in the beginning of the year, they put unto the
 jump and final trial what should become of those Laws. And when as the Tribes were called,
 and none of the Tribuns Collegues stepped between to stop the proceeding of the Law-givers:
 the Nobles were afraid, and ran unto their two last helps, to wit, the highest and absolute of-
 fice, and the greatest man among them. They thought it good therefore to create a Dictator.
 And *M. Furius Camillus* was nominated, who elected unto him *L. Emilius* for General of the
 horse. The Law-makers likewise for their part, against so great preparation of their adversaries,
 armed at all parts the cause of the Commons, with stout stomach and courageous heart. And
 having assembled in Hall of the Commons, they called forth the wards to give their voices. At
 what time the Dictator accompanied with a great train of Nobles, full of wrath and menacing
 frowns, took his place and set him down. And after the matter was canvassed first, by the
 ordinary conflict of the Tribuns among themselves, whiles some propounded, and others gain-
 said the Law with their negatives voices: and that by how much in right the prohibition was
 the stronger, so much it was overweighed in favour and affection both of the Laws, and Law-
 givers: and when the first Tribes had given their voice (* *Uirgana*) affirmatively: then *Camil-*
lus. For as much as (quoth he) O *Quirites*, ye are ruled now by the will and pleasure, and not by
 the authority of the Tribuns, and as in times past ye obtained the privilege of a negative voice
 and * Intercession by your departure and Secession, so now ye make it void and nothing worth,
 even by the same force that ye got it by: I, chosen Dictator as well for your sake as for the whole
 Common-wealth, will assult your privilege of Intercession, and by mine absolute authority main-
 tain this your help and succour, now reversed and overthrown. If therefore *C. Acutius* and *L.*
Sextius, give place unto the negative voice and interceding of their fellows in Office: I will not
 in a meeting and assembly of the Commons, once intermeddle, nor bring in the authority, of a
 Magistrate of the Nobles: but if they shall go forward still (notwithstanding all prohibition) to
 impose and give Laws unto the City, as if it were won by conquest of the enemy, I will not suf-
 fer the Tribuns power by their own selves to be defaced and come to nothing. But (all these big
 words notwithstanding) when the Tribuns of the Commons made but a tush thereto, and went
 never the less forward with their enterprize, then *Camillus* throughly angered indeed, sent his
 Licitors and Sergeants to command the Commons to avoid the place and depart: Threatning
 withal, that if they proceeded thus, he would take a Military oath of all the younger people, and
 lead an army presently forth of the City. This put the Commons in a very great fright, but it set
 their Captains and Ring-leaders, rather in a greater heat of contention, than abated their coura-
 ges one jot. And when he saw no relenting on either side, he gave up his office: Whether it were
 that there was some error in his creation (as some have written) or because the Tribuns of the
 Commons had put up a bill to the Commons, and they granted it: that if *M. Furius* (as Dicta-
 tor) had proceeded to any action, he should have a round fine set on his head of 500000 * *Asses*,
 I know not certainly. But I beleeve that he was terrified upon some unlucky signs of the birds,
 rather then with any such strange Act never heard of before, and without precedent. And here-
 unto am I induced, both in regard of the disposition of the man, so well given and of so good con-
 science, and also for that *P. Manlius* was immediatly named Dictator in his stead. For to what
 end should *Manlius* have been created Dictator for that broil and stir, wherein *M. Furius* had
 raken the foil before? Again, seeing the same *M. Furius* was Dictator the next year following, doubte-
 less, he would never for shame have resumed that office: wherein the year before he had received
 the foil and disgrace, to be so overruled. Over and besides, at the same time when as this bill was
 supposed to have been preferred, concerning his fine, either he might have withstood it too,
 (whereby he saw himself to be bridled) or else he had not been able to have hindred so much as
 those, for which this also was proposed. Finally, it was never seen to this day wherein we live, so
 long as the Tribuns and Consuls with their factions and parts-taking have been at variance and
 debate with all their might and main, but evermore the authority of the Dictator controlled
 them all, and put them down.

Between the former Dictatorship of *Camillus* now resigned up, and the new by *Manlius* accep-
 ted

* (As ye pro-
 pound) The
 form of an Af-
 firmative voice
 in their scruti-
 nies.

The Oration
 of *M. Furius*
Camillus the
 Dictator to the
 Quirites.

* Intercession
 signifieth here
 the privilege
 of the Tribuns
 of the Com-
 mons to deny
 and stop any
 Act, that it
 pass not.

* 1250. (sterl).

A red and begun, there was an assembly of the Commons summoned by the Tribuns, in time as it
 were of a vacancy or Interreign: wherein the overture was made and evidently it was seen, which
 of the laws proposed the Commons liked better, and which the Law-givers. For those that
 concerned usury and land, they granted to pass; but that other of a Commoner to be Consul,
 they denied and dashed quite. And surely both matters had been dispatched fully and establish-
 ed at once, but that the Tribuns said directly, that they required the Commons, to give their
 voices and speak to all three directly together. After this, *P. Manlius* the Dictator favoured
 somewhat, and helped the cause of the Commons, by nominating out of the Commons for his
 General of horsemen, *C. Licinius*, who had been a Tribun Military before time. The Senators
 B stormed hereat, as I find in records. And the Dictator was wont to excuse the matter unto
 them, alledging for himself the near affinity and kindred that was between him and *Licinius*: say-
 ing also, that the dignity of the General of horsemen was no greater then of a Tribun Consular.
 Now when the election day was published for the Tribuns of the Commons, *Licinius* and *Sex-
 tius* so demeaned themselves, that by pretending that they would not any longer now continue
 in the office, they set the Commons on to be most earnest and hotly bent for that, which they
 under colour of refusal, desired and sought for. They seemed, forsooth, to alledge and say,
 "That for these nine years they had stood, as it were, in battel array, and affronted the States
 "and Nobles of the City, to the right great peril of themselves in privat, and to no good effect
 "at all in publick: and now together with them, both the laws proposed, and the whole strength
 C "of the Tribuns authority, were waxed old and decayed. At the first their Laws were crossed
 "by the interceding of their brethren Tribuns: afterwards by packing away the youth of the Ci-
 "ty to the Velitern war: and last of all, the Dictators lightning flashed in their faces, and their
 "thunderbolts shot against them. "Now (say they) neither their fellow Tribuns withstood
 "them, nor forraign wars hindered them, nor yet the Dictator himself, as who for his part hath
 "given a good fore-tokening and presage of a Consul Commoner, in electing his General of
 "horsemen out of the Commons. The very Commons and none else, are they that hurt them-
 "selves, and delay their owngoods. Who might presently if they would, have their City, their
 "common Hall, and place of assemblies freed from these Creditors: yea, and their grounds re-
 "covered again from the unjust Land-lord: Which benefits and liberties, when are they like
 D "to weigh and esteem with thankful minds accordingly, if in the very time that they are to ac-
 "cept the Laws devised for their own wealth and good, they cut off all hope of promotion and
 "honour, from the publishers and proposers thereof? For it standeth not with the modesty of
 "the people of *Rome*, to require to be eased themselves of Usury, and to be set in possession again
 "of the land, wrongfully withheld from them by the mighty men: and then to leave those old
 "Trib. by whose means they have come by those good commodities, to shift for themselves, not
 "only without honor, but also without all hope of honor. Let them first therefore set down with
 "themselves, and resolve, what they are minded to do: and afterwards in the election of Trib. de-
 "clare the same openly. If they would be willing to speak affirmatively to those Laws, all jointly
 "as they were propounded, then there were some reason to chuse the same Trib. again: and then
 E "would they enact & establish finally that which they had published. But in case their wil was to
 "accept of that and no more than which served each privat mans turn then there was smal need
 "or none at all to have them stil in office, with the envy and grudging of so many. And to be short,
 "neither would they accept of the Tribunship any longer, neither should the Commons have
 "those Laws ratified, which were already granted. When as all the rest of the Senators were
 "struck into their dumps and blank, for the very indignity to see things thus go: At the last, one
Appius Claudius Crassus (the nephew or son son of that notorious *Appius* the Decemvir) upon
 a malicious mind and fell stomach, as it is reported, rather then for any hope he had to dissuade
 the matter, stood up, and to this effect answered that so stout and peremptory speech of the Tri-
 buns, in this manner. "It can be no strange matter to me, nor unlooked for, O Quirites, if that
 F "which hath been the only thing at all times objected by seditious Tribuns against our house, I
 "also should hear at this present: to wit, that the whole name and lineage of *Claudius*, have ever
 "from the first beginning, regarded nothing more in the Common-weal, than the Majesty and
 "honor of the Senators and the Nobles, and always set and opposed themselves against the good
 "and well-fare of the Commons. Of which two challenges, the one I neither can, nor will deny
 "and disavow: namely, that we, since the first time that we were enfranchised Citizens, and ther-
 "with at once taken into the number of Senators, have endeavoured and strained our selves, that
 "it might be said, and that truly, that the honor and dignity of that state and degree, into which
 "it was your good pleasure we should be incorporate, and graced with, was by us augmented,
 "rather then impaired. And as for the other challenge, this I dare be bold, in mine own behalf,
 G "and in the name of my ancestors and progenitors, to aver, O Quirites, that (unless a man would
 "think whatsoever is done for the Weal-publick generally, is directly against the Commons, as
 "if they were meer aliens of another City) we to our knowledge have practised nothing, witting
 "and willing, either while we lived privat, or during the time we bare office, prejudiciall to
 "commonalty: and that neither in deed nor word we can be justly charged to have wrought and
 "contrived any thing contrary to your good: although peradventure somewhat hath fallen out
 "cross against your will and mind. But were I not a *Claudius*, and of that family, nor descended
 "of noble blood, but some one of the Burgeses or Citizens: and knew my self to be but free
 born,

The Oration
 of *Appius clau-
 dius* against
 the Tribuns of
 the Commons.

Appius speak-
eth in the per-
son of Sextius
or Licinius,
within these
marks []

Now speaketh
Appius in his
own person.

born, both by father and mother, and to live in a free City: could I (think ye) hold my tongue? but frankly speak and say, that these perpetual Tribuns (God save all) *L. Sextius*, and *C. Licinius*—
I mean, have for nine years (for so long they have played *Rex*) taken so much upon them, and been so bold as to say they will not permit you to have free voices, neither in solemn assemblies for elections, nor in Sessions and Parliaments for allowing and ordaining Laws? Upon condition (quoth one of them) you shall make us Tribuns again the tenth time. What is this else but to say? That, which other sue for, we so scorn and disdain, that accept of it we will not, without good hire and recompence. And what reward and consideration is this, good Sirs, for which we may have your Worships, our ever Tribuns? Marry (quoth he) that ye will accept jointly together and at once, all our laws, whether they like you or dislike you: whether they be good or whole, or bad and noisome. Now I beseech you good *Tarquins* (Tribuns of the Commons I would have said) imagin I were one of the ordinary Citizens, and should from out of the multitude assembled, speak out and say: Pleaseth it your good grace, Sir, that out of these laws propounded, we may chuse those that we think good and whole for us, and refuse and disanul the rest. [O (quoth he) that may not be. Thou mayst allow, belike, and ordain, concerning usury, concerning lands, which tend to the commodity of you all. But now beware of bugs. This monstrous and portentous wonder must in no case be permitted in *Rome*, that thou shouldst see *L. Sextius*, and this perillous fellow *C. Licinius* to be Consuls, which thy heart riseth at, and which goeth against thy stomack. Nay, nay, either accept of all, or I will propound none at all.] This is all one, as if a man should give him that is hunger-bitten, and ready to starve, poyson and meat together: and bid him either forbear the whole food to preserve his life, or else to take the deadly bane to hasten his death. But if this were a free State indeed, would not many a one have cried out and said, Avant you and your Tribunships, out upon you with your laws. What Sir? How if your Mastership will not put up and prefer that which is commodious and profitable for the people to accept: is there none, think you besides that will propound it? If any Nobleman, or if any *Claudius* (which they take to be more odious) should thus say, *Either take all, or I will propose none at all*. Which of you, *Quirites*, would endure it? why? will ye never regard the substance more then the person; the matter rather then the man? But all is well taken and heard quickly, which that magistrate shall say. And wil ye always hear with the wrong or deaf ear, whatsoever any of us shall hap to speak? Well, the words are paught, and the speech (without question) very uncivil and rude. Now let us see what manner of law it is, that they storm so at, because by you it is rejected. In good faith, *O Quirites*, much like unto their language. This I require (quoth he) that it might not be lawful for you to make Coss, whom ye wil. For what else demandeth he, who would have it enacted by expresse terms, that one at least of the Coss, must be a Commoner of Necessity, and leaveth it not unto your choice to make two Noblemen Coss. If we had wars at this day, such as sometime the Tuscan war was, when *Porfena* was master of the *Janicle* and kept that piece against us; or such as the Gauls war of late days was, when the enemies were *LL* and possessed of all the City here, but the Capitol and fortress only, let case, that *L. Sextius* should be prickt and propounded either with this *M. Furius* here in place, or with any one other of the Nobles, and stand to be Coss, would ye abide that *Sextius* should be undoubtedly Coss, and *Camillus* at devotion and in hazard to take repulse? Is this indeed to bestow your dignities indifferently with even and equal hand? That two of the Commons, forsooth, may be elected Consuls, and not two likewise of the Nobles? And that one of them must needs perforce be created out of the Com. and in the election of both, the Nobles may be overslipped? What society is this, what community and participation? Wil not this serve thy turn and content thee, that wherein thou hadst no title nor interest afore, thou shouldst now have thy part: unless in seeking to have a portion, thou pluck all unto thy self? I fear me (quoth he) if both Consuls might be made of the Nobility, ye would chuse none at all of the Commonalty. What is this else but to say? Because willingly of your selves, ye would not chuse unworthy persons and unmeet, I wil bind you therefore of necessity, to elect those whom otherwise ye would pass by. And what followeth hereupon but this, that the Commoner who standeth with two *Patriti*, may plainly say, and that truly, he is not by voices chosen, but by vertue of a law, and so acknowledg no benefit received of the people, nor be beholden at all to them, for their grace and favour? Thus seek they, means to wring your dignities from you, and not the way to sue for them: and would so obtain the greatest, as that they might not be obliged & bound unto you for the least: and had rather get honours and offices by advantage taking and cunning sleights, then by their own vertue, desert, and worthiness. But there is some one that scorneth to be pried and looked into, and to be considered as he deserveth: who thinks it meet, that he alone among the other Competitors, that contest and stand in suit, should be sure of offices and promotions, and will not submit himself to your censure: who would have your suffrages, of voluntary to be constrained: of free, to be thrall and servil, I speak not of *Licinius* and *Sextius*: whose years of their continual government ye reckon upon, and mark up in the Capitol, as they used sometime, to count the years of the Kings reign. But what is he this day in the City, of so base, so abject and low condition, that by the advantage and benefit of this law, hath not easier access to a Consulship than we and our children have? As for us truly, ye may sometime mis of husing us, would you never so fain: but for them ye must needs, yea, though full against your mind. And thus much concerning the indignity and

A "and unworthiness of the thing: For, dignity and worthiness, I take, to be matters properly to men pertaining. What shall I speak now of Religions, and of the solemnity of the Auspices, which imply a meer contempt and injury done to the immortal gods? Who knoweth not, that by the approbation of the gods, testified by flight of birds, this City was first founded? that by the same Auspices, all hath been ordered and directed, as well in war abroad, as in peace at home? And who be they that have to do with these tokens and prelages, by ancient custom and tradition from our forefathers? Forsooth even the Nobles and none else. As for the Magistrates of the Commons, none are chosen with regard of flight, sight, and feeding of the birds. But to us, they do so properly belong, that not only those Magistrates of the Nobles, which B the people create, they do not otherwise elect but by observation of the birds; but we also our selves, without the assent and voice of the people, do nominate an Interrex by means of the birds: yea, and in the private actions of our life, we are guided by them at home, which these Commons use not in their very offices. What then meaneth he else, but to take these *Auspicia* out of the City, who by creating Commoners to be Consuls, depriveth the Nobles thereof, who only may have and use them? Now let them mock on and scoff at our religions. Let them deride our Ceremonies. What makes matter (say they) if those pullets peck or eat not? What if they come somewhat late out of their coop or cage? What if a bird sing ank or crow crofs and contrary? How then? A great piece of matter surely. Small things, I confess they be: but as small as they are, our ancestors by not contemning them, have brought this C. W. to a flourishing state. And we now adays, as if we stood not in need of the grace and favour of God, C pollure all holy rites and ceremonies. And therefore let our prelats and high Priests, our Augurs, and King at sacrifices be created (it skilleth not how) even out of the common multitude: Let us set upon any mans head (it matters not whose, so he come in likeness of a man) the Mitre of Jupiter his Flamin, Let us commit the keeping of the Anciles or heavenly shields, and the secret sanctuaries: let us commit the gods themselves and the charge of their holy service to those, unto whom we may not lawfully nor without impiety. Let no lawes be published nor Magistrates created solemnly, with regard of birds at all, and of the wil of the gods. Nor in the Centuriate assemblies holden by degrees, and Curiat-meetings by the wards and parishes; let not the Senators be Presidents and have their authority and royal assent. Let *Sextius* and *Licinus*, like *Romulus* and *Tatius* reign together, as fellow KK, in the City of Rome, because they D give away so freely, the monies, lands and territories from others. So sweet and favori it is to prey upon other mens goods. Never consider they, nor look so far into the matter, that by one of these goodly laws, our fields will be desart and waste, by ejecting and dispossessing the right-ful land-lords: and by the other, all credit in borrowing and lending, in taking and putting forth of money shal be abolished. And then farewell all humane society, commerce and intercourse whatsoever. In these respects therefore, thus I conclude, and would counsel you, in any wise to stop, frustrate and disanul the overture and proceeding of these laws: and in so doing, I pray God blefs and speed you wel. This Oration of *Appius* thus far only prevailed, that the time of publication of these Acts, was cut off and deferred. But the same Tribuns *Sextius* and *Licinus*, being chosen again the tenth time, propounded this law and had it enacted, That of the E Decemvirs for divine service and Church matters, some should be created of the Commons: So, five of them were of the Nobles, and five of the Commoners: whereby they seemed to have gained already one good step onward unto the Consulship.

The Decemvirs created.

The Commons contenting themselves with this victory, yielded unto the Senators, that for the present without any mentioning of Consuls, there should be elected Tribuns Military. So there were created A. and M. *Cornelius* the second time, M. *Geganus*, P. *Manlius*, L. *Veturius* and P. *Valerius* the sixth time. At what time, when as (but for the siege of *Velitæ*, which was like to be for service a long piece of work, rather then for issue, doubtful in the end) the Romans were at rest for any forraign troubles, the sudden and unlooked-for news of the Gauls war, drave the City to chuse M. *Furius* Dictator the fifth time: who took unto him for his General of the horse- F men, T. *Quintius Pennus*. *Claudius* writeth, that this year the Gauls were fought with, about the river *Anio*: and that there was that noble combat upon the bridge, in which, T. *Manlius* in the fight of both armies slew in single fight a Gaul that had challenged him and given defiance, and despoiled him of his collar of gold. But there be more writers that induce me to beleieve, that this exploit was performed ten years after: and that in this year the Gauls had a battel given them by M. *Furius* Dictator, in the *Albans* land: where the Romans had neither doubtful nor dangerous victory, although the French made them afraid at first in remembrance of their former overthrow. Many thousands of this barbarous nation were slain in field, many also fell upon the sword in their camp after it was won. Some were scattered and fled, and those most (who took the way to G *Apulia*) saved themselves from the enemy, both by flying so far, and also for that upon fear they were so distracted and parted one from another. The Senators and Commons agreed and made a decree, that the Dictator should triumph. Who scarcely had made an end of that war, but he was welcomed home with a more hotter and more dangerous Sedition within the City. For after many sharp bickerings and contentions, the Dictator and Senat both, were overmatched and overcome, yea, and forced to accept the Tribuns laws aforesaid. And also in despite of the Nobility and do what they could, there was an assembly held for election of Consuls: in which L. *Sextius* was created Consul, the first Commoner that ever sat in Consuls chair. But the broils

L. *Sextius*, the first Commoner that was chosen Consul, said

staid not there. For, by reason that the Nobles denied to approve & give assent thereto, the matter was like to grow unto a Secession and general departure of the Commons; yea, and to other fearful terms and perilous threats of civil wars and intestine troubles. Howbeit, by means of the Dictator, the flames were quenched and the discords appeased, upon these capitulations. *Imprimis*, that the Nobility should accord unto the Commons, to have one Consul from among themselves. *Item*, that the common people should be content that the Nobles might out of the *Patres* create a Pretor or Lord-chief Justice for *oyer and determiner* in causes within the City. Thus when after long anger the two states of the City were grown to unity and concord, the Senat thinking it a worthy matter (& good cause they had verily as ever any time before) willingly determined, for the honour of the immortal gods, to set out those most stately [Roman] playes. And whereas before they had continued but three daies, to add one more, and to celebrate them full four. And when the *Ediles* of the Commons refused that charge & excused themselves, the younger Gentlemen of the Nobility cried all with one voice, That they would most gladly do that service and honor to the immortal gods, so as they might be made *Ediles* for that purpose. Thanked they were generally of all hands; and the Senat made a decree, That the Dictator should propose unto the people, that two men of the Nobility might be *Ediles*, and that in all the Assemblies and Elections for that year, whatsoever passed, should be ratified by the soveraign assent of the Senators.

The Seventh Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the Seventh Book.

TWO new officers of State, to wit, the Pretorship and Edileship of the *Chambers* were adjoined to the rest. The City was sore visited with the pestilence: which was more noted by reason of *Furius Camillus* who died therein. The remedy and end whereof, whiles they sought to procure by bringing in new and strange Religions, at length they devised stage-playes, which then first were set forth. *M. Pomponius* a Tribun of the Commons, arrested *L. Manlius* for his exceeding rigour in taking muster of souldiers: and for confining and hardly intreating his own son, *T. Manlius*, for no crime or hainous offence. And the young man himself, whose confining and misusage was laid unto his fathers charge, entred the bed-chamber of the said Tribun, drew his Skean and forced him to swear unto him, that he would let fall his suit and proceed no further. Then all mischiefs intended, were laid apart and had an end. *Curtius* armed at all pieces, mounted upon a Courser, rode headlong into the wide gaping chink or gulf within the City of Rome, and so it presently filled up again. The same young *Manlius*, who had freed his father from the troubles of the Tribun, entred into combat with a French-man, that challenged any one of the Roman Souldiers to single fight, slew him, took from him his collar of Gold, which he ware about his neck afterwards himselfe, and thereof was called *Torquatus*. Two Tribes more were added, *Pontina* and *Publicia*. *Licinius Stolo* was condemned by a law of his own making, because he held in possession more then five hundred Acres of ground. *M. Valerius* a Colonel of one thousand foot, killed a Gaul, who challenged him to fight: and that, by the means and help of a Raven that settled upon his Morion, and with talions and bill annoyed his enemy, and thereupon was he named *Corvinus*. For which vertue and valorous Act, he was the year next following created Consul, being not full three and twenty years old. Amity was concluded with the *Cartaginians*. The Campaignes being warred upon by the *Samnites*, craved aid of the Senat against them: and when they could not speed, yielded their City and Territory to the people of Rome. Whereupon it was thought good, seeing both they and theirs, were now become proprietary to the people of Rome, that they should be defended by force of arms against the *Samnites*. When *A. Cornelius* the Consul, had led his host into a place of disadvantage and was in great peril, he was by the industrious service of *P. Decius* a Colonel saved: who having gained the hill top, which commanded the ridge, whereon the *Samnites* lay encamped, gave the Consul opportunity to escape and pass into a plain ground: and himself, notwithstanding he was environed by the enemy, brake through them, and gat away. The Roman souldiers left in garrison at *Capua*, having conspired to keep the City to their own beboof, were detected and their plot disclosed: and for fear of punishment, revolted from the people of Rome contrary to their allegiance: but by the policy and wisdom of *M. Corvinus*, they were reclaimed from their outrage, and restored again to their countrey. Moreover, this book containeth the fortunate wars against the *Hernicks*, *Gauls*, *Tyburts*, *Priveratis*, *Tarquiniensians*, *Samnites*, and *Volsicians*.

The seventh Book of T. Livius.

Here ensueth a year of especial note and mark, for the Consulship of a man newly risen: also for two new offices, the Pretorship and Aedileship of the Chair. Both which dignities, they of the Nobility purchased to themselves in lieu of granting to the Commons one place of the two Consuls. The Commons bestowed the Consulship upon *L. Sextius* for his good service, in propounding the law; whereby that promotion was first obtained. The Nobles conferred the Pretorship upon *Sp. Furius Camillus* the son of *Marcus*: and the Aedileship upon *Cn. Quintus Capitolinus*, and *P. Cornelius Scipio*, personages of their own order and degree: So grations were they with the people in *Marshall*. *L. Sextius* had companion with him in government, *L. Aemilius Mamercus* one of the Senators. In the beginning of the year, much debate there was and hard hold, both as well about the Gauls, who at the first ranged abroad over all *Apulia*, and were now (as the report went) gathered together: as also concerning the Rebellion of the *Hernicks*. But all matters being put off on purpose, until a further time, because nothing should be done by this new Consul a Commoner, all things were still and quiet, as if it had been vacation or *Non-term*: this only excepted, that the Tribuns muttered and could not endure with patience, that for one Consul of the Commons, the Nobility had got to themselves three Magistrats, all of the *Patritii*, sitting like Consuls, with their purpled and purpled long Robes in Ivory chairs of estate. And as for the Pretor besides, as *L.* chief Justice to hear and decide causes, he was fellow with the Consuls, and with the same Auspices and authority created. Hereupon the Senat was abashed to be instant and to enforce that Aediles of the chair should be chosen out of the Nobility. And first it was agreed amongst them, that every second year they should be elected forth of the Commons: Afterwards, indifferently one with another in common, without that regard. Now when *L. Genucius* and *Q. Servilius* were Coss. and all at good rest for any home-sedition or forrain war: behold, lest they should at any time be void of care and danger, there began a great plague: In which died, as men say, one Censor, one Aedile Curule, three Tribuns of the Commons: besides, many a dead corps from among the multitude, was carried forth, proportionable to the rest. But above all, the bitter death of *Camillus* and much lamented (notwithstanding the long and goodly time he had in this life) caused this pestilence to be much spoken of and remembered. For he was (in truth) the only person in all fortune both of prosperity and adversity, as well in peace as war: a rare and singular man before his banishment, and during the same more famous and renowned: either in regard that the City had a miss of him, and being taken by the enemy in his absence sought unto him for his help; or in respect of his happiness, in that together with his own restitution home, he therewith restored his natural country. And after this, for 25 years space (for so long he lived afterwards) he bare himself answerable to the title of so great glory: accounted worthy to be surnamed and reputed a second founder after *Romulus*, of the City of *Rome*. All this year long and the next which followed, when *T. Sulpitius* *Peticus*, and *C. Licinius Stolo* were Consuls, the sickness continued. By reason whereof, nothing was done worth remembrance, but that for to obtain the mercy and grace of the Gods, there was a *Lædister* solemnized, which was the third since the City was first founded. But when by no device, of man, nor help of the Gods, the violence of the sickness asswaged; their minds and consciences were so possessed with superstition, that among other pacifications and appeasings of the heavenly ire, the stage-plays (a strange and new device for a warlike and martial people, who afore time used only to behold the solemn games and feats of strength and activity, in the great Lists or Race called *Circus*) were (as men say) first begun and ordained. But (as all beginnings lightly are) a small thing (God wot) it was at first: without song and metre, without gesture and action futable unto song and verse, and the same also meer outlandish. For the players, who were sent for out of *Hetruria*, as they danced the measures to the minstrel and sound of flute, gestured not undecently withal, after the Tuscan fashion. But in process of time the youth began to imitate and counterfeit them, jesting pleasantly besides one with another, and singing in rude rimes and disordered metre: and their gesture was sorting with their jests and ditties. Thus was this thing first taken up, and thus with much use and often exercise, practised. And hereupon our own Country Actors and artificers professors of this feat, were called *Histriones*, of *Hister* a Tuscan word, which signifieth a player or dancer. But these uttered not (as they used afore time) in their turns one after another, disordered, confused, and rude verses, like to the loose and bawdy *Fescenine* rimes: but went through and rehearsed out, whole Satyrs, full of musical measures, with a set concert of song also, to the instrument of the minstrel, and with gesture agreeable thereunto. Certain years after, *Livius*, who was the first that after the use of Satyrs, ventured to set forth an Enterlude, of some one argument and uniform matter, is reported to have been himself (as they were all no doubt in those dayes) the Author and Actor both, of his own verses and songs: But being so often called on by the people to play, that he became hoarse again, and lost his voyce, he gat leave to set a boy to sing before the minstrels. And so being silent himself, he acted the song with more agility and nimbleness of motion a good deal: for, not employing his voyce, he had no hindrance of liberty in gesture. Then began the players to have others to sing, and they themselves used their voyces only in acting their parts in Comedies dialogue-

* *Puglia*.The death of
M. Furius Camillus.Stage-players
first at *Rome*
instituted.[*Andronicus*]

wife. After that, by this order taken and Law of Playes, they came from laughter and pleasant conceited Mirth, and that this pastime and sport turned by litle and litle to a methodical Art and profession: Then the youth leaving to Comedians, the acting of parts in Enterludes, began after the old manner to let flye, one at another, merry scoffs and jells, interlaced within their time and meeter, which thereupon were afterwards called *Exodia*, and were inserted commonly in the Atellan Comedies. Which kind of sport, the youth learned first of the *Osci*: and having once taken it up, they held it still, and would not suffer it to be distayned and dishonested by common players. And hereof cometh it, that the Actors in the Atellane Interludes were neither displaced out of their own tribe, nor made *Ætarii*, but served in the wars, and have the Cities pay, as if they were not base Comedians, and Professors of infamous players craft. Thus have I thought good, among the small beginnings of other things, to set down the Original of Stage-players also: that it may appear, that the thing arising from a considerate entrance, is grown now to this foolery and excessive sumptuousness, as hardly can be defrayed by most rich and wealthy Kingdoms. And yet these players at first, employed about a religious business, neither rid mens minds of scruple and superstition, nor eased their bodies one jot of sickness. But rather, when by occasion of an overflow and inundation of the *Tyber*, the *Circus* or Theatre was drowned, and their plays in the very midst hindred and interrupted, this occurrent mightily troubled and affrighted them, as if the Gods had turned away their face and countenance, and rejected all their endeavours in these appeasings of their wrath and indignation. Therefore in the time that *Cn. Genucius*, and *Emilius Mamercus* were Consuls the second time, when mens minds were busied and troubled more in seeking means to pacify the wrath of the Gods, than their bodies vexed with diseases; the elder sort and grand signiors called to mind that in old time there was a plague asswaged and gave over, by the driving and fastning of a spike or great nail by the Dictator. The Senat upon a religious devotion perswaded herewith, caused a Dictator to be created, for to fasten the nail aforesaid. And there being chosen *L. Manlius Imperiosus*, he nominated for his General of Horsemen, *L. Pinarius*. There is an old law written with ancient letters, and in antique words, *That the chief Pretor for the time being, should in the Ides of September drive a spike or nail*. Well, a nail was driven, and stuck fast on the right side of the Temple of *Jupiter Optimus Maximus*, on that hand where as *Minerva* Chappel standeth. That nail, because in those dayes there was but little writing shewed, as they say, the number of the years. And thereupon that Law was set up in *Minervaes Church*, for that *Minerva* was the inventress of numbring. And *Cintius* a diligent writer of such monuments, and a studious Antiquary, affirmeth, That at *Volturni* there stuck such spikes to be seen in the Temple of *Nortia*, a goddess among the Tuscans, to quote and represent the number of the years. Now, as concerning the Temple of *Jupiter Optimus Maximus*, *M. Horatius* the Consul (by an act in that behalf provided) dedicated it, the year next ensuing the expulsion of the Kings. Afterwards, the solemn manner and custome of fastning a nail, was transferred from the Consuls to the Dictators, as to the greater and more absolute Magistracy. And in process of time, this custome being discontinued, it was thought a thing in it self worthy, for which a Dictator should be created.

L. Manlius being elected [as is above said] for this cause, as if he had been called to that dignity for some war, and not to free the people from their scruple of conscience: and intending himself war against the Hermicks, plagued the youth with a grievous muster: until at length all the Tribuns of the Commons taking against him, opposed themselves: and were it by force, or for very shame, he relented, and resigned up his room. Nevertheless, in the entrance of the year next following, when *Q. Servilius Hala*, and *L. Genucius* the second time were Consuls, *M. Pomponius* a Tribun of the Commons arrested *Manlius*. His cruelty in taking of the musters was odious, not only for the loss and damage that the citizens sustained thereby, but also for tearing and mangling their bodies, partly by scourging them with rods, who answered not to their name, and partly clapping irons upon them in prison. But above all, his own cruel disposition by nature was hateful, and the surname (*Imperiosus*) offensive, especially to a free City. This name he got by plain shew of his cruelty, exercised no less upon his neere friends and kinsfolk, yea, and his very own blood, than upon strangers. For amongst other matters, the Tribun laid sore to his charge, that having a young man to his son, detected of no lewdness and dishonest life, him he had banished (as it were) out of the City, from his house and home, debarred from the common Hall and open sight of men, from the company of his mates and companions, set him to drudgery and servil work, and betaken him as it were, into a prison and house of correction: where, a Dictator his son a young Gentleman highly defended, by this daily misery of his, was taught to know, that he had indeed a Lordly and imperious Sir, to his father. "And for what great offence, I pray you? Because he was not so fair spoken, nor all the readiest with his tongue. Which infirmity and defect of nature, ought not a father to have born withal and cloaked (if there had been any goodness, any common humanity in him) rather than to punish it, and by rough handling, and sharp usage, to make it more known and notorious? Why? even the very brute beasts, if it chance that any of their breed or young ones prove but untowardly, feed and cherish them still nevertheless. But as for this *L. Manlius*, he augmenteth one inconvenience and default in his son, with another: whom being but soft and slow of nature, he keepeth down the more: and that litle life and small metal that is in him, he goeth about to quench and dull at once by this peasants life and rustical usage, and conversing amongst the cattel and beasts. These

The superstitious driving of a nail.

*13 of Septem.

L. Manlius Imperiosus.

The complaines of *M. Pomponius*, a Tribune of the Com. against *L. Manlius*.

A These bitter complaints and accusations moved the patience, and stirred the stomachs of every man else, sooner than the young man himself. Whose contrary wife was grieved in his mind, that he should be a cause of his fathers troubles, thus to incur the ill will and obloquy of the people. And that all the World, both Heaven and Earth might know, that he desired rather to succour and help his father, than to assist his adversaries and seek, he smothered into a course becoming and bewraying (I must needs say) a rude and rusticall mind. Which, although it sayd nothing of Civility, yet for his kindness and dutifull piety to his father, deserveth commendation. One morning betimes he gets him up, and unknown to every one of the house, with a good skein stole by his side, to the City he goes; and from the gate straight wayes directly to *M. Pomponius* the Tribun his house. Here he knockes the Porter, that he must needs speak with his Master out of hand, willing him to let him understand, that *T. Manlius* the son of *Lucius* was there. And being immediately let in, (for the Tribun hoped, that the son was throughly acquainted with his father, and brought new complaints, and one matter or other against him, or some devise and overture, how to proceed in the commenced Action) and *T. Manlius* passed to and fro between the Tribun and him, he said, that he was to talk with him upon one of *Almens* tidings. So the room being voided, and all commanded to depart far enough out of the way, he draweth out his skein, and leaping aloft upon the bed, stood there, and held it full bent against him, and threatned presently to give him the stab, unless he would swear the oath he should tender unto him, namely never to call an Assembly or Hall of the Commons together about his fathers indictment, or impanel a Jury against him.

C The Tribun affrighted (seeing the naked weapon glittering before his face, himself all alone and unarmed, the other a tall and lusty young fellow, and, that which was as much to be feared as the rest, fool-hardy, and presuming upon his strength) took the oath in that form as he put it unto him. And afterwards he gave it out plainly and confessed (for his excuse) that by this means he was forced in spite of his heart, to cease his suit, and give over his enterprise. But the Com-mops were not so much offended at the sons, forgiving such an adventure in his fathers quarrel: but they could have been more contented and better pleased, that it had been in their power to have passed their voyces, for the condemnation of so cruel and proud a prisoner, as they had under their hands. And the more praise worthy was this design of the son, because so great rigor of the father, wrought no alienation at all in his heart, from the affectionate duty that he owed unto him. So not only the father escaped his arraignment, but this action of the young man turned to his own honour and preferment. For whereas, this year it was first ordained, that the Tribuns or Colonels should be chosen by voyces of the legionary souldiers (for aforesaid, as at this day, the Generals themselves made them, whom they call *Præfatus*) in six places (for so many were elected) he obtained the second room: and that, in regard of no desert otherwise, either at home or abroad, which might win him this favour, as who had spent his youth in the country altogether, far from the civil society of men.

The kindness of *T. Manlius* to his father.

* A Tribun in a Legion, called *Chiliarchus*, i. a Colonel or leader of a 1000 [foot-men]

The same year, by earth-quake or some other forcible violence, the common place called *Forum*, clave and opened wide, welnear in the mids, and sink down to an exceeding depth: neither could that chink or pit be filled up, by casting in of earth (notwithstanding every man laboured and brought what he could) before that they began to enquire, according as they were admonished by the divine Oracles, what it might be, wherein the most puissance and greatness of the people of *Rome* consisted. (For the wisards prophesied, That if they would have the state of *Rome* to remain sure for ever, they should dedicate and offer it, whatsoever it was, unto that place.) And when they were in doubt what this should be, it is reported, that *M. Curtius*, a right hardy knight and martial young Gentleman, rebuked them therefore, because they doubted whether the Romans had any earthly thing better than armour and valor. Morewith, after silence made, he lift up his eyes, and beheld the Temples of the immortal Gods, situate neere to the *Forum*, and the Capitol likewise; and stretching forth his hands, one while toward Heaven, another while to the gaping chinks and gulf in the earth, toward the infernal spirits beneath, he offered and devoted himself to assured death. And mounting upon a brave courser, as richly trapped and set out, as possibly he could devise, armed as he was at all pieces, he leapt Horse and man and all into the hole. The people, both men and women, threw in after him sundry gifts and oblations, and fruits of the earth in great plenty. The place was after called *Curtius Læcus*, of his name, and not of that *Curtius Metius* in the old time, who was a souldier under *Tiberius Tatius*. If I could by any means search out the truth, I would not spare for any pains in that behalf. But now seeing that by reason of antiquity the certainty is not fully known, we must go by the common voyce and report of men. And verily the name of the lake is more renowned and noble by occasion of this later and fresher tale, than the other.

M. Curtius his valor and resolution.

Curtius Læcus.

After the expiation of so great and prodigious a wonder, much consultation there was in the Senate that year, as concerning the Hernicks, for having sent their Heralds unto them for restoration of harms done, but to no effect; they determined with all convenient speed to propose unto the people, for to proclaim war against the Hernicks, and bid them defiance. The people generally with one voyce liked thereof, and approved it. The charge of that service and exploit fell to *L. Genucius* his lot, to undertake. Now for that he was the first Consul of the Commons that by his own auspices and conduct should manage war, the City was in great expectation of the sequel and issue: and according to the event that should fall out, good or bad in this journey, they were to judge, whether they had done well or amiss to communicat these dignities with the Commons.

L. Genucius
Consul slain.

But it fortuned so that *Genucius* being with great preparation and power set forth against the enemies, was entrapped by an Ambuscado, his legions upon a sudden fear unlooked for defeated; himself (the Consul) environed round about, and slain by them, that will not whom they slew. Which tidings being brought to *Rome*, the Senators were not so pensive and sorrowful for the common calamity, as they fumed and took on most insolently, for this unhappy expedition and conduct of the Commoner Consul: and muttered in all places these and such like speeches: "Now let them go and create Consuls again out of the commonalty, and translate the *Auspicia* whither they ought not. What? Because the Senators by an Act of the Commons, might be defeated and dispossessed of their dignities, could so inauspicate and irreligious a law prevail likewise against the Gods immortal? Who now themselves have taken the matter into their own hands, and maintained their power, their deity and *Auspices*: which were not so soon meddled withal, and polluted by one that had no right thereto, nor lawful title, but both the whole army, and Captain also, were vanquished and overthrown: to teach them for ever hereafter, how they make their solemn Elections of Magistrats confusedly, without regard of the rights and royalties of noble houses. These speeches both Council-House and common place rung again withal. So the Consul *Servilius* with consent of the Nobles, named for Dictator *Appius Claudius*, who had aforetime in an Oration before the whole assembly of the Commons, disavowed the proceeding of that law; and now with greater authority blamed the mishap of that counsel, which was by him disliked and reprov'd. A muster was proclaimed, and a publick Vacation. But before that the Dictator and these new enrolled legions were gone as far as the *Hernicks* confines, the other army under the leading of *C. Sulpitius* the Lieutenant, by occasion of an occurrent that fell out there, got a good hand against their enemies. For when as upon the death of the Consul, the *Hernicks* advanced in scornful and contemptuous manner, close under the camp of the Romans, with a full hope to be masters of the same; behold, what with the exhortation of the Lieutenant, and what for anger and indignity, wherewith the souldiers stomachs were full, they made a sally out against them. Whereupon the *Hernicks* came so far short of their accompt, that they had no hope to assail, no, nor approach the rampier: and so in disaray they dismarched and departed. Afterwards by the coming in of the Dictator with a fresh power, the old army was reinforced double. The Dictator in a solemn audience, having praised the Lieutenant and his souldiers for defending their rents so manfully, both encouraged them, that heard themselves so highly commended according to their deserts, and also whetted on the rest to perform the like valorous service. The enemies on the other side were nothing slack to prepare themselves to fight again: who in remembrance of the honour they had already won, albeit they were not ignorant that the Romans forces were redoubled, encreased their own power also. For the whole Nation of the *Hernicks*, even as many as were able to draw sword, were called forth to the wars. Eight cohorts by themselves consisting of four hundred in a band were enrolled, even the most able and choice men of all others. This elect and especial flour of their youth and manhood, they fed with hope and encouraged the more to this service, because they had taken order they should have double pay. Freed they were besides from all other labour and Military toil, that being thus reserved to intend the fight and nothing else, they should make reckoning and know, that they were to indeavour and strain themselves above the ordinary carriage of souldiers. Placed also they were in the battel, apart from the other ranks: to the end their valour and manhood might be more seen and marked. Between both camps of the Romans and *Hernicks*, there was a plain of two miles in length: and there in the mid way in a manner, was the battel fought. First, the fight was doubtful on both sides, whiles the Roman Horsemen charged and recharged again; but ever in vain, to see if they could break their battalions. Thus when the service on Horseback, proved less in effect than in attempt, they asked the advice and craved leave of the Dictator: which being granted, they abandoned their Horses, and with a mighty shout, ran forth before the ensigns, and renewed the battel afresh. Neither could they have been any longer endured, but that those extraordinary bands opposed themselves, and received them with equal might of body and valour of heart. Then was the fight maintained between the brave youth and principal flour of both nations. And look what slaughter there was by common hazard of war, as well of the one side as of the other, the loss was greater for the quality of the persons, than the proportion of the number. For the rest of the common souldiers, as if they had shifted from themselves the whole conflict, and betaken it to the vanguard only, reposed their own event and hap in the manhood of others. Many a man on both parts was smitten down and dyed in the place, but more were hurt and wounded. "At last, those Horsemen that dismounted, fell to call and rebuke one another, asking what hope remained else besides? If neither on horseback they were able to drive the enemies back, nor on foot force them to give ground and remove them, what third kind of service looked they for? Why leapt they out so lustily and bravely into the forefront before the ensigns? and fought in the place of others? With these words provoking one another, they pluckt up their hearts, and with a fresh shout set foot forward and gave a new charge. First, they compelled the enemies to retreat and lose their standing: then to give more ground: and at length plainly to turn their back and run away. Hard it is to say, being so equally and indifferently matched as they were, what it was that turned the ballance and gave the victory: unless it were the perpetual fortune that ever followed both nations, able to advance the spirit and courage of the one, and to daunt and abate the hearts of the other. The Romans had the *Hernicks* in chase, all the way long, so far as to their camp: but because

A because it was far in the evening, they staid from assailing it. For by reason that it was long ere the Dictator could by sacrifice gather any assured token of Gods favour, he sounded not the bat-
tel before noon: whereby it continued until night. The morrow after, were the Hernicks fled and
their camp abandoned: only some hurt and wounded souldiers were found left behind. But one
troup of them that forsook their ensigns (when as neer unto their walls and sorts their banners
were discovered, slenderly accompanied, and with few about them) was scattered abroad over the
fields, and in great fear stragled all about, and shamefully fled away. And yet this victory of the
Romans cost them well the setting on, and spent some blood: for they lost a fourth part of their
men: and that which was no small damage unto them, some of the Roman Horsemen also were

B slain.

The next year following, when C. Sulphur and C. Licinius Calvus the Consuls, were gone with
a power against the Hernicks, and finding not the enemy abroad in the country, had by force
won *Forestinum*: a Town of theirs: in their return homeward, the Tyburts kept their gates shut
against them. And after many complaints and unkindnesses ripped up between them: this last
quarrel was it, that moved the Romans by their Heralds (after restitution and amends demanded)
to send defiance, and proclaim war against the people of Tybur. That *Titus Quintius Pennus* was
Dictator that year, and *Serg. Cornelius Maluginensis* General of his Horsemen, it is agreed upon
by all authors. *Maecur Licinius* writeth that he was created for the holding of an assembly for Ele-
ction of Magistrates, and that, by the Consul *Licinius*: because when his fellow Consul made hast
to have the Election before the war, thereby to continue his own Consulship, it was thought

C good to withstand and meet with his naughty desire in that behalf. But *Licinius* [*Maecur*] in
usurping to his name and family, that praise and commendation, maketh himself to be of less cre-
dit in writing of the rest: especially, seeing that in none of the old records, I find mention of
any such matter. Mine own mind giveth me rather, that the Dictator was created because of the
Gauls tumultuous war. For certainly that year they encamped themselves three miles from *Rome*,
beyond the bridge of *Anio*, in the way *Sala-*ia. The Dictator having proclaimed a Vacation,
because of these troubles of the Gauls, received the Military oath of all the younger sort: and
with a puissant army departed the City, and upon the very bank on this side of *Anio* pitched his
tents. In the mid way between them and the enemies there was a bridge: which they

D would not break down on either part, lest they should be thought fearful towards. But about
the seizing and gaining of that bridge, first, there was many a skirmish: and judged it could not
be, considering the equal forces of both sides, who should be masters of it. Then advanced forward
unto the bridge (void of all guards) a mighty tall and big Frenchman, and as long as ever he could
set out a throat, maketh this challenge: Now (quoth he) let the bravest gallant that *Rome* hath,
come forth and spare not, to combat if he dare, that the event of us twain may shew whether na-
tion is more valiant and warlike. The brave Knights and youths of *Rome*, held their peace a good
while, both abashed to refuse the challenge, and also unwilling to run upon the present hazard of
a single fight. Then *T. Manlius*, the son of *Lucius*, even he who released his father from the Tri-
buns troubles, goeth forth of his quarter unto the Dictator. "Without your leave and express

E "commandment (quoth he) O Noble Sovereign, I would never presume to fight out of my rank
"and standing, no, not if I should see assured victory before mine eyes: but if it will please your
"Excellency to give me licence, I will shew unto that beast yonder (that so proudly and lustily is
"come forth leaping before the enemies ensigns, and braving as you see) that I am descended of
"that house and race, that gave the whole army of the Gauls the foil and turned them down the
"Cliff *Tarpeia*. Then said the Dictator unto him, God blesse thee *T. Manlius*: On forth a Gods
Name, in this thy dutiful mind and zeal that thou carriest both to father and Country: Go on I
say, and with the help of the Gods, perform the Roman name to be invincible. Then his fellows
and companions help to arme the young Gentleman. A light footmans shield he takes unto
him, and a spanish blade by his side, more handiome to fight short and close. Being thus armed

F and set out, they bring him forth against this vainglorious Gaul, set all upon joyful foolishly,
and (as the ancient writers have thought it worth the noting and remembrance) scornfully lol-
ling and blaring out his tongue. Then the rest departed every man to his own quarter and ward:
and the two armed Champions were left in the midst, more like a festival spectacle and pageant
to behold, than any fight in field, suiting to the manner, guise, and law of combat, considering
they were not equally matched, if a man should judge by the eye and outward view. The one of
them of personage mighty and exceeding tall, his coat armour of sundry colours and gay, his har-
nels glittering and all damasked and engraven with gold. The other, a man of a middle * sta-
ture of Souldiers, no great shew of armor, and that rather fit and handiome, than gaudy to be-
hold: without any hooping, singing, and joyous vaunting of himself, without vain flourishes
and shaking of his weapons in the air: but he had an heart full of resolute courage, stomach, and
close anger within, reserving all his fierceness and eagerness unto the very combat and tryal of
fight. As they stood thus between the two armies, and so many men all about looking on, in
doubtful suspence between hope and fear, the Gaul like as he had been a huge mountain aloft
over the other, ready to fall upon him, held forth his target with the left hand to bear off the
sword of his enemy coming against him, and let drive a down-right blow edgelong, that it re-
sounded again upon his shield, and did no harm at all. The Roman bearing his own sword
with the point upward, and with his shield having smitten the nether part of his enemies target,

* Teverum

T. Manlius to
the L. General.

The combat
between T.
Manlius and a
mighty big
Gaul.

* Six foot high,
or five foot
and ten inches.

* Wearing a
collar, or Car-
quan.

* Tivoli.

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and turned it aside, got with his whole body close within him, and without the danger of being hurt; and when he had wound himself between his enemies body and his swords point, he redoubled one or two foins, and thrust him up into the belly at the groin, and so overthrew him. There lay the Gaul along, and took up a great ground in length. When he was down, without any further mangling and tormenting his carcass, he despoiled him only of his collar of gold, which embraced as it was with blood, he did about his own neck. The Gauls with fear and admiration of this fight were astonished. The Romans with great cheerfulness came forth of their wards and quarters to meet their champion; and with great praise and congratulation brought him before the Dictator. And as they merrily cast forth (as the manner of soldiers is) certain pleasant ditties, ballad-wise, but without artificial skill of poetry, they were heard to surname him * *Torguatus*: which afterwards was taken up and commonly used, and became an honorable name to his posterity, and the whole house besides. Besides all this, the Dictator bestowed upon him a coronet of gold for a reward, and openly before the whole audience of the army, highly and wonderfully commended that fight of his. And certainly, that combat was of such consequence, and made so much to the event of the whole war, that the night next following, the host of the Gauls, fearfully abandoning their tents, departed into the Tyburin country: and being drawn into a society of war with the inhabitants of *Tybur*, and liberally by them relieved with victuals; they passed within a while into *Campania*. Which was the cause that the next year, *C. Petilius Balbus* the Consul (whose fellow *M. Fabius Ambustus* was by lot, sent with commission against the Hernicks) led an army, by the appointment of the people, against the Tyburins. To the aid of whom, when the French were returned out of *Campania*; there was foul spoil and havock made in the Latican, Tusculan, and Alban territories, by the leading and conduct, no doubt of the Tyburins. And whereas the State stood well contented that the Consul should be the General commander, against these enemies the Tyburins; this new trouble and tumult of the Gauls, caused a Dictator to be created. And that was *Q. Servilius Hala*, who named for his General of Horsemen, *T. Quintius*. And by the authority and assent of the Senators, he vowed to set out the great games, in case he sped well in this war. The Dictator having commanded the Consul with his army to tarry still, that by his own conduct of war he might keep in the Tyburins, took the oath of all the younger people; and there was not one refused to go to the war. Not far from the gate *Collina* was this battel fought, in the sight of their Parents, Wives and Children. Great encouragements, doubtless; to cheer up and animate men; absent and far off: but now before their eyes, partly, for shame, and partly, for pity and compassion, they set the soldiers all on fire. After much blood-shed on both sides, at the last the army of the Gauls turn back: and being put to flight, they made shaft to *Tybur*, the very strength and fort of the Gauls war. But as they fled stragling one from another, they were encountred by the Consul *Petilius* not far from *Tybur*. And when the Tyburins issued forth to succour them, they with the rest were beaten into the Town. Likewise the other Consul *Fabius*, first in small skirmishes, and at last in one notable pight field, vanquished the Hernicks; at what time as his enemies charged upon him with all their forces and whole puissance. The Dictator having highly commended the Consuls, both in the Senat-house and also in a publick assembly of all the people, and attributed the whole honour of his own Acts unto them, gave up the Dictatorship. *Petilius*, obtained a double triumph, over the Gauls and the Tyburins. For *Fabius* it was thought sufficient, that he should enter into the City Ovan, in a pety triumph. The Tyburins scoffed and made good game at the triumph of *Petilius*. For, "where was it (say they) that they encountred and joyned battel with us? There went forth indeed out of the City gates a few of us to behold the sight and fright of the Gauls: but seeing our selves also to be set upon, and killed one with another as we came in the way, we retired back, and and got the City over our heads. And was that such a doughty deed, that the Romans should think, it deserved a triumph? But that they may not deem it still, so noble and so wondrous an Act, to make some stir, and raise a tumult in the enemies gates: they should themselves see shortly greater fearfulness, even under their own walls. Hereupon, the year following, when *M. P. pilus Lenas*, and *C. Manlius* were Consuls, at the first watch of the night, they came from *Tybur* in warlike manner to the City of *Rome*. This sudden occurrent, hapning so fearfully in the night season, stroke a mighty terrour into them, that hastily awakened out of sleep. Besides, many there were that wist not, either what enemies they were; or from whence they came. Howbeit they cryed Alarm with all speed, on every side. The gates were fortified with warders; the walls manned with strong guards. When as early in the morning, they were descried to be but a mean number of enemies before the Town; and those none other but Tyburins; the Consuls sallied out at two gates, and assailed both wayes their forces; as they were now come under the walls ready to scale. Then was it seen that they were thither come, presuming rather on the vantage of the time, than trusting in valour and manhood: so little were they able to abide the first brunt and charge given by the Romans. Furthermore, it was well known, that this their coming turned to the Romans good: for, the discord that was now breeding between the Senators and the Com, for fear of this so neer danger was quite staid. But in the next war that ensued, the enemies came after another sort, and were more terrible to the fields and country, than to the City. For the Tarquinians over-ran all the marches of the Roman pale, wasting and spoiling all those parts, especially that border upon *Hetruria*. And after restitution & amends demanded, but to no effect, the new Cons, *C. Fabius* & *C. Plantius*, by the ordinance of the people proclaimed war against them. The rumors also

Also of the Gauls war began to be rife. But amid these manifold and fearful troubles, this was their comfort, that the Latins had peace granted unto them, upon their own sute: and from thence a great power was received, according to the ancient league, which for many years space, they had let pals and discontinued. The Roman forces by this aid well strengthened, made a lighter matter of it, when they heard that the Gauls were arrived already at *Prentse*, and were set down and encamped about *Pedum*. It was thought good, that *C. Sulpicius* should be chosen Dictator, named by *C. Plautius*, sent for to the same purpose. Where, whom *M. Valerius* was appointed for Commander of his Horsemen. These marched against the Gauls with the choice souldiers of two Consular armies. This was a lingering war and protracted longer a great deal, than both parties liked of. At the first, the Gauls only were impatient and eager of battel, but afterwards the Roman souldiers, by rushing into fight and skirmish, exceeded far the fierceness and forwardness of the French. The Dictator was nothing pleased, here with, to put all upon the hazard of fortune, when there was no need at all, especially having to deal with that enemy, whom tract of time and disadvantage of the place, made daily worse, and worse, being unprovided besides of victuals and making long abroad without any fenced fort: moreover, of that stomach and constitution of body, as served wholly for expedition and quick service, and by small delays waxed feeble and faint. Upon these considerations the Dictator held off still and drew the war on length, and had proclaimed a grievous punishment in any without his exprels commandment should fight with the enemy. The souldiers could not well brook this: but first within their wards and watches began among themselves to carpiat the Dictator, and other whiles they let flie at the LL. of the Senate in general, blaming them for their direction in that the Consuls had not the managing of this war. They have chosen indeed (say they) a singular General on set purpose, a Capitaine alone, who thinks whiles he sitteth still and doth nothing, the victory will fall from Heaven, or flie into his very lap. After this they began openly abroad, and in the day time, to cast out the same, yea, and worse speeches too and more malepart: namely, that they would either fight, and ask the Dictator no leave, or go along in order of battel to *Rome*. The Centurions also joyned themselves to the souldiers: and not only in conventicles and knots together, there was whispering and grumbling: but in the very *Principia*, yea, and within the quarter of the L. General his pavilion, were heard confused speeches together in one accord. So as the multitude began now to grow to a full assembly, and from all parts to call and cry aloud, to go presently to the Dictator: and that *Sex. Tullius* should in the name of the whole army speak unto him, as beseeched his vertue and courage. This *Tullius* now had been seven times already a primipilar or principal Centurion: neither was there in the whole army, of all those that served on foot, a man more renowned for feats of arms. He going before the army of footmen, steppeth to the Tribunal. And when as *Sulpicius* marvelled, not so much to see that company, as the leader of the company *Tullius*, who of all the souldiers had ever been in best order and most obedient. "This is the matter (quoth he) O Noble Dictator and nothing else. The whole army in general, supposing themselves by you condemned of cowardice, and in a manner to their utter shame abandoned, and disarmed, have intreated me to plead their cause before your Majesty. And I for my part, I assure you, in case we might be charged to have lost ground any where, in case we had turned our backs upon the enemy, in case we had lost our ensignes shamefully, would think it yet a reasonable suit to be obtained at your hands, that you would give us leave to amend that which is amiss, to correct our former fault with hardiness and valour, and by some fresh and glorious exploit, to cancel the remembrance of so foul a foil and shameful dishonor. Even those very Legions that were defeated and put to flight at *Alia*, afterwards in their return from *Kair*, recovered the same country of theirs by valour, which they had once before lost through cowardice. But we by the goodness of God, through the felicity of your self and the people of *Rome*, have hitherto kept both the army unfoiled, & honor unstained. And yet I scarce dare say, honour: if so be, that not only our enemies may with all reproachful teanims scorn and flout us, as if we were women pent in & mew'd up close within our rampier: but also you, our General (the more is our grief) deem us your army to be heartless, handless, & armourless: and before any tryal of us made, to despair of us, as if you took your self to be a Commander & Leader of a sort of maimed & feeble persons. For what else may we think of it, that you, an old experienced Captain and a most valiant warrior, should sit, as they say, with one hand in another, doing nothing? For howsoever the truth is indeed, more meet it is, that you should be thought to doubt of our valor, than we of yours. But if this be not a device of your own setting, but a publick plot laid: and some matter agreed upon among the Senators at home, rather than any war of the Gauls, keepeth us away from thence, confined as it were from the City & our own houses: then I beseech you, whatsoever I shall say, you would think it as spoken, not by the souldiers to their Lord General, but by the Commons to the rulers and Senators. Who may thus reply, that as ye have your policies and counsels, so will they have their designs & wayes of their own likewise. For who would think I pray you, that we are your souldiers, and not your slaves: sent to war, and not into banishment? If any set out the banner of war unto us, lead us forth into the field, and sound the battel, ready we are to fight like men, and like Romans: but if there be no need of war, we will rather sit still at home, than in the camp. And thus much, suppose as spoken to the Lords of the Senat. But we thy souldiers, O worthy General beseech thee first to give us leave to fight, then desirous are we to conquer and under thy standard and conduct to conquer: to present thee with a glorious garland of lawrel, and in triumph to enter with thee into the City: and after thy chariot

* A place in the camp.

The Oration of *Sex. Tullius* unto the Dictator.

“chariot to go up with joy and mirth to the Temple of *Jupiter Optimus Maximus*. This Oration of *Tullius*, the multitude seconded with their petitions, calling aloud unto the General on every side, to sound the alarm, and command them to arm. The Dictator, albeit he thought the matter in it self good, but not handled in good manner; and for example sake not to be allowed: yet promised to satisfy the souldiers desire. “And calling *Tullius* secretly apart, questioned with him what this matter meant, what precedent or custom they had for their warrant? *Tullius* earnestly besought the Dictator, not to think him to have forgotten either military Discipline, or his own place; nor yet the Majesty of his Sovereign. And whereas he had not withdrawn himself away from the multitude being in a mutiny, nor refused to be their speaker (who lightly resemble those that are their ring-leaders) it was only for fear lest some other should have stepped in place, such as the unruly people in mutinies are wont to set up for their Captains. As for himself, do nothing he would, without the pleasure of the General. Howbeit he would advise him to look well about him, and carefully to see to it, that he keep his army in order, government, and obedience. And high time it is now, and would not be deferred. For considering their hearts were kindled already, and their bloud up, they would be their own carvers, and chuse themselves both time and place, if the General would not grant it them the sooner. Whiles they were thus in sad communication, there hapned two Roman souldiers to take perforce from a Gaul certain sumpter Horses, which feeding without the camp, he was driving away. At whom, the Gauls let flye stones good store. And thereupon rose an alarm from the Roman Corps de guard, and running out there was apace, on both sides. So as now they had grown to a full skirmish and battel indeed, had not the Centurions speedily stickled them, and ended the fray. Upon which occurrence, the credit of *Tullius* with the Dictator was confirmed: and seeing the case would abide no delays, he proclaimed battel against the morrow. The Dictator notwithstanding he had yeilded to fight a field, as presuming more upon the courage of his men, than their forces: began to devise with himself, and cast about every way, how by some stratagem he might strike a terror among the enemies. And having a subtle wit and nimble head of his own, this new policy he thought upon: which afterwards many warriors, both of our own country, and of others also, yea, and some even in our time, have used and put in practise. He gave order, that the mules sumpters should be taken off their backs, leaving only two course twillies or coverings upon them, and setteth the muletors aloft thereon, furnished with the armour of certain captives, and sick and diseased persons. Of these he made wel-neer one thousand, and joyned unto them one hundred good Horsemen. All these, he chargeth in the night time to get above the camp into the hills, and among the Furs and woods, to bestow themselves close: and not to stir from thence, before that he gave them a signal. Himself, so soon as it was day light, began with great wariness and considerate care to embattel and arrange his army in length along the very foot of the mountains: to the end, that the enemy might have the hills full against him. Thus having set out and directed these counterfeit cornets of Horse, to scare the enemies with, who, as it fell out, did more good in a manner, than the other forces indeed: at the first, the vanguard of the Gauls thought that the Romans would not come down on even ground: but afterwards, when they saw them upon a sudden descended, they also, as desirous of fight, ran on forward presently to joyn battel, and began the fight before the Captains had sounded. The Gauls charged the right wing more fiercely, so that hardly they might have been abidden, had not by good hap the Dictator been there in person. “Who called upon *Sextus Tullius* by name, and rebuked him, demanding whether he had given his word unto him, that the souldiers should in that sort fight? What is become (quoth he) of these, that with out-cries and open mouth called for battel? Where are those threats now, that they would begin to fight a field without commandment of the General? Lo, your General himself calleth upon you as loud as he can, to fall to your business, and goeth armed before the ensigns in the vanguard: will any now follow after that erewhile would needs lead the way afore? Fierce (I see well) in camp, fearful in the field. And no fable it was that they heard him speak. Whereupon for very shame they were so pricked forward, that without casting any N perils, or minding present danger, they ran upon the darts and shot of their enemies. This violence of theirs, as if they had been wel-neer out of their right wits, at the very first troubled and disordered the enemies. The Horsemen that were sent out hard after them, forced them to turn back, when they were once in disarray. The Dictator himself seeing the battel of one side to shrink, advanced forward with the ensigns against the left wing, unto which he saw the main multitude to resort and gather together, and withal he gave the sign to them that were within the hills, according as it was before agreed. And when from thence also a new shout arose, and that they were seen to march side-long overthwart the hill, toward the Gauls camp; then for fear, lest they should be shut out from their hold, they gave over all fighting, and ran by heaps to their camp. Where *M. Valerius*, the General of the Horsemen encountred and affronted them. For he seeing the right wing discomfited, had set a compass about, and ridden to the fortifications and munitions of the enemies. Whereupon they fled to the mountains and the woods. Most of them were received by the counterfeit shew of Horsemen, and by the muletors caught up, and came short home: but as many of them as fear drave through into the woods, were (after the heat of the battel was past) cruelly slain and hewn in pieces. Neither was there any one, setting *M. Furius* aside, that triumphed more worthily over the Gauls, than did *C. Sulpicius*. He consecrated also in the Capitol a good weighty mass of gold, got out of the Gauls spoil, and compassed it within an enclosure of square stone.

The stratagem
of C. Sulpicius
the Dictator.

Aft one. The ſame year, the Conſuls likewiſe warred, but with diſſerſe fortune and ſucceſs. For by *C. Plantius*, the Hernicks were vanquiſhed and ſubdued. But his companion *Fabius* fought raſhly and unadviſedly againſt the Tarquinians. The loſs in the battel received, was not ſo much, but that the Tarquinians ſacrificed three hundred and ſeven Roman ſouldiers, whom they took priſoners. This loſs and ſhameful execution, cauſed the ignominy of the Romans defeat afore, to be much more notable, and talked of abroad. Beſides this loſs, was the Roman territory much waſted (to help the matter withal) by the Privernats, and after them by the Veliterns, who made ſudden inrodes into the Country. The ſame year alſo were two more Tribes added, *Pompina* and *Publicia*. The votive ſolemn playes or games likewiſe, which *Marcus Furius* the Dictator had vowed, were then ſet forth and performed.

B Then and never before was the firſt law put up to the people by *P. Petilius*, a Tribun of the Commons, and that by the conſent and approbation of the Senators, againſt the exceſſive ſuit and ambitious ſtanding for dignities. By which lawmen ſuppoſed, that the ambition principally of certain perſons new riſen and of the firſt head, who were wont to haunt fairs and places of great reſort for that intent, was reſſeſſed and kept under. But the year enſuing, when *C. Martius* and *Cn. Manlius* were Conſuls, *M. Duellius* and *M. Menenius* two Tribuns of the Commons, went through with a law and got it enacted, which was not ſo well liked of the Senators, to wit, concerning Uſury of one in the hundred. But the Commons were ſo much the more forward and better contented, to grant and accept it. Over and beſides thoſe new wars the year before intended,

A law againſt ambitious ſeeking for offices of government.

C the Falſci were declared new enemies: and that, for two quarrels pretended againſt them; One, for that their youth had ſerved againſt the Romans under the Tarquinians: the other, becauſe they had not delivered again thoſe Romans which fled unto *Falerii*, after their defeat and unlucky fight, notwithstanding the Heralds had made claim unto them and demanded them. This Province fell to *Cn. Manlius*. But *Martius* had the leading of an army into the Land of the Privernats, which by reaſon of long peace was unſpoiled yet, and in very good ſtate, and thereby enriched his ſouldiers with good prizes. For, to the plenty and ſtore that there was found, he added his own bounty and liberality: in that he ſet out nothing for the common Treafury, but favoured the ſouldiers, and gave them leave to better their own private ſtate. The Privernats lay ſtrongly encamped before their own City: and when he had aſſembled all his ſouldiers together:

A law againſt Uſury.

D "Now (quoth he) I give unto you the enemies camp and their City for a booty, ſo you will promiſe me to quit your ſelves like men, and to be as ready to fight as to ſpoil. Hereupon, with a great cry they call for the ſignal of battel: and ſo advancing forward and exalting themſelves bravely and couragiously, with aſſured hope of victory, to battel they go. There, even before the ensigns in the vanguard, *Sextus Tullius*, of whom we ſpake before, cryed out aloud, Behold, Noble General (quoth he) how thine army performeth their word given unto thee: and therewith laying down his Javelin, with drawn ſword confronteth the enemy. Then follow after *Tullius*, all they that fought in the vanguard before the Standards, and at the firſt ſhock put the enemies to flight, followed the chace and drave them into the Town. And as they were ſcaling the Walls, the Town was rendred up into their hands. So he triumphed over the Privernats. By the other Conſul there was no worthy exploit done, but that as he lay encamped before *Sursum*, he propoſed a law to paſs by the Tribes, (a courſe never taken before, and without example) concerning a twentieth part or vicesime, to be levied of their goods that were made free. The Lords of the Senat (becauſe by that Act there accrewed no ſmall revenue to the Exchequer, that was now waſted) allowed thereof and gave their aſſent: But the Tribuns of the Com, moved not ſo much at the quality of the law in it ſelf, as at the dangerous precedent given, or dained under pain of death. That no man ever after ſhould in making of laws withdraw the people apart: For, if that were once by law permitted, there would be nothing, were it never ſo pernicious to the people, but it might be enacted by ſouldiers, that have ſworn to their Conſuls allegiance, and were at his devotion. The ſame year was *C. Licinius Stolo* at the ſuit of *M. Popilius Lenas*, condemned upon his own ſtatute in

* 25 lib ſſi ſter.

E 10000 Aſſes, for that he together with his ſon, was poſſeſſed of a thouſand acres of Land, and under colour of freeing his ſon, he had deluded the ſtatute in that caſe provided.

After this, the two Conſuls *M. Fabius Ambuſtus* the ſecond time, and *M. Popilius Lenas* the ſecond time made two wars. That which *Lenas* fought with the Tyburtins was performed with eaſe and facility, For having driven the enemies into the Town, he forraged their fields. But in the other war, the Falſci and the Tarquinians, diſcomfited in the firſt battel the other Conſul. Their greateſt fear aroſe upon this occaſion. For, their Priests carrying afore them light burning torches, and ſnakes beſides, went after a lunatick and ſtantick manner, and with ſo ſtrange and uncouth a ſhew troubled and diſordered the Roman ſouldiers. And therewithal, at that very inſtant the ſouldiers, as if they had been diſtracted, beſides themſelves, and aſtonied, diſmarched fearfully and ſtumbled upon the munitions and fortifications of their camp: But after, when as the Conſul, Lieutenants and Colonels mocked and rated them, for being ſcared like children with theſe vain bugbears: for ſhame ſuddenly they took heart again, and like blind men ran upon thoſe very ſame things, that before they had fled from. And ſo after they had diſpatched this vain deviſe and preparation of their enemies, they fell upon the armed men indeed, diſcomfited their whole army and put them to flight: and being the ſame day maſters of their camp, with a rich booty returned victors, both recounting in their military merry ditties and ſongs,

C. Martius Rutilius first Dictator of the Commons.

* i. The assembly of the people.

songs, the foolish preparation of the enemy, and also condemning their own fearfulness. After this, the whole nation of the Tuscans arose, having for their leaders the Tarquinians and the Falisci, and came as far as *Salina*. Against which fearful danger was C. Martius Rutilius chosen, the first Dictator that ever was of the Commons: who named for his General of the Horsemen a Commoner likewise C. Plautius. But the Senators thought this a shameful indignity, that the Dictatorship also should now be chosen in common: and did all they could possibly to hinder, that there should be nothing decreed toward the war, nor any preparation made for the Dictator. But so much the sooner, and with more readiness, all that the Dictator proposed, the Commons granted. So he departed from the City, and marched on both sides of the Tyber (transporting his army in boats and planks fastned together) to what place soever he heard the enemies were gone: and surprised many forragers of them, as they wandered and straggled one from another, in the fields. He set upon their camp also, and won it: and after that he had taken eight thousand prisoners, and either slain or chased all the rest out of the Roman pale, he triumphed, by the suffrages of the people only, without the approbation and assent of the Senators. And forasmuch as they would not in any case have an assembly for Election of Consuls, held either by the Dictator a Commoner, or by the Consul: and because the other Consul Fabius was banished abroad in the wars, and not returned: therefore, the matter fell again to an Interregnum. So there were Interregents one after another, Q. Servilius Hala, M. Fabius, Cn. Manlius, C. Fabius, C. Sulpitius, L. Amylius, Q. Servilius, and M. Fabius Ambustus. During the second Interregnum, there arose some variance, for that both Consuls were *Patritii*, i. of the Nobles. And when the Tribuns interposed themselves, and crossed those proceedings, Fabius the Interregent, alleged a Law out of the twelve tables in these terms, That *whosoever the people ordained or granted last, the same should be good, and stand firm and ratified*: and in suffrages and voices of the people, were comprised their grant and ordinance. But when the Tribuns, for all their gain saying and stepping between, could prevail no more, but to prorogue the Comices for the Election, there were at length two of the Nobles created Consuls, C. Sulpitius Peticus the third time, and M. Valerius Publicola: who the same day they were chosen, entered into their office. Thus in the 400 year after the foundation of the City, and the 35 after it was recovered from the Gauls, the Commons lost the Consulship again, when they had enjoyed it nine years. And two Consuls of the *Patritii*, upon the Interregnum, began to govern, to wit, C. Sulpitius Peticus the third time, and M. Valerius Publicola. The same year was *Empulcum* won from the Tyburtins, without any memorable warlike exploit: were it that, under the conduct of both Consuls there jointly together, the war was managed, as some have written: or that about the same time the Tarquinians Country was by the Consul Sulpitius over-run and wasted, whiles Valerius led forth a power against the Tyburtins. But more ado had the Consuls at home, with the Commons and Tribuns. The Consuls thought now, it concerned them in trust and credit, as well as in vertue and valour, that as they, being *Patritii* both of them, had received the Consulship, so they should make over the same again to twain of the Nobility: and either wholly to give up their interest and title for ever, if so be the Consulship should now become a Commoners dignity: or else to keep it wholly in their possession, whereof they were first seized intirely, in right of their ancestors. On the other side, the Commons fumed and stormed in these and such like terms. "What should we live any longer? and why are we accounted citizens? In case, that which was first got by the vertue and power of two only persons, L. Sextius, and C. Licinius, we cannot now all of us together hold and keep? Certainly, better we were to endure the KK. and Decemvirs again, or any other heavier and more fearful name of absolute and Lordly Empire, than to see both Consuls of the Nobility: and that we, may not both rule and obey in turns, but that the one part settled in the place of rule for ever, should think us, the Commons, born for nothing else but to obey and serve. The Tribuns themselves were nothing behind to set forward these troublesome mutinies. But when the people are up once altogether and in commotion, the principal leaders are hardly seen above the rest in the action. And when as they were come down into *Mars* field sundry times to assembly, but ever to no purpose and effect, and that many Comitial dayes of assembly were passed over, only in seditious troubles: at the last, the Commons being overmatched through the stiffness and obstinacy of the Consuls, took the matter so grievously to the heart, that when the Tribuns brake forth into these speeches: "Now farewell freedom for ever: now are we driven, not only to forbear coming into *Mars* field, but also to abandon and forsake the City, taken captive and oppressed by the Lordly rule of the Nobles, and therewithal departed: the Commons with sorrowful cheer did the semblable, and followed after. The Consuls being thus left destitute of one part of the people, yet nevertheless went through with the Election, as few as they were there remaining. And Consuls there were elected of the Nobility both, M. Fabius Ambustus the third time, and T. Quintius. In some annals or yearly records, I find Coss. M. Popilius, instead of T. Quintius.

In that year, were two wars performed with prosperous success. And the Tyburtins were fought withal until they yielded. From them was the City *Sassula* won by force: and other Towns had tasted of the same fortune, but that the whole Nation laid arms aside, and submitted themselves to the Consul his mercy. He triumphed over the Tyburtins: otherwise the conquest was mild and gentle enough, without extremity of execution. But the Tarquinians were cruelly dealt withal: and many a man of them slain in field. Of the prisoners that were taken, whereof

A whereof there was a mighty number, there were 358 of the Noblest and greatest Gentlemen chosen out, and sent to *Rome*. The rest of the common sort were put to the sword. Neither sped they better at the peoples hands that were sent to *Rome*. For in the mids of the *Forum*, were they all beaten with rods and beheaded. This execution made quittance with them, for sacrificing the Romans in the market place of the Tarquinians. This good success in war caused the Samnites also to seek for peace and amity. Their Embassadors were courteously answered by the Senat, and so upon covenants they were received into society. But the Commons sped not so well at home in the City, as abroad in warfare. For albeit the Usury was well eased by bringing it down from twelve to one, in the hundred: yet the poorer people were overcharged with the payment of the very principal, and became bond and thrall to their creditors. Whereby the Com. in regard of their privat streights, that they were driven unto, never troubled their heads with the making of both Consuls of the Nobles, nor with the Assemblies and Elections, nor other publick affairs. Still the two Consulships remained among the *Patritii*. And created there were Consuls, *C. Sulpitius Peticus* the fourth time, and *M. Valerius Publicola* the second time.

Now when as the City was earnestly amused upon the Tuscan war, by reason that the news went, how that the people of *Cere*, for very pity and compassion, and in regard also of consanguinity, took part with the Tarquinians: behold the Embassadors of the Latins turned them clean against the Volscians. Which Embassadors brought word, that there was an army levied already from thence and in arms, even now upon the point to invade their borders: and would from them enter the territory of *Rome*, and spoil as they go. The Senat therefore thought good to neglect neither business, and gave direction, that to both places certain legions should be appointed, and the Consuls to cast lots for their severall Provinces and charges. But afterwards, the greater care was taken for the Tuscan war, upon intelligence given by *Sulpitius* the Consul his letters, whose commission was against *Tarquinius*, that the countrey was wasted and spoiled all about the Roman *Sallina*, [or Salt-pits] and part of the booties carried away into the confines of the *Ceritis*: and that the youth of that people were doubtless employed in the driving of that booty. Whereupon *Valerius* the Consul, who was opposed against the Volscians, and encamped in the marches of *Tusculum*, was called back from thence, and commanded by the Senat to nominate a Dictator. Who named *T. Manlius*, the son of *Lucius*, and he taking to him *A. Cornelius Cossus* for his General of the Horsemen, contenting himself with his Consular army, by the authority of the Senat, and the peoples suffrages, proclaimed war against the *Ceritis*, and sent them defiance. Then were the *Ceritis* afraid of war indeed, and not afore, as though there had been more force in their enemies bare words, to denounce and signify war, than in their own deeds, who by spoiling and plundering, had provoked the Romans to war. Then saw they plainly that they were overmatched and not able to make their parts good: then repented they that they had made such wast and spoil, cursing the Tarquinians for soliciting them to revolt, not one of them making any preparation of armour or war: but every man labouring what he could, that Embassadors should be sent, to crave pardon for their trespasss and offence. When their Embassadors were come to the Senat, they were from thence put over to the people. And then they beought the Gods, whose sacred Images they had received in the French war and devoutly kept and cherished, That the Romans now in their flourishing estate, would take that pity and compassion of them, which they in times past had of the Romans, in their calamity and hard distress. And turning to the chappels of *Vesta*, they called upon the Flamins and Vestal Virgins, sometime their guests, whom they so chastly and religiously had received and given intertainment unto, saying in this wise. "Would any man believe we had deserved no better, but thus of a sudden, without cause given, to be reputed enemies? Or suppose we had done somewhat smelling of hostility, would any man impure it rather to deliberat counsell, than to some fit of heat and folly? And that we would blamish and mar our own good deserts, especially conferred and bestowed upon so thankful persons, with new misdeeds and shrewd turns? and chuse to make the people of *Rome* their enemies now in their wealthy and flourishing State, and in their most happy felicity of war: whose friendship in their adversity we had embraced? Beseeching them not to term that considerate advice, which rather were to be called force and necessity. For the Tarquinians, say they, passing with a cruel and puissant army through our country & requesting nothing but away, had drawn with them some of our rustical Peasants, to assist them only in fetching of that booty, which now so heavily is laid to our charge. Whom if you please to have them yielded, we are ready to deliver them: if to be punished they shall suffer accordingly: most humbly craving, that their City *Cere*, the very sanctuary of the people of *Rome*, the harbour and habitation of their Priests, the place of receipt for the Roman sacred images and reliques, they would grant unto them safe from the calamity of war, and exempt from the slander thereof: and the rather for the professed vestal Virgins sake, so kindly intertained, and for the love of the Gods, by them so devoutly honored. The people were moved, not so much with the justice and equity of the present cause, as for their old deserts and good turns to forget rather the harm sustained than the good received. Whereupon, the people of *Cere* were pardoned, & agreed it was that a truce for one hundred years should be registred among the Acts of the Senat. Then were the forces diverted against the *Falisci*, who were tainted likewise with the same offence. But the enemies would no where be found. They wasted therefore all over their confines: & forbore to assail their Towns. So they withdrew their legions to *Rome*. The rest of the year was employed in repairing their wals & Towers: and the Temple of *Apollo* was dedicated.

The Embassadors of *Cere*, to the people of *Rome*.

dedicated. In the very end of the year, the contention between the Senators and the Commons, brake off the Election of the Consuls: whilst the Tribuns stily denied to suffer any assembly therefore to be holden, unless it were according to the Law *Licinia*. And the Dictator again was as stoutly and stily bent, to abolish wholly out of the City the Consulship, rather than it should be indifferent for the Nobility and common people. Thus by adjourning the Election, the Dictator left his office, and the matter grew to an Interreign. And the Interregents, finding ever the Commons maliciously set against the Senators, succeeded one after another unto the eleventh Interreign: and all the while continued the discord and variance. The Tribuns they called on hard for the maintenance of the Law *Licinia*. The Commons, they had an inward grief that stuck neerer to them, upon the excessive usury that still increased: and each mans privat care and grievance, brake out in their publick contentions and debates. The LL. of the Senat weary of these troubles, commanded *L. Cornelius Scipio* the Interreign for the time being, for concord and unity sake, in the Election of Consuls to observe the Law *Licinia*. So *P. Valerius Publicola*, had joynd with him in fellowship of government, *Caius Martius Rutilus*, one of the Commons.

Five bankers
instituted, cal-
led *Mensarii*.

Now whilst mens minds were enclined once to concord, the new Consuls labouring to ease also this matter of usury, the only spill or bone (as it were) between, that seemed to hinder the uniting of their hearts, and impeach the general agreement: took order publicly for the payment of debts, by creating five officers or *Quinquivirs*, whom of the despending and disposing of the publick monies, they called *Mensarii*. And surely, for their equity and careful diligence, they deserved in all monuments and records to be remembered and renowned. And these they were, *C. Duellius*, *P. Decius*, *M. Papirius*, *Q. Publius*, and *T. Amylius*: who underwent and managed this matter, so intricat and difficult to be dealt in: so grievous and combersome to both sides for the most part, but evermore to one at the least. Which they performed both with indifferent moderation otherwise, and also with some cost and defray of charge, rather than any loss and dammage to the State. For the long debts and more entangled, rather in regard of the debtors slackness and negligence, than their want of ability, either the City out of the common stock crossed out of the book, by setting up certain counters or tables with ready coin in the publick Hall (provided, that there were good security unto the City by sureties and cautions put in aforehand) or else the goods of men valued at indifferent and reasonable prices discharged. So as not only without any wrong done, but also without the complaint of both parties, a mighty deal of debts was satisfied and paid.

All debts cleared in Rome.

After all this, a vain fear of the Tuscan war, upon a false Alarm given, that their twelve Nations conspired and were confederate together, caused a Dictator to be chosen. So *C. Julius* was named in the camp: for thither to the Coss. was the patent of the Senats decree sent. And to him was joynd as General of the Horsemen, *L. Amylius*. But all was quiet without the City: Within the City the Dictator gave the attempt, that both Consuls should be created of the Patritii: which brought the government for the time to an Interreign. And the two Interregents that were in that while (to wit) *C. Sulpitius* and *M. Fabius*, obtained that which the Dictator had reached at in vain: namely, that both Consuls might be created of the Nobility: for now the Commons were more pliable and tractable, by reason of the fresh benefit received, in the easement and satisfying of their debts. So there were chosen *C. Sulpitius Peticus*, he, who was the former of the twain that gave over the Interreign, and *T. Quintius Pennus*. Some there be that give to *Quintius* the addition of *Caso* for his surname [and of *Caius* for his forename.] Both of them went forth to war: *Quintius* against the Falisci, and *Sulpitius* against the Tarquinians. Who, for that they could never meet with the enemy in open field, by burning and spoiling made war with the fields rather than with the men. By which lingring continuance, as it were of a languishing consumption, the stubbornnes of both Nations was so wel tamed, that they made petition first to the Consuls, and by their permission after to the Senat, for a truce, and obtained the same for the term of forty years. Thus the care was laid aside of the two wars, which seemed so neer at hand. And whilst there was some rest from Arms, it was thought good because the payment of debts above-
said, had changed the owners and masters of many things, that there should be held a general Sessing of the citizens. But, when there was an assembly summoned for the chusing of Censors, *C. Martius Rutilus* professing himself to stand for a Censorship, even he that had been the first Dictator of the Commons, troubled the peace and unity of the States of the City. This he went about (as it seemed) in a very undue and unseasonable time. For, both Consuls were then of the Nobility, as it fell out, who gave it forth that they would not admit him to be a Competitor, nor propound his name at the Election. Howbeit, both he by earnest perseverance in his resolution obtained that which he went about: and also the Tribuns with all their might endeavouring to recover their right, which was lost in the Election of the Consuls, set to their helping hand. And as the countenance and Majesty of the man himself, seemed worthy of the highest type of honor: so the Commons were right willing, that by the same man who had opened the way unto the Dictatorship, the Censorship also should draw to that side, and be in part conferred upon them. Neither in the assembly was there any variance in the Suffrages, but that, together with *Manlius Navius*, *Martius* should be created Censor. This year likewise had a Dictator, *M. Fabius*, not for any fear of war, but because the Law *Licinia*, for the choice of Consuls, should not be revived and observed. The General of the Horsemen unto the Dictator was *Q. Servilius*. And yet for all the Dictatorship, the agreement of the Senators together, was in the Election of the Consuls

C. Martius Rutilus a Commoner, chosen one of the Censors.

A Consuls no more force then it was in the choosing of the Censors. For *Popilius Lenas* was Consul, of the Commons, and *L. Cornelius Scipio* of the Nobles. And the commoner Consul, by good fortune, proved more famous of the town. For when upon tidings brought that a mighty army of the Gauls were encamped in the Latine country, this Gauls war was laid extraordinary upon *Popilius*, because *Scipio* lay grievously sick. Who having soon levied an army, and commanded all the younger men, to meet him in their armour at *Mars* his Church, without the gate *Capena*, and that the Quæstors should bring thither the Standards and ensignes out of the *Atrium*. [City chamber] and after he had chosen out of them, fully four Legions, he delivered all the residue of souldiers unto *P. Valerius Publicola*, the Pretor, and moved the L. of the Senat to enroll another army to be in readines, against all uncertain occurrents of war, what need soever the City should have. And now himself being at all points thoroughly furnished, setting forward to meet the enemy. Whole power because he would know, before he had trial therof with the uttermost hazard, he began to cast a trench and raise a rampier upon the next hill unto the Gauls camp, that he could come unto. The Gauls, a fierce kind of people and by nature eager of fight, having discovered afar of the Roman ensignes, embattelled themselves forthwith, as ready to bid battle. But when they saw the Roman army not brought forth into the plain and even ground, but that they were strongly defended, not only by the height of the place, but also with a ditch and palisado, and supposing them to be smitten with fear, and the suter therefore to be assailed, for that they were at that instance busily occupied about their other fortifications, with an hideous noise and horrible shout, gave the charge upon them. The Romans gave over their work never the sooner (they were the Triarii of the rearward that made these fortifications) but the spearmen or javelottiers of the vanguard, and the *Principes* of the middle ward, who stood ready armed in guard for the defence of the pioneers, made head and received them with fight. Besides their valour, the higher ground was their vantage: so as all their darts and spears light not in vain (as commonly they do that are flung and lanced on level ground) but stuck all fast as being poised with their own weight: so that the Gauls being surcharged with darts either sticking through their bodies, or fast set in their shields, and so weighing them down; having also run themselves upon the hill, first, as doubtful what to do, made stay afterwards, when protracting of time had discouraged themselves, and encouraged their enemies, they were driven back and fell one upon another, and in that confusion made greater havock and worse, then the slaughter was by the enemy: and crushed they were to death, more in that crowd and thrust, then were slain by sword. Yet were not the Romans sure of victory: for when they were come down into the plain, there was a new piece of work to begin, and a fresh trouble behind. For the Gauls, by reason of their number, little feeling such a losse (as if a new army had started up in fight, out of the ground) stirred up their fresh souldiers and untold, against the enemy in his victory. Whereupon the Romans made a stand and staid their eagerneite: both because they being already wearied, were to abide a new conflict; and all for that the Consul, whiles he laid about him with the formost, without regard of his own person, was wounded well neer the left shoulder with a pike, and thereupon for a while was departed out of the battell. By occasion of which lingring, the victory had like to have been lost again: but that the Consul when his wounds were dressed and bound up, came back again with speed to the formost ensignes, and said: Why stand you still first, ye have not to deal now, with the Latins or Sabins your enemies, whom after ye have conquered by the sword, ye may make of enemies friends and confederats: but upon very savage beasts we have dravn sword. Either we must have their blood, or they ours. From the camp ye have driven them back: chased ye have them headlong down the hill side: over the bodies of enemies lying along, now ye stand: fill the plain also with their dead carcases, as ye have done the hills already: and never look that they will lie, so long as ye stand still. You must advance your ensignes, and charge the enemy afresh. With these exhortations they fell to it the second time, and forced the former ranks and files of the Gauls to lose ground: and then with pointed close battallions of footmen, they brake through in to the heart of the main battell. Whereupon the barbarous people being disarrayed, such as had neither certain directions to follow, nor Captains to command, turned their force upon their fellows, were scattered here and there about the plains, fled in this pursuit beyond their tents, and made toward the fort of *Alba*: which among many hills that stood of even height, they espied mounting above the rest. The Col. followed the chase no farther than their camp: both because his hurt made himself unviellie, and also for that he was unwilling to put his tired army to a new labour, considering the enemy had gained the hills tops, and so rested from farther pursuit. And when he had given the whole pillage of the camp to his souldiers, he brought back to *Rome* his army with victory, and enriched with the spoils of the Gauls. The Consul his wound staid his triumph, which was a cause also that the Senat wished and longed for a Dictator, to hold the assembly for the Election of Consuls, whiles the other were sick.

G *L. Furius Camillus* being chosen Dictator, had joynd unto him *P. Cornelius Scipio* for his General of the horsemen. He restored again to the Senators their ancient possessing of the Consulship: and for this good turn, was himself with exceeding affection of them all, created Consul. And for his companion he chose unto him *App. Claudius Crassus*. But before the new Consuls entered unto their office, *Popilius* with great love and favour of the Commons triumphed over the Gauls: who mumbling and muttering among themselves, would often ask one another, whether there were any repented of a Commoner Consul: rating withall at the Dictator, who despising the

Mr. Popilius Lenas, the Consul exhorteth his souldiers to fight.

Popilius a Commoner triumpheth

the law *Licinia*, had got for his reward a Consulship; which was more shamefull and infamous, in regard of his privat seeking for it, for being Dictator he had made himself Consul; then for any publick harm and injury. This year for many and faulty troubles was very famous. The Gauls from the Alban woods for that they were not able then to endure the cold of winter) ranged all over the Champion and sea-coasts, and wasted the country. The sea likewise were dangerous by reason of the Greeks navy. Also all the tract along *Adriam*, and the river of *Laurentium*, even to the very mouth of *Tyber*. So as the rovers and men of war by sea, and the land robbers of the French, met both together, and struck once for all a dangerous battell; and then departed sundry, the French unto their standing camp, the Greeks back unto their ships: both doubtfull, whether they had won or lost. Amid these troubles, the greatest fear by far, arose from this, that the Latine Nation held certain Diete and Councils at the grove of *Feronia*; and when the Romans demanded soldiers from them, that answer was made, That they must no more think to command them whole aid they stood need of. And as for the Latins, they were resolved rather to bear arms in defence of their own liberty, then fight for the maintenance of the dominions of strangers. The Senat being grieved and perplexed as well for these two forrain wars, as also for the revolt of their confederats, seeing no other way, but to keep them in by fear, whom loyalty would not restrain, commanded their Consul in their mustring, to extend and strain to the utmost the whole strength of the State: for now that their Allies failed them, they were to trust upon their City forces only. From all parts therefore, the youth as well without in the country, as within the City were taken up, and ten legions (as men say) were enrolled of soldiers, amounting to 4200. foot and 300. horse in a legion. Which puissant army, if now at this day any forrain wars were toward, these mighty forces of the people of *Rome*, which the whole world is hardly able to contain, if they were united and brought into one together, would not easily make again: so great are we grown in wealth only and superfluous delights, to which we strive and apply our minds.

Among other heavy occurrents of that year, *Ap. Claudius* one of the Consuls, in the very preparation of the wars, departed this life. Whereupon the whole government was devolved upon *Camilus*. To which sole Consul, either for his quality and worth, or else otherwise (not meet to be controlled by the absolut command of a Dictator) or for the lucky preface of his name to fortune in all the tumultuous wars of the Gauls, the Lords of the Senat thought it not decent and convenient that there should be a Dictator adjoynd. The Consul having ordeined and appointed two legions for defence of the City, and parted the other eight with the Pretor *L. Pinarius*, bearing in mind his fathers valour and manhood, undertook the Gauls war himself, without casting lots therefore: commanding the Pretor to keep the sea-coasts, and to put the Greeks back from landing on the shore. He went himself down into the country of *Penoptinum*, and because he was not willing to give battell in the champion, unfenced therunto; and thought the enemy might be wearied out well enough by keeping him short, for foraging and fetching in booties, who of necessity was driven to live of prey, chose a convenient place for a standing camp. Where, as they passed the time quietly in their wards, as a settled Garrison: there cometh forth a mighty Gaul in person tall and big, for armour brave and glorious: who clattering his shield and spear together, and thereby making silence, gave defiance and challenged by his interpreter the Romans to a combat, man to man. There was one *M. Valerius* a Colonel of footmen, and a very young man, who thinking himself nothing less worthy of that honour than *T. Manlius*, having first known the Consul his pleasure, advanced himself forth apart from the rest, armed at all points. But this conflict (as touching the prowess of the men) was less notable than the other, by reason that the hand of God came between & took a part. For as the Roman was ready to joyn and cope, behold suddenly a raven seiled upon the crest his of imbrion, even full in the face of his enemy. Which at the very first, the Colonel took joyfully as a token of good luck sent from heaven. Afterwards he praised devoutly, that the God or goddesse whosoever, that sent unto him from above that augural fowl, to preface and forefigure the future event, would be favourable and gracious unto him. And so, (a wonder to be spoken) the bird not only held the place still, which it first light upon, but also, as often as the champions buckled and closed together, mounting up with the wings made at the eyes and the face of the enemy, with beak and claws both, so long, until *Valerius* killen him. For the Gaul being affrighted at this so strange & wondrous a sight, both his eyes dazzled, and his mind was mightily troubled. Then the raven took his rise, flew on high quite out of sight towards the East. All the while the camp on both sides was quiet hitherto. But after that the Colonel began to rise and disarme the Body of the main enemy, neither could the French keep themselves within their Stations, nor the Romans contain, but run with more speed unto their Conquerour champion. And so about the bodie of the Gaul that lay along dead, began some skirmish, and thereof grew a sharp and cruell battell: for now not only the companies of the next quarters, and *corps de guard*, but also the whole legions on both sides, came a broad and fought. *Camilus* commanded the soldiers, joyous for the victory of the Colonel, joyous also for the gods, so favourable and ready to help, for to go to battell: and shewing very often unto them the Colonel, set out bravely and enriched with the spoiles of his enemy. Follow this brave gentleman, good soldiers (quoth he) and about the dead champion of the Gauls killed their whole troops, and lay them along. In this fight appeared the help of God and man evidently: and they fought it out with the Gauls, and had no doubtfull conflict: both armies

The combat
between a
Gaul and *Valerius* surnamed
thereupon
Corvinus.

A armies had so conceived and deeply imprinted before hand in their mind the future event of these two souldiers that had long been together. Between the foremost, whose concourse had failed others, there was a sharp conflict: but the rest of the multitude, turned back before they came to the volley of darts. And first they were scattered along the Volscian and Falern countries: but afterwards they took their wates toward *Ardea* and the lower Adriatick sea.

The Consul having assembled the souldiers to an audience, solemnly before them all, commended the Colonel, and rewarded him with ten oxen and a coronet of gold. Him self, by direction from the Senat, to attend the war by sea, joynd camp with the Preter. And there, because through the cowardise of the Greeks that would not come into the field, the war was like to be long and lingering, he nominated, by the authority of the Senat, *T. Manlius Torquatus* for the Dictator, to hold the Election of Consuls. The Dictator having named for his General of horsemen, *A. Cornelius Cossus*, held the Election, and with exceeding favour of the people, declared for Consul one like himself, and raising the steps of his own virtue and glory, *M. Valerius Corvinus* (for that was his surname afterwards) in his absence, a young man, say, three and twenty years old. *T. Corvinus* was so joynd companion in government a Commoner, *M. Papius Lentus* the fourth time. *Camillus* performed no memorable exploit with the Greeks: for neither were the Greeks good souldiers on land, nor the Romans at sea. At the last being kept from landing, and failing, besides other necessities, of fresh water, they left *Ardea*. Of what people, or of what nation in Greece this fleet consisted, is not certainly known. I would think verily, that they were the Tyrrants or potentates of Sicily, more all other. For all Greece beyond them, at that time wearied and toiled out with civil wars, much feared the greatness of the Macedonians. After the armies were discharged, and that both abroad there was peace, as also at home quietnesse, through the unity of the States: lest they should be grieved with too much joy, behold a pestilence arose in the City and constrained the Senat to command the Decemvirs, to overlook the books of *Sylla*, and by direction thereof, was a *Lex Julia* celebrated. The same year there was a Colony drawn out of the Aotians, to people *Saturnum*, and the town was repaired for them, which the Latins had destroyed. Also there was at *Rome* a league concluded with the Carthaginian Embassadors, who came of purpose to sue for society and unity. The same year continued full both at home and abroad, when *T. Manlius Torquatus*, and *C. Plautius* the second time were Consuls. The bury which was before after one, in the hundred, became now but half so much. The payment of debts was dispensed & ordered into three years by even portions, so as a fourth part should be paid out of hand. And albeit some of the Commons (for all that) were pinched therewith, yet the Senat had more regard to see credit kept with the chamber of the City, then of the difficulties of private persons. The greatest matters were well eased, in that they forbore to collect the tribute and to

The third year after that *Saturnum* was recified by the Volscians, *M. Valerius Corvinus* the second time Consul with *C. Postumius*, upon news of *Latinum*, that Embassadors from *Antium* went about to the nations of the Latins, soliciting them to rise up in arms, was commanded to make war upon the Volscians, before the enemies forces were greater: who put himself on his Journey with a fierce army toward *Saturnum*. Whether when as the Aotians and other Volscians were come to meet him, with a power provided beforehand, against any preparations from *Rome*, presently without any stay they joynd battel, as being through a deep hatred and long hatred, maliciously bent one against the other. The Volscians, a nation more hasty to rebel, than hardy to fight, being defeated in a battel, fled swiftly and highted space to put themselves within the wals of *Saturnum*. But when the wals were not able to save them, for that the town being environed and invested round with souldiers, was ready to be taken by scaling, there were upon 4000. of them, besides the common sort not meet for service, that yielded themselves. The town was rased down and burnt, only they spared the firing of *Mars* church. And the whole Luggage and spoil was bestowed upon the souldiers. But there were not comprised within this booty, the 4000 that yielded. Those the Consul in his triumph caused to be led bound before his chariot: and after that sold them, & brought a round sum of money into the treasury. Some write, that this number of captives, were bondslaves. And that is more like to be true, than that they should be sold, who yielded themselves. After this followed Consuls, *M. Fabius Dorsuo*, and *Servius Sulpicius Camerinus*. Then began the Auruncan war upon a sudden invasion that they made. And for fear lest the action of that one State and City, had been the resolution of the whole Latine nation and by their maintenance, there was created Dictator (as if it had been against all *Latins* already up in arms) *L. Furius Camillus*: who chose for his General of horsemen, *Cn. Manlius Capitolinus*. And (as the use had been in time of great troubles and sudden tumults) he mustered without any respect of immunity and Exemption, and therewith proclaimed a Cessation of all courts of law: and the legions with all speed possible were led against the Auruncans, where they found, that they carried the mind of plunderers rather then of warriors. So that in the first battel, that war was dispatched. Howbeit the Dictator, because they not only made the quarrel and warred first but also offered fight without any drawing back, supposing there were some need of Gods help withall from heaven, had vowed a temple to *Juno Moneta*: and after he had obtained that he vowed for and thereby was charged to perform his vow, so soon as he was returned home to *Rome* with victory, gave up his Dictatorship. The Senat commanded two officers called Duumvirs to be created for the edifying of that temple, according to the magnificence of the people of *Rome*. The place was appointed and set out on the

The temple of *Juno Moneta*.

[Capitoll]

[Capitol] hill, even the very plot of ground, where sometime before stood the dwelling house of *M. Manlius Capitolinus*. The Consul having imploied the Dictator his army in the Volscian war, surprised at unwarre, the town *Sora* out of the enemies hands. The Temple of *Minerva* was dedicated the year after it had been vowed, when *C. Marcius Rutilius* the third time, and *T. Manlius Torquatus* the second time, were Consuls. Immediately upon the dedication of that church, there ensued a strange wonder, like unto that old marvel of the hill *Albanus*: For it rained stones, and in the day time it seemed to be dark night. And the books of *Sibylla* being perused (for that the City now was mightily given to superstition) the Senat ordered, that there should be a Dictator named for the ordering of certain feasts and holy duties. So *P. Valerius Publicola* was chosen, and with him, *Q. Fabius Ambustus* Generall of the horimen. Order was given, that not only the Tribes should go in solemn procession with their prayers and Litanies, but also the nations that bordered upon them: with a precise direction unto them, upon what daies every one shall make supplication. That year (as it is reported) there passed heavy judgments and the Sentences of the people against the Vitrers, with whom the *Ediles* had commenced suit. And without any notable cause to be remembered, they grew to an Interrein. Upon which that something might be thought thereby done, both Consuls were made of the Nobles, *M. Valerius Corvinus* the third time, and *A. Cornelius Cosus*.

The beginning of the Samnit war.

* *Abruzzo* and the Duchie of *Benevento*, as far as *Naples*.
* The Inhabitants of *Sidicium*, otherwise called *Turanum* or *Thraus*.

* *Monte di Capua*.

The Embassadors of the Campanians in the Senat at Rome.

Now from hence-forth will we treat of greater wars, both for the puissance of the enemies, and also for their far distance: as well for their spacious countries they inhabited, as long tract of time that they continued. For this year began the Romans to bear arms against the Samnits, a nation powerful in wealth, and valiant in field. After which war, fought on both sides with alternate fortune, there succeeded *Pyrrhus* their enemy, and after *Pyrrhus* the Carthaginians. To see (good Lord) the wonderfull stirs and troubles, and how often the Romans fell into extremities of perils, that their Dominion and Empire might arise unto this greatness and high state, which hath much ado to hold its own, and stand maintained. But the cause of the Romans war with the *Samnits, being in society and amity linked together, arose first from others, and not upon any quarrel between themselves. At what time as the Samnits warred unjustly (as being more mighty) upon the *Sidicins: they as the weaker and forced to flee for succour unto the richer, banded with the Campanians. Who bringing with them a greater name, than power (in deed) to aid and assist their Allies, & flowing in riot and superfluous delights, hapned in the country of the Sidicins to be foiled & defeated by the other, who had been injured and hardened by continual use of arms: and so afterwards drew upon their own heads, the whole violence and poise of the wars. For the Samnits letting the Sidicins alone, went to the head, and set upon the Campanians, as it were the very fortress and castle of defence for all the borderers. For we they wist that there they might win victory as easily: but riches & honour at their hands they were to achieve much more. And when they had gained and held with a strong garrison, the hill called **Tifata*, that were adjoining, and commanded the City *Capua*. From thence they descended with a four-square ranged battell into the plain that lyeth between *Capua* and *Tifata*: where a second field was fought: In which the Campanians had the overthrow, and were beaten within their walls. Having therefore no hope near hand, and seeing the strength of their youth greatly decayed, they were constrained to seek for aid of the Romans. Whose Embassadors being admitted into the Senat, and having audience given them, spake much what to this effect. "The people of *Capua*, most noble Senators, hath sent us in
"ambassy unto you, to crave at your hands friendship for ever, and succour for the present. Which
"amity if we had requested in our prosperity, well might it sooner have begun, but knit had it been
"with a weaker bond and not so durable. For then, remembering our selves to have entred league
"and society on even ground, and in equal estate with you: friends haply we should have been as
"we now are, but bounden and devoted unto you, we had never been. But now, in case by your
"commiseration and pity we be gained and won, and in our distresse, by your aid, helped and re-
"lieved; we must needs affectionately embrace a benefit from you received, unless we would be
"thought unthankfull wretches, and unworthy of any help either of God or man. And albeit the
"Samnits, have been before us intainted in friendship and confederacy, yet we think that no
"sufficient bar, but that we may also be received into the same. Only thus much it ought to make
"for them, as to be preferred before us in antiquity of time, and degree of honour. For in that
"alliance between you and the Samnits, there is no expresse clause, no caveat or proviso contained,
"against the making of any new confederacie. And surely, alwaies heretofore ye have thought
"it cause good enough of your friendship, if the party who sought the same, were but willing
"and desirous to be your friend. We Campanians (albeit our present condition suffereth us not
"to speak magnificently) giving place to no nation but your selves, either for the stately port of
"our City, or goodnesse, and fruitfulness, of our soil, in entring into your acquaintance, shall
"not a little, I suppose increase and better your good estate. And first for the *Equians* and
"Volscians, those eternall and perpetuall enemies of this City, they shall not so soon at any time
"stir and put out their heads, but we will be streight upon their jacks. And look what ye first
"shall find in your hearts to doe for our safety, the same will we alwaies do for your Empire
"and honour. And when those nations be once subdued that are between you and us (which your
"vertue and fortunate felicity, promitteth will be shortly) then shall your dominions reach all the
"way in a continued train, as unto us. A pitifull and lamentable case it is, that our present for-
"tune urgeth us to confesse: To this exigent and hard terms of extremity are we Campanians driven
"even (right honourable) that subject we must be, either to our friends or to our enemies. If ye
defend

defende. As yours will we be; for that we have not wise Samnites. Comply ye now therefore
 deliberately, whether ye had rather that the Samnites should be the Lords of Capua, should be annexed
 unto your power and state, or that to the Samnites they should be your mercy your favour. O Noble
 Romans, ought it not to seem to you to extend unto all men, but especially unto those who by yielding
 their rest and helping hand, even above their power, unto others, that explored and humbly
 belong to you, are not to be treated as if they were the least of men? And yet
 to lay the same words upon the new and unknown of war for the Sidicini; but in very deed
 and especially for our selves. For considering a Neighbour Nation, bordering even upon us, to be
 robbed and spoiled most wrongfully by the Samnites; we well foresaw, that when the Sidicini
 were once let a burning, the same fire would have been kindled in our hearts. For now are not
 the Samnites come to us, as if they were to us, as if they were to us, as if they were to us, as if they were to us,
 they have sent of Quakers, offered and presented unto them. For if it had been but a revealed
 only of anger upon some pretended wrong, and not when and occasion, to satisfy their greedy
 appetite; and it not been enough for them, that they had possessed and put to the sword our
 Legions, once in the Samnitiene country, and a second time in Campania, and our own territory;
 what a cankered and a morrant malice is this which bloodied and massacred in two battles can
 not suffice in its rage, to make the walls of our cities, the driving away of bottles, as well of
 it people as cattle, the burning of villages, the ruin of the houses, the making of every place no
 thing but fire and sword. Could not their rage and wrath have been satisfied with all this? But it
 is their greedy and insatiable covetousness, and nothing else that must be filled. That is it which
 carrieth them, that hath led drageeth them to the assault of Capua. At it then were, when that
 most goodly and beautiful City will they either destroy, or be all thereof themselves. But may
 it please you Romans, to gain it more by your own benefit and good desire, rather than suffer
 them to lie upon it, by wrong and mischief. I speak not this before a people that ought to make
 it strange and goodly to undertake any fight and just war, if ye but shew a copy of your coun-
 tenance, as if ye would aid and succour us, I suppose ye shall have no need at all of further
 war. The Samnites overweening of themselves and contempt of others, reacheth to us only,
 further it proceedeth not. So that under the very shadow of your assistance, O Romans, we
 may be fully covered and protected. And whatsoever we shall hereafter suffer thereby, what-
 soever we shall be of our selves (even as much as we are worth) ready are we to acknowledge it
 to all yours. For your sake shall the Campanian ground be filled, for your benefit shall the City
 be fortified unto and frequented; and accounted shall we be of us, no less than founders. But
 ye, ye, and as the minor all gods. There shall be a borough or Colony of yours, that
 shall be beyond us in obsequious duty towards you. Do but afford unto us Campanians, O
 Noble Senators, a token of your gracious condescension, yield us your invincible name as a
 powerful deity, and bid us hope assuredly, that Capua shall remaine still and continue in safe-
 ty. What a number think ye of all sorts and degrees of people, followed and accompanied
 us, when we came from thence? How left we all places filled with their vows, their prayers
 and tears? In what expectation now, do the Senat and of people Capua, but wives and chil-
 dren, and our return? Assured I am, that the whole multitude stand about the gates looking
 toward the high post-way that leadeth from thence thither, waiting to know what news
 becoming what answer, my LL. your pleasure is that we should report back from you unto them,
 to carefull, to heavy, to perplexed. One word presenteth unto them safety, victory, life and
 liberty: the other, I dread to preface what it may import. Wherefore to conclude, determine of
 us, either as of them that shall and will be, your confederates and faithful Allies; or else such
 as must be worse than nothing. After that the Ambassadors were withdrawn aside, and the Se-
 nat fell to counsel: although good part of them were of opinion that the greatest and weakest
 City of all Italy, the most plentiful country and near to the sea, might be as it were the garner
 and storehouse, whatsoever variable changes of corn and victuals might happen: yet they let
 more by keeping their faith and promise, than of that great commodity that might accrue unto
 them; and thus by direction of the Senat made the Consul answer. The Senat judgeth you O
 Campanians worthy of aid; but meet it is that we entertain your amity, so, as a more ancient so-
 ciety and friendship be not thereby violat and broken. The Samnites are in league, and confede-
 rat with us. We must needs therefore debar you from making that war against the Samnites,
 which should sooner dishonour the gods than hurt and wrong men. Howbeit, as equity and
 reason both require, we will to our Allies and friends send our Ambassadors, to intreat them to
 offer no violence unto you. To this answer the chief man of the Embassage (according as he had
 commission from home) replied and said. For as much as ye are not willing to defend our right
 and cause, by just and lawful power against violence and injury: your own selves, I am sure ye
 will maintain. Therefore my LL. of the Senat, here we yield up in your hands, and to the
 G Signory of the people of Rome, the whole Nation of the Capuans, the City Capua, our lands and
 possessions, the sacred temples of the gods, and all things whatsoever holy and profane. And what-
 soever from henceforth we shall suffer and abide, we will submit as if your liege men and subjects,
 wholly devoted as vassals unto you. At which words they all held up their hands unto the Con-
 sul, in tears plentifully, and fell down upon their knees to the very entry of the Council
 house. The Senat moved with consideration of the changeable course and turn of human for-
 tune, in the world, to see so great and mighty a people of puissance, so pompous for superflu-

The Citizens
 of Capua surren-
 der to the Ro-
 mans their Ci-
 ty and territor-
 y.

ous abundance and magnificence (at whose hands but a while before, the nations bordering had craved and begged their aid) to carry with them now to give and broken pearls, as if their own accords, to submit themselves as they had in the whole world, to the power and domination of others: were persuaded now it was a matter of truth and fatalistic, not to be shaken and be betrayed, those that thus were reduced under their protection. Neither thought they, that the people of *Samnium* could in any equity or colour of justice, invade that land or assault that City, which was surrendered and imposed in the imperial State of *Rome*. Whereupon presently they agreed to dispatch Embassadors unto the *Samnites*, who had incharges and commission to make declaration unto them: First, of the *Campaigns* petition; secondly, of the answer of the *Senat* returned unto them, implying the remembrance of the *Samnites* treaty: In all, of the *Campaigns* surrender. Then to request and desire them in regard of their mutual society and friendship, to spare and forbear those, that were their vassals, and not with any hostility to invade that territory, which was become subject to the people of *Rome*. If by this courteous dealing they could do no good, then, to command the *Samnites* in the name of the people and *Senat* of *Rome*, to abstain from the *Clay Camp* and the country of the *Campaigns*. When these Embassadors debated these matters in the Council House of the *Samnites*, they returned to front and arrogant answer again, not in these terms only, that they would go forward in the war begun; but (that which more was) the soldiers coming forth of their Council House, even whilst the Embassadors there stood, called to the captains of the cohorts, and with a loud voice commanded them forthwith to make a rode into the *Campaign* country, for to spoil and fetch booties. This Embassage being returned home again to *Rome*, the *Samnites* setting aside the care of all other matters, sent their heralds to demand restitution; and for default thereof, after the solemn manner so proclaim open war. Whereupon they decreed with all speed possible to propound this matter to the people; and by the consent of the people, both *Consul*, with two armies departed the City *Valerius* into *Campaign*, *Corvinus* into *Samnium*; and pitched their tents, *Valerius* at the foot of the hill *Gaurus*, and the other at *Saricula*. The *Samnite* legions protected themselves first to *Valerius* (for that way they supposed all the forces would be bent) for indignation also against the *Campaigns* because they were to ready one while with their own incoors, & another while in sending for the aid of others against them. And so soon as they discovered the *Roman* camp, in all hast (every one for his part) called loudly to their captains for to strike up and sound the battell: assuring themselves, and laying plainly, that the *Romans* should speed as well in incurring the *Campaigns*, as the *Campaigns* had done before them in doing the *Sidicins*. *Valerius*, after he had smiled the speeches not many daies together, with some light skirmishes, only to make trial of them what they could do, put forth the signall of battell at the last, but first exhorted his souldiers in a short speech in this wise, "That neither this new war nor new enemy should terrifie them; for as much as the fathers they warred from the City, the more cowardly Nations they were and less would still in whom they went. That they should not esteem the valour of the *Samnites* by the late losses & defeats of the *Sidicins* or *Campaigns*: For whatsoever they be that contend & fight together, one side or other cannot chuse, but go to the wals. The *Campaigns*, doubtless, had the overthrow; rather through their own effeminate tenderness, as flowing too much in excess and impetuosity of pleasures, than by their enemies hardiness and valour. And what were two only fortune battels of the *Samnites*, in so many ages to be set against so many honourable victories of the people of *Rome*? Who, from the first foundation of their City, may number more Triumphs well near than years: who have by war subdued all Nations about them, the *Sabines*, *Hetrurians*, the *Larins*, *Hernicks*, *Equians*, *Volscians*, and *Auruncans*. And as they ought to go into the field, every man presuming & trusting upon his own manhood and glorious warfare: so should they have an eye, and consider, under whose leading and regiment they were to enter into battell. Whether he were a man that in the hearing of his souldiers, could only make goodly and magnificent Orations, fierce in brave words, void of Military works: or he who himself knew how to handle his weapon, to advance before the standards, yet, and to be employed even in the middle of all the battell. I would have you (quoth he) my souldiers, to follow my deeds and not my words, and of me to learn, not only discipline, but also good example. I have not by bribing and flattery, nor yet by courting and Orations (usual matters among Noblemen) but by this right hand of mine, attained unto three Consulships, and to the highest honour. The time had been indeed, when a man might have said thus unto me: No marvel, For why? You were a gentleman of noble blood, descended from those that were the deliverers of their country: & in the same year, that the City had first a Consul, this house of yours had the Consulship. But now the case is altered, the way unto a Consulship, is as open to you Commoners, as to us of the Nobility. Now is it not the guerdon of birth and gentry, as aforesaid: but the reward and recompence of virtue and valour. And therefore my souldiers, shoot at the highest dignities, and aim at sovereign honour. And although ye that are men, have by the grace and approbation of the gods, given unto me this new addition of surname (*Corvinus*), yet have not I forgot the ancient name of the *Publiculus*, appropriat unto our family. I love and ever will (as alwayes I have done) the Commons of *Rome*, at all times alike both abroad in wars, and also at home in peace, as well a private person, as in my offices, were they little, or were they much: whilst I was Tribune, whilst I was Consul, and no changing have I been throughout all my Consulships, one after another. Now for this present enterprise which we are about with the help of God, & in his name, have a call with me

Defiance given by the Romans to the Samnites

A coat of arms of purple or scarlet colour hanging forth at the General his pavilion. The exhortation of Valerius Corvinus to his souldiers.

A ¹ me for a new and fresh Trough out the Samnites. Never was there a General more familiar with his soldiers: as willing as the master of them, to lay his hand upon any base offices that that were to be done: yea, and in the very training and exercises of the soldiers, at what time as equally by matters of shame, and strength, one with another, gently would be otherwhiles take the lead, as well as the victory, and each from one consequence still: not rejecting or setting any one whatsoever would seem to mock him, or be his mate. For deed, designs and bouy to make him more, and as occasion required: in his words, so little mindfull of the freedom of others: than respective of his own place and dignity, and (then which there is nothing more popular) look on what vestment dimesnour & carriage of himself, he sought to attend unto honours and promotions with the same he bare them and went through with them. Therefore the whole army with incredible cheerfulness accepting this exhortation of their Captain, lifted forth of the camp into the field. Never was there buttal fought more indifferently on both sides. Their hope was like, their forces equal: with full trust and confidence in themselves, and yet without contempt of their enemies. The Samnites, for to what their courage presumed upon their fresh and late achieved age, and their double victory but few days before. The Romans on the contrary side, stood upon their honour and reputation for the space of four hundred years, and their conquests every since the foundation of their City. Yet they were troubled both the one and the other, to deal with a new and unknown enemy. The manner of their fight showed what skirmishes they carried. For the Romans were more for a good while they stood on neither part in cold one foot.

The familiarity of *Corvinus* with his soldiers, and his other good parts,

C Then the Consul, seeing they could not by more force be caused to retreat, thought to let a sudden fear among them: and therefore allowing by leading in the footmen upon the foremost ensignes, to break their ranks, and put them in disorder. But when he saw, that in so small room of ground they tolled themselves in vain, and could not well manage their troops and comets, nor break in upon the enemies, he rode back again to the van and forefront of the Legions, and dismounted from his back. "What are footmen (quoth he) when all is done, must do the deed I see well. Come on then, and as ye behold me (which way faster I go) by dint of sword to make a way and entrance into the enemies battell: so every man for himself, down with him that stands next in his way. Straightwayes shall ye see, that where as now there is a great and strong stand glittering and bent upon us, there will be a wide lane made over their slain carcasses. The had not to loon spoken these words, but the footmen at the Consuls commandment, ran upon both the wings and points, and made way for the footmen to enter the main battell. First and foremost the Consul in person charged the enemy, and whomever he happened to encounter, him he killed in the place. This goodly sight set the rest on fire: and then every man did his best, laid about him manfully and carried it afore him right worthily. The Samnites stood to it still and moved not, albeit they got more knocks and wounds then they gave. Thus when the fight had continued a good while, notwithstanding much bloody slaughter about the Samnites ensignes: yet no flying was there on any side: so resolute were they, by death only to be vanquished. Whereupon the Romans feeling their own strength for weariness decayed and spent, and but little day left, inflamed with anger, gave a fresh charge, all at once upon the enemies. Then (and not before) began they to shrink and give ground, and ending to flight: Then were the Samnites taken prisoners and slain in great numbers. Few or none had escaped alive, but that the night came to fall upon them, that interrupted the victory, rather then ended the battell. Both the Romans themselves confessed, they never fought with a more stubborn and obstinate enemy: and the Samnites also being demanded the primitive cause, which forced them (so fully bent as they were) to run away at the last, said, that the Romans seemed to have burning fire in their eyes, and to carry in their faces and villages the furious rage of mad and frantic persons: and thereat first began they to be affrighted, more then at any thing else. When fearfulness of them, they bewailed not only by the present event of the battell, but also by their dislodging and departure away in the night. The morning after the Romans were masters of their empty and naked camp: unto which all the whole multitude of the Campanians came running in number to rejoice and congratulate their victory.

A cruel battle between the Romans and Samnites,

and of the victory of the Romans.

E But this joy had like to have been fully diminished with an overthrow and defeat in Samnites. For *Corvinus* the Consul being departed from *Samnites*, had engaged his army unwisely with in a forest, through which went an hollow valley or lawn, for and on both sides with an ambush: neither discovered he his enemies over his head, before such time as he could not retire with his ensignes into a place of safe retreat. But while the Samnites stood only until he had brought his army fully down into the bottom of the vale, *P. Decius*, a Colonell of footmen, espied in the forefront one little high hill, which commanded the place where the enemies lay encamped: and as it was for an army heavily armed, and charged with carriage, hard to be got up unto: so for them that were lightly appointed and burdened, nothing difficult. He perceiving the Consul troubled in mind and affrighted, See you not (quoth he) *O Antonius Cornelian* yonder hilltop above the enemy? That is the very fortress of our hope and safety, so be that we can give the same lustily, as the Samnites have left it blindly. I require no more of you, but to let me have the *Principes* and best men of one only Legion. And when with them I have once seized the top thereof, let forward you from hence and fear not, neither make doubt to save your self and the army. For the enemy being under us, and lying open to all our shot, cannot stir without great loss and present mischief. As for us, either the fortune of the people of *Rome*, or our own manhood shall work out.

The policy and valour of *P. Decius*.

disfinit ad l
dignosd hvy
-lud ad dhw
dhw bhw
bhw dhw
dhw

P. Decius to his
under cap-
tains,

And now A
now dhw
dhw dhw
dhw dhw

P. Decius to his
soldiers,

our evasion. Being commended by the Consul, and having received that troop and guard which he demanded, he marched close through the woody part, and was not detected by the enemy before he approached the place that he went to get. And whilst they were united there, and woodred, and wholly turned their eyes to him, he both gained the Consul some time to withdraw his army into a more convenient and open ground, and possessed himself of the hill (top) and there rested. The Samnites, whilst they saw their engines to be so, (as men that lost the advantage of both sides) could neither make after the Consul, but through the same valley, whereas a while before they had him under their foot, nor yet erect their standards, and march up the hill, which Decius over them had already gained. But being more angry with those, that should have disappointed them of the fair means they had of a brave exploit, and considering within the necessity of the place, and their small number which were left behind, they were one while of mind to go upon the hill round with armed men, and to keep Decius from the Consul; another while, to make them way, that when they were come down into the valley, they might set upon them. Thus whilst they were in doubt what to do, the night overtook them. Decius at the first, was in good hope to fight with them from the higher ground, as they ascended up against the hill; but afterwards he marvelled much, that they neither began to charge upon him, nor yet when they were disappointed and put by that way, sought an advantage of the ground, fortified themselves with trench and rampier, and other proper works. Then calling the Centurions unto him, who were unskilful in the use of the sword, or in any other service, with some back-bone and stout heart, and now got the victory of the Samnites and Campanians. To see their engines waving hither and thither: one while huddled they are in one together, another while advanced and dispersed at length. As for munitions and fortifications, no man began to any; and by this time we might have been enriched round about. But if we stay any longer then for our victory, we might be counted lazy like those, that on the coast with spears, that whilst day light serves, we may see in what places they quarter their guards, and what way we may get from hence and escape. All this while he to climb and discover himself in person, clad in a common soldiers jacket, leading with him the other captains in the habit of their soldiers; to the end that the enemies might not take mark of the General himself, how he went about to view them. After this, when he had disposed the tenters, and *corps de garde*, to all the rest he commanded a watchword to be given, that when the trumpet sounded the second watch, they should come all unto him armed, and make no noise at all. When they were further assembled with silence, as he had commanded, "This silence my fellow soldiers (quoth he) must ye keep whilst ye hear me speak, and forbear all giving silent by uttering your voices as soldiers are to do. When I shall have delivered my mind to you, let as many as like thereof, go softly on the right hand, and not speak a word: and look what side is greater, that count shall stand and take place. And now listen what my counsel is, and what I would have done. The enemy hath not invested you here, so men either had away for fear, or lagging behind for sloth and idleness. The place have ye won by manhood: by manhood must ye from thence escape. In coming hither, ye have already saved a brave army of the people of *Rome*: and now by breaking out from hence, save your own selves. Worthy you are that being but a few, have incouraged many, ye should not stand in need your selves of any man's help. With that enemy ye have to deal, who yesterday through their senseless sloth, over-dipped their happy opportunity to defeat our whole army: who were so blind, that they saw not this hill of great importance even over their heads, before it was by us gained: who being so many thousands, could neither debar us from climbing up, as few as we were, nor when we had got the place, compass us about with a trench, having so much day as they had. These enemies, whom ye have thus deluded & beguiled, whilst they were awake, and had their eyes light, ye are to deceive when they are fast asleep, nay, you must do so indeed, there is no other remedy. For at that pass we are now, that I am rather to shew you, in what terms of extremity ye stand, then to advise you to the execution of any good counsel. It is no consulting at this time whether ye should here stay, or depart hence; for that besides your weapons, and hearts setting up rest upon their weapons, fortune hath left you nothing at all. And die we must without doubt for hunger and thirst, if we dread the swords point more than befuteth hardy men, and valorous Romans. One way there is therefore, and but one way of safety, even to make a brave fall through and away. This must we do, either by day or by night. And that doubt is soon cleared. If we look for the morrow day, what hope have we, but that the enemy will call a ditch and bank even round about us: who already as ye see lying under this little rising, have compassed it with their very bodies. Now, if so be that the night be a convenient and favourable time for irruptions and sallies, as it truly is: then, this hour of the night certainly, is of all other the fittest. At the second watches sound ye are come hither, at which time all men are in their most sound and dead sleep. Amid their bodies being fast asleep, shall ye go. Either by silence deceive them unawares, or if they perceive you, alight them with a sudden outcry. Do but follow me, as ye have done already, I will follow the same fortune that guided me hither. Now as many of you that think this good counsel, and a course like to speed well, make no more ado but pass on my right hand. So they all passed, and followed after Decius as he went through the quarters void of watchmen and warders. Now were they escaped the minds of the camp, when a soldier, as he clambered over the watchmens bodies, lying heavy asleep, chanced to stumble at a shield, which gave a sound again. Whereat the watchman being awakened, raised his next fellow

A low, and they being start up, call up other, not knowing whether they were enemies or fellows, whether the garrison of *Decius* on the hill was broken forth, or the Consul had surprised the camp. *Decius* then, seeing his souldiers could not passe clear and undeterred, commanded them to let up a shout. And therewith he amazed them with a new fright, who were already drowned in drowsiness, so as they could neither take weapons readily, nor make heed against them, nor yet pursue after them. Whiles the Samnites were thus amazed and in confusion, the Roman garrison had by this time slain the warders whom they met, & were marching towards the Consul his camp, as yet was somewhat of the night to come: but now they seemed to be safe, and past all danger. Then *Decius* on forward in this courage of yours, O hardy Romans; This your passage and return to and fro, all ages shall extoll and praise. But for the full sight and view of so great valour, we had need of broad day light: for ye deserve better, than that the still night should hide you in so glorious a return of yours into the camp. Let us here rest, and wait for day. His words were obeyed: and so soon as the day brake, he dispatched a messenger afore unto the Consul: and so with exceeding joy they made speed to the camp. And when it was known in the camp by the privy watchmen, that they who had put their lives in most dangerous hazard for the safety of them all, were themselves returned safe: then every one came forth to meet them as fast as they could, with praises and commendations, calling them both all & some, their saviours: praising the immortal gods, and giving thanks, yea, and extolling *Decius* to the skie. This was the triumph of *Decius* in the camp, as he marcheth through the midst thereof with his armed garrison, whiles every man cast his eyes upon him, and made him a Coronell, equal to the Consul in all kind of honour. When he was come to the *Proetorium*, the Consul by sound of trumpet, called all the army to an audience, and as he entered into a discourse of the deserved praises of *Decius*, *Decius* himself interrupteth him, and cutteth off his speech. Whereupon the Consul put off the Oration. *Decius* then perswadeth the Consul, to set aside all other things, and whiles the occasion and opportunity was offered, he urged him effectually, to give an alarm to the enemies, both while they were amazed with this scare by night, and also lay scattering about the hill, as it were in their severall iconces. Besides, he thought verily that some were sent out after him to make fresh suit, and wandered astray in the Forrest. So the Legions were commanded to arm, and being departed out of the camp, and by means of the espials better acquainted with the Forrest, they were conducted by a wider and more open way toward the enemy, whom suddenly they surprised & charged, unawares and unprovided as he was. And for as much as the Samnite souldiers were stragling abroad, and most unarmed, and could neither rally themselves and take arms, nor retire into their trench, they drave them at first with fear into their camp: after, whiles the guards about it were disordered and troubled, they were masters thereof also. The noise was heard all about the hill, and caused every man to flie out of his hold. So a great part of them took their heels before the enemy could come. But so many as for fear were driven within the trench (& those were some 30000) were all slain: and the camp rifled & spoiled. The Consul having achieved this exploit, called an assembly: and not only finished the praises of *Decius*, as he before began, but also amplified them with fresh commendation of this new service. And besides other military gifts, he rewarded him with a crown of gold, a hundred oxen, and one special white one, fat and fair above the rest with gilded horns. The souldiers who together with him held the hill aforesaid, had given unto them for ever after, a double proportion of corn, and for the present one ox a piece, and two single liveries. After the Consul his reward was bestowed, the Legionary souldiers themselves put upon *Decius* his head a wreath of green grass, in token of a delivery from siege, and with notable shouts and loud cries approved this gift. Another chaplet or garland, also, in token of like honour, did his own band and company set upon him. And thus being adorned with these ornaments of honour, he sacrificed that chosen white ox unto *Mars*; and bestowed his hundred oxen among those his souldiers, who had accompanied him in that exploit and service. To the same souldiers the legions gave a pound measure of wheat meal, and a sextar of wine, a piece. All these particulars were performed and done with great cheerfulness, and seconded with shouting and acclamation of the souldiers, to signifie their good liking and generall assent.

P. *Decius* to his souldiers.

P. *Decius* solemnly praised and rewarded.

The souldiers also recompensed.

A garland called *Obsidionalis*.

* Sextarius much about our wine measure called a quart.

A third battel was fought at *Suessula*: wherein by *M. Valerius*, was put to flight the host of the Samnites. Whereupon, the whole manhood and flower of their youth that remained at home were sent for and assembled, determining to fight it out and trie their fortune once for all. Fearfull news hereof came from *Suessula* to *Capua*: and from thence carriers and posts were dispatched to *Valerius* the Consul, for aid. Forthwith he advanced the standards, and leaving the carriages belonging to the camp, with a strong guard, he marched forward in great hast: and not far from the enemy, took a little plot of ground to encamp in; as having besides their horses of service, no beasts at all for carriage, nor a rabble of slaves and varlets that follow the camp. The Samnites (as if without further delay they were to fight) embattelled themselves. But seeing none to encounter them, they came with banner displayed to the very camp of the enemies. And there so soon as they beheld the souldiers upon the rampier, and understood by them that were sent out of purpose to view the circuit of the camp, in how smal compass they had fortified, guessing thereby how few their enemies were; there ran a noise throughout the army, to make no more ado but to fill up the ditches, to cut through the banks, and so presently to break into the camp. And even in that rabnесс had the war been decided and dispatched, but that the captains held in the violence of the souldiers. But for as much as their own number so great, required good store of

victuals

victuals, and was both by their lying before *Suessula*, and also by their long stay there without fight brought to scarcity well-near of all things: it was thought good, that whiles the enemies kept within their hold as affrighted, the souldiers should be sent about the country's foraging. In which mean time they supposed that the Romans likewise, would have spent all, who were thither come lightly appointed, and had brought no more corn with them then they could carry on their shoulders, besides their armour. The Consul having espied the enemies stragling over the country, and their guards slenderly manned, after a brief exhortation to his souldiers, led them forth to give an assault upon their camp. Which when they had won at the first shout and onser, and killed more of the enemies within their tents, then either upon the gates or upon the rampier: he caused the ensignes that he had taken, to be brought together into one place: and leaving there two legions, for a guard and defence, with a straight charge, that untill he came again, they should forbear to rife and make spoil, he went forward in order of battell. And when the horsemen which he made out afore, had like hunters driven the scattred Samnits, as it were, within net and toil, he fell upon them and committed an exceeding great slaughter. For frightened as they were, they knew neither at what signall they should rally themselves together, nor whether they should make speed to the camp, or flee further away. But so great was their fright and flight both, that there were brought to the Consul, 40000 shields, more indeed then there were men slain: besides 170 ensignes, together with those that were won in the camp. Then returned he unto the enemies tents, and bestowed the whole pillage there, upon the souldiers. And such was the happy successe of this war, that it both caused the Falisci being in truce, to sue unto the Senat, for a league: and also turned the Latins, who had prepared their forces already from warring with the Romans, to wage war upon the Peligni. Neither rested the fame of this so fortunate a victory within the marches of *Italy*: for even the Carthaginians also, sent their Embassadors to *Rome*, with gratulation, and a present of a golden crown weighing twenty five pounds, to be set up in *Jupiter's* Temple within the Capitoll. Both Consuls triumphed over the Samnits: and *Dicius* followed after, all goodly to be seen, with his gifts and worthy praises: whiles the souldiers, as their manner was, with merry jests and rude ditties, magnified and renowned the name of the Colonell no less than the Consuls.

A notable defeat of the Samnits.

After this the Embassadors of the Campanians and the *Suessians* had a day of audience: and upon their humble request it was granted, that thither should be sent a standing garrison to winter there, for to stop the excursions and invasions of the Samnits. But *Capua*, even then no good place for military discipline, wrought an alteration in the souldiers there: who having once got a taste, and taken a delight in a world of pleasures of all sorts, as ite forgot their own natural country. For they of the garrison, began to lay plots and devise how to get *Capua* from the Campanians: even by the same wicked practise, by which themselves had won it first from the ancient possessors and inhabitants, saying, "It made no matter, and they were but rightly served, in case their own precedent lewd example, should return upon their own heads. Again, why should the Campanians, not able to defend themselves, nor maintain their liberties and goods, be L.L. of the most plentiful country of *Italy*, and of a City answerable and correspondent therunto, rather then the victorious army, which with their sweat and blood had repelled and expelled the Samnits from them? And was it any reason, that they who had yeilded to be vassals unto them, should enjoy that fruitful and pleasant tract, while they themselves wearied with fighting, struggled still and wrestled in a pestilent air, and dry barren soil, about the City of *Rome*, and within that City, indured the letted, inveterat and intestine mischief & plague of usury, that surcharged them daily more and more? Whiles these projected conspiracies were contrived in secret conventicles, and as yet not broached and divulged to all mens knowledge, the new Consul, *C. Martius Rutilius* came in place: whose lot it was to be L. Deputy of the province *Campania*, leaving his fellow *Q. Servilius* in the City, who having intelligence by the Captains and Colonels, of all the particularities of those designs: being a wise man, both for his old age and long experience (as who was now Consul the fourth time, and withal had been Censor and Dictator) thought it best to dissemble the matter, and to make void and frustrat the present heat and outrage of the souldiers, by deferring and prolonging their hope, as if they might put in execution their plots at their best leisure, whensoever they pleased. He raiseth therefore a rumour, that the garrisons should in the same towns winter again the year following. [For divided they were into sundry Cities of *Campania*: & the web begun at *Capua*, was spread from thence through all the forces.] By means of this good respite to bethink themselves and advise of these matters, the mutiny for the present was well quieted. The Consuls then led forth the souldiers into the summer places of abode and repose, and purpose while he had the Samnits in quietness to cleanse the army by the caltheing & discharging those busie bodies and troublesome spirits: pretending colourably, and saying, That some of them had served already so long as the law required, others were well now kept in years, or waxen feeble and their strength decayed. Some had their passports limited, and were sent home: at the first one by one singled out, afterwards, certain whole cohorts or bands, as having wintered far from their dwelling places, from their goods and substance. Under a pretence and colour also of military services and imployments, whiles some were dispatched one way, some another, a great part of them were rid clean away. All this multitude, the other Consul and the Pretor kept still at *Rome*; devising this cause, and that, of delays and abiding behind. And verily at first, they being not aware of this delusion, were not unwilling to visit home. But after that they perceived, that

A Mutiny and conspiracy of the garrison souldiers at *Capua*.

The singular policy of *M. Rutilius* the Consul.

A neither they who were dismissed sat retired again unto their colours, nor any in a manner discharged else, but such as had been in winter garrison at *Capua*, and those especially, who of them were the authors of the conspiracy; first they marvelled, and afterwards feared in very deed, that their conspirators were revealed and come to light; and that now presently they should be put to examinations and tortures, abide arraignment and judgement, be executed secretly apart one by one, and suffer the insolent totalty, and cruel tyranny of Consuls and Senators over them. These and such like speeches for a while they whispered secretly; till at length in the camp, when they saw the principal authors of the mutiny, who were the sinews and strength thereof, by the wily policy of the Consul to be diminished from them. One cohort of them, being not far from *Anagnin* lat them down at *Lanuvium*, in a narrow passage of wood between the sea and the mountains, to intercept and stay, whomsoever the Consul sent about this or that pretended business as is above said. Soon were there gathered together a right strong power; and nothing wanted to make a shew of a full army, but only a head and Captain. And disordered as they were, they went robbing and spoiling, as far as the Alban country, and under the hill of *Alban* they encamp themselves within a trench and rampier. Which work being finished, they spend the rest of the day in consultation about choosing a Commander, little trusting any one there present in place. And who possibly (say they) could be sent for as far as from *Rome*? What Senator or Commoner was there, that either wittingly would venture upon so great and dangerous an enterprise: or to whom the cause of an army, engaged upon an issue received, might safely be committed? The next morning, whilst they reasoned still about this point, and sadly debated the matter, some of the wandering and vagrant foragers of the Country thereabout bring certain intelligence, that *Titus Quinctius* implored himself in hospitality, and held a farm in *Tusculum*, minding neither the City, nor dignities of State and Common weal. This man was come of noble lineage, and having served with great credit and honour in the wars by a wound received, was lame of a leg, and gave over soldiery, determining to lead the rest of his life in the country, sequestered far from all courtship and ambitious suing for civil offices. They had not so soon heard his name, but presently they took knowledge of the man, and (that which might turn to their good) agreed with one accord, he should be sent for. Small hope there was that he would willingly do any thing: they thought therefore to use force and to bring him to it by fear. So, in the dead time of the night, they D that were sent thereto, entered the farm house, and finding *Quinctius* found and fast asleep, they awakened him: propounded unto him either rule and honour, or else present death: and no mean between, in case he made stay and refused to go with them: and so they haled and brought him to their camp. Incontinently he was saluted *L. General* at his first coming. And when the man was affrighted at this sudden and wonderful occurrence, they endue him with the ornaments and ensigns to that honor belonging, and will him to lead them as their commander to the City of *Rome*. Thus having plucked up the standards, in this heady fit of their own, rather then upon any advice or counsel of their captain, they march in warlike manner with an army toward *Rome*, within eight miles of the City, upon the easie or street way, now called *Appia Via*: and had approached immediately in that train to the very City, but that they heard there was a power coming against them, and a Dictator created to withstand them, to wit *M. Valerius Corvinus*, together with *L. Emilius Mamercus* General of horsemen. So soon as they were come in interview E one of another, and took knowledge of the armor and ensigns: the remembrance of their native country wrought with them straightwaies a mitigation of their mood. They were not yet so far gone, nor so hardy, as to shed civil blood: neither had they knowledge of any other wars but foreign: and the uttermost rage and maddest fit that ever they proceeded unto, was counted their Secession and departure away from their own countrymen. And therefore both captains and soldiers on either side sought means to meet together, and draw to imparle. *Quinctius* for his part, who having had already his hands full of wars in defence of his country, could worse brook taking arms against the time: *Corvinus* likewise for himself, as one that with loving affection embraced all his fellow-citizens, but the soldiers especially, and above all others those of his own army that fought F under his banner, came forth to a parle. And forthwith as soon as he was once known, he had no lesse reverence done of unto him of the adverse part, than silence and audience given of his own men. The immortal gods (quoth he) O soldiers as well those which are common to you all, as mine own particular patrons, when I took my leave of the City, I adored and worshipped in this wise, craving humbly upon my knees at their hands, to vouchsafe me the honour, not of a victory over you, but of procuring concord and unity among you. Occasions there have been, and will be know else where, to win glory and warlike renown: From hence, peace onely is to be sought. And even that which among my vowes that I made I beought to devoutly of the immortal gods, it lieth in you to make me enjoy. Doe but call to minde that neither in *Samnium*, nor among the *Volscians* yee are encamped, but upon *Roman* ground: that those hills which yee behold, are the hills of G your native soile: this army which yee see, are of your own Countrymen and fellow Citizens: and my selfe your Consul, under whose conduct and Auspice, yee have the yeare past twice defeated the *Samnite* legions, twice by mere force wooon their campe, and driven them out of the field. I am, first, that *M. Valerius Corvinus*, whole

A mutiny and
sedition of the
garrison soldiers of
Capua.

T. Quinctius
surprised by
the rebels and
made their
leader against
his will.

The Oration
of *Valerius Corvinus*
to the
Rebels

"noblenesse yee have had triall of, not by any wrongs done, but by good turnes on
 "your part received. Authour have I been of no proud law, nor cruell Act of Senat
 "against you: a man in all my government and rule that I bare, more rigorous to my
 "selfe than severe to you. And if ever there were one, who might be proud either of
 "Noble race and gentry, or of his own vertus and valour, of majesty and high calling or
 "honourable dignities, of such progenitors am I descended, such proofe of prowesse have I
 "given: at that age attained I to Consular honour, and being three and twenty years old,
 "I was able to have been feared and dread, not of Commons onely, but also of the Sena-
 "tors. But what deed or word hath passed from me in your knowledge, more grievous
 "and odious when I was once Consul then all the time I was but a Colonell the same course held
 "I still during my two Consulships ensuing: and such shall my carriage be, and none other,
 "whiles I am Dictator: that I will be no more mild and gracious to these here about
 "me that are mine and my countries souldiers, then to your selves affronting, who are,
 "I tremble to speake it forth, mine enemies. Ye shall therefore draw sword upon me, before
 "I draw upon you. The trumpets from thence shall begin sound, the shouting from thence
 "shall arise, the charge from thence shall be given first, if we must needs go to it and
 "fight. Now, find in your hearts (if you can) to do that which neither your fathers nor
 "grandfathers before you ever could: no, nor they who went away and departed unto
 "the mount *Sacer*, nor those who afterwards held and kept the *Asiatine*. Expect, untill
 "your mothers and wives, with their hair hanging about their ears, come forth of the City
 "to meet with you one by one, as sometimes they did to *Coriolanus*. Then, the Volscian
 "legions were quieted and pacified, because they had one Roman for their leader: will
 "not yee then, being a whole army, all of the Romanes, surcease this unkind and im-
 "pious warre? And thou *T. Quintius*, howsoever thou art come there to stand, whe-
 "ther with or against thy will: in case there be no remedy, but fight wee must, retire thy selfe
 "amongst the hindermost: nay, with more honesty, lie thou shalt, and shew thy naturall coun-
 "trimen a fair paire of heeles, then fight against thy country. But stand still hardly with ho-
 "nour and credit among the formost to make attonement: thou shalt be a truce-maker in this our
 "parley and conference, to all our goods. Ask and have, any reasonable and indifferent con-
 "ditions: although in truth we were better to yeeld unto hard and unequal capitulations,
 "than wickedly and ungodly, one to fight with another. *T. Quintius* with teares gush-
 "ing out at his eyes, turning to his owne companies: "And even me also (quoth he)
 "O souldiers (if need there be at all of mee) yee have a much better captaine for peace than
 "warre. As for him who even now uttered those words in your hearing, was neither
 "Volscian nor Samnit, but a Romane, even your owne Consul sometime, souldiers, and
 "your own Generall heretofore: whose Auspicate conduct, you having tried for you,
 "and in your defence: doe not prove now against your selves to your perdition. Others
 "had the Senate to lend as captaines, who would have fought more maliciously with you: but
 "they have made choice of him who above all others, could beare with you, yes, and for-
 "bear you that have been his souldiers: whom you of all others especially might trust, as ha-
 "ving been your Generall. Peace, yee see, even they desire that are to get the victory. M
 "And what is it then we ought and should desire? Why then let we not anger and
 "hope aside, two false motives, two deceitfull guides and counsellors; and betake
 "our selves and all wee have to a man of approved trust and fidelity? These words being
 "liked well of all (as appeared by a Generall shout) *T. Quintius* went forth before the
 "ensignes in the forefront, and pronounced that the souldiers should be at the Dictatour his
 "devotion and pleasure: beseeching him to consider and undertake the cause of poor and
 "wretched citizens: and having taken it into his hands, to maintaine and protect the same, ac-
 "cording to that faithfulness wherewith hee used to governe the Commonweale. As for
 "himselfe privately, he would not intend ought for his owne security: neither repoled
 "he hope in any things else but innocency. The souldiers indeed were to be capitulate, as N
 "once heretofore the Commons, and a second time the legions had done with the
 "Senatours: namely, that this their revolt and pety rebellion might not be laid un-
 "to their charge, and their hurts and utter undoing. Then the Dictatour, after hee
 "had first commended *Quintius*, and willed the rest to be content and of good cheer, rode
 "post to the City, and by the advice of the Senatours, preferred a bill unto the people
 "in the grove *Petelium*: That the mutiny and insurrection should cause no man's fear,
 "and danger. He besought the *Quirites* also of this much favour besides, That nei-
 "ther in jest nor earnest, this should be laid in no mans dish. The same time there was
 "proposed besides, a sacred military law under pain of death. That no souldiers name
 "once entred into the muster after his booke, should be raised out against his will. With O
 "this branch annexed over and besides, That no man who had been aforetimes a co-
 "lonell or Tribune, should after have the leading of bands, and be a Corporall. This was fol-
 "lowed hard and urged by those of the conspiracy, in regard of one *P. Salustius*, who in maner
 "each other year had been either a Colonell, or a chief Centurion, whom now they call *Pri-*
 "mipili. Him the souldiers spighted much, and were maliciously set against, because he had alwaies
 "opposed

T. Quintius to
 his souldiers.

T. Quintius to
 his Dictator.

Military ordi-
 nances enact-
 ed.

* The next
 degree to a
 Colonell.

A posed himself against their conspiracies and innovations, and took not part with them who fled from *Lanula*. But when this one point could not be obtained of the Senat, for the favour they bare to *Salonius*: then *Salonius* himself besought the Senators that they would not regard his honour more than the concord of the whole City: and so at length it also was granted and enacted. As unreasonable a demand was this also, That if *harfennus* (and that was triple at that time) some *Alles* should be deducted, for that they also had withstood by conspiracy. Over and besides, I find in some writers, that *L. Genucius*, a Tribune of the Commons, published this Law unto the people, That *Urry* might be made altogether unlawfull. Likewise in other Acts of the Commons it was provided, That no man within ten years space should be capable of the same Office twice: nor in one year bear two Offices: and that both Consuls might be of the Commons. Which if they all were granted to the Commons, it appeareth that this insurrection carried some sway and force with it. In other Chronicles it is recorded, that neither *Valerius* was chosen Dictator, but that all this business was by the Consuls managed: nor so great a multitude of Conspirators rose, before they came to *Rome*, but even in *Rome* took up, nor yet that they came by night, in forcible manner into *T. Quinctius* farm house, but in the dwelling house of *C. Attianus*: and that he was taken up by the rebels to be their General, and from thence went as far as four miles end, and there encamped in a fortified place: that the motion of Concord arose not from the Captains, but that of a sudden when both Armies stood ranged in order of battell they fell to greeting one another: and that the souldiers began to take one another by the hands and embrace with tears: and that the Consuls seeing the souldiers so backward from fight, were forced to move the Senat for an accommodation. So as among ancient writers, there is no certainty set down, but that sedition there was, and the same appeared. But the rumor thereof, and the cruel war which the *Samnites* began, withdrew certainations from the Romans society and alliance: For besides the faithless and naturally League (a long time) of the Latines: the Privernates also with sudden rodes, invaded and wasted *Norba* and *Signa*, two Colonies of the Romans near bordering and adjoyning.

The Eighth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the Eighth Book.

The Latines, together with the Capuans revolted: and the Latines having sent their Embassadors to the Senat (of Rome) offered and presented peace, upon this condition only, that they would create one of their Consuls out of them. This Embaslie thus declared, *Annius* their Pretor, who had audience in the Capitall, in going down from thence, took such a fall, that he died in the place. *T. Manlius* caused his own son to lose his head, because, contrary to his expresse commandment, he had fought against the Latines, notwithstanding his good success in that combat. At what time as the Romans were greatly distressed, and like to lose the field, *P. Decius* then Cons. with *Manlius* devoted and offered himself to present death, for to save the Army: and setting spurs to his horse, rode into the midst of the enemies battell: where he was slain, and by his death recovered victory to the Romans. The Latines yielded and rendered themselves. When *T. Manlius* returned into the City, there was not one of all the youth came forth to meet him, and do him honour. *Minutia*, a professed Vestall Virgin, was condemned for her incest or incontinent life. The *Ausonians* being subdued, a Colony was planted in *Cales*, and another likewise in *Fregella*. Many Roman dames were detected of practising poison: and most of them were forced to drink of their own empoisoned cups first, whereof they died presently. Whereupon was the first Law then ordained against poisoning. The Privernates, when they rebelled were vanquished, and afterwards endued with the Burgesie of the City of Rome. The *Palatopolitans* were defeated in battell first, and after siege, surrendered upon Composition. *Quintius Publilius*, who blocked them within their walls, was the first man that had his Commission renewed, and continued still in government, when the ordinary time was expired: and by means of the Consuls had a triumph granted unto him. The common people were delivered from the danger of their creditors, by occasion of the filthy lust of one of them, *Lu. Papirius*, who would have forced, and against nature abused *C. Publilius*, a debtor of his. When *L. Papirius* the Dictator was returned from his Army into the City, for to take the *Auspices* anew, by reason of some error supposed in the former, *Q. Fabius* the General of the horsemen, having in his absence espied the opportunity and advantage of performing a worthy exploit, gave battell contrary to his Edict, and put the *Samnites* to the worse. For which cause, when the Dictator would seem to punish him accordingly, *Fabius* made an escape and fled to Rome. And when his cause would not bear him out, he had his pardon, at the earnest sute and prayers of the people. This book containeth also the fortunate exploits against the *Samnites*.

The Eighth Book of T. Livius.

NOW was C. *Plautius* Consul the second time, with L. *Emilius Mamercus*, when as the *Setines* and *Norbans* brought tidings to *Rome* of the *Privernats* revolt, with complaints of harms sustained at their hands. News came likewise, that an Army of *Volscians*, under the conduct of the *Antians*, were encamped at *Sarricum*. Both these wars fell by lot to *Plautius*. Who taking his journey first to *Privernum*, forthwith had them battel: and with no great conflict gave his enemies the overthrow. The Town was won and restored again to the *Privernats*, with a strong garrison therein placed; but two parts of their Lands were taken from them. The Army thus having obtained victory, was conducted thence to *Sarricum* against the *Antians*. Where was a cruel battel fought with much bloodshed on both sides: and when as the tempestuous and stormy weather parted them asunder, before that either side inclined to victory, the Romans no whit wearied with that conflict so doubtful, addressed themselves to fight against the morrow. But the *Volscians* having taken a view and account what men they had lost in fight, were not of like mind to adventure the hazard again: and therefore as vanquished men they dislodged by night in disorder, and fearfully took their way to *Arinum*, leaving behind them their wounded, and part of their baggage. Great store of armour was there found, both upon and among the slain bodies of the enemies, and also within the Camp. Which the Consul promised to dedicate to dame *Luna*, and so he foraged and spoiled the confines of the enemies, even as far as the sea coast. But against the other Consul *Emilius*, who was entred into the *Sabellian* land, neither were the *Samnites* encamped, nor their Legions opposed any where. Whiles therefore with fire and sword he wasted their Countrey, the *Samnites* Embassadors came unto him, craving peace: but being by him posted off to the Senate, after they had audience given, they let fall their stout stomacks, and requested peace for themselves with the Romans, and liberty to make war against the *Sidicins*: which petition they enforced with more reason and equity. "First, in that they had entred into amity with the people of *Rome*, during their prosperity, and not as the Campains in their adversity: again, they were to take arms against the *Sidicines*, enemies alwaies to themselves, and never freinds to the people of *Rome*: who also, "neither in peace (as the *Samnites*) sued for friendship and alliance, nor in time of war (as the Campains) sought for aid and succour: and finally, were neither under the protection of the people of *Rome*, nor yet their vassals and subjects. When as T. *Emilius* the Prætor had consulted with the Senate, about these points demanded by the *Samnites*, and that the LL. thought good that the league with them should be renewed; the Prætor in the name of the rest made answer to the *Samnites*, "That neither the fault was in the people of *Rome*, that the confederacy between them was not perpetual; neither gainstaid they, but so far as much as they were weary themselves first, and repented of the war commenced through their own default, the league might yet be newly made again. Touching the *Sidicins*, they would be no hinderance, but that the *Samnite* people, might use their liberty and do what they thought best, either for war or peace. The League being thus concluded and confirmed, and they returned home, presently the Roman Army was brought from thence upon receipt of a years pay, and corn for three months, according to the capitulation covenanted with the Consul, in consideration of a truce granted, untill their Embassadors were returned.

The *Samnites*, with the same forces which they had employed to withstand the Roman war, went forth against the *Sidicins* with undoubted hope, speedily to win the City of their enemies. Then, had the *Sidicines* before made an offer to yield themselves unto the Romans, but seeing the Nobles to reject them as coming too late, and wrested as it were perforce from them in their last extremity, they tendered the same to the *Latines*, who were already of their own accord risen up, and had taken arms. The Campains likewise (so ready and forward were they to bear in mind an injury of the *Samnites*, rather than a good turn of the Romans) forbore not to joyn in this quarrel. Thus was there raised a mighty power of so many Nations banded together, under the conduct of the *Latines*, and invaded the borders of the *Samnites*, where more hurt was received by rodes than skirmishes. And albeit the *Latines* in fight had the better hand, yet were they well content for avoiding so many conflicts, to depart out of the enemies country. Which gave the *Samnites* leisure to send Embassadors to *Rome*, who before the Senat complaining, that they endured the same measure still, being now associates, which they had abidden before when they were enemies: besought most humbly, "that the Romans would be satisfied with that victory of the Campains and *Sidicins*, their enemies, which they had got out of the *Samnites* hands, and not suffer them to be trodden under foot by those Nations, the most dastards and cowards of all others: requesting moreover, if so be the *Latines* and Campains were under the dominion of the people of *Rome*, that they would command them by vertue of their authority, to forbear the *Samnites* country: and if they refused to obey, then to chastise and keep them in by force of war. To these demands they framed a doubtful answer, as being loath and abashed of the one side to confess, that the *Latines* were not at their devotion, and fearing again on the other side by reproving and provoking them to turn away their hearts, and lose them for ever. And this was the answer. "As touching the Campains, their case was otherwise, who were not by covenants and conditions

The goddess
Luna.

A "ditions in forme of League, but by voluntary and simple submission, under their protection; and therefore they should be quiet whether they would or no: but as for the Latines, by any capitulation comprised in their accord, they were not prohibited to levy war with whom they list. Which answer, as it sent the Samnites away, in doubt what to think what the Romans would do; so it estranged and alienated the Campanians for fear: and made the Latines more stout, as supposing the Romans now would give them the head, & yield any thing unto them. And therefore under a colour of preparing war against the Samnites, they summoned and held many Councils one after another: and in all their meetings and consultations, their Princes and chief men secretly amongst themselves did nothing but plot and practise war with the Romans. In which conspiracy also, the Campanians had their hand as deep as the rest, even to bear arms against those who had been their Protectors. But although they did what they could to keep all close of purpose, and were desirous before the Romans should stir, to be secured from the Samnites, (an enemy pressing hard upon their backs) yet nevertheless this complot was discovered, and intelligence thereof given at Rome, by means of certain persons linked to the Romans in privat acquaintance and mutuall hospitality. Hereupon were the Consuls commanded to resign their Magistracy before the ordinary time, that so much the sooner there might be new created against so great a danger and preparation of war. But here rose a scruple of conscience, that the assembly for Election should be holden by them, whose government was thus shortned and abridged. Whereupon they proceeded to an Inter-reign. And two Interregents there were one after another, *M. Valerius* and *M. Fabius*: who created Consuls, *T. Manlius Torquatus* the third time, and *P. Decius Mus*.

C In that year, it is recorded for certain, that *Alexander King of Epirus*, arrived in Italy with a Navy: who, no doubt if he had sped well at his first entrance, would have proceeded farther and warred upon the Romans. In this age flourished *Alexander the Great* in glorious conquests, who being this man his sisters son, and a warrior invincible, whiles he atchieved feats of arms in another part of the world, hapned to die in his best time and prime of his youth. But to proceed forward. The Romans although there was no doubt but that their associats, and namely, the Latines were revolted: yet, as though they were carefully busied about the Samnites only, and nothing intended them; they sent for to Rome ten of their chief Peets, pretending to give them in charge what their pleasure was to have done. At that time the Latines had two Prators or Provosts, *L. Annius* of *Seia*, and *L. Numitius* of *Circeia*, both Roman Colonies. By whose means, besides *Signina* and *Velutre*, being also Colonies of Rome, the Volscians were solicited likewise to take arms. And thought good it was, that those Latine Prators by name, should be cited with the rest. No man was ignorant for what intent they were sent for. The Prators therefore, called a Council before they went, and there declared how they were convented by the Senat of Rome, demanding their advice what answer to make as touching those matters, wherewith, as they supposed, they should be charged. When some were of this opinion, some of that; then *Annius* spake and said:

D "Although I my self have moved you to resolve upon an answer, yet I think, it concerneth us more in our main estate, to determine what to do, than what to say. And when we are grown to a resolution once of our affairs, and what course to take, an easie matter will it be to frame words fit for the purpose. For if even now already under a shadow and pretence of an indifferent league, we can abide and find in our hearts to endure bondage, what standeth in the way, but that having abandoned and betrayed the Sidicines, we be obedient not only to the Romans commandment, but also to the Samnites? and answer the Romans in these plain terms, That at their beck only, and if they do but nod their head, we will presently lay down all arms? But if at length, the desire and longing after liberty do touch our hearts, and give an edge unto our spirits: if there be a league between us: and if confederacy ought to be nothing else but a society and equal fruition of liberty and priviledges: if, I say, we may now glory and vaunt, whereof sometimes we were ashamed, that we are of kin to the Romans, and of their blood: if they have an Army of associats, by the addition whereof they redouble their forces, and which the Consuls in leaving or levying their proper wats, will not part and sever from their own: why is there not equality in all things else? Why is not one of the Consuls a Latine? Look where is part of power and forces, there also is part of rule and command. And certainly even this in it self is not a matter of so great honour unto us, as who have granted and confessed Rome to be the head of Latium: yet by long patience and continual sufferance only, we have brought to pass that it might seem honourable. But if ever ye wished to see the day wherein ye might participate in government and recover your liberties again, lo, that time is now come presented unto you by your own valour, and the gracious goodness of the immortal gods. Tried their patience ye have in denying souldiers: who doubted not but that they were in a great choler and angry at the heart, when we brake a custome of two hundred years prescription and above: yet nevertheless this grief have they put up, and given us not one foul word. We warred upon the Pelignians in our own name and quarrel: and they, who aforesometimes allowed not us the liberty so much as to defend our own marches of our selves, nothing gainsaid and crossed it. That the Sidicines were taken to our mercy and protection, that the Campanians revolted from them and sided with us, that we levied an army against the Samnites their confederats, they heard and knew well enough: and yet they stirred not once forth of their City. How come they to be so calm and quiet, but upon a privy and knowledge, both of our puissance and of their own weakness? I am able to avouch by the report of men of good credit, that when the Samnites complained themselves of us, they had such an answer

Alexander the Great.

See

The speech of Annus in the Council of Latium.

The Oration
of *Annias* in
the Senat of
Rome.

The Oration
of *T. Manlius*.

"I swear again of the Senat of *Rome*, that it plainly appeared that they themselves pretended not to
"require that *Latium* should be under the Roman Empire. Do ye but take upon you, and lay
"claim unto that which they secretly yield unto you themselves, and repossess it at your pleasure.
"Now if any man be afraid to be the speaker, Lo, here am I, who profess to be the man, and to
"say thus much, not only in the audience of the people and Senat of *Rome*, but also of *Jupiter* him-
"self, who is resident in the Capitol, namely, That if they will have us to be of the League and con-
"federacy, they shall admit from among us one of the Consuls, yea, and a part of the Senat. As he
"with great spirit and boldness, not only advised this, but promised also thus to do; all that were
"present with a general applause and assent permitted him to do and say whatsoever he thought
"expedient for the common good of the Latine nation, according to that trust which they re-
"posed in him. So soon as he was come to *Rome* (with other Embassadors) he was admitted into the
"Senat, and audience given him in the Capitol. Where when *T. Manlius* the Consul, by the autho-
"rity and direction of the Senators, had dealt with him and the rest, not to make war upon the
"Samnites their confederats: *Annias* raging like a conqueror, as if he had won by force and arms
"the Capitol; and not as an Embassador, who was to deliver his mind and message safely, by the
"protection of the Law of Nations, began in this sort: "The time required (quoth he) now at
"length, O *T. Manlius* and ye Senators of *Rome*, not to treat and deal with us in any affairs by
"way of authority and commandment, namely, when you saw *Latium* by the favour of the gods
"to flourish exceedingly both in men and munition, as having subdued the Samnites, confederate
"with the Sidicins and Campains, and now also combined with the Volscians: and besides, even
"your own Colonies and townships too, have made choice to submit themselves to the Latines
"rather than the Romans. But forasmuch as you cannot find in your hearts of your selves, nor see
"how to make an end of your proud and outrageous Lordship and tyranny; We, albeit we are a-
"ble to restore *Latium* unto her ancient freedom by force of arms, yet for kindred sake will be con-
"tent to offer indifferent articles and equal conditions of peace, forasmuch as it hath pleased
"the immortal gods, that we are equal unto you in power and puissance, *Imprimis*, there is no re-
"medy now, but your two Consuls, must be one a Roman, and the other a Latine: *Item*, that the
"number of Senators be elected as well out of the one nation as the other, *Item*, that we become
"one people incorporate, and one Common-wealth. And to the end that there may be one im-
"perial seat, and one name of all, and therefore we or you, must needs yield, we are content a Gods
"name (and to the good of both nations may it prove) that this City and State of yours be coun-
"tered the better and more noble: and let us be called all by the name of Romans. By good hap it
"so fell out, that the Romans also had for their Consul *T. Manlius* to match him, one as stout and
"hot as the other: who could not contain his anger no longer, but openly said, "That if the Sena-
"tors were so far overseen and besides themselves, as to take conditions of a Setine, he would
"come with his sword by his side into the Senate house, and what Latine soever he saw there in
"council, he would not fail but slay him with his own hand in the place. And therewith turning
"to the Image of *Jupiter*: Harken (quoth he) O good god *Jupiter*, Hear this wickedness and in-
"dignity: hear O Justice: and piety to Godward. Wilt thou abide to see, O *Jupiter*, in this thy ho-
"ly and sacred temple, wilt thou endure, as taken captive and troden under foot, to see Consuls of
"aliens & a Senat of foreigners? Are these the covenants, O ye Latines, which *Tullus* King of *Rome*
"made with the Albans your forefathers? or which *L. Tarquinus* after him, concluded with you?
"Remember ye not the battel at the lake *Regillus*? Have ye so forgotten indeed, both your
"own calamities and overthrows of old, and also the good turns and benefits received at our
"hands? When this speech of the Consul was seconded with the indignation also of the Senators,
"it is recorded, that when they called upon the gods, witnesses of those covenants, and reiterated
"their names oftentimes, *Annias* in mockery of those protestations, was over-heard to despise and
"scorn the power and godhead of the Roman *Jupiter*. But this is certain, that as he in heat of anger
"stepped hastily to the entry or porch of the temple, and went apace, he fell down the stairs, and so
"hurt his head that dashed against the bottom stair, that he swooned withall, and lay for dead. But
"because all writers agree not, that he yielded up his last breath thereupon, I also will leave it doubt-
"ful, as I find it: as also this, that in the very charging of him with breach of covenants, there pou-
"red down a tempestuous storm, with many mighty thunderclaps. For, as these and such like things
"may be very true, so they may be prettily devised and invented on set purpose to represent & shew
"the wrath and vengeance of God, *Torquatus* being sent by the Senat to give the Embassadors their
"dispatch, seeing *Annias* there to lie along, cried out aloud, in the hearing both of the Senat and the
"people, and said, "No force, it is well, and as it should be; thus begin and bless, O ye immortal
"gods, our just and rightful war, Surely there is a God above, there is a power divine and deity
"in heaven, thou art no feigned and imaginary god, O mighty *Jupiter* & not in vain have we hal-
"lowed thee in this place, as the father both of gods and men. Why stay ye then, O Roman Qui-
"rites, ye likewise my L.L. of the Senat, to take arms in the name of the gods, having them already
"as you see to be your Leaders? I for my part shall soon so overthrow and lay the Legions of the
"Latines along on the earth, as ye now see their Embassador, lying here at the stairs foot. The
"words of the Consul, received with so great applause of the people, animated and enkindled them
"in such sort, that had not the careful diligence of the Magistrates been more (who by command-
"ment of the Consul accompanied the Embassadors as they went) than the ordinary safe conduct
"of the Law of Nations, they had not escaped the rage and fury of the multitude.

The

A The Senat also gave their assent to this war, and the Consuls having levied two armies, and passed through the country of the Marfians and Pelignians, and joynted unto them the Samnites power, encamped themselves before *Capua*, whither the Latines with their associates, were already come together. There, as the report goeth, the Consuls both of them in their sleep had a vision: and there appeared unto them one and the same shape of a mans personage, much greater and more stately than the ordinary port of men, who should deliver these words unto them, "That of the two armies embattelled and affronting one another, the one was appointed as a due tribute to the infernal spirits, and to Mother Earth: and of the other, the chief General only. And look of whether army the said sovereign General should devote and offer unto those infernal spirits, and to mother Earth, the Legions of the enemies, and his own person withall; that part and that Nation shall have the victory. When the Consuls had imparted one to the other these night-visions, it was thought good and agreed (for to divert and appease Gods anger) that certain sacrifices should be slain, and also if the same shewed in their inwards, as appeared in their sleep, then one or other of the Consuls should fulfil the destinies, and accomplish fatal appointment. When as the answers of the Soothsaiers agreed also to that secret religion which was now entered and settled already in their minds, then the Consuls calling together the Lieutenants and Colonels to a Council, and openly declaring before them all the pleasure of the gods, (to the end, that the wilful and voluntary death of one of the Consuls, might not fright his army in the field) they agree between themselves, that of whether side the Roman battallions began first to give back and retreat, the Consul of that Army, should devote and betake himself to die for the people of *Rome* and the *Quintiles*. It was debated also in that assembly, that if ever at any time before there had been war managed by severe rule and government, the military discipline should now be revived, and reduced to the old manner and ancient rigour: their care in that behalf was the greater and more redoubled, for that they were to fight against the Latines, suting altogether to them in language, fashions, armour, and especially above all, in the orders and laws of warfare. For, many a time, in these two armies souldier with souldier, Centurion with Centurion, Colonel with Colonel, had sorted and conversed together, as collegues and compeers in the same garrisons, yea, and under the same colours and ensigns. By reason whereof, to the end, that by no error the souldiers should be mistaken or deceived, the Consuls made proclamation through the Camp, That no man should fight with his enemy out of his own rank, and place appointed unto him. It fortuned now, that among other Captains and Cornets of horsemen, which were sent out every way as scouts and espials to discover the coasts, *T. Manlius* the Consul his son together with the rest of his Cornet and Troop, was passed above the enemies Camp, so near, as he was within an arrow shot of their next *Corps de guard*. In which was quartered the cavalry of *Tusculum*, under the leading of *Geminus Metius* a Knight, both for birth, and also for his noble feats of arms highly esteemed in his country. He espying the Roman horie, and knowing the Consuls son, advancing before them, and of especial mark above the rest (for all Noblemen and of quality were well enough known one to another,) What, will ye Romans (quoth he) with one Cornet of horse fight with the Latines and their confederats? What shall your Consuls, what shall two Consular armies do the mean while? Marry (quoth *Manlius*) they will be here time enough for you, and with them *Jupiter* himself, a witness of league and covenants by you broken. *Jupiter* I say, who only can do more than all mens forces in the world. And we who at the pool *Ragillus*, have given you fighting, your bellies full, will here also quit our selves so, that never after ye shall have any great joy and pleasure to encounter and joyn battel with us again. With that, *Geminus*, riding forth as he was on horseback, a little from his company, Wilt thou then (quoth he) till that day come wherein ye mean with so great a do to set forward your armies to a general set field, break a staff with me in the mean time; that by the proof and event of us twain, it may henceforth appear, how far the Latine men of arms, surpasses the Roman? The young man his bloud and courage was soon up either upon anger and choler, or for very shame to refuse the combat, or because God would so have it, and it was his destiny that could not be avoided. Forgetting therefore his fathers commandment, and the express Edict of the Consuls, he returneth on head and rashly, to a single fight; wherein it skilled not much, whether he had the better or the worse, for any great odds thereby in the main trial of the quarrel. Thus when the rest of the horsemen of both parts were retired aside (as it were) to behold some spectacle or running at tilt: in the void place of the plain field, that lay between, they ran their horses in full carreer one against the other, with sharp and deadly spear in rest. *Manlius* with his lance aloft, gaid over and raised the Motion of his enemy, and *Metius* with his spear lightly touched, and passed by the horse neck. Then having turned about their horses, *Manlius* came upon him first with a second charge, and so redoubled the push, that he thrust the others horse in between the ears. At the smart of which wound the horse reared and mounted with his forefeet, and with great force shaking his head cast his rider. And as he bare his spear and shield, to raise himself from his grievous fall, *Manlius* ran him through at the throat, so that the spear-head came forth at his ribs, and nailed him fast to the ground. And having disarmed & depolled him rode back to his own troop: and both together with exceeding joy halined to the Camp, and so to the Generals Pavilion, even to his father: full little knowing his fatal destiny, and what was to befall unto him, whether he had deserved praise, or incurred danger of punishment. That all the world, quoth he, (O father) may be perswaded and report truly that I am defended indeed of your bloud, and your undoubted son. Lo here I am, who being

Manlius executed by his own father.

defied and challenged to fight man to man, have killed mine enemy a man of arms: see here the spoils of him slain and dead. Which so soon as the Cos. heard, presently he could not abide to look on his son, but turned away, and by sound of trumpet, commanded the host to a publick audience, which being assembled in great number, Forasmuch (quoth he) as thou, *T. Manlius*, without regard of Cos. authority, or dread of thy fathers majesty and power over thee, against our Edict and expresse commandment, hast fought with the enemy, and that without thy rank and place; and as much as lay in thee, hast broken the discipline of war, whereby to this day the State of *Rome* hath stood maintained, and hast brought me thy father to this hard point, that I must forget either the Common-weal, or else mine own self and mine, we will abide rather the punishment and smart for our own misdeeds, than the whole state, to her so great prejudice and damage, should pay for our folly and transgression. A fearful and dolorous example will we afford: but good & profitable to all youth for ever hereafter. As for me verily, both the inbred love and affection of all fathers to their children, and also this shew and proof of thy valour and knight-hood (although seduced with deceitful apparance and vain resemblance of honour) moveth me not a little: but since that, either by thy death the Cos. commands must be established, or by impunity of thy disobedience, for ever disannulled, I would not wish thee to refuse (if there be any of my blood in thee) but by thy punishment to restore and set up again the military discipline which this day by thy default is faine down and ruinate. Go serjeant, and bind him to a stake. At this so cruel a sentence, they were all amazed and in an extasie, that were present: and as if they had seen the edge bent against themselves, for fear more than for any modesty or reverence, they were quiet. So when they were come again to themselves, as if their spirits had been recovered after some deep impression of a wonder which had attended them, they stood still with silence: but so soon as the poor wretch his head was chopt off, and his blood seen to gush and spin out, then began they all of a sudden to speak freely and complain with open mouth, so as they forbore neither lamentations nor curses: they covered the youth his body with his own victorious spoils, they erected a funeral pile of wood over his corps without the trench and rampiers, set it on fire, and burnt him accordingly; and so with as great love and affection as souldiers could shew, performed their last duty unto him, and solemnized his obsequies. Thus the commandments of *Manlius* were not only dreadful for the present, but gave an heavy and fearful precedent for the future, to all sovereign Commanders of an Army. Howbeit, the rigour of this punishment made the souldiers more dutiful to their Captains and Leaders: and besides that, the rounds and sentinels, and the set *corps de guard*, were every where more carefully looked unto and observed: even in the very hazard and extremity also of the battel afterward, that austere severity did much good. For their fight was much like unto a civil war, so little, or nothing at all in a manner, differed the Latines from the Romans Common-wealth, but only in heart and courage.

Aforetime they used Roman long large shields, covering their whole bodies; but in processe of time, after that they became Stipendiaries and to take pay, they bare shorter targets. And whereas aforetime they had their battallions thick and close together, like to the Macedonian Phalanges, afterwards they began to range their battel into bands more loosely and distinctly, and last of all, they were divided into thinner orders and squadrons: every such order or squadron contained threescore souldiers, two Centurions, and one Port ensign. The forefront of the vanguard were javelineers called *Hastati*, in fifteen squadrons, distant some little way one from another: such a squadron had twenty souldiers lightly armed, and all the rest a sort of Targeteers. And those were called light-armed, who carried only a spear or javelin to fight with at hand, and other darts to lance from them aloof. This forefront contained the flower of youths, that grew up as apprentices to war-service. Then followed after them of stronger and riper age, as many bands or squadrons, which were called *Principes*; whom there followed hard at heels, thirty squadrons, all targeteers or shield-bearers, with brave armour above all others. And this battallion of thirty companies they called *Antepilani* [avant-darters] for that the other fifteen orders or bands were placed hard behind the ensigns. And of these, every band consisted of three parts: and each of them they called *Primum pilum*, and it was composed of three banners or pannounces; and every such banner contained 186 men. The first Pannounce or banner conducted the *Triarii*, who were old souldiers of approved valour: the second, those that were called *Rorarii*, of less valiance both for age and prowess: the third, such as were named *Accensi*, who were of least account and trust, and therefore they were cast behind unto the tail of the battallion. When the Army was thus ordered in battel array into these bands & squadrons, the javelineers foremost of all began the fight: if they were not able to discomfit the enemies, than they with steady footing and slow pace retired back into the void places between the squadrons of the *Principes*, who received them: then began the *Principes* to enter into the battel and to maintain fight, and were seconded by the *Hastati* or Javelineers. The *Triarii* remained standing all this whiles firmly, about their ensigns, setting out their left legs afore them at length, with their Targets on their shoulders, and their pikes or javelins sticking on the ground, with their heads somewhat bending forward, much like as if their battel were fortified with a Pallisado or rampier of pales and sharp stakes. Now if those *Principes* had not good success in fight, they retired themselves by little and little from the forefront, to the *Triarii*. And hereupon grew the proverb, that when a thing was at a dead list and in distress, they would say, We are come to the *Triarii*. Then the *Triarii* standing up right, so soon as they had received the *Principes* and *Hastati*, into the void place between their files, presently drew in their ranks

A ranks and files close together, and shut up as it were all waies of passage and entrance, and with one main joint and close battallion (as if now there were no more hope behind) advanced toward the enemy. And this most of all feared and terrified the enemies, when thinking to chase those that they seemed to have vanquished, they saw a new battel of fresh men standing up, and the same increased in number.

Now were there commonly four Legions enrolled, consisting of five thousand foot, and three hundred horse to every legion. As many more were added unto them, and those mustered out of the Latines, who at that time were enemies to the Romans, and had ordered their battallions after the same manner in all respects. And they knew well enough that not only ensign with ensign, all pikes and javelins with pikes and javelins, *Principes* with *Principes*, but one Centurion with another, if the arraies were not broken, were to encounter. Two *Principes* or chief Centurions, there were amongst the *Triarii* in the one army and the other. The Roman of body not so strong and well set, howbeit a good souldier otherwise, skillfull and of great experience: the Latine, exceeding mighty, and a notable fighter of all others. Well known they were one unto the other, because at all times they had the same conduct and equal place of charge. The Roman not greatly trusting to his own strength, was permitted even at Rome by the Col. to chuse unto him an under-Centurion whom he would: who might protect and defend him safe from an enemy that should hap to deal with him hand to hand. And it fortuned that the yong man by him elected, fought in the throng and got the victory of the Latine Centurion. As for the battel, it was fought not far from the foot of the hill *Velutius*, in the very way that leadeth to *Vesuvius*. The Roman Consuls before they came into the field killed their beasts for sacrifice. And the bowel-prying Soothsayer (as it is reported) shewed to *Decius* the head of the Liver on the inner side wounded (as it were) and cut off: otherwise in all respects, his sacrifice was acceptable to the gods. As for *Manlius*, he had as good signs of Gods favour in his, and all as well as might be. That is well yet (quoth *Decius*) if my colleague speed well, and have good succels by his sacrifice. Their battels being so arranged, as I said before, they marched into the field, *Manlius* led the right wing, *Decius* the left. At the first they fought on both sides with equal forces and like courage and heat of stomach. But afterwards on the left wing, the Roman *Hastati*, not able to sustain the violent charge of the Latines, retired to the *Principes*, in which trouble and fearful disorder, *Decius* the Col. called aloud to *M. Valerius*. "We have need of Gods help (quoth he) O *Valerius*, Where art thou, the publike high Priest of the people of Rome? Come and say afore me that form of words, whereby I may devote and betake my self for the Legions. The Priest commanded him to put on his long purple robe embroidered before, called *Prætexta*, to cover his head, and to put forth his hand under the said robe at his chin, and standing upon his javelin, with both his feet, to pronounce these words after him, as follow: O Janus, Jupiter, father Mars, Quirinus, Bellona, O ye Lares and domesticall gods, the gods Novensiles and Indigetes; ye gods likewise, whose power extendeth over us and our enemies, and O Manes the infernal gods, you I invoke, you I worship and adore, your pardon I beseech and favour crave, that ye would prosper all power and victory unto the people of Rome and Quirites; and put to fear, fright, and death, the enemies of the people of Rome and Quirites. And just as I pronounce in these words, so for the weal publike of the Quirites, the Army, Legions and aids of the people of Rome, I betake with me unto Manes the infernal spirits, and dame Tellus, the Legions and aids of the enemies, and my self after them." Having made this praier, he willed the Serjeants or Lictors to go to *Manlius*, and with all speed to tell him, that his colleague was devoted for the army. Himself girded after the Sabine fashion, and armed at all pieces, mounted on horseback and so rode into the midst of his enemies. Of both armies he was seen, to carry with him much more stately and venerable port than a man as sent from heaven to be a satisfaction of all gods wrath, and to turn away all plague and mischief from his owne people upon the enemies. All terrour and fear he carried with him as he went, and first disordered the ensigns of the Latines in the edge and border of the battallions, and afterwards entred within into the whole army. This was noted and seen most evidently, that by which way so ere he rode the enemies were smitten with fear, as if they had been blasted and struck with some untoward aspect and influence of a planet. But so soon as he was faine and overcharged with shot of darts, presently from that place all about, the cohorts of the Latines (out of all question) as amazed men, fled away and avoided. And therewithal likewise the Romans, as if they had been discharged and freed from their religious fear and scruple of conscience, and as if they had but then and not before heard the sound of the trumpet to battel, began to charge and fight afresh. For both the *Rorarii* advanced forward and ran among the ranks of the *Antepilani*, and thereby re-enforced the *Hastati* and *Principes*, and caused them to fight more stoutly: and the *Triarii* kneeling on their right knee, waited till the Col. gave them some token to arise. Afterwards in process of fight when in other parts the Latines in their number prevailed, *Manlius* the Consul, having heard of the final end of his companion, and (and right as piety would) accompanied as well with plaints and tears as with due praises so worthy and memorable a death, for a while doubted, whether it were yet time for the *Triarii* to arise. Afterwards thinking it better that they should be relieved in heart and fresh, unto the last push of extremity, he biddeth the *Accensi* from the hindmost tail of the reereward to come forth before the standards. Who so soon as they were come in place, forthwith the Latines, supposing the enemies had done the like, raised their *Triarii*. Who having for a good while fought fiercely and wearied themselves, and either broken their javelins or dulled their points, and yet by meer force repulst their enemies: thinking now all had been done

and the victory achieved, as being come as far as to the utmost skirts of the battallions: "Then, H
 "quoth the Consul to the *Triarii*, rise now fresh and lusty as ye are, against the wearied, mindful
 "of your country, parents, wives and children, mindful of the Consul, who for your victory hath
 "taken his death. The *Triarii* all hearty & unfoiled, were not so soon risen up, shewing themselves
 in their bright and glittering armour, but there began on a sudden & unlooked for, a new skirmish
 and conflict. For they receiving the *Antepilani* between their files, set up a shout and outcry trou-
 bled & disordered the *Principes* of the Latines, gored their faces with their javelins, slew the prin-
 cipal flower and strength of their best & formost men and passed untouched in a manner through
 the other bands, as if they had been disarmed: yea, and brake through their pointed and close bat-
 tallions, with so great a murder, that scarcely they left behind them a fourth part of their enemies
 alive. The Samnites also under the foot of the hill, being seen a far off in battel array, smote a terror
 among the Latines. But among all either Citizens or Allies, the especial commendation of that
 service rested in the Consuls: of whom, the one turned all the threats and dangers from the gods
 both above and beneath, upon himself alone; the other in that battel shewed such valour and po-
 licy, that it is confessed both of Romans and Latines, who have written of that journey and com-
 mended it to posterity, that of whether army *T. Manlius* had the conduct, that way doubtless
 would the victory go. The Latines after their defeat and flight retired to *Minturnæ*: their camp
 presently upon the battel was won, and many a man there surprised alive and cut in pieces, but
 the Campains especially. That day could not the corps of *Decius* be seen, for that the night came
 upon them as they fought for it: the morrow after it was found amongst a mighty company of
 slain enemies, overwhelmed with swords, darts and javelins: and with all honour and solemnity
 according to his death, performed by his brother Consul were his funerals.

This also amongst the rest, seemeth worth the remembrance and to be inserted in this place,
 namely, That it was lawfull for Consul, Dictator, and Prator, whensoever they sacrificed and be-
 took to the Devil the Legions of their enemies, for to vow and offer withall, not themselves in a-
 ny case, but any Citizen whom they would: provided alwaies that he were one of the enrolled le-
 gion of the Romans. [And if the man who is thus addicted and destined to death, hap to die, all is well,
 and as it ought to be: But if he die not, then was the image of him slain fast high or above buried in the
 ground, and a purging or propitiatory sacrifice was slain in his stead: but wheresoever it chanced that I-
 mage to be so interred, thither was it not lawfull for any Roman Magistrate to set foot and come. But if
 a man would needs offer and vow himself to death, as *Decius* did, and die not, he shall not purely perform
 any sacred duty, or do sacrifice, either for himself or the City, that hath once thus betokened himself. If he
 will bequeath and offer his armour to *Vulcan*, or to some saint whomsoever he list, he is permitted and
 lawfull for him so to do, either by way of sacrifice or other offering as he pleaseth. As for the weapon or
 spear over which the Consul standing on both his feet, made his prayers and invocations, it is not lawfull
 the enemy to seize thereon: but if he fortune to win the same, a propitiatory sacrifice must be offered to
 appease *Mars*, so wit, a swine, a sheep, and a Bull.] And albeit the records both of all divine and hu-
 mane customs and traditions, make no mention hereof, and are now grown out of use and re-
 membrance, by reason that we prefer new and forrein ceremonies, before the old ancient rites of
 our own country and ancestors, yet I thought not amiss to make report hereof, even in those very
 words and terms as they were used, delivered, and pronounced.

In some writers I find, that the Samnites having waited to see the event of this battel, came
 to aid the Romans when all was done and past. Also, that there was succour a coming from *Lati-
 num* unto the Latines, but not before they had the overthrow: by reason that they spent a great
 time in deliberation. And when as now the formost ensignes and some part of the army was gone
 forth of the gates, and news came of the defeat and slaughter of the Latines; as they turned their
 banners and returned into the City, it is said, That their Prator or Provost, named *Numisus*,
 spake these words, "That so small a way as they had gone, must cost them dear, and fall sweetly
 "would the Romans be paid therefore. Such as were remaining of the Latines after the battel,
 and were scattered asunder in many and divers waies, when they were rallied together, shrowded
 themselves for safety in the City *Vesica*. Where in their Councils and assemblies, *Numisus*, their
 Generall, averred, and assured them, that *Mars* indeed was common, and the hazard indifferent
 to both parties, as having made an equal massacre in the one army and the other; and that the bare
 name only of victory went with the Romans: for otherwise, they carried away with them the
 fortune of men vanquished, and sped no better than they. For (saith he) The two royal pavil-
 ions of their Cos are polluted and defiled: the one with the parricide of his own son, the other
 for the death of the Cos, who had vowed himself to die: all their forces in manner slain: their
 Javelincers and principals killed: a bloody slaughter committed both before and behind the
 Standards: and only the *Triarii* at the last upshot renewed the fight and set all upright. And albe-
 it (quoth he) the power of the Latines also be shrewdly abated, yet for a fresh supply, either *Lati-
 num* or *Vesica* are nearer than *Rome*. And therefore if they so thought good, he would with all speed
 raise the lusty flower and choicest manhood both out of the Latines and the Volscians, and return
 again with a fresh army to *Capua*: and with his sudden coming unlooked for, surprise and de-
 feat the Romans, expecting as then for nothing less, than a second battel. So by dispatch-
 ing his cautelous and deceitful letters into all parts of *Latium* and the Volscian nation (by reason
 that they who had not been present at the battel were sooner induced to give rash credit) there
 was a tumultuary army in great haste levied, enrolled, and assembled together out of all quarters.

This

A This host as it marched, *Torgatus* the Consul met at *Tifanum*, a place between *Sinnessa* and *Minturnae*. And before they could chuse out a plot of ground to encamp in, they bestowed their carriages and baggage on heaps of either side: fell to a battel presently and made a final end and conclusion of all the war. For the enemies were brought so low, that as the Consul led his victorious Army to waste their Country, all the Latines yielded themselves to him: and this their rendring the Campains likewise followed. Thus *Lutium* and *Capua* forfeited and lost part of their Territories. The lands of the Latines with the Privernats laid thereto, and the Territory of *Falerii*, which belonged to the people of *Capua*, even as far as the river *Vulsurinus*, was divided amongst the Commons of *Rome*. Two acres in the Latine Country, with a supplement of three four parts out of the Privernats land to make up the whole: and three acres in the Territory of *Falerii*, with addition of a fourth part to boot for amends, because it was so far off, were assigned for a man. The Laurentins only, of all *Lutium*, and the horsemen of the Campains escaped this punishment and were exempted from the rest, because they had not revolted. And a decree passed, that the League with the Laurents should be renewed: and from that time usually every year, is it renewed, after the tenth day of the Latine holidays. Those Campain horsemen were made free denizens of *Rome*: and for a monument and memorial thereof, they set up and fastned a brazen table at *Rome* in the Temple of *Castor*. The people of *Capua* were enjoined to pay yearly to every one of them, (and they were a thousand and six hundred in all) 45. Deniers.

* 45. Denarii
amount to 18
sh. 1 d. ob. ster.

Thus after the war fully determined, and both rewards dealt, and punishment inflicted according to each mans desert, *T. Manlius* returned home: whom the elders only [for certain] went forth to meet on the way: the youth, not only then, but ever after, during his life abhorred, and with curses detested him. The Antiats made certain rodes into the Territories of *Hostia*, *Ardea*, and *Solona*. And for that *Manlius* the Consul was not able himself in person to intend and manage that war, by reason of sickness, he nominated for Dictator *L. Papirius Crassus*, who as it happened was at that time Prætor: by whom was named for General of the horsemen *L. Papirius Cursor*. This Dictator, albeit he kept the field, and lay encamped certain months within the Confines, yet achieved no worthy and memorable exploit. After this year thus renowned for the victory of so many and so puissant nations, and withall, for the noble and famous death of the one Consul, and for the government of the other, albeit stern and rigorous, yet notable and renowned; there succeeded Consuls, *T. Amylius Mamercus*, and *Q. Publilius Philo*, who met not with the like subject and matter of great affairs: and they themselves were more mindful either of their own private business, and studious to maintain a side and faction in the Common-weal, than to advance the State of their Country. Howbeit, the Latines (who rebelled for anger that they lost their lands) they discomfited in the plain of *Feneſſa*, drave them both out of their Camp, and forced them to leave the field. Where, whiles *Publilius* (by whose governance and conduct that victory was achieved) received surrender of the Latines, the flower of whose youth was there all slain and killed up. *Amylius* led his Army against *Pedum*. As for the Pedans they had maintenance from *Tybur*, *Preneſte*, and *Velitern*, who took their parts: there came also aid from *Lanuſium* and *Antium*. Where the Roman Consul, albeit he had the better hand in skirmish, yet for that there remained behind a new piece of service about the City it self *Pedum*, and the Camp of their Confederats which was adjoynd close to the Town: all of a sudden he gave over the war unfinished, because he heard that triumph was decreed unto his brother Consul. He also himself returned to *Rome*, and called earnestly for triumph before victory. At which untimely and covetous desire of his, the Nobles being offended, denied flatly; that unless he either forced *Pedum* by assault, or won it by composition he should not triumph. Hereupon *Amylius* being discontented and alienated from the Senat, bare his Consulship afterward like to the seditious Tribunes: For so long as he was Consul he ceased not to charge and accuse the Nobles before the people; and his Colleague no whit gainsaid him as being himself one of the Commoners. He took occasion of these accusations upon this, that the lands in the Latine and Falern Countries, were divided in pinching and scant measure among the Commons. And after that the Senat, desirous to abridge the time of the Consuls government, had decreed that a Dictator should be declared against the Latine rebels; *Amylius* (whose turn it was at that time to govern) nominated his own companion in office to be Dictator, by whom *Junius Brutus* was named General of the horse. This Dictatorship was popular and altogether framed to the humour of the common people: both by reason of slanderous and accusatory Inveſtives made against the Nobles: and for that it enacted three Statutes, most favorable and pleasing to the Commons, and as cross and adverse to the Nobility: first, That the Acts devised and enacted by the Commons, should bind all the *Quirites* or Citizens of *Rome*: secondly, That all laws which were proposed and to pass by the suffrages of the Centuries, before the Scrutiny began, and their voices gathered, the Nobles should allow and approve: thirdly, That forasmuch as they were come thus far already, that both the Censors might be of the Commons, now one Censor at the least should be a Commoner of necessity. Inſomuch as the Nobles thought verily that there was more lost at home this year by these Consuls and Dictator, than gained to the Empire abroad, by their victories and warlike exploits.

In the year following when *C. Furius Camillus* and *Q. Manius* were Consuls, to the end that *Amylius* the Consul of the former year, might be more notably reproached for the quitting and letting slip of a victory that should have been achieved in his year, the Senat began to mutter

in their speeches, that *Pedum* by force of arms, by valour of men, & all possible means whatsoever, it should be destroyed and raised to the ground. Whereupon the new Consuls being forced to lay aside all other affairs, and to go in hand with that service, first took their journey thither. Now was *Latium* grown to those terms, as they could neither abide war nor endure peace. To maintain the wars they wanted means: and peace they could not away with nor abide to hear of, never since the loss of their lands. So they thought best to hold a middle course: to stand upon their guard, and to keep themselves within their towns: that the Romans being not provoked, should make no quarrel of war: and if there were tidings brought of any town beleaguered, there might be aid sent from all parts to the besieged. And yet for all this, were the *Pedans* succoured but of very few. The *Tiburtins* and *Prænestins*, whose country lay nearest came to *Pedum*. But for the *Aricins*, *Lanuvins*, and *Veliternes*, who joined their forces with the *Antians* and *Volsicians*, were suddenly assailed and set upon near the river *Astura* by *Menius*, and vanquished. *Camillus* fought before *Pedum* with the *Tiburtins*, who came into the field with a right puissant army, and put him to much trouble and hazard: howbeit, he had as good success in the end as *Menius*. The greatest tumult and trouble was caused especially by occasion of a sudden fall of the townsmen in the very time of the conflict. Against whom, after that *Camillus* had opposed part of his forces to make head, he not only drove them within the walls, but the same day also, when he had discomfited both them and their succours, he scaled the town and was Master thereof. Then it was thought good, with greater preparation of power and courageous resolution, after the winning of that one City, to go about with the victorious army from one to another, and so to subdue and tame for ever the whole nation and name of *Latium*. Neither rested they, until partly by main force, and partly by taking one City after another by way of surrender, they had brought all *Latium* under their subjection. After this, having disposed and placed garrisons in every town which they had got, they departed to *Rome* for triumph: which was to them by a general consent of all men granted. Besides their triumph, this honour was to them done, that two statues of horsemen (a rare thing in those daies) should be erected for them in the Grand place, called *Forum*.

The Oration
of *Camillus* to
the Senat of
Rome.

But before that they gathered the suffrages of the people, in the assembly for Election of Coss. against the year following, *Camillus* in this wise made a speech to the Senat, touching the *Latine* nations. "My LL. and Senators of *Rome*, That which by war and force of arms was to be done in "*Latium*, is now by God his goodness and the valour of our souldiers brought to good pass. The L
"Armies of our enemies slain before *Pedum* and *Astura*: The *Latine* towns all, and *Antium* a Ci-
"ty of the *Volsicians* either by force won, or rendred by composition, are now held and kept to
"your behoof, by your own garrisons. It remaineth now to consult (so far as they trouble us
"oft by rebellion) and to devise some means how to keep them quiet in continual peace. In this
"consultation, the immortal gods have given you thus much power to resolve upon, that it lieth
"wholly in your hands, to chuse whether *Latium* shall continue still a nation or no: and therefore
"may ye for ever procure your selves repose and security from thence either by rigour & punish-
"ment, or by clemency and pardon, chuse you whether. Are ye minded to proceed by way of cru-
"elty against those that have yielded themselves, and are vanquished? Ye may, indeed, destroy all
" *Latium*, and make all wast and a desert wilderness, from whence oftentimes in sundry and dan- M
"gerous wars of yours, ye have had the help of an army of Allies, & found them fast and valorous.
"But wil ye (as your ancestors have done before you) enlarge the Roman Empire by receiving un-
"to your City those whom ye have conquered? Then have ye matter & means to grow up still and
"wax mighty, to your great honour and glory. Surely, that government & dominion is of all other
"most strong and sure, wherein the subjects take joy in their obedience. But whatsoever you mean
"to determine in this behalf, ye had need to make speed and resolve betimes. So many nations ye
"hold in suspence of mind between fear and hope: and therefore behoofeful it is, that you both
"rid and deliver your selves (as soon as you can) of the care they put you to; and also whiles their
"heads are buffed and minds unresolved (standing as they do amazed in doubtful expectation)
"either by punishment or by benefit, to forestall and prevent them before they take heart again. N
"For our part, it was hitherto our endeavour to effect and bring about, that ye might be able to
"dispose of all at your pleasure, and as you would your selves: now your duty it is to determine
"what is best for your selves and the Common-weal. The Lords and chief of the Senat praised this
"motion of the Coss. and deemed good in general. But so far as the condition of the parties
"was divers, and their cause not all one, they said that they might resolve and determine best, accord-
"ing to the desert of each state, if they were specified by name, and the opinions asked in particu-
"lar. So they fell to consultation of them severally as they were propounded: and set down this or-
"der and decree, *Imprimis*, that the *Lanuvins* be enfranchised Citizens of *Rome*, and enjoy again
"their own religion and sacred ceremonies, with this proviso, that the chappel and grove of *Juno*
" *Sospita* should be common to the Burgesses of *Lanuvium* and the people of *Rome*. *Item*, that the
" *Aricins*, *Nomentans*, and *Pedans*, shall be made denizens of *Rome*, and endued with the liberties
"and privileges of the *Lanuvins*. *Item*, that the *Tusculans* retain still that freedom of their
"City safe, which as then they enjoyed: and the crime and attainder of rebellion, to be charged up-
"on a few of the chief to save the common state from danger. *Item*, that there should be grievous
"punishment inflicted upon the *Veliternes*, who being ancient Roman Citizens, had notwithstanding
"so often taken arms and rebelled: that their walls should be dismantled and rased: their Sen-
"ators from thence translated, and confined beyond *Tyberis*, there to dwell, upon pain, that
"who so-

* 52 th. 6. d.
scil.

A whosoever were found on this side the water, it might be lawfull for any man to take him as his prisoner, and to ransom him at a 1000 Asles. Provided alwaies, that he should not enlarge him, nor releale him of his Irons, untill the money were fully satisfied and paid. Into the possessions and lands of those Senators, were tenants and Coloners sent to inhabit: who being once enroled, *Vulturne* seemed again as populous as beforetime. At *Antium* was there a new Colony planted, with this proviso, that the ancient inhabitants of the *Antians* should be permitted (if they themselves would) to be enroled there, and remain still. From thence were their long Gallies and war-ships had away, and the people of *Antium* wholly forbidden the sea: but the freedom of Roman Citizens to them was granted. The *Tyburts* and *Preneftins* forfeited their lands, not for their late trespasses of rebellion, common with other *Latines*, but because they repining and envying the good estate of the Romans had in times past joyned arms with the Frenchmen, a savage and unfociable nation. From the other *Latines* Cities and States, they took away the priviledge of marriage, the commerce of traffick, and entercourte of mutual intelligences, and holding counsels themselves, for ever after. To the *Campain* Gentlemen that served with horse aforesaid, for that they would not give consent to revolt with the *Latines*: to the *Fundans* also and *Formans*, through whole country they had alwaies had free, safe, and quiet passage to and fro, this honour was done, as to be made Citizens of *Rome*: but without the liberty of giving voices. Item, it was decreed, that the *Comans* and *Suesulanans*, should be of the same condition and state that *Capua* was: The Ships of the *Antians* were part of them transported to the Arsenal at *Rome*, and the rest set on fire and burned. With the items, beakheads, and brazen pikes whereof it was thought good, that the pulpit of common pleas and Orations in the grand place of *Rome*, should be beautified and adorned: which pulpit was thereupon called *Rostra*.

Whiles *C. Sulpitius Longus*, and *P. Atilius Patrus* were Consuls, when as the Romans held peaceably under their dominion, all the countries, as well through the favour which they won by bountiful dealing as by might and strong hand, there arose war between the *Sidicins* and *Auruncians*. The *Aurunci*, who had yielded afore to *T. Manlius* Consul, and were taken into protection afterwards, rebelled not: whereby they had a more just cause to request and seek for aid at the Romans hands. But before that the Consuls had led forth their power out of the City (for the Senate had commanded, that the *Aurunci* should be defended) tidings came, that the *Aurunci* for fear had quit their town: and being fled with their wives and children, had fortified *Sinnessa*, which now at this day is called *Auruncea*: and that the ancient wals, with the town it self, were by the *Sidicins* destroyed. Hereat the Senate offended with the Consuls, by whose delay and lingering their allies had been betrayed in time of their necessity, ordained a Dictator to be chosen. So there was elected *C. Claudius Regillensis*, who appointed for General of horsemen *C. Claudius Horator*. But hereupon rose a scruple of conscience about the creation of the Dictator. And when the *Angurs* had pronounced, that they thought him not rightly created, both Dictator and General of horsemen gave over their rooms. The same year *Minutia*, a Vestal Nun, was first suspected of inconcency, for going in her apparel more trim than was decent for one of her calling and profession: and after that, brought in question and accused by a bond-servant, that informed against her to the High Priests. First, by a decree of theirs she was awarded to abstain from divine service, to keep her house, and not to manuprise and set free any of her bond-slaves, but to have them forth coming, whensoever they were called for: and after farther examination and judgement passed, was buried quick under the ground, at the gate *Collina*, in the paved causey on the right hand, within the plain or field called *Sceleratus*, i. e. Execrable or polluted. I suppose that place took the name of such * incest of filthy whoredom. The same year, *Q. Publius Philo* was elected Prator, the first that ever was of the Commons, notwithstanding the mind of *Sulpitius* the Consul, who said, That he would not take his name to propound it for Election nor admit him among other competitors. But the Senat strived the less in impeaching this Pratorship, seeing they could not have their will in the highest rooms and dignities.

F The year next ensuing, under the Consulship of *L. Papirius Crassus* and *Caeso Duellius*, was notable and famous for the war of the *Ausonians*, in regard rather of the novelty, than the greatness, and danger thereof. They were a people that inhabited a town called *Cales*, and had joyned their power with the *Sidicins* their next neighbours. The whole power of which two nations being discomfited in one battel, and the same not so memorable, was for the nearness of their Cities more ready to flee, and in their flight more late and secured. Yet the Nobles of *Rome* omitted not the care of that war: for that the *Sidicins* so often, either had themselves moved war, or aided those, that began, or else were the cause of all troubles. Whereupon they endeavoured all that they could to make Consul the fourth time, the noblest warrior in those daies, *M. Valerius Corvinus*, who had for his brother in government *M. Atilius Regulus*. And lest haply some error by chance should be committed, but was made to the Consuls, that extraordinarily, and without casting lot, that province might fall to *Corvinus*: who having received the Army (after the victory at *Cales*), of the former Consuls, went forth. And when at the first shout and onset he had discomfited his enemies, who in remembrance of their former late overthrow were affrighted, he assailed to assault their very wals: and so eager and hotly bent (I assure you) were the souldiers, that even at the first they would have set ladders to, as making full account to scale up to the top, and enter the town. But *Corvinus*, because that was an hard adventure, was desirous to accomplish that enterprife by the long toil of his souldiers, rather than their present perill: he raised therefore

* Simple fornication or inconcency in a professed Votary was called Incest.

therefore a countermure, and platforms, and rolling frames, mounted against the walls: but as good hap was by an opportunity that fell out they had no life of their munitions and fabricks. For *M. Fabius* a Roman prisoner, taking vantage of the negligence of his keepers upon a festival holiday, and making means to break his bonds, let himself down by a long cord, fastned at one end to a pinnacle or battlement of the wall, and slid by the arms, among the munitions and fabricks of the Romans: who so perswaded and prevailed with the General, that he caused him to give an assault upon the enemies, now being fast asleep, as having filled their bellies with wine and good meats. So that with as little ado were the Ausonians and their City surpris'd, as they were more vanquish'd in fight. A great booty of pillage was there got: and after a garrison placed at *Cales*, the Legions were brought back to *Rome*. The Consul by decree of the Senate triumphed: and that *Artilius* should not be without his glory too, both Consuls were appointed to lead forth an Army against the Sidicins: but before they went, they appointed by a decree of the Senat, *D. Emilius Mamercus* to be Dictator, to hold the election of Consuls. Who named *Q. Publius Philo* for his General of horsemen.

In this Election holden by this Dictator, there were created Consuls, *T. Veturius*, and *Sp. Posthumius*. Who albeit there remained some part behind of the Sidicins war yet to the intent they might gratifie the Commons by some good turn, and prevent their longing before they spake themselves: propos'd an Act concerning the bringing of a Colony to *Cales*: and when as the Senate had ordain'd that two thousand and five hundred men should be enrolled and assign'd thither: they created *Triumvirs* for to bring them thither, and to divide the lands, namely, *C. Duellius*, *T. Quimius*, and *M. Fabius*. After this, the new Consuls having received the army of the old, entred into the enemies confines, waiting all before until they came to the very walls of their City. Now, for that the Sidicins had assembled a puissant army, and seem'd themselves fully reioiure and bent upon utter despair to put all unto the last adventure, and to fight it out to the last man. Moreover, because it was noised that all *Samnium* was risen up in arms: by authority from the Senate, the Consuls appointed *P. Cornelius Rufinus* Dictator, and *M. Antonius* was nominated General of the horse. But hereupon grew again another scruple, that there was some errour escap'd in the creation: so they reign'd up their places, and because there ensued also a plague hereupon (as if all their Auspices for Elections of Magistrates had been touch'd and infected with that errour and default) the managing of all affairs fell to an Interregent. Which being now entred upon by the fifth Interregent, *M. Valerius Corvinus*, then Consuls were created, *L. Cornelius* the second time and *Cn. Domitius*.

* The rumour of the Gauls war, was ever taken for a Tumult (*quasi timor multus*) and supposed more dangerous than another ordinary war.

When all things else were at quiet, the rumour of the Gauls war was so rise and hot, that it was taken for a very Tumult. Whereupon it was thought good, that a Dictator should be created. And *M. Papirius Crassus* was nominated, who had *P. Valerius Publicola* for General of the horsemen. When they had mustred the soldiers more streightly and with greater regard than would have been for wars near hand the espials who were sent out, brought word that all was well and quiet among the Gauls. But suspected it was that *Samnium* now the second year was ready to drop out of their allegiance and seek a change. Whereupon the Roman army was not withdrawn out of the Sidicin country. Howbeit the war of *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, drew the *Samnites* into the *Lucans* country, which two nations uniting their forces, gave the King a battel, as he made rodes from *Pestus*. In which confli& *Alexander* having got the upper hand, entred into a League and amity with the Romans: although it was much doubted, with what faithfulness he would observe the same, if all his affairs prospered as well. The same year was a solemn Levy or Numbring of the people of *Rome* held, and the new Citizens were matriculated and enrolled. And therefore two Tribes were annexed, *Melia* and *Capia*: the Leviers that ordain'd them, were *Publ. Philo*, and *Sp. Posthumius*. The *Acerans* became Roman Citizens, by an act propos'd by *L. Papirius* the Prator: by vertue whereof they were enfranchis'd Denizens: but without the privilege of giving voices. These were the acts for this year both at home and abroad.

The year next following (were it through the unkind distemperature of the air, or by some wicked practise of man) was infamous, when *M. Claudius Marcellus* and *T. Valerius* were Consuls. I find the surname of this Consul to vary in divers Chronicles, in some *Flaccus*, in others *Potius*. But it matters not much whether be true. This rather I could willingly have wish'd (and yet all Authors do not record it) that it had been falsely recorded, That those persons by sorcery and poison were made away, whose death hath defamed that year with the note of a pestilence. But yet as the thing is left in writing, I purpose to deliver it, lest that I should seem to derogate ought from the credence of any writer. When as the chief personages of the City died upon like diseases, and after one and the same manner of symptoms a certain chamber-maid presented her self to *Q. Fabius Maximus* (being for the time an *Edile* of State) and profess'd to bewray the cause of that publike and contagious malady, if she might be assured by faithfull promise from him, that by the utterance thereof she should not come to harm nor trouble. Forthwith *Fabius* deliver'd this matter to the Consuls: and the Consuls made relation thereof to the Senate: by the consent of which State assurance was made accordingly unto the party aforesaid, to reveal the matter. Then she declared that by the lewd and mischievous wickedness of women the City was thus afflicted: and namely, That certain Dames of *Rome*, even their own wives, boiled and tempered rank poisons, (to kill their husbands) and if they would follow it presently they might be taken in the manner. So they went straight waies with the wench, and found some women as they were seething

A seething and preparing venomous drugs, yea and some poysoned confections already put up. Which were brought into the market place, and about 20. of those dames, with whom the poysons were found, were sent for by a Sergeant. Two of them *Cornelias* and *Sergia*, both noble women born, stoutly standing upon these tearms, and stiffly avouching, That they were soveraign medicines and wholsom for the body of man, were by the chamber-maid aforesaid confuted, and enjoined to drink thereof, that they might disprove her, and make her a liar, and to have devised of her own fingers ends this false slander. Who took a time to commune and confer together, that the people were avoided aside to make them way. Now when as in sight of all the World, these two Dames had propounded the matter to the rest there in place, they also refused not: and so having drunk the poysoned potion, they all perished by their own mischievous practise. Then presently were their complices apprehended, who detected and discovered a great number of other Wives: of which 170. were condemned. Never afore that day was there any inquisition nor process at *Rome*, about poysoning and forcery. So as the thing was taken for a prodigious wonder, and imputed rather to their minds, besotted and bewitched, then to any felonious intent of theirs. Whereupon the Magistrates of the City, calling to mind and searching the old Chronicles, found, that in times past, at what time as the Commons in a mad fit withdrew themselves and departed the City, there was a spike or great nail driven and fixed by the Dictator: and that the minds of the people, which by discord had been distracted and out of their right wits, were by that ceremonial satisfaction, brought again in good tune: and therefore it was thought good, C that for the fastning or sticking up of such a nail, there should a Dictator be created. So *Cn. Quinctilius* was nominated, who named *L. Valerius* General of horsemen, who so soon as the nail was fastned, gave over their places.

Consuls then were created, *L. Papirius Crassus* the second time, and *L. Plantius Vindex*. In the beginning of which year, there came from the country of the Volscians as Embassadors to *Rome*, the *Fabraterni* and *Lincani*, making request that they would take them into their protection, promising that if by them they were defended from the forces of the Samnites, they would become loyal and obedient subjects to the people of *Rome*: Then were Embassadors sent from the Senat, to give commandment to the Samnites, to forbear doing any violence upon the borders of those nations. Which embassage sped well and took place; not so much for that the Samnites desired D peace, as because they were not as yet ready prepared for war. The same year began the *Privernat* war. The confederates whereof, were the *Fundani*, and their Leader likewise a *Fundan*, one *Vitruvius Vaccus*, a man of great name and reputation, not only in his own country, but also at *Rome*. His dwelling house stood sometime in mount *Palatine*, even the very same, which after the building was pulled down, and the ground forfeit and confiscate, was called *Vacci Prata*. Against whom as he waited and spoiled far and neer the *Setin*, *Norban* and *Coran* countries, *L. Papirius* went forth with a power, and rested not far from his very camp. But *Vitruvius* neither had the wit to keep himself within his trench against a mightier enemy, nor yet the heart to encounter far from his fort. But having put his souldiers in battel array, before they were all well out of the gate of the camp, whiles the souldiers had more mind to flie backward, then march forward E and encounter the enemy: without either advise or confident courage he fought: and with a little ado, and without any question of the matter he was vanquished: so by reason of the shortness of the way, and the easie retire into the camp so neer, he found no great trouble to save his souldiers from much slaughter. For in the very conflict, few or none in a manner were slain, and not many in the press of the rout and tail of the flight, at what time as they rushed into their camp. And in the beginning of the night, the army thus discomfited, made haste to *Privernum*, there to defend themselves within a wall rather then a trench. *Plantius* the other Coss. having from *Privernum*, overrun and forraged the territory, and driven booties away, conducted his army into the *Fundan* country. The Senat of the *Fundani* as he entred into their confines met him, saying: "They were not come as Orators to entreat either for *Vitruvius*, or for those F that took his part: but for the people of the *Fundani*: who that they were innocent and not culpable for this war, *Vitruvius* himself hath plainly proved and declared, in that he chose *Privernum* to be his place of retreat and refuge, and not the City *Fundi*, the very place of his nativity. And therefore at *Privernum* the enemies of the people of *Rome* were to be fought for and pursued, who unmindful of both their own countries, had revolted as well from the *Fundani* as the *Romans*. As for the Citizens of *Fundi*, they were at peace with *Rome*, nay, they were Romans in heart, and carried thankful remembrance of a benefit received: they entreated therefore and besought the Consul to forbear hostility with a guiltless people: assuring him that their Lands, their City, their own Bodies, their Wives and Children were and should be at the devotion of the people of *Rome*. The Consul after that he had commended the *Fundani*, and sent G letters to *Rome* that they remained firm and fast in their allegiance, turned his way to *Privernum*. But before he dislodged (as *Cladius* writeth) the Consul executed those that were the heads of the conspiracy, and three hundred and fifty of those rebellious conspirators were sent prisoners to *Rome*. But the Senat accepted not, and were not content with that submission, as judging the *Fundan* people, desirous to be excused and discharged, with the punishment of the needy and base sort of people. Now when as *Privernum* was besieged and invested with two Consular Armies, the one of the Consuls was called home, to hold the Election of Magistrates. That year were erected in the great race called *Circus*, the Barriers from whence the horses and their charriots are let

* First of July.

let forth, when their prizes. But before they were well past the care of the Privernats war, there arrived a terrible and fearful brute of the Gauls war, which never was regarded slightly of the Nobles of Rome. Incontinently therefore the new Consuls, *L. Aemilius Mamercus*, and *Cn. Plautius*, on that very day, namely, on the * *Calends of July*, wherein they entred their offices, were commanded to determin and agree between themselves upon their Provinces: and *Mamercus*, who had the charge of the Gauls war, levied and enrolled an army without allowing any immunity and exemption from warfare. Moreover and besides, even the poor handicrafts men and artificers, such as keep their shops, and live by sedentary occupations, a sort far unmeet for martial service, are said to have been called forth, and prest to the wars: and a mighty army was assembled and met together at *Veii*, that from thence they might march to encounter the Gauls: For it was thought good that they should now go farther forward, for fear lest the enemy taking another way, might deceive them and march directly to the City of Rome. But a few days after, when it was known for certain that all the trouble and fear for that time was overblown, they diverted their forces from the Gauls, and bent all against *Privernum*. But the issue hereof is reported two manner of ways, some write that the City was forced by assault, and that *Vitruvius* came alive into their hands: others, that before the utmost extremity of assault was used, they of their own accords, carrying before them white wands in token of peace, yielded themselves unto the Consul: and that *Vitruvius* by his own Country men was rendered and delivered unto him. The Senat being moved, and their opinion asked concerning *Vitruvius* and the Privernats; sent for the Consul *Plautius* to triumph, after that he had dismantled the walls of *Privernum*, and there placed a strong garrison: and they gave order in the mean time that *Vitruvius* should be kept fast in prison until the Consuls return, then to be whipped and put to death. They appointed also that his habitation in *Palatium* should be pulled down, and his goods consecrated to their Idol *Semon Sangus*. And look what money [of brass] was raised thereof, it served to make brazen round Plates, which were offered and set up in the Chappel of *Sangus* towards the temple of *Quirinus*. Touching the Senat of the Privernats, thus it was decreed, that every one of the Senators calling, who remained at *Privernum* after their revolting from the Romans, should in the same condition and state as the Veliterns, be confined beyond *Tybris*, and there dwell. These Acts being thus set down, there was no more talk of the Privernats until the triumph of *Plautius*. After the triumph, the Consul having executed *Vitruvius* and his complices, supposing now that he might safely propound the cause of the Privernats, to the LL. of the Senat, whiles they were newly satisfied with the execution of the guilty offenders: "Since that (quoth he) my LL. of the Senat, the principal authors of this revolt and rebellion, have both at the hands of the immortal gods, and at yours, suffered now already condigne punishment: what is your further pleasure, and what shall be done with the innocent and harmless multitude? For my part verily, although I be rather to demand your opinions then deliver mine own: yet seeing the Privernats neer neighbors unto the Samnits, with whom we now at this time entertain a most uncertain and slippery peace, I would have as little grudge and rancor left as may be, between us and them. As the question in it self was doubtful and ambiguous, whiles men gave advice some to proceed cruelly, others to deal gently, according to each man his nature and inclination: so, there was one of the Privernat Embassadors that made it more doubtful, and put all out of square: a man mindful of that state wherein he was born, more than of his present need and extremity. Who being demanded of one (that had spoken to the point, and delivered some sharp censure and heavy sentence against them) What punishment he judged the Privernats deserved? Marry (quoth he) that which they deserve, who deem themselves worthy of liberty and freedom. At whose stout and arrogant answer, when the Consul saw those to be more eagerly and bitterly bent, who before impugned the cause of the Privernats: to the end that he himself by some mild and gentle demand might draw from the party more modest language: What (quoth he) if we should remit and pardon your punishment: what kind of peace might we hope to have at your hands? If (quoth he) ye offer us good peace, ye shall find it on our part loyal and perpetual: but if ye tender hard conditions of peace, ye shall have it last but a small while. But then one gave out, that the Privernat began to threaten plainly: and said moreover, that such speeches were enough to stir up any peaceable and quiet people to war, that never thought to have fought. But the better part of the Senat drew these his answers to a better sense, and said that it was the speech of a man, and of a man free born. For, was it credible (quoth they) that any state, nay, any particular person, would longer abide (than needs he must) that condition which he misliketh and goeth against his stomach? There only is peace sure and like to hold, where men are contented and willing to keep themselves in peace: and never let men look or hope to find faithful loyalty, where they will impose thralldom and servitude. And to this purpose the Consul himself especially moved and enclined their hearts, reiterating these words to the Senators that were first to give their opinions, and that so loud, as he might of many more be overheard, That they above all other, and none but they indeed were worthy to be made Roman Citizens, who minded and esteemed nothing in the world, but their freedom. Whereupon, both in the Senat they obtained their suit: and also by the authority of the LL. a Bill was exhibited to the people, That the Privernats might be enfranchised Romans.

The same year were three hundred sent as a Colony, to inhabit *Anxur*: and had two Acres of ground a peece allowed them. The year following was memorable in no respect, either of home

A home affairs or foreign, in the time of *T. Plautius Proculus*, and *P. Cornelius Scipio* Cons. Only this fell out that year, that in *Fregella* (which sometime was in the territory of the Sidicini, and after, of the Volscians) there was a Colony planted; and unto the people there was given a dole, or distribution of raw flesh amongst them; by *Marcus Plautius*, at the funeral of his mother. Some there were that thought, how under a colour of honoring his mother, he defrayed and paid unto the people a deserved hire as reward; in that when he was by the Ediles arrested & brought to his answer for adultery committed with a Dame or married Wife in the City, the people had by their voices acquit him. This done given for a favour paid at his trial, was the occasion also of a dignity following for in the next Election, not without that he were absent, he was preferred to the Tribunship of the Commons, even before those Competitors that were present in place.

There stood sometime the City *Palapoli*, now far from thence where as now *Naples* standeth. In thoe two Cities, one and the same people inhabited, descended and deriving their beginning from *Cumae*, and the Commons fetch their off spring from *Chalcis* in *Eubaea*. With that fleet where in they sailed from their own Country, they were able to do much at sea, and were mighty upon those coasts where they dwelt. And first landing in the Islands *Enaria* and *Pubecula*, afterwards they adventured to seat themselves in the main and continent. This City relying and trusting in their own power, as well as presuming upon the faithless and disloyal society of the Samnits with the Romans, or bearing themselves bold upon the rumor that ran of a pestilence that reigned in in the City of *Rome*, wrought much mischief and hostility against such Romans as inhabited the

Campain and Favern Countries. Whereupon when as (in the time of *Lucius Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Quintus Rubrius Philo* Consuls, the second time) there were Facials sent to *Palapoli*, for to demand restitution again, and a proud answer returned back from the Greeks, a Nation more stout and valiant in tongue then in deed and execution; by the authority of the Senat, the people decreed, that there should be war made upon the *Palapoli*. And when as the Consuls had divided their provinces between themselves, it fell to *Publius* his turn to war upon thoe Greeks. *Cornelius* with another army was opposed against the Samnits, if they should hap to stir any way. For the report went, that they looking and expecting assuredly the revolt of the Campains, would encamp nearer and join with them. There, *Cornelius* thought it best to keep a standing camp. The Senat was certified from both Consuls, That they had small hope of peace with the Samnits.

Publius gave intelligence, that two thousand *Nolan* souldiers, and four thousand Samnits, were rather by the compulsion and importunity of the *Nolans*, than with the good will of the Greeks, received at *Palapoli*. At *Rome* it was for certain known, that in *Samnium* there were new numbers taken by the Magistrates direction, and that the whole country, and the people adjoining, were raised, and out in arms. Moreover, That the *Privernats*, *Fundans*, and *Formians* were without all dissimulation solicited and moved to rebel. Upon which comes, it was advised by the Senat, first to send Embassadors to the Samnits, before they made war; and from them they had an insolent answer. And they themselves made quarrel, and charged the Romans with wrongs offered first; and nevertheless they justified themselves for any thing by them done, and answered all objections that were laid against them full stoutly. "Namely, that the Greeks

were not aided by any publick counsel or order of theirs, nor yet were the *Fundans* and *Formians* by them solicited, as who need not be ashamed of their own power, but thought themselves sufficient enough to war if they listed. Thus much moreover, they could not dissimble, but speak out in plain terms, That the Nation and Senat of the Samnits take it as ill sparry, that the people of *Rome* had re-edified and repaired *Fregella*, a town by them conquered, and won from the Volscians, and by them laid waste; and not only so, but they had placed a Colony also in the Samnite Country, which the inhabitants called *Fregella*. Which countenanced and reproachful injury, unless they did were the anchors thereof would do their best to abolish and cancel, they would with all their might and main repel it from them. And when as the Roman Embassadors made a motion, and would have had them to put the matter far to be

decided unto the common Confederates and friends of both parties: What double and indirect dealing is this (quoth the Samnites)? What manner is here to no purpose? As for the quarrels and difference between us (O ye Romans) neither the babling words of Embassadors, nor yet a bydays man or a distastor, but the very Campain field, wherein we must encounter in earnest, extending off sword, and the spears point, and the doubtful chance of battel shall determine. And therefore encamp we between *Capua* and *Canusium*, in the sight one of another, and let us then try the issue, whether Samnite or Roman shall be Lord of *Italy*. The Embassadors of *Rome* made answer, that they were not to go whether the enemy called them, but whither their General and Campain led them. In this mean while *Publius* had already got a convenient piece of ground between *Ardea* and *Capua*, and thereby encompassed the enemies of the mutual intercourse of succours from the one to the other, which they had used reciprocally, as either place had need, and was distressed. Therefore, when as the time of Election of Magistrates at *Rome* drew on apace, and expedient it was not for the Common weal, that *Publius* (now approaching near the enemies walls, and ready to assault) should be called away from the hope which daily he had of winning the City: the Tribuns were dealt withal, to propose an Act unto the people. That when the time of *Pub. Philo* his Consulship should be expired, he might in quality and name of Proconsul, remain in government, until the war with the Greeks were fully ended. And unto *P. Cornelius* were letters sent, implying thus much, That whereas it was not thought good, that he

he now being entred into *Samnium*, should be called away from the chief push of the war; he should nominate a Dictator to be President of the Election of Magistrates; Who named *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and by him was appointed for General of horse *Sp. Posthumius*. Yet for all this, was no assembly for the said election, holden by the Dictator. For it came in question, Whether he were rightly created or no. And the *Augurs* being hereabout consulted with, pronounced, That the Dictator seemed not created anight. But the *Tribuns* discredited and made insipious and infamous, by their accusatory speeches, this their sentence and declaration, saying, That neither it was easie to know the fault and error in the creation, seeing that the Consul nominated the Dictator in the beginning of the still night, neither had the Consul writen so by any man publicly or privately thereof, nor yet was there any person could come forth and say, that he either saw or heard ought, that might mar and interrupt the *Auspices*; nor yet could the *Augurs* sitting at *Rome*, guess and divine, what error had hapned to the Consul in the camp so far off. And who saw not (say they) that the *Augurs* found fault herewith, because the Dictator Elect, was a Commoner? These and other such allegations were (to no purpose) by the *Tribuns* given out. For the matter grew to an Interreign, and the foresaid Election being stil put off and adjourned for one cause or other; at length the fourteenth Interreign, *L. Emilius* created Consuls, *C. Petilius*, and *L. Papirius*, surnamed *Mugillanus* or *Curjor*, as I find in other Chronicles.

In that year it was recorded, that the City *Alexandria* in *Egypt* was founded: and that *Alexander* the King of *Epirus* was murdered by a certain *Lucan*, a banished person, to verifie the Oracle of *Jupiter Dodoneus*, which had foretold his death. For when he was sent for into *Italy* by the *Tarentines*, he had warning given him, [To take heed of the *Acherusian Water*, and the City *Pandusia*, for there it was his destiny to end his days:] and therefore, with more speed he passed over into *Italy*, to be as far off as might be, from the City *Pandusia* in *Epirus*, and the river *Acheron*, which issuing out of *Molossis* into the lower Meers and Lakes, dischargeth it self, and falleth into the *Thesprotian Gulf*. Howbeit (as commonly it is seen when men seek most to flie and avoid their fatal death, they run headlong and plunge themselves into it,) he, having oftentimes vanquished and overthrown the legions of the *Brutians* and *Lucans*; won by force *Heraclea* a Colony of the *Tarentines*, and *Consentia* in *Lucania*, and *Sipontum*, and also *Astrina* a Colony of the *Brutians*, and other Cities afterwards of the *Medapians* and *Lucans*: sent into *Epirus* three hundred Noble houses and families, whom he meant to keep as hostages: he encamped not far from *Pandusia*, a City situate neer to the Confines of the *Lucans* and *Brutians*. And there he held three hills somewhat distant asunder, from whence he might make excursions and rodes into every part of his enemies country: and he had in ordinary about him almost 200. banished men of the *Lucians*, for his sure trusty guard: who notwithstanding (as the natures are of such for the most part) changed with every wind, and carried mutable minds according to the variety of fortune. Now it fell out so, that the continual rains which overflowed all the fields, had foreclosed and stopped the passages three ways between his armies, so as they could not help one another: whereby those two garrisons where the King was not in person, were surprized by the unexpected coming of the enemies: who having put them all to the sword, turned their whole forces to besiege the King. From whence, there were by the *Lucan* exiles, messengers sent to their own countreimen: who in the name of the rest capitulated, that if they might be restored again they would deliver the King either dead or alive into their hands. Howbeit he himself with an elect number of men, made a noble and hardy adventure, and brake through the midst of the enemies: and encountering the chief Commander of the *Lucans* hand to hand, killed him outright: and having rallied his men near together, who were scattered aunder in flight, he came at length to a river, which by the fresh ruins of a broken bridge, that the violence of that water had born down, shewed passage. Which as the army passed over at an unknown and blind ford, one soldier wearied with fear and travel, cursing and detesting the unlucky and abominable name of the River, forsook to say, Thou hast not thy name *Acheron* for naught: which word when it came once to the King's ear, he presently began to think and muse of his final end: and there stayed still in a deep suspense whether he shall pass over or no. Then *Sotimus*, one of the Kings servants and liegemen, asked him why he lingered and made delay, being in so great a peril and jeopardy as he was and threatened him withal, how the *Lucans* intended to play false with him, and sought opportunity to forsake him and do him a mischief. With that the King looked behind him, and espied them afar off in a troop coming against him: whereupon he drew his sword, put his horse to it, took the River, and rode through the midst thereof; and when he was now so far passed that he was ready to take the land, one of those banished *Lucans* lanced a dart aloof at him; and struck him quite through. Whereupon he fell down dead with the dart sticking in his body, and the stream carried it down as far as to the *corps de guard* of the enemies. Where his breathless corps was shamefully misused and mangled. For they having cut it cross the middler sent the one half to *Consentia*, and kept the other with themselves still, to practise a thousand villanies upon it. And as they shote and flung stones at it afar off, a certain woman being amongst this outrageous multitude (rising beyond all measure of anger and malice that mans heart can devise or believe) after she had besought them to forbear a while, with her eyes gushing out tears said unto them, That her husband and children were prisoners, and in the hands of the enemies: but she hoped with the Kings body, howsoever it were abused and martyred, to redeem them again. This stayed

* A river of anguish and pain.

* *Consentia*.

A stayed them from farther mangling thereof: Thus all that was left of the Kings body, by the means of one only woman, was burnt at *Consentia*: and his bones sent back afterwards to the enemies unto * *Metapontum*, and from thence conveyed to *Epirus*, unto *Cleopatra* his wife, and his sister *Olympias*, whereof the one was sister, the other Mother to *Alexander* the Great. Thus much concerning the woful and unhappy end of *Alexander* the King of * *Epirus*: Whose fortune albeit was such, that he came short, and was cut off before he intermeddled in the Roman war, yet because he warred in *Italy*, let it suffice that briefly by the way I have touched his story.

The same year was there a Leſttern at *Rome*, (which was the fiſt after the foundation and Building of that City) for the pacifying of the ſame gods as heretofore. Afterwards, the new Conſuls by the ordinance and direction of the people, ſent defiance and proclaimed war againſt the Samnites: And as they themſelves made greater preparation every way than againſt the Greeks, ſo they had beſides new aids, whereof (as then) they leaſt thought of: The Lucans and the Apulians (nations which to that day had no dealing nor commerce at all with the Romans) became their liege and loyal Allies, offering men and munition toward that war. Whereupon they were by form of Covenant and league entertained and received into their amity. At the ſame time alſo the Romans had good ſucceſs in the Samnites quarters: for three towns there yeilded unto them, and they became Maſters thereof, to wit, *Alife*, *Callife*, *Ruffinum*: all the territory beſides at the fiſt coming of the Conſul, was pilld and ſpoiled far and near. Theſe exploits thus proſperouſly C achieved, the other enterprize alſo of beſieging the Greeks; was well followed and at the point of an end. For over and beſides, that by certain ſconces and bloccuzes between the enemies forts and forces, one part was cut from the other; they endured alſo within their own walls, much more miſery and calamity, than the enemy menared and threatned without: and as if they had been captives to their own gariſon ſouldiers, whom they had called to them for their defence, they ſuffered infinite villanies, and indignities in the perſons as well of their wives as of their children, and even the hardeſt extremities, that follow upon Cities forced by the enemy. And therefore when it was noiſed abroad, that there were new ſuccours coming from *Tarentum* and the Samnites: they ſuppoſed that for Samnites, there were already within their walls more of them than they would marry, as for *Tarentins* they looked willingly for their help, as Greeks both the one & D the other, hoping by their means that they might as well withſtand the outrages of the Samnites and Nolans, as the Romans their open and profeſſed enemies. Laſt of all, of many inconveniences that they were driven unto, the leaſt and eaſieſt was thought, to yeeld ſimply unto the Romans. *Charilaus* and *Nymphius* two great men and the chiefeſt perſonages of the City, having laid their heads and plotted one with the other, ſo parted the matter between themſelves, that the one ſhould flie unto the Roman General, and the other ſtay behind, to find ſome opportunity, and miniſter ready means to render the City according to their deſignment, *Charilaus* was the man who preſented himſelf unto *Philo*, and ſaid unto him, "To the good and happy fortune be it E ſaid and done of the Palæopolitans and the people of *Rome*, I am determin'd to deliver and ſurrender the City into your hands: in which Aſſion, whether I may be thought to have betrayed or ſaved my country, it reſteth only in the truſt and fidelity of the Romans. As for my ſelfe privately, I am come neither to indent, nor yet to crave ought at all: but publickly in the behalf of the City, I would rather by way of petition requeſt, than article and capitulate, thus much, That if this enterprize intended, ſpeed well and take effect, the people of *Rome* would think and conſider, in what affection, endeavour and jeopardy, our City returneth again into their amity, rather than upon what folly and raſhneſs, it brake their allegiance and revolted. Then, after he had been bidden welcom by the General, entertained with good and gracious words, and highly commended, he received 3000 ſouldiers, to keep, ſurprize, and to ſeize that quarter of the City, where the Samnites were lodged, and which they held: of this regiment and gariſon, L. *Quintus* a Colonel had the conduct. During this time, *Nymphius* alſo did his part, F and dealt ſo craftily under hand with the Pretor of the Samnites, that he induc'd and wrought him to this point, That for as much as all forces, were either about *Palæopolis* or in *Samnium*, he would permit him with the fleet to caſt about to the Roman coaſts, for that he intended to forrage and waſte, not only the maritime parts, but the territories alſo adjoining to the City: and the better to deceive the enemy (quoth he) I had need to go by night, and therefore the Ships preſently muſt lanch forth, and be ſet aſſay: And to effect this more ſpeedily, all the youth of the Samnites beſides the neceſſary gariſon of the City, was ſent to the ſhoar, where whiles *Nymphius* in the dark, and amongſt the multitude that thrud one another purpoſely, ſpent time in ſetting confuſedly, ſome to this and others to that, *Charilaus*, according to the complot ſet before, was by his affociates received into the City, and having filled the higheſt places of the town G with Roman ſouldiers, commanded to ſet up a ſhout, whereat the Greeks upon a ſecret token given them by their Captains, kept themſelves ſtill and quiet. The Nolans then, at the backſide of the town, eſcaped and fled by the high way, that leadeth to *Nolæ*. And the Samnites being excluded out of the town, as they had a more ready mean to flie for the preſent, ſo they found it, after they were paſt danger, a more ſhameful diſgrace. For, they were diſarmed and naked men, they had left all the good they had amongſt the enemies, and returned home ſpoiled, poor and needy, and ſerved for a laughing ſtock and deriſion, not only to other nations, but alſo to their own neighbors and countrymen. Albeit I am not ignorant that there is another opinion

opinion, whereby it is given out that *Palapolis* was by the Samnits betrayed: yet as I have credited and followed herein such authors, as me thinks it were hard if they should not deliver a truth; for so I am induced the rather to believe that the Neapolitans returned into amity with the Romans, because of the league extant in their name (for unto them afterwards the State and chief seat of the Greeks was translated.) Unto *Publius* was decreed a triumph, for that it appeared clearly and was believed constantly, that by his siege the enemies were tamed, and so contrained to come to a composition and surrender. Two special favours hapned to this man above all others before him, namely, the prorogation of his government, not granted to any man aforesaid, and triumph after his Magistracy was expired.

Upon the tail of this war, arose another with the Greeks of the other tract or coast. For the *Tarentins* having born the *Palapolitans* in hand a good while, and fed them with a vain hope of help, when they heard once that the Romans were possessed of their City, complained themselves like men forsaken, and not as those who had forsaken others, much blaming the *Palapolitans*, and with anger and envy raging against the Romans. Disquieted also they were, for that news came that the *Lucans* and *Apulians* (for both these nations that year began to contract alliances) were under the protection of the Romans. For now (say they) they are well near come unto us, and shortly we shall grow to this pass, that we must acknowledge the Romans for our Lords, or have them our heavy friends. And verily the trial and hazzard of our estate, dependeth only upon the Samnits war, and the event thereof, which nation alone, and the same nothing mighty, remaineth now: since that the *Lucans* are gone and revolted to the Romans: who yet might be reclaimed and moved to shake off the society with the Romans, if any feat were wrought and practised to sow some discord and dissention between them. These devices and overtures took place and prevailed with such, as were desirous of change and novelty: in so much as certain of the *Lucan* youth (better known, than trusted and reputed honest, amongst their countrymen and fellow Citizens, hired also for a sum of money) whipped one another with rods, came naked into the assembly of the Citizens, and with open mouth cried out aloud and said, that for presuming only to come into the Roman camp, they were by the Coss, thus scourged, & escaped narrowly the losing of their heads. The thing it self pitious and unieemly to behold, as bearing a shew rather of wrong done unto them, than of any malicious & subtil practice by them intended, stirred the people up, to force their Magistrates with their incessant outcries to assemble a Council. Some standing round about the Senat in council, call hard for war against the Romans: others run up and down to raise the multitude of Peazants to take arms: and in this stir and uproar, which was able to disquiet and amaze even those that were well minded, a decree passed, that the league with Samnits should be renewed, and Embassadors dispatched forthwith, to the same purpose. This was a sudden change: and as it had no colour of cause, so it carried smal credit with it amongst the Samnits, who forced the *Lucanians* to give hostages, and to take garrisons into their fortresses: and they, blinded with anger, and inveigled with flattery, refused nothing. But shortly after began the fraud to appear and shew it self, namely, after that the authors and devisers of these false surmises and slanders, were retired to *Tarentum*: but having put themselves out of all, and being not at liberty to dispose of their own affairs, they had nothing else left them, but like fools to repent in vain.

That year hapned to the Commons of *Rome* another beginning of their liberty, in that they were no more either bound in chains, or held in thralldom by their creditors. Which priviledge against poor debtors, was altered, by occasion of the filthy lust and notorious cruelty of one Usurer. And *L. Papirius* was the man unto whom *C. Publius* for his fathers debt, became bound, and consigned himself his prisoner: whose tender age and lovely favor which might and should have moved pity, inflamed the mind of this Usurer to unkind lust and shameful contumely: for making full account, that the prime and flower of his youth should satisfie and pay for the interest of the debt, he first began to allure and entice unto him the youth with wanton & unchast speeches: afterwards seeing that his ears abhorred to hear such filthines, he set to minatory words, & ever and anon put him in mind of his present condition wherein he stood: but last of all, perceiving by him, that he stood more upon his honor and freedom by birth, then respected his hard estate by fortune, he caused him to be stripped naked, and whipping chear to be presented unto him. The poor stripling thus pitiously rent and torn, ran forth into the open street, complained of the filthy lust & cruelty of his creditor. Whereupon, a number of people, enkindled as well with pity and commiseration of the stripling, and indignity of the injury, as also in regard of their own case, and of their children: came running into the *Forum* or common place, and so from thence in a long train to the court of the Council. The Consuls upon this sudden uproar were forced to call a Senat, and as the Senators entred into the Council chamber, they lay all prostrate at their feet, as they passed by, one after another, & shewed unto them the young mans back and sides in what taking they were. And that one day, by occasion of the outrageous enormity of one person, brake the neck of that mighty bond, whereby, to that day, the creditors had their debtors, in danger unto them. For the Consul, had in charge, to propose unto the people, that from thence forward, no person whatsoever, unless he had committed some heinous fact, and until he wereto suffer therefore, should be either kept in fetters and givies, or stretched upon the rack. *Item*: that for lent money, the goods of the debtor and not the body should be obliged. So they that were in bondage, became released and enlarged: and order was taken for the time to come, that none should be imprisoned by their creditors again.

The same year, whiles the Samnits war of it self alone, besides the sudden revolt of the *Lucans*, together

A together with the Tarentines the hatches thereof, held the Senators of *Rome* in care and perplexity enough: behold over and above all these, the Vestin people, as a surcrease to their troubles, joined and banded with the Samnites. Which new occurrent, as for that year it rather maintained this discourse amongst men in their ordinary talk every where, than ministered cause of serious debating in publick Council: so the Consuls of the year following, *L. Furius Camillus* the second time, and *Jun. Brutus Scaeva*, thought no one thing more important than it, and needful to be treated of in the Senat, with the first. And albeit the thing were but new, and a breeding, yet so greatly were the LL. hereabout troubled, that they feared no leis to begin to take in hand, then to neglect it altogether, and not to see it: doubting, lest if they were let go unpunished, the

B neighbor nations would grow too lusty and proud: and again, if they seemed to chastise them by war, the rest for fear of the like measure, might be provoked to anger, take arms, and enter into a general rebellion. And all, and every one of them, namely, the Maritians, the Pelignians and Marucians, were in feats of arms comparable and equal to the Samnites every way: which nations they might be sure to have their enemies, if they medled with the Vestins, and touched them once never so little. Howbeit, that part prevailed and took place, which for the present seemed to carry more courage and valor, then sage advice and wisdom: but the issue and event shewed, that, Fortune favoured Fortitude. So the people by authority and direction of the Nobles, decreed war against the Vestins: the charge whereof light by lot upon *Brutus*, and *Samnium* fell to *Camillus*. To both places were the armies conducted: and by the care and industry employed in the defence

C of the marches and frontiers the enemies were impeached for joining their forces together. Howbeit the Consul *Furius Camillus*, who had the greater and weightier charge laid upon him, fortunately to fall grievously sick, and thereby could not follow the wars: who being commanded to nominate a Dictator, for to manage and conduct his affairs, declared the noblest warrior in those days, *L. Papirius Cursor*: by whom *Q. Fabius Rutilianus* was named General of horsemen, a couple surely of great name and highly renowned for their worthy acts, atchieved in this their government: but yet more famous and voiced abroad, by reason of variance and discord which fell between them: whereby they grew well near to the utmost tears of contesting one another in all extremity. The other Consul warred with the Vestins many and sundry ways, but evermore with like fortune and happy success. For he foraged and wasted their country: and

D by pilling, rising, and burning their houses and corn, forced them against their wills into the field: and in one battel so enfeebled and abated the forces of the Vestins (but not without bloodshed of his own men) that his enemies not only fled into their camp: but also as not trusting now to their ramparts and trenches, they were constrained to steal away into their towns, minding for to save themselves, as well by the natural situation of the places, as the strength of their good walls. In the end, he made assault upon those walled Cities, purposing by force to win them, And first he gained *Cusina* by scaling, either through the exceeding courage of his souldiers, or their anger, being so chafed as they were at their hurts received: for that scarcely one escaped out of the throng and skirmish, clear & not wounded. Then he likewise took *Cingilia*: and gave the pillage of both Cities to his souldiers. Neither gates nor walls could stand in their way and keep

E them out. But into *Samnium* the journey was undertaken by the Dictator with doubtful Auspices and uncertain knowledge of the will of the gods. The default and terror whereof took not effect in the main event and issue of the war, (for it was prosperous and fortunate) but turned to the rage and anger of the chief leaders, who fell out deadly one with another. For *Papirius* the Dictator, advised by the *Pullarius* [that had the custody and charge of the sacred Pullers] went back to *Rome* to take the *Auspicium* [or the presage by the bird-flight] again: and straightly charged his General of horse to keep himself close within his hold, and in no wise to give the enemies battel during his absence. But *Fabius* after the Dictators departure, advertised by the espials, that the enemies were even as careless, as loose and disordered, as if there had been no Roman in *Samnium*: whether it were, that being a stout and lusty young Gentleman, he took foul scorn and thought it

F an indignity, that all should seem to rest in the Dictator only: of that he was induced with the good opportunity of doing some brave exploit (I wot not:) but he went forth with an army in order of battel, to *Imbrinium*, (that was the places name) & there fought a field with the Samnites. But such was the happy issue of this battel, that if the Dictator himself had been there in person, it could not have been better managed. For neither Captain failed his souldiers, nor souldiers their Captain. The horsemen also under the leading of *L. Cominius* a Colonel by his place, (who sundry times charged and recharged again, and could not with force break the enemies arrays) unbridled their horses, and so ran them all on the spur: that no strength was able to abide them: such an havock, such a lane made they all about over armour and men. The footmen seconding this hot charge of the horse, advanced the ensigns against the enemies thus put in disarray: and

G twenty thousand men (by report) were that day slain. In some authors I find, that twice in the Dictators absence he fought, and twice had the upper hand. But in the most ancient writers I read but of one battel. In some Chronicles the whole matter is passed over and left out clean. The General of the horse, having gained a mighty mass of spoil, as otherwise he could not chuse, upon so great a slaughter & massacre: gathered together into one heap all the enemies armor made a fire under, & burned them: were it that he had made some such vow to one of the gods: or (as I list rather to believe, it was a motive of *Fabius* himself, that the Dicta. should not reap the fruit of his glory, and entitle his name thereto: or in pomp carry those spoils before him at his triumph.

More—

T: Oration
of Q. Fabius
to his fellow
souldiers.

Interrogato-
ries rendered
by the Dicta-
tor to Q. Fabi-
us.

Moreover, the letters of this victory by him sent to the Senat, and not a word thereof to the Dictator, were some proof, that he was not willing to impart and communicate his praises with him. But certainly, the Dictator took the matter in so ill part, that when every man else was joyful for this noble victory achieved, he only shewed anger and sadness in his very countenance. Whereupon suddenly he dissolved the Senat, and departed in great hast out of the court, giving out and often iterating these words; Then hath the master of horsemen in deed as well overted and overthrown, both Dictators Majesty and military discipline, as defeated the Samnits legions, if he can so go clear away and escape unpunished, with so manifest contempt of my expresse commandment. Whereupon, full of threats and indignation, he hastned to the camp, and took long journeys: yet could he not prevent the bruit of his coming. For, there were Vantecarriers that posted from the City before, to bring word that the Dictator was coming, full of revenge, and set upon punishment, and at every second word almost, commending the late exemplary justice of T. Manlius. Then Fabius immediatly calling an audience, besought the souldiers, that with what valour and vertue they had defended the Common-wealth from most deadly and mortal enemies, with the same they would protect him from the outrageous cruelty of the Dictator, himselfe (I say) by whose conduct and fortune they had gotten so glorious a victory. "For now, coming he is (quoth he) for envy out of his right wits, and beside himself: for anger at another mans manhood and felicity, furious and horn-mad: and all is no more but this, that in his absence, forsooth, we have iped well; who wisheth rather in his heart, if he could change the course of fortune, that the Samnits had won the victory than the Romans: and nothing is so rise in his mouth, as, That his commandment was contemned; as who would say, he forbade not battel with the same mind, wherein he now grieveth that we have fought. For as then his will was good, even for very envy to hinder and suppress the prowels of another, and went about to take weapons away from most forward souldiers, desirous of fight, that in his absence they might not lay hand to their sword: so now, see how he fretteth and fumeth in great choller at this, that without L. Papirius the souldiers were not disarmed, dismembred as it were, and maimed: and for that Q. Fabius forgot not his place, but bare himself as General of the Cavalry, and not as a Servant and follower of the Dictator, standing at receipt, and waiting at an inch when some under Captainship would fall, that he might step into the place. What would this man (think ye) have done, how would he have fretted, if (as the fortune and doubtful chance of war oftentimes goeth) we had been put to the worse and lost the day: who now that the enemies be vanquished, the field so well fought, the State so well served, as by the most singular Captain in the world, better it might not be, thus menaceth execution to me the General of the horse, even in the honour of my conquest? Neither is he (my masters) cruelly bent and set upon mischief against the General of the horse more then against the Colonels, the Centiners and common Souldiers: nay, he would (be ye sure) if he had been able, have ragged and fared as bitterly, yea, and executed his ire and furious rage upon all. But because he cannot, now he dischargeth his gall upon me alone. For even as envy, like a flaming fire, seareth and mounteth up to the highest, so runneth he upon the chief Captain, and aimeth at the head of this worthy exploit. If he had once extinguished him, together with the glory of this brave service, then like a Conqueror and Lord over a poor captive army, whatsoever he might by law execute against a General of the Cavalry, he would attempt and extend, upon the simple souldiers. Make reckoning therefore, that in standing fast to me and in defence of my cause, ye uphold the liberty of all. For in case he shall perceive once, the same agreement of the army in the maintenance of the victory, which was well seen in the battel, and that ye all have a care and regard of the life and safety of one, his stomach will come down, his heart will relent and incline to clemency, and a milder sentence. To conclude, I recommend my life, and whole estate to your vertue and faithful protection. Then from all parts of the audience they cried unto him aloud & bade him take a good heart: for so long as the Legions of the Romans were safe, there should no person do him harm or injury. Soon after came the Dictator, and presently by sound of trumpet summoned a general assembly. And the publick Crier after an Oieze made, called by name for Q. Fabius General of the horse. Who so soon as he was come from a lower place where he was, and approached neer the Tribunal, (then quoth the Dictator) "I demand of thee Q. Fabius, since that the rule of the Dictator is soveraign and highest above all others, whereunto the Consuls, endued with kingly puissance and government, do obey, yea, & Prators created with the same authority that Consuls are; whether thou esteem it meet and right, that a General of horse should be obedient to his commandment or no? I demand likewise, whether I my self, knowing that I took my journey and went from home, with doubtful and uncertain auspices, ought to have put the mainstate of the Common-weal in hazzard against the order and religious observation in that behalf; and not rather, to go again to take new Auspices, that I might adventure & attempt nothing so long as I stood in doubt of the grace & favor of the gods? And withal, this I demand, whether the General of the horsemen could be freed, exempt, & discharged of that scruple of conscience, which checked and stayed the Dictator from execution of his charge? But what mean I to make these demands? seeing that if he had departed without saying one word, yet thou shouldst have framed thy opinion and applied thy mind according to the interpretation of my wil and pleasure? Why sayest thou nothing? Answer me I say, Forbad I thee not expressely, to do any thing in my absence? Forbad I not thee to fight with the enemies? How

A "How durst thou in contempt of my commandment, whiles our *Auspicia* were uncertaine, whiles our consciences were unresolv'd and with scruples troubled, against Military customs and statutes, against the disciplin of our ancestors, and against the will and direction of the gods: how durst thou, I say, be so hardy as to encounter with the enemy? To their interrogatories make answer directly. Answer I charge thee, to all these points, and nothing but these, and at the peril of thy life, not a word besides. Now come Serjeant and do thine office the while. To which severall Articles, when *Fabius* could not readily answer point by point, one while complaining that he had him for his accuser, who was the judge of his life and death: otherwhiles crying out aloud, that sooner might his life be taken from him, than the glory and honor of his Acts: and as he justified and excused his own self, so he began again to challenge and accuse [the Dictator]. Then *Papirius* being in more heat of choler than before, commanded the General of the horsemen to be stripped out of his cloaths and uncased, and the rods and axes to be brought forth ready. With that, *Fabius* calling earnestly for the help of the souldiers, whiles the officers were a tearing and rentng his cloaths from his back, made means to retire himself into the ranks of the *Triarii*, who began already to make a mutiny and uproar in the assembly. From whence there arose an outcry over all the audience. Some were heard to intreat, others to threat. They who fortun'd to stand next to the Tribunal, because that being within the view and eye of the Dictator, they might be known and noted, besought his Majesty to spare and pardon the General of the hories, and not with him to condemn the whole army. They that were farthest off in the skirt of the assembly, and especially that troop and company about *Fabius*, rated and cried out upon such a rigorous and merciless Dictator. And a little thing more would have made them mutiny: nay, within the very compalls of the Tribunal all was not clear and quier. The Lieutenants or Colonels of whole legions, standing about his seat or chair of state intreated him to put off the matter until the morrow: to give his choler some time to cool, and allow space and respit to confide of it with advice and counsel: saying, "That if *Fabius* had plaid a youthful part, he had paid sufficiently for it already, and his victory had received disgrace and dishonour enough. Beseeching him not to proceed to their extremities of utmost execution, nor to set such a brand and note of ignominy and shame upon the young Gentleman himself, so rare and gallant a Knight; or on his father, a most honourable and excellent personage, nor yet upon the noble house and name of the *Fabii*. But when they saw how little they prevailed by their prayers, and so little by any reason they could alledge: then, they admonished him to have a regard to the furious assembly of the souldiers: and that it was nor for a man of his years and wisdom, thus to put more fire to the hot stomach of Souldiers enkindled already, nor to administer more matter of mutiny: and if such a thing should happen, no man would impute the blame to *Q. Fabius*, who sought and humbly craved pardon of punishment, but to the Dictator; if he overcome with choler, should blindly so far push himselfe in wilful peevishness, as to provoke the outrageous multitude against himself. Finally, that he should not think, how they laboured thus for any affectionate favour they bare to *Q. Fabius*: but were ready to take an oath, that they thought it not safe for the State and Common weal that he should proceed at such a time, to execute the rigor of Justice upon *Q. Fabius*. By these and such like remonstrances, when as the Liburnians had stirred up the Dictator his blood against themselves, rather then pacified his mood against *Fabius*; they were commanded to go down from the Tribunal. And when as the Crier had assaid to make silence all in vain, for that by reason of the noise and tumult, neither the Dictator his voice, nor any of his apparitors and halberds about him, could be heard, the night came upon them and ended the contention, as if it had been a battel in field. The General of the horse was commanded to appear on the morrow. Now when as every man gave it out and avouched unto him, that *Papirius* would proceed more vehemently, for that contesting of the Lieutenants, and that the more he was dealt with at the worse he was, *Fabius* privily stole out of the camp and fled to Rome. And by the means of his father *M. Fabius*, a man who had been already thrice Consul and Dictator, the Senat was called together immediately. And as he was in the midst of his grievous complaints before the Lords, touching the violence and wrong of the Dictator, all of a sudden there was heard before the Council House door, a great noise and hurrying of the *Lacertæ*, whiles they made way and voided the press. And no marvel; for the Dictator himselfe was come with a revenging mind. For to soon as he had heard how *Fabius* was departed out of the camp, he followed after with his lightest men. Then began the broil to be renewed afresh, and *Papirius* caused *Fabius* to be attached. Whereupon the chief of the Nobility, and the whole body of the Senat began to entrepoise themselves by way of mediation: but all their intreaty notwithstanding, he persisted still in his irreparable anger. Then step forth *M. Fabius* the father, "For as much as God the neither the authority of the Senat nor mine old age whom you seek to make children, nor yet the valor & noble courage of the General of horse by your own self chosen and nominated, can prevail nor any humble prayers which are able to appeale the fury of the enemy, nor yet, and to pacifie the wrath and indignation of the gods: I implore the lawfull help of the Tribuns and to the whole body of the people I appeal. And since that you challenge and except against the judgement of your own army, and of the Senat, I offer and present unto you that judge, who only is of more force and puissance, I am sure, than your Dictatorship. I will see whether you will yeeld to this appeal, wherunto the Roman King *Tull. Hostilius* give place. Then out of the Council house they went straight to the Common place of audience: and

M. Fabius to the Dictator.

and when the Dictator, attended with some few, was ascended up, and the General of the Cavalry accompanied with all the whole troop of the chief of the City, *Papirius* commanded that he should come down or else be fetched from the *Rostra*, unto the lower ground. The father followed after him. "Well done (quoth he) in commanding us to be brought hither, from whence we may be allowed to speak our minds, if we were no better then privat persons. At the first there passed no continued speeches so much, as wrangling and altercation. But afterwards the voice and indignation of old *Fabius*, surmounted and drowned the other noise: who greatly blamed and cried out upon the pride and cruelty of *Papirius*. "What man (quoth he) I have been also a Dictator of *Rome* my self, and yet was there never so much as a poor Commoner, no Centurion, nor Souldier hardly entreated or misused by me. But *Papirius* seeketh victory and triumph over a Roman Grand Captain and General, as over the Leaders and Commanders of his enemies. See, see, what difference there is between the government in old time, and this new pride & cruelty of late days. *Quintius Cincinnatus* a Dictator for the time, proceeded no farther in punishment against *Minutius*, when he was faine to deliver him lying enclosed & besieged within his own camp, but to leave him as a Lieutenant instead of Consul in the army whereof he had charge. *M. Furius Camillus*, not only for the present tempered his choler toward *L. Furius*, who in contempt of his old age and authority, had sought most untowardly and with dishonor in the end: and wrote nothing to the people or the Senat but well, of his Colleague: but also being returned, made a special reckoning of him above all the Tribuns consular, whom also of all his colleagues, when as he had the choice granted him by the Senat, he elected to be his coadjutor in the charge of his government. Neither the people verily, whose power is Sovereign over all, were ever more angry against those, that through rashness and want of skill lost whole armies, than to fine them at a sum of money. For the loss and miscarriage of any battel, that a General should be brought into question and answer for his life, was never heard of to this day. And now, rods and axes, whipping and beheading, are prepared for the Commanders under the people of *Rome*, and those, who are conquerors and have deserved most justly triumphs; which by no law can be offered to those that have been vanquished. What else I pray you) should my son have endured, if he had really suffered the field to be lost and his army withal? If he had been discomfited, put to flight, and driven clean out of the field, how far forth further would the Dictator his ire and violence have proceeded; than to scourge and kill? And see how fit and seemly a thing it is that the City for the victory of *Q. Fabius*, should be in joy, in processions to the gods, and thanksgivings, with congratulation and feasting one another: and he himself by whose means the Temples stand open, the Altars smole with incense and sacrifice, and are heaped up again with vows, oblations, and offerings, to be stripped naked, to be whipped and torn in the sight of the people of *Rome*, looking up to the Capitol and the Castle, lifting up his eyes to the gods, upon whom in two such noble battels he called and invoked, not in vain nor without good and happy success? With what heart will the army take this, which under his leading and conduct, and under his fortune, achieved victory? What lamentation will there be in the Roman camp, and what joying on the other side amongst the enemies? Thus fared this good old father, thus pleaded he by way of expostulation and complaint, calling upon God and man for help, and withal embraced his son in his arms, and shed many a tear. On the one side, there made with young *Fabius*, and took his part, the majesty and countenance of the Senat, the favour and love of the people, the assistance of the Tribuns, and their remembrance of the army absent. On the other side were alledged against him by *Papirius*, the invincible government and Empire of the people of *Rome*, the discipline of warfare, the Dictators commandment (observed and revered at all times, no less then the Oracle & wil of the gods), the severe edicts of *Manlius*, whose fatherly love and affection to his dear son was set behind the service and common good of the State. Also it was alledged, that the same exemplary justice, as *Brutus* the first founder of the Roman liberty, executed in his two sons: and now might and kind fathers, indulgent and fond, old men in the case of contempt of other mens commandment, give liberty to youth, and pardon as a small matter, the overthrow of military discipline. Howbeit, he for his part would persist in his purpose still, nor remit one jot of condigne punishment to him, who contrary to his commandment and notwithstanding the trouble and confusion of religion, and the doubtful *Aspicia*, had given battel, saying, That as it was not in his power to abridge any jot the majesty of that State and Empire for being everlasting to *L. Papirius*, would diminish naught of the authority thereof, withing, That neither the Tribuns puissance sacred and inviolable in it self, should by their opposition & interposing of their negative voice, violate the Empire of *Rome*: nor that the people of *Rome*, should in him above all others abolish and extinguish both Dictator and Dictatorship. Which if it did, the posterity hereafter should lay the weight and blame (although in vain) not in *Papirius*, but in the Tribuns, and in the perverse judgement of the people: when as the military discipline being once polluted and stained, neither souldier would obey the Centurions commandment, nor the Centurion the Colonels, nor Colonel the Lieutenant, nor Lieutenant the Consul, nor yet General of horse, the Dictator: whiles no man hath regard and reverence either of men or of gods; no Edicts of Dictator, no flight of Birds observed; but that without passport, the souldiers may wander and rove, either in their own ground or the enemies land, and unmindful of their sacred military oath, may cashier and discharge themselves from soldiery, through a licentious liberty of their own, whensoever they list, leaving

A "leaving their ensigns and colours not attended, nor meeting at summons, not repairing to the *Rendezvous*, according to proclamation: without all discretion, making no difference whether they skirmish by day or night, on even ground or uneven, with advantage or disadvantage, with direction, or without; observing no signals and watchword no array. In sum, the whole course of military service henceforth, blind, rash, and inconsiderate, after the guise of robbing, to stand and go currant for solemn and sacred warfare. With these crimes and absurd inconveniences (O ye Tribuns) charged you must be to the worlds end: lay down you must, and gage your own lives for the audacious disobedience of *Q. Fabius*, for whom ye are now answerable. The Trib. were astonished hereat, and for themselves now, rather careful and perplexed, than for him who had recourse unto them for refuge and succor. But the general content of the people of *Rome*, turning to prayer and intreaty, eased them of this heavy load and burden: and with one voice humbly besought the Dictator, to remit the punishment of the General of horse, for their sake. The Tribuns also, seeing that was the way, and all enclining and growing to Petition, followed after, and did the like: earnestly beseeching the Dictator to forgive this human fragility, and youthful folly of *Q. Fabius*, saying, That he had suffered chastisement enough. Then the young man himself, then his father *M. Fabius*, forgetting all strife, and laying aside debate, fell down at the Dictator his feet, and besought him to appease his wrathful displeasure. Hereupon the Dictator after silence made, "Yea marry (quoth he) O Quirites, this I like well, and thus it should be; now hath military discipline got the victory, now hath the majesty of your Empire prevailed indeed, which lay both a bleeding, and were in hazzard to have been abolished and overthrown for ever, after this day. *Q. Fabius* is not acquit of his offence, in that he fought against his sovereigns commandment: but being thereof convicted and cast, is forgiven, nay, is given rather to the people of *Rome* and the Tribuns power, whose assistance and help is granted for their instant prayers, and not of duty. Well, Rise up *Q. Fabius* and live, a more happy man for this agreement of the City in thy defence, than for that victory, upon which erewhile thou barest thy self so bravely. Live (I say) thou that hast been so bold to commit that fact, which thine own father here, if he had been in *L. Papirius* his place, would never have pardoned. And as for me, into my grace and favour thou mayst come again, at thine own will and pleasure: But to the people of *Rome*, to whom thou art beholden and obliged for thy life, thou shalt perform no greater duty and service than that the example of this days work may be a teaching and warning to thee for ever, to obey, as well in war as in peace, all lawful commands of superiour Magistrates. After that he had pronounced the pardon of the General of horse, and discharged him of the Court, and was departed himself out of the common place of audience, the Senat joyful and highly contented, and the people much more, came all about them, and on the one side bidding joy to the General of the horse aforesaid, and on the other side giving thanks to the Dictator, followed after, and accompanied them both: and it was generally thought, that military government was no less confirmed and established by this peril and danger only of young *Q. Fabius*, then by the late piteous execution of young *Manlius*.

By chance that year so fell out, that as often as the Dictator absented himself from the Army, E so often the enemies rose and raised troubles in *Samnium*. Howbeit, the fresh example of *Q. Fabius* was ever in the eye of *M. Valerius*, Lieutenant General and Governor of the camp, who feared as well the dread wrath of the Dictator, as any violent attempts of his enemies whatsoever. Inasmuch, as when purveyours for corn being entrapped by an ambush were slain, in a place of disadvantage; commonly it was thought and beleaved, that they might have been by the Lieutenant rescued and saved, but for fear of these rigorous and terrible edicts. For anger hereof, the Dictator lost the hearts of the souldiers, who were already malecontent, for that he was so inexorable in the cause of *Q. Fabius*, and had denied them that, at their instant intreaty, which afterwards he yielded unto and pardoned, at the suit and request of the people of *Rome*. The Dictator, after that he had left for the government of the City *L. Papirius Crassus* the General of horse, discharged F *Q. Fabius*, and forbidden him to administer any thing by virtue of that office, returned into the camp. Whose coming was neither very welcome and joyful to his own countrimen the souldiers, nor yet struck any terror in his enemies the Samnits. For, the next morrow, were it, that they knew not that the Dictator was come, or little cared and weighed whether he were present or absent, they approached the camp in order of battel. Howbeit, that one man, *L. Papirius* the Dictator, was of such valor and importance, that if the love of the souldiers had seconded the policy and sage conduct of their Commander, the war with Samnits had that day been quite dispatched and ended, past all peradventure; so skilfully set he the battel in array, so warily chose he his ground of advantage, so strengthened he the same with supplies out of the reregard, in all warlike skil and singular policy. But the souldiers failed for their parts, and went coldly to G their business, even of purpose, that the valiant and commendable parts of the Captain might be discredited and deprived; and so the victory was much hindered and impeached. Howbeit, many of the Samnits were slain; and in exchange as many of the Romans hurt. But he like a wise and expert Captain, soon perceived, what was the cause that stayed the victory. He saw well enough, that he was to temper his own nature and to allay that severity of his, within mildness and courtesie. And therefore, taking with him the Lieutenants himself in person went about to visit the wounded souldiers, putting his head into their tents & cabins asking each one how they did; harged the Lieutenants, Colonels, Provost-Marshal, and other officers of the camp, to tend and look unto

unto the sick souldiers, recommending their care unto them particularly by name. This being a thing in it self popular, he handled and ordered with such dexterity: that by curing their bodies, their minds also and hearts were much sooner gained and reconciled to their General. And nothing made more for the speedy recovery of their health, than their thankful acceptance of that care and diligence of his. When he had thus refreshed and repaired his army, he encountered once again the enemy with assured hope of himself and his souldiers, to obtain a final victory; and so discomfited and put them to flight, that the Samnits after that day, durst never fight again with the Dictator. Then the victorious army marched, as any hope of booty and pillage guided and directed them: and as they overran their enemies country, they found no force nor resistance, either in open shew, or covert ambush. This also encouraged them the more, and cheered their hearts, for that the Dictator had by proclamation given away the whole spoil among the souldiers: so that their privat gain wher them on against their enemy, no less then the common anger and publick quarrel. The Samnits tamed and subdued by these losses and overthrows, sued to the Dictator for peace: with whom they capitulated, and made offer to allow unto every souldier one livery, and the full wages of one year. But being commanded to go to the Senat, they made answer, That they would accompany the Dictator, recommending and putting their cause and whole estate to his faithful protection, to his vertue and goodness only. Thus the Army was withdrawn from the Samnits, the Dictator with triumph entered the City: and when he would have resigned up the Dictatorship, the Senat ordained, That before he gave over, he should create Consuls. So, *C. Sulpitius Longus* the second time, and *Q. Aemilius Carcanus* were elected.

The Samnits not having concluded peace, (for that they varied about the conditions, and were to treat farther thereupon) yet brought with them from the City of *Rome*, truce for a year. Which they observed not faithfully: so soon were their stomacks up again to make war, after they had intelligence, that *Papirius* was out of government. Whiles *C. Sulpitius*, and *Q. Aemilius* (or *Aulius* as some Chronicles have) were Consuls, besides the revolting of the Samnits, there arose a new war also from the Apulians. Both ways was there a power sent. *Sulpitius* his lot was to go against the Samnits, and *Aemilius* against the Apulians. Some write, that upon the Apulians themselves no war was made, but contrariwise, that the confederate States of that Nation were defended from the violence and wrongs of the Samnits. Howbeit, the low estate of the Samnits, at that time, hardly able to maintain and defend themselves, maketh it more likely and credible, that the Apulians, were not warred upon by them, but that the Romans made war with both Nations at once. But no memorable act or exploit was there performed: only the Apulian countrey, and *Samnium* was wasted: and the enemies no where at all to be found, but at *Rome* there hapned a scare by night, which raised every man so suddenly out of their first sleep, and so affrighted the City, that presently at one instant the Capitol and the Castle, the Walls and Gates were full of armed men. And when as from all places there was running, and crying alarm, the morrow morning at the break of day, there appeared neither author, nor cause of this fear.

The same year the Tusculans were judicially convened before the people of *Rome* by process, and that, by a law that *Flavius* preferred. This *M. Flavius*, Tribun of the Commons, exhibited a bill of Endictment to the people that some punishment might be inflicted upon the Tusculans; For that through their assistance and Counsel, the Veliterns and Privernats had taken arms against the people of *Rome*. The Tusculans with their wives and children resorted to *Rome*. Which multitude having changed their apparel, and clad in poor array and habit, as prisoners at the bar, went about from Tribe to Tribe, falling down upon their knees to every man. Whereupon, pity prevailed more to obtain pardon of punishment, then the goodness of their cause to the purging of their guilt. So all the Tribes except *Pollia*, disannulled and made void the Endictment aforesaid. But the sentence of the Tribe *Pollia* was, That as many as were of age and undergrown, to wit, fourteen year old and upward, should be scourged and put to death. Item, that their wives and children, by martial law, should be sold in open port-sale. And for certain it is reported, that the Tusculans took so deep an anger against the authors of so hard a censure and cruel doom, that they have carried it in mind even to our fathers days. For in despite thereof no Candidate, or Competitor for an office of the Tribe *Pollia*, was ever wont to get the voices of the Tribe *Papiria*. The year following, whiles *Q. Fabius* and *L. Fulvius* were Consuls, *A. Cornelius Arvinus* Dictator, and *M. Fabius Ambustus* General of horse, having taken a straighter levy of souldiers then ordinary, for fear of a greater war in *Samnium* (for it was reported that the whole manhood and flower of the youth were taken up and waged out of the countries adjoining) lead forth a goodly and puissant army against the Samnits. But they pitched their camp so carelessly in the enemies ground, as if the enemy had been far off: and the Samnit legions came on a sudden so proudly, that they set forward the trench and rampart, and encamped close to the Corps de gard of the Romans. Howbeit the night approached so fast, that they were hindered for assailing the Camp: but they gave it out plainly, they would do it the morrow after by day light. The Dictator seeing that he must fight neerer than he expected or hoped; for fear left the straightness and disadvantage of the ground, might prejudice and hinder the valour of his souldiers, leaving fires thick burning in the camp, for to disappoint the sight of the enemies, in the still night with silence leadeth forth his legions: but yet could he not for the nearness of their camp escape, but be espied of them. The horsemen forthwith followed upon them in the tail, and

A and pressed hard upon the army in their march, yet in such sort, that before it was day, they would not fight, nay, the very footmen were not all issued out of the camp before day light. At length when it was broad day, the Horsemen adventured to charge upon the Romans, and partly by playing upon the tail of the hindmost, and partly by skirmishing in places that were hard to be passed over, they hindered their march and kept them behind. In the mean while, their Infantry also overtook the Cavalry, so as now the Samnites with all their forces came upon them. The Dictator seeing he could not go farther without his great loss and disadvantage, commanded his men to fortify even in that very place where he stood: but forasmuch as the light Horsemen of his enemies were overtopped all about, they could not possibly go to provide stakes to make a parapet or rampier, nor begin to cast a trench. When he perceived therefore that he neither could go forward, nor stay and fortifie, he removed all his baggage out of the ranges, and let his men in battel array. The enemies do the like, and were not behind either in courage or in forces. But this most of all heartened and encouraged them, for that they being ignorant that the location of the enemies retreat was the disadvantage and straightness of the place, presumed that they did it upon fear: and therefore they in terrible manner followed after them, as if the Romans had fled and been affrighted. And even that for a good while held the fight in doubtful ballance, albeit the Samnites now a long time had not been used to abide so much as the first shut of the Roman army when they give the charge. But verily that day, from the third hour unto the eight, it is said that the battail stood so equal and indifferent, that neither the shout and cry was redoubled, nor heard the second time, after it was once set up at the first buckling: nor the ensignes were set forward, or withdrawn backward, but remained where they first were: nor yet of any part were they seen to retire or go back, but every man in his degree and place, bending forward and pressing with his shield, without breathing or looking back, still fought a-front: the same noise, one resolution to die or fight it out, and not to give over before utter weariness or dark night. Now began the strength of men to fail, now the spear point and edge of the sword, began to turn and lose their force, and now the Captains themselves were to seek for counsel and what to do: By what time all at once the Samnites Horsemen, hearing that the carriages of the Romans with one only Corner were gone a good way off from the armed soldiers, without any other guard and fortification: for greediness of spoil set upon them. Which when a messenger in great hast and fear reported to the Dictator: Let them alone (quoth he) let them encumber themselves with the spoil, and spare not. Then came others one after another, windles with running, crying out and saying, that all was gone: and that every where the soldiers goods were rifled, ransacked and carried clean away. Whereupon he sent for the General of Horsemen, *Seiye not* (quoth he) *O M. Fabius*, the battel abandoned of our enemies Cavalry? They stand still and are encumbered and pestred with our carriages. Now therefore charge upon them, disbanded as they are, (which usually hapneth to any multitude, busy in pillage) find them you shall (no doubt) few on Horseback, and as few with weapon in hand: and while they are loading their Horses with spoil, kill them unarmed, and make it a bloody booty to them, and let them buy it full dearly: as for me, let me alone with the charge of the legions and footmen: have you the honour of the Horsemens service. Then the Cavalry ranged into a Squadron, as exquisitely and skilfully as possibly might be, ran forcibly upon the enemies disarmed and clogged with carriage, beating them down, and making a miserable massacre of them in every place. For being (as they were) among packs and fardels which they cast from them suddenly, and now lay against their feet to stumble on as they fled, and in the Horses way, that were amazed and afraid, they were not able well, either to flie or to fight, and so were slain. When as the enemies Cavalry were thus defeated and welnear all come to naught, then *M. Fabius* wheeling about his wings of Horsemen, forth to fetch a compass, set upon the Infantry at their backs: Whereupon arose a new fearful cry, which caused the hearts of the Samnites to tremble and quake. The Dictator withal, seeing the formost of the enemies fighting in the front, looking back ever and anon, their ensignes out of order, and all their battailons waving and floting to and fro: called hard upon his souldiers, and exhorted them to fight lustily: cried unto the Colonels, the Sergeants of Bands and Corporals severally by name, to re-engage and renew the battel again with him. Thus with a fresh and new shout, they advance the Standards, and set forward the ensignes: and the farther they march on, the more perceived they the enemies to be troubled, and in dilaray. And now by this time, the Horsemen also were within the sight of the formost in the vanguard: and *Cornelius* looking back to the bands and companies of his footmen, making sign with hand and with voyce as well as he could, shewed and made demonstration unto them, that they saw the colours and targets of their own fellow Horsemen. Which when they once heard, and saw withal: presently as if they had forgot the battel which they endured almost a whole day, and felt no smart of their wounds, they befriended themselves against the enemy as lustily, as if they had newly come out of their tents, fresh and in heart, and seen but now the signal, and heard the sound of trumpet, to a battel. Now were the Samnites no longer able to sustain the terror of the Horsemen behind, and the violence of the footmen before: but were either slain in the mids between, or scattered abroad in flight. Such as stayed and were environed about, the footmen slew: those who fled, were trodden under the Horse feet and killed: among whom the General himself left his body on the earth. This battel above all other, so quelled and daunted the hearts of the Samnites and crushed their forces, that in all their Diets and Councils they muttered and gave out, That it was no marvel that they

From nine of the clock in the morning, until two after noon.

they sped so ill, in all their affairs of arms, the quarrel was so bad and ungodly, and the war begun so contrary to a covenant of truce, and having the very Gods, and that justly, more against them and greater enemies than men: and that such a war must needs cost some great overthrow, and might not be expiated without some notable satisfaction. Here only was the difficulty and difference, whether vengeance and punishment should be taken of the guilty blood of some few, or the guiltless blood of all. And even then, some there were, that durst nominate the very authors of this war. And one specially, to wit, *Brutus Papianus*, whose name was by the common voice and consent heard above all the rest. A noble and mighty man he was, and without question, the principal breaker of this last truce. The Pretors being enforced therefore, to determine as touching him what was to be done: at length decreed, that *Brutus Papianus* should be delivered to the Romans, and that together with him, all the Roman pillage and their prisoners should be sent to Rome: and that of all the goods, unto which according to the covenant and composition, the Fetials laid claim, there should, according to right and equity, restitution be made. Then were the Heralds, by vertue of the decree, sent to Rome, together with the deads corps of *Brutus*: for he to avoid shame and punishment, wilfully killed himself. It was thought good, that with his body all his goods also, should be delivered. Howbeit none of all these things but only the captives, and whatsoever could justly be owned out of the booty, was received: all the rest were offered, but in vain, for nothing was accepted. The Dictator by vertue of an act of the Senat, triumphed. Some write that this war was fought by the Consuls, and that they triumphed over the Samnites: and that *Fabius* also went forward into *Apulia*, and from thence brought away great and rich prizes. But without all controversie *A. Cornelius*, was Dictator that year: this only was the doubt, whether he were created for the conduct of this war, or at the Roman games [*Circenses*], (because *L. Caninius* hapned to be grievously sick) to give the signal when the chariots and steeds should be let out of the Barriers to run the race for their prize: and that having done that function of a charge (I wis not worth the remembrance) he should leave his Dictators place. It is not an easy thing to prefer either one matter, or one author before another. I suppose rather for my part, that the record and memorial of these matters hath been depraved and corrupted, by these funeral Orations of praises, and by these counterfeit and false titles of images: whiles every house and family draweth to it, the honour and renown of noble exploits, martial fears, and dignities, by any untruth and lie, so it be colourable. And hereupon, surely it is, that both the deeds of particular persons, and the publick records and monuments of Acts, are confounded: neither is there extant any one writer, who lived in those dayes, upon whom, as a true and certain author, we might ground, and rest our selves.

The Ninth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the Ninth Book.

Thus *Veturius* and *Sp. Posthumius* Consuls, having engaged their army so far, within the Gallies streight of *Caudium*, into a place of great disadvantage, that they had no means nor hope to get forth again, fell to capitulation with the Samnites, and compounded with them: and after they had delivered unto them 600 Roman Horsemen for hostages, they went away with the rest of the army, but so, as they were forced all of them to pass shamefully under the gallows. The same Consuls (even by the motion of one of them, *Sp. Posthumius*, who perswaded the Senat, that by rendering of those into the enemies hands, through whose default so shameful and ignominious a covenant was concluded, the City might be delivered and discharged of the promise given in the name thereof) with two Tribuns of the Commons, and as many besides as had subscribed to the foresaid accord and agreement, were sent and yielded to the Samnites: but they might not be received. Not long after, *Papirius* surnamed *Cursor*, defeated the Samnites, and put them likewise under the gallows: and recovered again those 600 Roman Horsemen aforesaid, that were left for hostages. By which means, the shame and disgrace of the former beastly Act was cancelled and abolished. Two Tribes were added to the rest, *Ufentina* and *Falerina*. New inhabitants were sent to people *Suessa* and *Pontiz*. *Ap. Claudius* being Censor, brought a chanel of water to the City, called of his name *Claudia*: and paved the high way, named after him likewise, *Appia*. He admitted also into the range of Senators the sons of Libertins. But forasmuch as this state and degree of Citizens, seemed as it were polluted with these unworthy persons among them, the Consuls of the year following, in the review of the Senators, and chusing new, held themselves to the order that other Censors next before had observed. This book conteineth moreover the prosperous wars against the *Apulians*, *Tuscanians*, *Umbrians*, *Marsians*, *Pelignians*, *Equians*, and *Samnites*: with whom was renewed the ancient league and amity. *Flavius* the scribe or notary, the son of a Libertin or enfranchised Roman, was made *Edile Curule*, by the faction of the base common people. Which faction, because it troubled and dis-

A quieted all the assemblies for Elections, the whole Court in Mars field, wherein they take a great stroke and ruled all by means of might and strong hand, were by Q. Fabius the Censor, reduced into four Tribes by themselves: Which was the thing that purchased Fabius the surname of Maximus [i. right Great.]

The Ninth Book of T. Livius.

After this year, immediately followed the peace made at *Caudium*, so memorable for the Romans foil and misfortune, which hapned in the Consulship of *T. Veturius Calvinus*, and *Sp. Posthumius*. During which, the Samnites had for their General Conductor, *C. Pontius*, the son of *Herennius*, a most prudent and politick father, and was himself a worthy warrior, and a most excellent Captain. This *Pontius*, after the Embassadors aforesaid (who had been sent to yeeld and deliver the goods) were returned home without peace concluded, spake thus in a frequent assembly of the Samnites, and said: "Masters and friends, think never, but good there hath been done in this voyage, and our Embassy hath taken some effect. For look what wrath the Gods in Heaven conceived against us, by our breach of covenant and truce, is thereby wholly satisfied, and fully done away. This I know assuredly, that the Gods above (whose pleasure it was, that we should be driven to this neer point and hard exigent, as to render the goods claimed of us, by virtue of an accord and covenant) were nothing contented and pleased, that this our satisfaction and recompence for the breach thereof was so proudly and disdainfully despised and rejected of the Romans. For what could possibly have been done more, either to pacify the Gods, or to appeale men, than that which we offered and performed? Whatsoever we won by way of hostility and spoil, from our enemies, and which by right of war seemed to be ours, we sent back again: the counsellors and perswaders of taking arms, because we could not send alive, we delivered dead as they were: and their very goods also (because nothing might remain with us, to bring us within the compass of their guiltiness) we brought to *Rome*. What ow I more to thee O Roman? what am I bound to perform besides, in regard either of covenant, or of the Gods, the judges of the covenant? Whom shall I chuse and take for an indifferent arbitrator between thine anger and my punishment? No State and body of people in general, no private person in particular do I refuse: and if no equity and reason for the poor and needy, be reserved amongst men against the greater and more mighty, yet she will I, and have recourse to the Gods, the Revengers of such intolerable pride: and I will pray them to turn their anger upon those, whom neither restitution of their own goods, nor the tending of other mens wital to boot, will serve and content: whose fell cruelty, neither the death of the guilty persons, nor the delivery of dead bodies, neither the owners themselves yeelded, nor all they had in the World rendered with them, can satisfie: briefly, who may not possibly be appealed, without we should part with our heart bloud unto them, for to drink, and give our bowels and entrails to be torn in pieces. The war (O Samnites) is just and right on their behalf, who have no way and means to avoid it: and ever lawfully take they arms, who have no other hope, but in force of arms. Since then, in all the affairs of this World, nothing is of more importance than this, That men weigh and consider, whether the Gods be gracious or adverse unto their enterprises: be sure of this, that as we made our former war not to much against men as the Gods; so, we shall fight that which is now in hand, in the name of the Gods, and under their conduct and guidance. Having spoken by way of Prophecie these words, (which as they were right pleasant and plausible in the hearing, so they proved as true and were verified in the success ensuing) he led forth an army into the field and about *Caudium* he encamped himself, as covertly as he could. From thence, he sendeth to *Calatia* (where he heard that the Roman Consuls and their forces lay in camp) ten souldiers disguised in the habit of Herdmen, and commanded them to keep their cattel grazing apart, some in one place and some in another, but never far from the Romans forts and guards: with this instruction, That when they hapned upon any of the Roman foragers and vancurriers, they should agree all in one tale, and say, That the Samnite legions were in *Apulia*, besieging *Luceria* with all their forces, and were at the point of winning it by assault. This rumour also was on purpose by others before, for abroad and spread yea, and came to the Romans ears: but these captives made it sound more credible and like to be true, for this especially, that all their words agreed one with another. No man doubted but that the Romans would aid the Lucerns, their good and faithful Allies, and the rather for fear lest *Apulia* would upon this occasion be troubled and fearful example revolt, and band with the Samnites: and the only thing they thought upon was this, Which way to go unto them. For twain there were leading to *Luceria*: the one broad and open, along the coast of the Adriatick Sea: but as it was the safer, so it was the farther about. Another shorter cut there was through the freights or gullet of *Caudium* called *Furcula Caudina*. But the natural situation of the place is thus: There are two deep, narrow, and woldy passes, or dales, one in the tail of the other, with continual crests and ridges of hills round about them: between them lieth enclosed in the midst, a good large plain or meadow, green of grass and full of waters, through the midst whereof, there lieth a direct passage. But before ye come to that green, ye must enter into that first freight aforesaid, and return again either the same way that ye went in, or if ye proceed to go forward, ye must pass through another such pass or freight, but narrower and

The Oration of C. Pontius to the Samnites.

* *Guiazzo*

* *Sirello de Arpaia, or il Lago di S. Maria, and Valle di Gardano.*

more cumber some than the other. Into that plain aforesaid the Romans marched down with their army another way, through and hollow rock; but when they went on forth to the other freight valley, they found it stopped and made up with the fall of trees, one cross over another, and likewise with an huge heap of mighty stones, laid full against them in the way. And they had not so soon discovered this guilful practise of their enemies, but they might descry withal, a power of them also on the top of the Hill. Then with all speed they seek to go back again the same way they came; but it they found also dammed up in like sort, and beset with armed men. Whereupon they made a stand, without any mans commandment: and as their minds were all amazed and astonied, so their bodies also were possessed as it were with a strange and extraordinary nummedness in their limmes: and whiles they looked one upon another, each man thinking his fellow to be more witty, and have better understanding than himself; for a good while they stood still, and said not a word. But afterwards, when as they saw the two Consuls pavilions setting up, and some making ready things necessary to fortification; although they saw well enough, that in this desperate case, past all hope of recovery, for all the defences they could devise, they should but lose their time and travel and prove fools in the end: yet nevertheless, because they would not seem to encrease their distressed fortune, and double it with their own default and negligence, every man what he could, to his power, without the direction of any leader, settled himself to work, and to fortify along the water side their camp, with a trench and rampier. And besides the insolent and proud scoffing and derision of their enemies, every man with pitiful confession scorned and checked his own work and travel, as vain, and to no purpose. As the Consuls then were pensive and discomforted, and called none about them to counsel, (for that indeed they supposed they were past all advice and help) the Lieutenants and Colonels came unto them of their selves unient for, and the souldiers turning to the Prætorium or Consul's Quarter, cryed to their Captains for help and succour, which hardly the very immortal Gods could afford and give them. But they, rather made their moans and complaints one to another of their misfortune, than sat in sage counsel to give or take advise, until the night came upon them: whiles each man according to his natural humour and fancy, muttered diversly. "One said, let us break through the stoppages opposed against us in the way: another, let us pass over the mountains and woods before us, what way soever we may be able to cary armour: for so we get to the enemy once, whom we have almost for these thirty years vanquished and chased before us; all will be plain, even and easy unto us Romans fighting against these faithless, perjured, and disloyal Samnits. Tush, saith another, whither should we go, or which way? What? Are we about to remove mountains out of their places? So long as these tops of Hills are over our heads, how will you possibly come to the enemy? Armed or unarmed, courageous or cowards, all is one, we are trapped we are and undone every one. Our enemy will not to much as offer us the sword, whereon we may dye like men with honor: he will sit still and end this war. Thus passed words to and fro, and thus passed the night away: unmindful were they of taking repast, never thought they of taking repose and sleep. The Samnits on the other side, in this so fortunat and happy opportunity presented unto them, were as much to seek what to do, and what course to chuse and follow. Whereupon, they all in general were to dispatch letters to *Herennius Pontius*, the father of their General, and to know his opinion. Now this man beforetime, by reason of his great age, had given over not only Military affairs, but also all civil businesses: howbeit in that old crasy and spent body of his, he bare the fresh vigour of mind and a pregnant wit to give counsel. When he undertood that the Romans army was shut up fast within the two forrests, at the Caudine Gulleys, and that his advise was asked by his sons messenger: he gave presently this counsel, That with all speed they should be let go from thence every one, without any harm at all done unto them. Which opinion of his being rejected [of his son and the army] his mind was demanded a second time, by the same carrier sent again unto him of purpose. And then he gave advise, that they should be all killed, and not one left alive. Upon which answers so far disagreeing, and thus delivered, as it were out of a doubtful Oracle: albeit his son himself imagined, of all others most, that his fathers wit was in the wane, and aged as well as his feeble wasted body: yet by a general consent of all he was overcome, to send for him in person for to declare his meaning by word of mouth. Neither thought the old man much thereof, but was brought (by report) to the camp in a chariot: and being called to counsel, he was in the same tale still, so as he nothing changed of his former advise, but alleged only causes and reasons thereof. "Namely, that in his former resolution (which he took to be simply the best) his meaning was, by a singular benefit and good turn; to confirm peace and amity for ever, with a most mighty and puissant people: in the second his purpose was, by the utter losse of two armies, whereby the State of Rome would not easily recover their strength again, to defer the wars for many a year. And as for a third counsel, he had none at all. When his son and other chief Captains, by questioning inquired of him, what if a middle course between both were taken, namely, to diminish them safe, and according to the Law of arms and conquest to impose upon them, hard Laws and Conditions? "Marry (quoth he) this is the way indeed, that neither winneth you friends; nor yet riddeth you of your foes: save them whom ye have provoked with shame and disgrace; and see what ye get thereby. The Romans are of this nature, that they cannot be still and quiet so long as they have the worke; it will never dye in their hearts, but wil be alwayes fresh whatsoever shame this present extremity shal brand them with: "and

- A "and never will it give them any rest, before they have been by manifold and sundry wayes revenged, of you. So his advise was not accepted; neither the one nor the other, and old *Herennius* was carried home again from the camp. The Romans likewise in the camp, after many attempts (but all in vain) for to break forth and escape away, being now in great penury and scarcity of all things, for very necessity were driven to send Embassadors unto the enemies: who first should crave an equal and indifferent peace: and if they might not obtain it, then to bid defiance and challenge them to a battell. *Pontius* made answer, that there was no talking of battels: for that the field was won already: and because they being vanquished, and as good as taken captive, knew not how to come down and confess their poore estate: he gave them to understand, That he would put them under the gallows, depailed of their armour, and stript into their shirts: and as
- B for other conditions of peace, they should be such, as were meet to pass between men conquered, and conquerours: namely, if they would depart out of the Samnits country, withdraw their colonies, and so both Samnits and Roman in equal alliance live under their own laws and customs: upon these Articles and Capitulations, he was content to come to some point of accord with the Consuls. If any of these covenants disliked them, then he forbade the Embassadors to repair again to him any more, but at their peril. When relation of this answer was made in the camp, there arose suddenly such a sighing and groaning amongst them all, and so great penitiveness and anguish of heart seized upon them, that it seemed they could not have taken it more heavily, and to the heart, if word had been brought that they must all have died in the place. After long silence, when as the Consuls wist not how to open their mouth, either for the accord and composition
- C so shameful, or against it so necessary, then *Leontulus*, who as well in regard of his vertue, as of his dignities, was chief of all the Lieutenants, said: "I have heard my father (quoth he) O ye Consuls, oftentimes make report, that he was the only man in the Capitol, who perswaded the Senate, not to ransom and redeem with gold; the City from the hands of the Gauls; at what time as they were not inclosed either with trench or rampier by their enemies. (a Nation to say a truth, of all others most idle in such works, and fortifications) but might have broken through them, if not without great danger, yet without evident ruin, and assured destruction. Were the case so now, that as they then, being armed might have run down out of the Capitol upon their enemies under them (in which sort oftentimes the besieged have sallied out upon them that lay in siege) so we might but fight with our enemies in any place (it skilleth not)
- D good or bad, even or uneven: I would not in giving counsel, be any jot behind my father in courage and valor. For I confess, verily, that to die for our country is a brave death: and for my own part, ready am I even to offer my body as a sacrifice to present death, yea, and it were, to engage my self among the thickest of my enemies; thereby to save the people of *Rome* and the legions: But alas, here I see my country, here I see all the Roman Regiments and Legions that are, who unless for their own selves they will run upon their death, what have they else to save by their death? Why, will some man say, the houses and buildings of the City, the walls, and that multitude that inhabit the City. Nay rather, if this army fortune here to miscarry, they are all clean betrayed into the enemies hand and not saved. For who shall defend them? Peradventure, the weak and unarmed multitude: even as well surely as they defended it against the violence of the
- E Gauls: Or, will they send for an army from *Vell*; and beseech the help again of Captain *Camillus*? Even the one as well as the other. But here in this place is our whole hope, here is all our power and puissance: in saving it, we preserve our country; in offering it to die, we abandon and betray our country. To yeeld and render our selves, is a foul and shameful thing; true, but such is the love of our Country, that we ought to preserve it, as well with our utter shame, if need require, as by our death. Let us undergo then, and abide this shameful indignity whatsoever, and obey that fatal necessity, which the very Gods themselves cannot overcome. Go to then, Consuls, a Gods name, redeem the City with your armor and weapons; which your forefathers ransomed with their gold. Then went the Consuls to *Pontius* for to parley. And when as he began like a conqueror to debate about the capitulations of Covenants, they denied plainly
- F that any league could be made, without the privacy, will and authority of the whole people: nor without the Feclals, and other solemn and usual Ceremonies. So that this Caudine accord was not (as commonly it is believed, and as *Claudius* also writeth) concluded by form of absolute covenant, but by way of stipulation and promise. For what needed either sureties in a perfect agreement and league, or hostages to be given when the matter is passed by this form of prayer; By whose default it hapned that the conditions agreed were not observed, that people *Jupiter* would so smite, as the swine there was by the feclal smitten? The Coss. Lieutenants, Treasurers, and Colonels, who undertook as sureties, subscribed and signed: and the names yet are extant of them all: where, if the matter had passed by way of an absolute league, there should have been subscribed no more but the names of two Feclals only. Moreover, by reason that the conclusion of
- G this accord was of necessity deferred, there were required also 600 Horsemen hostages, who should lose their heads, in case the covenants of the agreement were not observed. And thereupon was the time appointed and set down of delivering the said hostages, and yeelding the army without their armor. Now the coming of the Consuls renewed again the sorrow in the camp: that hardly they could hold their hands from those, through whose rash conduct they were come to that place of disadvantage: and through whose cowardie they were to depart from thence more shamefully, than they came: complaining that they had not so much as a guide to

direct them, nor an especial to discover the coast: but like beasts were driven blinded into a trap or pitfall: and one looked upon another beholding the armor that within a while they were to deliver up, viewing their right hands, which anon should be unarmed, their naked bodies exposed to the mercy and devotion of the enemy. They set before their eyes, the gallows prepared by the enemy for them to pass under, the scorn and reproachful taunts of the victor, his proud and disdainful looks, and how they (disarmed) should pass in a long train and go through the armed enemies: then afterwards, the piteous spectacle of the way which they must go, and the shameful dismarch of their disgraced army: briefly, their foul and dishonourable return through the Cities of their allies unto their country and parents, whither they themselves and their ancestors oftentimes had gone in triumph. They were the only enemy which without wound, without dint of weapon, without battle fought, were discomfited and vanquished: who might not so much as draw their sword, and never came to joyn or encounter with their enemy; having armor, having strength of lim, having hearts given them in vain. As they brayed out with great discontentment and anguish, these words, the fatal hour of their reproach and shame was come: which by proof and sensible experience, was to make all matters more heavy and woful, than they conceived and imagined in their minds aforehand. First and foremost were they commanded all to go forth without the trench disarmed, and in their single garments: then were the hostages presently delivered, and had to ward: after this, were the Sergeants and Officers willed to depart from the Consuls: whose rich coats of arms, when they were plucked from their shoulders, moved such pity and compassion even in them, who a while before with all crying and bawling, judged them worthy to be delivered bound hand and foot into their enemies hands, for to be mangled despiteously and cut in pieces: that every man forgetting his own estate, wherein he stood, turned away his eyes, as it were from an abominable spectacle, and could not endure to behold that disgraceful and disgracing of so great state and Majesty. The first that were put under the gallows, were the Coll, well-near half naked: and according to their degree and place; so was every one in order put to the shame: and afterward, the legions one after another. The enemies in their armor stood all the while about them, scorning, mocking, and making a game of them: many had swords and daggers set against their hearts, in menacing wise, some were hurt and stabbed to death; namely, such as with stern countenance and grim looks above the rest, for the indignity of these things, offended the conqueror. Thus were they sent with shame enough under the gallows, and (that which was more grievous than the thing) even in the sight and view of their enemies, they were not so soon got out of the Forrest, but although they seemed but then as plucked out of dark hel to see the day, yet the very light it self was worse than all kind of deaths, when they beheld so illfavoured an army and unseemly. And therefore, albeit they might have reached to *Capua* before night, yet being doubtful of the faithfulness and protection of their allies, bese dismissed for very shame, they cast their poor and silly bodies upon the ground, about the high wayes no far from *Capua*. Whereof, when news came to *Capua*, the just and due pity which they took of their allies, overcame the inbred arrogancy and pride of that people by kind. Immediately they sent unto the Coll, the ensignes and ornaments belonging to their place of authority, the Victors and Sergeants with their rods, they sent armor and Horses, apparel and victual also for the souldiers bountifully, and as they came near to *Capua*, the whole Senat and people went out to meet them, and performed all duties of kindness and hospitality, both privat and publick; that could be devised, and as meet was and requisite. And yet neither the courteous usage, nor the pleasant countenances and lightsome speeches of their allies, could draw from them any words, no, nor so much as make them to hold up their heads and eyes, and to look again upon their friends, when they yielded them all these comforts they could. So as, besides their grief and sorrow of heart, a certain bashfulness and shame forced them to shun all communication and conversing with men. The morrow after, when as certain young Gentlemen of the Nobility were returned, who had been sent in convoy from *Capua*, to accompany them and bring them on their way, as far as their liberties and confines: they were sent for into the Senat-house, and being demanded by the ancients and elders, what news: they reported, that they seemed unto them much more heavy and cast down than before, so silent and in manner dumb, they marched along: that noble mind and courage of the Romans was now mute and dumb, their hearts clean done and gone, together with their armor, not able to greet again, no, nor to give a word to those that saluted them, not one of them for fear able to open his mouth, as if still they bare that yoke and gallows upon their necks, under which they went. That the Samnites had indeed not only a brave victory, but also a perpetual over them, and the hand of them for ever: and had now won not *Rome*, as the Gauls aforetime, but also (which was a more hardy and warlike exploit) had conquered the Romans courage, stoutness, and valour. As these news were reported, and audience given thereto, with such assent, that every man lamented how the Roman name, as desperat; and concluded generally it was in the counsel of these their faithful confederats, that they were past recovery: one *Offilius Calpurnius*, the son of *Octavius*, a man right nobly born, renowned for his valiant Acts, and besides, very grave and reverend for his age, spake by report in this manner and said, That he took the matter far otherwise than they all did: for that stubborn and resolute silence, (qd. he) those eyes fastened so wistly on the earth, those deaf ears to admit all solace and comfort, that shame of theirs to look up and behold the light, were expresse and certain tokens of them that tossed and rolled from the very root and bottom of their hearts, a huge heap and mass of anger & despite, Either (qd. he) I know not the nature of the Romans, or else that silence & silence will

A will shortly cost the Samnites, woful cries and doleful groans: and the remembrance of this *Omnium* accord, will be more heavy and dolorous a good deal to the Samnites than to the Romans: for as for them, they will every man find their hearts and courages again, wherefore they shall hap to encounter; but the Samnites shall not meet every where with the *Caudine* flight: for their purpose. And now by this time was this shameful overthrow and disgrace known at Rome. Intelligence they had before, how they were beset and enclosed about: but afterwards arrived a messenger with news more heavy and sorrowful for that ignominious peace, than for any peril and danger (otherwise). At the first noise and bruit that they were besieged, they began to mutter; but after they heard that they had so shamefully yielded themselves, all that preparation of aid and succor was discharged and sent away: and presently without any order from publick authority, they gave themselves every one to all manner of mourning and lamentation. The shops all about the marketplace were shut up. A general vacation began of it self, and pleading in all courts ceased, before Proclamation made: the purple and scarlet robes were left off, the golden rings laid away, and the whole City in a manner more sorrowful and heavy, than the very army. Neither were they angry and offended with the Captains only, with the authors of the peace, with the cautious and inforties for the same; but hated also the guiltless soldiers, denying freely, that they were worthy to be received into City or house. Which hear of stomach and wrathful indignation, the first arrival of the army, utterly allayed: which even to angry persons was pitiful and lamentable. For they returned not as men that escaped safe, alive, and unlooked for into their country, but like captives in habit and countenance: they entered late into the Town, and hid their heads, every man within own house: so as the morrow after, and for certain dayes following, none of them would come into the market place, nor put his head out at dores to look into the streets. The Consuls likewise for their part, kept in, as privat men, and would exercise no function pertaining to their charge, but only that which they were forced unto by an act of the Senat: namely, to nominate a Dictator for to be President at the Election of Consuls. So, they decreed *Q. Fabius Ambustus* for Dictator, and *P. Valerius* General of Horse. Who being wrong created, and without the approbation of the *Auspices*, there were chosen in their room, *M. Aemilius Papirius* for Dictator, and *L. Valerius Flaccus* General of the Horsemen, and yet by them was not the assembly holden for the Election above said. And for as much as the people were even weary again of all that years Magistracy, as unlucky and unfortunate, it grew at length to an Interregnum. So Interregents there were, *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *M. Valerius Corvinus*, who created Consuls, *Q. Publius Philo*, and *L. Papirius Cursor* for the second time: with the whole consent, no doubt, of the City for that in those dayes there were not two more noble and renowned Captains so to be found.

These same day they were created, they entered their Magistracy (for so the LL. of the Council had decreed:) and after certain solemn and ordinary acts of the Senat passed, they went in hand to confult about the treaty of the *Caudine* peace. And *Publius*, whose countie it was then to have the sovereignty of rule, "Speak (quoth he) *Sp. Posthumius*, to the matter propounded, and let us hear your opinion, and what you can say. Who after he was risen and stood up,

E "with the very same countenance and cheer that he went under the gallows: I am not, (quoth he) "O ye Consuls, ignorant, that I am first called forth, not for honour, but to my disgrace: and "commanded to speak, not as a Senator and Counciller, but as a man culpable and accused, both "for an unfortunate war administrated, and a shameful peace concluded. Howbeit, seeing that "ye have not propounded and touched ought, concerning either our trespass or our punishment, "setting apart all kind of excuse and defence, which would be no very hard matter to maintain, "before men that are not ignorant of humane fortune, and of necessities, whereto men may be "driven. I will in brief deliver my mind concerning that, which you have moved and propounded. Which sentence of mine may sufficiently witness and testify, whether I meant to spare mine "own life, or save your legions, when as I became bound to that dishonest or necessary stipulation and promise, call it whether ye will. And yet, seeing it was made without the peoples pri-

F "vacy and grant, the State of Rome is not obliged thereto, and thereby nothing due to the Samnites, but only our bare bodies. Let us therefore be rendered by the hands of the *Feciales* and "literally, in our shirts, and fast bound: let us deliver and rid the people of all scruple and trouble "and conscience, if we have entangled them with any; that there be no let in Law of God or man, "but that both justly and lawfully ye may begin the war anew. In the mean while my mind and "advice is, that the Consuls levy, enroll, arme, and lead forth an army: but not to enter within "the enemies marches, before all things duly belonging to the delivery of us into their hands, "be fully accomplished. Now, I pray and beseech ye, O immortal Gods, that seeing it was not "your good will and pleasure, that *Sp. Posthumius* and *T. Veturius* Consuls, should with fortunate

G "conduct fight against the Samnites, yet ye would be satisfied herewith, That ye beheld us put under the gallows: that ye saw us obliged in an infamous and shameful bond of covenant: that "ye now view us naked and delivered bound into the enemies hands, ready to receive upon our "heads even with the loss of our lives, all their anger, malice, and despight: and that it would please "you, that the new Consuls and Legions of the Romans, may in that sort war with the Samnites, "as even more the wars before us Consuls have been conducted, managed, and performed. When he had spoken these words, all men both so wondred at this man and pitied him too, that one while they would not believe he was the same *Sp. Posthumius*, who had moved and perswaded so

The Oracion
of *Sp. Posthumius*
as late Consul
in the Senat.

The Oration
of Sp. Postumius.

foul and dishonest treaty of peace: otherwhiles they lamented that so brave and noble a personage should suffer any especial torment above others, at the enemies hands, for anger and despite of reverting and breach of that accord. Where as now they all after singular praises of the man, condescended to his opinion: the Tribuns of the Com. *L. Livius* and *Q. Mucius*, attempted for a while to oppose themselves against this proceeding: saying, "That neither the people could be acquit and absolved in conscience, by their delivery, unless every thing were again restored to the Samnites, in the same estate wherein they stood at *Caudium*: nor they themselves (in that they subscribed and became bound for the accord of peace, to save the holt of the people of *Rome*) had deserved any punishment: nor yet, last of all, ought they being sacred Magistrats and inviolable, to be yielded to the enemies, and exposed to any outrage and violence. Then (quoth *Postumius*) in the mean while deliver us up that are but lay and profane men, whom with safe conscience and without offence ye may. And as for these, so sacred as they now be, ye shall hereafter render them likewise, so soon as they are out of their charge. But if ye will be ruled by me, let them before they be thus yielded, here in this common Hall be whipped and scourged for the hurt and interest of their punishment, which they would seem to defer and put off so long. For whereas they alledge and say, That by the delivery and yielding of us, the peoples consciences cannot be cleared and absolved: who is so ignorant in the Fediales and Heralds law, that knoweth not that these men spake this, for this end rather, that they themselves might not be rendered, than for that the truth requireth so. Neither do I deny my Lords, that bare promises and stipulations are unviolable, and to be kept as well as covenants and obligations with these men, among whom both Religion to Godward, and faithfulness to men is in regard and estimation: but I deny again, that without the peoples assent and grant, any thing can be established good and effectual, to bind the people thereunto. What! if the Samnites, in the same pride and insolency, wherein they obruded and forced upon us this stipulation, yea, and wrung it from us, would also have urged us to utter and speak the solemn form of words, which they me to do that surrender up Cities: would ye (my Masters that are Tribuns) infer and say, that by vertue thereof the people of *Rome* is surrendered into their hands? and that this City, with the Temples, Chappels, Limits and Waters, by strength thereof, are the Samnites possession? Well, I let pass to speak of dedition: because the matter in question is touching only a stipulation. What, I pray you, if we had promised and undertook, that the people of *Rome* should forsake and abandon this City? or set fire on it? or not have Magistrats, Senat, or laws any longer? or to be governed again by Kings? God forbid and deny that, say you. Well, it is not the indignity of things, that easeth the bond or Stipulation. If there be any one case, wherein the people may be obliged, then in truth may they be in all as well: neither skilleth it any whit, (whereat haply some will make a stay, and think it is material) whether Consul, Dictator, or Pretor, enter into bond and become surety. And even this was, that the Samnites themselves judged so to be, and stood upon: thinking it not sufficient, that the Consuls became bound, but they put the Lieutenants, the Treasurers, and the Colonels there, to the same. And now, let no man demand of me, why I entered so into stipulation, being a thing not incident to the Consul his charge and right, neither was I to undertake unto them peace, which was not in my power to effect: nor in your name to promise it, from whom I had no commission and warrant. Certainly my Lords M and Senators, there was nothing at *Caudium* done at all by mans policy and counsel. The immortal Gods bereft both your Generals and the enemies too, of all their sense and understanding: for neither we, in the conduct and ordering of our service, stood warily enough upon our good guard: and they again, as they gat the victory full badly, so they lost it as lewdly: whiles they hardly trusted the strength of those places, by means of which they had gained the vantage and better hand of us: and while they made such haste, upon what agreement they cared not, to disarm men that are born martial, and naturally made for wars. For, if they had been in their right wits, what an hard matter was it for them, in the time that they sent for old aged men from their home, to come to Councel, for to have dispatched their Embassadors to *Rome*? and so to have dealt and treated with the Senat and people, about a perfect peace and final league indeed? It had been but three dayes journey for men not encumbered, but lightly appointed. All that mean while there might have been truce, until the Embassadors from *Rome*, had brought them either certain victory or assured peace. For that had been a covenant and stipulation good in law, the which we should have agreed unto, by warrant of the peoples will and approbation. But ye would never have granted and allowed it: no more should we have entered into any such stipulation. Neither was it Gods will and providence, that there should be any other issue and end of things, than this: that both they should vainly be deluded, and feed themselves as it were, with the fancy of a more joyful dream than their minds could well conceive and apprehend: and also that the same fortune, which had entangled, snared and brought into danger our army, should relieve the same, and rid it again out of perill, that as their victory was frivolous and vain, so a vainer and more frivolous peace, should make it frustrat and worth nothing: and that such a stipulation and promise should be interposed and come between, which might oblige and bind no person, but the very makers themselves. For what dealing hath there been with you my Lords of the Senat? or with the people of *Rome*? Who can challenge you? Who can call you into question? Who can come forth and complain that he is by you deceived? Enemy, or Citizen? To enemy ye have passed no promise: Citizen to undertake for you and in your name, ye commanded

A "commanded none. Therefore ye have nothing to do to meddle with us, to whom ye gave
"nought in charge: and with the Samnits as little, with whom ye had no treaty at all. To the
"Samnits, we are sufficient pledges enough, and answerable to perform that which is our own:
"for that, I say, which we are able to make good and yeeld: even our bodies and lives: upon
"these let them exercise their rage, upon these let them whet their swords and their spiteful
"malice. And as for the Tribuns of Commons, consult ye together, whether they may be fet-
"tered presently, or ought to be reserved and put off to another day: let us in the mean time (O
"Voturnus, and ye that are the rest) offer these wretched heads and lives of ours, like captives to
"discharge our bond, and by our punishment and execution, deliver and set free the Roman

B "army.

Both the cause it self, and the Advocate also, moved the Lords of the Senat: and wrought so
much not only with the rest, but also with the Tribuns themselves [of Commons] that they pro-
mised to be at the Consuls ordering and appointment. Whereupon immediately they gave up
their offices, and were delivered into the Fecials hands with the other, to be led all, to *Caudium*.
There was not so soon an act of the Senat passed hereof, but it seemed that the very light and
rayes of the Sun shone upon the City again. *Posthumius* was in every man his mouth, him they
praised and extolled to the heavens: comparing him with the voluntary offering of *P. Decius* the
Consul, for the safety of the army, and other worthy and noble acts of others: Saying, that by his
overture, by his means and travel, the City was delivered from a servile, dishonourable and un-

C honest peace: He (say they) hath offered himself to all the torments, anger, and vengeance of the
enemies, and made full satisfaction thereby for the people of *Rome*. Nothing now but war, war:
Alarm, now cryed every man: and, oh, that ever they might see the day to encounter once again
with the Samnits, in their armour and with weapon in hand. So, while the City was thus infla-
med and boiled with hateful ire and indignation, there was an army levied, well near all of Vol-
untaries. New legions were mustred and enrolled again out of the same souldiers, and a puissant
army set forth to *Caudium*. The Fecials marched before, and when they were come to the gate
of the City, commanded the Sureties, such as had subscribed and signed the accord aforesaid, to
be despoiled and stript out of their cloths, and their hands to be pinioned behind him. And
when the Licor or Serjeant, for very reverence of Majesty in *Posthumius* his person, bound him

D at large and at ease, Why doest not thou (quoth he) draw and pull the cord-streighter, that the
rending and delivery of us may be according to law and as it ought to be, and no fault to be
found withal? Afterwards, when they were come into the assembly of the Samnits, and before the
Tribunal judgment seat of *Pontius*: *A. Cornelius Arvina* one of the Fecials or Heralds thus spake:
Forasmuch as these persons, without commandment and commission from the *Quirites* and
people of *Rome*, have undertaken by stipulation, That there shall a league and peace be made
with you: and in so doing have offended and trespassed against the State, therefore, to the end,
that the people of *Rome* might be freed and absolved from a detestable and heinous offence, Here
I deliver and yeeld unto you, the self same men: No sooner had he uttered these words, but *Post-*
humius with his knee smote the Fecial his high, with all the might he could: and with a loud

E voyce said, That he being now a Samnit citizen, and the other an Ambassador and an Herald of
the people of *Rome*: had against the Law of Nations injured him and offered him the abuse:
whereby the Romans might more justly make war. Then quoth *Pontius*, "This delivery nei-
"ther will I accept of and admit, neither shall the Samnits hold it good and lawful. But why
"doest not thou *Sp. Posthumius*, if thou believe there be any Gods, either undo and cancel all, or
"stand to thy bargain and covenant? For by right either are they all due unto the Samnits, whom
"they once had in their power: or else peace, in lieu of them. But why speak I thus, and chal-
"lenger thee, who doest yeeld thy self again prisoner to the conqueror as faithfully and loyally as
"thou canst? The people of *Rome* I challenge, who, if they repent of the promise and bargain
"made at the streights of *Caudium*, let them bring again the Legions into that gullet, wherein

F "they were environed, enclosed, and compassed. Let no man deceive and delude other. Let all
"be undone again, and every thing as it was: let them take again their armour, which by cove-
"nant they yeelded up: let them return into their own camp, and have whatsoever they had the
"day before the Parle. Then let them please themselves with war, with valiant and magnanimous
"deeds: refuse they then, and spare not all covenant: reject they then all treaty of peace: Let us
"have the same fortune, the same opportunity and vantage of the places, which we had before
"the mention of peace: and to make war, and trie the issue. So shall neither the people of
"Rome, blame the Consuls stipulation, nor we find any lack and default in the faithfulness of the
"people of *Rome*. And will ye never have done, but alwayes find shifts and excuses, and not
"stand to your covenants, when ye are overcome, and have the worse of your enemies? We gave

G "sometimes hostages to King *Porfenna*: and when ye had done, afterwards stole them away. For
"a sum of gold you bought again your City of the Gauls: and as they were receiving the same
"gold, murdered they were by you and beyn in pieces. Peace ye have covenanted with us upon
"condition that we should restore again your legions unto you: that peace you cancel and make
"void, and evermore ye set some colour of right upon your cautelous and fraudulent dealing. Well,
"alloweth not the people of *Rome* of the saving of their Legions, by a dishonorable and shameful
"peace? Say it is so. Let peace go whether it will: but give you again to the Victor your Legions
"captivat. Is this your faithful dealing? are these your covenants, & ceremonies of Fecials & He-
"ralds?

“ralls? that thou, according to the agreement and accord, shouldst have that desire of shine, H
 “even to many citizens lives saved? and I not have the peace (which by letting mine hold go un-
 “to thee an enemy) bargained for? What Justice is this, that thou, O *Cornelius*, and ye that are
 “heralds, prescribe to Nations abroad? Nay verily, I neither will accept of those perions whom
 “ye make a shew to deliver, neither can I believe, that they are yeccided in verity and good earnest.
 “Nay, I pass not at all, whether they return again into that City, which is obliged by a covenant
 “made, attended upon with the wrath and displeasure of all the Gods, whose heavenly power
 “and deity is thus deided. Now go and make war, seeing that *Sp. Posthumius* ere while thrust
 “and pushed an Embassador herald with his knee; and so the Gods will believe no doubt, that
 “*Posthumius* is a Samnit citizen, and no Roman; and that by a Samnit, a Roman Embassador hath
 “been abused: and thereupon you may take a just occasion and good quarell to make war upon
 “upon us. Are you not ashamed, and bash you not to broach and set abroad, in the view and
 “face of the world, such mockeries of Religion? What? old and ancient grave personages, and
 “such as have been Consuls, to seek such subtle devices (not fit for very children and babes to
 “play with) and all to shift off and falsify their promise made by covenant? Go Lictors, loose the
 “Romans of their bands: and no man so hardy as to stay them, but that they may depart when
 “they will at their own pleasure. So they, having thus perhaps discharged the publick fidelity,
 “or at least wifely quit themselves undoubtedly of their own, returned from *Caudium*, unhurt, to
 “the Roman camp.

The Samnits seeing that in lieu of a proud and unreasonable peace, there was a most cruel war
 new sprung up again, not only foresaw and apprehended in their minds, but well beer saw evi-
 dently with their eyes, all that ever ensued after. Then, all too late and in vain, God wot, they
 praised the two-fold counsel of old *Pontius*: and how they taking the middle way between, were
 deceived, & had exchanged the certain possession of victory, for an uncertain and doubtful peace:
 and having lost the opportunity both of gratifying the Romans, or doing them harm any more,
 were now to fight & wage war with them, whom they might either have disabled for being hurt-
 ful enemies, or made their fast and assured friends forever. And so without any weakening of
 their power and forces of either side by battel, their hearts after this Caudine peace were so
 changed, that *Posthumius* by his voluntary yielding was more honored among the Romans, than
Pontius his bloodless victory among the Samnits: and the Romans made this reckoning, that
 the possibility of making war was to them almost as undoubted victory: and the Sam-
 nits believed verily, that the Romans had at once made war again: and got the upper
 hand.

While these things thus passed, the Satrians revolted to the Samnits: and the Colony at *Freg-
 gellæ*, by the sudden and unlooked for arrival of the Samnits (with whom it is certain the Satri-
 cans were banded) in the night was surprised and taken. But the mutual fear one of the other,
 kept them in on both sides that they stirred not out until the morning. Then began the fight,
 which for a certain time was equal and indifferent: yet for that the *Frugellones* within fought
 for their Church and chimney (as they say) and by reason that the multitude, untrained for arms,
 stood them in godd head in annoying their enemies from off their benches, they held out and
 found them play a long time. But afterwards, a wily and deceitful policy turned all backwards
 and was their undoing: for they suffered the voyce of the cryer to be heard through the Town,
 who proclaimed, That whosoever laid down weapon, should depart alive and safe with bag and
 baggage. The hope whereof, caused them to slack somewhat of their fight, and therewith they be-
 gan to cast away their armor in every place. But the resolute fort armed still, brake away through
 a postern-gate, whose venturousness proved to them more safe, than the inconsiderate fear of the
 other, which made them credulous and too light of belief. For the Samnits compassed them about
 with fire, and for all they called upon the Gods for their help, and so their enemies for perfor-
 mance of their promise, yet they burned them most piteously.

The Consuls parted between themselves, their Provinces, *P. Papirius* took his way to *Lucania* in *N-
 Apulia* where the Roman Horsemen given for hostages at *Caudium* were kept in ward: but *Publi-
 us* stayed in *Samnium* to make head against the Caudine legions. Which thing much troubled and
 distracted the minds of the Samnits: for neither their hearts would serve them to go to *Lucania*,
 lest the enemy should come on their backs: nor yet to stay behind, for fear lest in the while, *Luce-
 ria* should be lost. They thought it best therefore, to put all in hazard of a battel, and to try it out
 with *Publius*. Whereupon, they bring forth their power into the field: with whom when *Publi-
 us* was minded to joyn in fight, he thought it not amiss first to make some speech unto his men,
 and so commanded them to assemble unto an audience. But as they came running to the *Præto-
 rium*, with exceeding great cheerfulness, so by reason of their noise that called hard for battel, no
 exhortation of the General could be heard: each man his own heart mindful of the former dis-
 grace, served well enough to encourage and animate them. So they march out to battel, putting
 forward the standard-bearers and post-ensigns. And because they would lose no time, they first
 charged with lancing their javelins and shooting darts, and after that in drawing their swords,
 they threw away their javelins, as if they had had a signal given them so to do, and with naked
 drawn sword, they ran upon their enemies. No cunning was there to be shewed of warlike Cap-
 taining nor skill to be shewed either in setting in array the files and ranks, or placing of the reeward
 for supplies. The soldiers furious anger, with raging violence, marshalled and managed all.

So,

A So, the enemies were not only discomfited and put to the rout, but also because they durst not hinder their flight by retiring to their own camp, they made all the hast they could, disbanded as they were, toward *Apulia*. Howbeit they were rallied together in one company, and so came to *Luceria*. The Romans, in the same boiling heat of blood that they pierced through the mids of the enemies battel; entred also into their camp: where was more bloudshed and execution than in the battel, and the greater part of the pillage was in their choler marred and clean lost.

The other army commanded by *Papirius* the Coss, marched along the Sea coast to *Arpi*: and all the Country they passed thorow, shewed them friendship and courtesie, more for the outrages and losses sustained by the Samnits, and the hatred they bare them, than for any love to the people

B of *Rome*, or good received at their hands. And now the Samnits at that time dwelling upon the Hills in Villages, being mountainers and wild people, and as it is commonly seen, of like disposition to the places which they do inhabit, wasted the plain Champian and Sea coasts, despising indeed their more civil life and conversation. Which Country, if it had been true to the Samnits, either the Roman army had not been able to come to *Arpi*, or else the penury and scarcity of all things between *Rome* and *Arpi*, would have consumed them, being cut off from all provision of victuals. For even then, being gone from them, and lying encamped before *Luceria*, as wel they without in the leaguer & those that were within the City besieged, were nipped and bitten with hunger. The Romans were served all from *Arpi*, but so slenderly and scantily, that whiles the footmen were occupied in their guards warding, watching, and working uncessantly; the Horsemen, were

C fain to bring corn from *Arpi*, in little leather baggs: and otherwhiles, if they met the enemy, were forced to cast the corn from off their Horsebacks, to fight more nimble. They that were within besieged, before the other Consul came with his army, had both from the mountains of the Samnits, victuals brought unto them, and succors also of men let in to them. But the coming of *Publius* made all provisions more streight: for, leaving the charge of the siege to his brother Consul, he rode lightly appointed without carriage, all over the Country, and so beat all the quarters, that they were too hot for the enemies to forage and purvey victuals. Then the Samnits, seeing that they within the City besieged, were past all hope to abide the famine any longer, encamped about *Luceria*, and were forced to gather all their forces together from all parts, and to give *Papirius* battel. At which very instant, when they were on both sides preparing to fight, the Tarentin

D Embassadors came between, discharging and forbidding, both Samnits and Romans to fight: professing withal, that whosoever they were that refused to give over war, against them they would fight in defence and favor of the others. *Papirius* having heard that embassage, making semblance, as if he had greatly regarded their speeches, answered that he would confer with his brother Consul: and having sent for him, and bestowed all the mean time in preparation to fight, when he had talked with him as touching the execution of matters already resolved, he presently gave the signal, and set out the bloody banner of battel. Now as the Consuls were busy in sacrificing and performing duties belonging to God and man (as their manner is when they purpose to go to a battel) the Tarentin Embassadors aforesaid, encountered them and expected an answer. To whom *Papirius*, The Chick-master (qd. he) O ye Tarentins, sendeth me word, that the birds feed

E right, and all is well; and besides that, the Gods in our sacrifice seem passing well pleased. And in the name of the Gods, and under their conduct (as ye see) we are going to battel. Then commanded he to set forward the standards, and led forth his power, mocking the foolish nation for their great vanity, who, not able to manage their own affairs by reason of home seditions and civill discords, thought it meet to be moderators between others, and to prescribe them war or peace. The Samnits on the other side, having flaked all their care and desire of war, for that they desired peace in good earnest, or else thought it expedient for them to make a semblance thereof, for to win unto them the Tarentins; seeing the Romans all of a sudden arranged in battel array and ready to fight, cryed forth aloud, that they rested still in the authority of the Tarentins, and were at their direction: neither would they come forth into the field, nor put themselves in

Farms out of their fort: choosing rather being thus disappointed, to abide the chance of fortune whatsoever, than to seem to have despised the Tarentins, who had interposed themselves as Mediators for peace. Marry (quoth the Coss.) we take that for a good sign and presage of lucky success: and we would wish no more at Gods hands, but to put into their enemies heads that resolution, not to defend their trench and rampire. So the Coss. when they had parted between them their forces, approached the very camp of their enemies, and set upon them with an hot assault on every side. Thus while some filled and dammed up the trenches, others plucked up the stakes of the rampier, and threw the bank and all down the ditches under their feet: whiles not only their own inbred valour by nature, but also anger and choler provoked and pricked to the quick, their hearts already fretted and cankered at the very root, for the last disgrace received, they

G entred the camp. Every man for his part gave out and said, Here are not the straight gullets of *Caudium*, here are not the impassable nor inaccessible passes, and Forrests, where as proud fraud had gone beyond their silly error and want of forecass: but Roman vertue and prowess, which no rampier never so strong, no trench how deep soever, is able to put by and withstand. So they killed all afore them indifferently, as well them that made resistance and stood to it, as those that retired and gave way: armed and disarmed, bond and free born, old and young, as well under age as undergrown, man and beast, one with another: neither had there escaped any living creature drawing breath, but that the Consuls sounded the retreat, and with minatory

words

words commanded the souldiers, so greedy of murder and bloudthirsty, to go forth of the camp. Whereupon when they were highly discontented and in great indignation, for that they were staid and interrupted in this sweetness of easing their anger, and satiating their revenge to the full; it was time to deliver this speech unto them, wherein the souldiers were given to understand, how the Consuls neither were behind any of them in malice and hatred to their enemies, nor would be hereafter: but as they were their chief conductors to the war, so they would be their leaders and shew them the way, to unsatiable appetite of revenge and execution; had not the care and regard of those 600 Horsemen, which were kept as hostages in *Luceria*, cooled their thirst and staid their stomachs; left haply the enemies in despair to find pardon and mercy, should run upon them in a blind fit of fury and rage, and put them all to the sword; chusing rather to torment and kill them first, before they died themselves. The souldiers greatly commended this course, and rejoiced that thus their choler was allaid, and their fury bridled, confessing, That they were indeed to abide all whatsoever, rather than the life of so many of the forwardest and principal young Gentlemen of *Rome*, should be betraid, or in danger. This audience being dismissed, they drew together to a Council, whether with all their forces they should assail and press hard upon *Luceria*, or with one of the armies and chief Leaders, give the attempt to sound the *Apulians*, a close and secret kind of people thereabout, who ever to that day had stood in doubtful terms with them.

Publius the Consul, who had taken this journey to over-run all *Apulia*, in that one voyage and expedition, either by force subdued and brought under his obeisance certain States, or upon conditions entred league and society with them. *Papirius* also, who staid at the siege of *Luceria*, within a short time sped according to his expectation. For having forelaid and beset all the wayes, by which victual was conveyed thither out of *Samnium*, the Samnits who lay in garison at *Luceria*, pinched and tamed with famine, sent Embassadors to the Roman Consul, making offer to release and deliver up into his hands those Horsemen, (the only cause of the present war) in case he would raise and levy the siege. To whom *Papirius* made this answer, that they should have gone first to *Pontius*, the son of *Herennius*, by whose counsel they had put the Romans under the yoke and the gallows, to learn and know of him, what in his opinion they were to abide, who were vanquished and overcome. Howbeit, for asmuch as they had rather, and chose rather to be censured indifferently, and to receive equal conditions of their enemies, than of their own selves, he willed the Embassadors to give them to understand in *Luceria*, that they should leave their armor, their bag and baggage, their beasts of carriage, and impotent multitude not fit for the wars, within in the wals. And as for the fighting souldiers, he would put them to pass under the gallows in their single shirts, for so revenge the shame first offered them, and not to inflict any new ignominy upon them. Nothing was denied and refused: seven thousand men of war were put under the gallows, a rich and huge pillage raised within *Luceria*, all their own ensigns and armor regained, which they had lost at *Caudium*: and that which surmounted all other joyes, they recovered again those Gentlemen of arms, whom, lying for pledges and security of the peace aforesaid, the Samnits had sent to *Luceria* to be kept in safe custody. There is not lightly to be found a victory more noble, and of greater consequence to the people of *Rome* than this, in regard of the sudden change of fortune, in case (as some records bear witness) *Pontius* also himself the son of *Herennius*, and General of the Samnits, to make satisfaction and quittance for the Consuls disgrace and shame, was put under the yoke, as well as all the rest. But I less marvel, that it is not clear, but left uncertain, that the enemies General was rendred, and went under the gallows: this rather I wonder at, that doubted it is, whether *Lucius Cornelius* Dictator, with *L. Papirius* Censor, General of the Horsemen, managed these acts first at *Caudium*, and then afterwards at *Luceria*: and being the only revenger of that disgrace of the Romans, triumphed most worthily (I dare be bold to say) of any man before that time, next to *Furius Camillus*: or whether the chief honour hereof pertain by right to *Papirius* as Consul. Upon this error followeth another in the neck of it, whether *Papirius*, surnamed *Cursor*, for his good service at *Luceria*, in the next Election, continued in Magistracy, and were made the third time Consul with *Q. Amylius* Caretanus, the second time: or whether it were *L. Papirius* Mugillanus, and the error grew upon the surname. But it is agreed upon by all writers, that from this time forward all the reliques of the wars, were performed and finished by Consuls. *Amylius* in one prosperous battel made a final conquest of the Ferentans, and upon composition had the City delivered up unto him, whither they had retired their forces for succor after their defeat in the field, and hostages were imposed upon them. With like good success fought the other Consul with the Satricans, who being Roman citizens, had revolted to the Samnits, after the loss at *Caudium*; and had received into their City a garison of theirs. For when as the Roman army approached under the wals of *Satricum*, and that the citizens within (after Embassadors sent to treat by way of humble petition for peace) had received this hard and heavy answer from the Consul, That unless they would kill the garison of the Samnits, or deliver them into his hands, they should come no more again to him: the Coloniers and inhabitants were more frighted and terrified with that speech, than at all the forcible attempts of their army. Whereupon the Embassadors followed their suit hard and continued still, demanding very often of the Consul how he could believe, that they being but few, feeble, and disarmed, should be able to force a garison so strong and wel appointed, against their wills? being willed to ask counsel of them, by whose means they had received the said garison into the Town, they departed

A parted their wives: and having hardly obtained leave & licence at his hands, to consult with their Senate, and to bring answer, they return home again. Their Senate was divided into two factions, which distracted and held them in suspense that they could not soon resolve. The one, consisting of the chief personages and head men, who had solicited them to revolt from the people of Rome; the other of true hearted and loyal Citizens. Howbeit, both sides strove in the end and endeavored to labour the Consul for reconciliation of peace. The one part thought it sufficient (because the Samnits garrison having not provision enough beforehand to hold out the siege, was to depart the night following) to give notice to the Consul, what hour of the night through what gate the enemies would go forth, and which way they would take: the other, namely, against whose will they were revolted to the Samnits the very same night, opened another gate besides to the Consul, and privily let their enemies armed into the City. So by a twofold complot of treason, they were surpris'd unawares and all their throats cut not only the garrison of the Samnits (by reason that the woods all about the high way were laid for them and beset) but also at one instant there was a shout and alarm raised by the enemies within the City, which was full of them: and thus in the space of one hour both the Samnits were slain, the Sarricans taken, and all they had in the world fell into the hands of the Consul: who after diligent inquisition by torture, Who were the principal authors of this revolt? whomsoever he found guilty, those he scourged and beheaded: and setting there a strong garrison, he took from the Sarricans all their armour. From thence *Papirius Cursor* departed to Rome for to triumph (as they write, that say, by his leading *Lacerna* was recovered, and the Samnits put under the yoke.) And without question, a man he was worthy of all commendations of a warrior, surpassing not only in fortitude and courage of spirit, but also in force and natural strength of body, and namely, for his good footmanship: whereupon he got his surname * *Cursor*. For in running (they say) he had not his peer, but went away with a prick and prize before all other in those daies: and were it by reason of his bodily vigour and strong constitution, or his much exercise, a stout and mighty eater he was, he drank as liberally of his meat, and could carry it as well. Never had foot or horse under any Captain more rough and harder service, for that himself was of so tough metall and steel to the very back (as they say) that he could abide any pains and travell whatsoever. His horsemen upon a time were so bold, as to request him in lieu of their good service in some exploit, to ease them a little of their ordinary toil and labour: yes marry will I (quoth he) and that ye shall not complain that ye have no easement at all, I will ease you of this pains, That when ye alight from your horses, ye shall not need any more to stroke their shoulders, back and buttocks. He was a man besides for severity straight, and of right great command, as well over his allies and confederates as his own Citizens. The Prætor of *Preneſte*, for very fear chanced once to be somewhat behind, and slack in bringing forward the reereward, into the vangard and front of the battel: as he walked before his pavilion he commanded him to be called unto him: when he was come, he willed the sergeant to bring forth his axe immediately: at which word when the *Preneſtin* stood amazed and well near dead, Dispatch Lictor (quoth he) stock me up and grub this root that hindreth them that walk this way: and when he saw him astonied and his heart in his heels for fear of death, he let a good round fust upon his head, and so let him go. Doubtless in all that age (than which there was never any more fertile and fruitfull for vertue and valour) there was no one man, upon whom the state of Rome rested and relied more: In so much as men had destined, and in their minds appointed him to have matched and made head with *Alexander* the great, if after the conquest of *Asia*, he should have bent his power hither, and waited in *Europe*.

* An excellent runner.

Albeit it may well appear that I have nothing less sought, ever since I began this work, than to digress and decline more than was needful, from the order and course of mine history, and by extravagant garnishing and mingling my writings with variety of matters, both to seek for the readers pleasant starts and diversities to repose themselves, and for my self some ease and recreation of my spirits: yet the mention of so mighty a King and renowned Captain, maketh me to think upon, and to utter abroad the secret conceits and discourses, which often I have cast and tossed in my mind: and which induce me now to search and examine willingly, what event would have hapned and befall to the Romans, in case they had waged war with *Alexander*. First and foremost, the things that seem to bear sway and prevail in war, be these (to wit) number of soldiers, valour, and courage withall, wit, sufficiency and dexterity of their chief leaders, and lastly, fortune, which as in all other humane and worldly affairs beareth a great stroke, so in war most of all. Which points, if a man consider either severally by themselves, or jointly altogether, do prover that the Roman Empire and government had stood as well against him as other princes and nations invincible. And first, to begin with comparing of the Captains themselves, I do not deny, but that *Alexander* was a noble and singular warrior: and this maketh more for his fame and renown, that he was a sole commander of himself, that he was a young man and died in the growth of his prosperous affairs, before he had felt and tasted of adverse fortune. For to let pass other of the glorious Princes and brave captains, (the great mirrors and examples of humane changes and varieties of this world) what was it that exposed *Cyrus*, whom the Greeks commend and magnifie above all other, as also of late time, *Pompey* the great, to disfavor & the turning wheel of fortune, but only this, that they lived long? Let me but rehearse and reckon up the Roman captains: and those not all, nor in every age, wherein they flourished: but even them only with whom being either Consuls or Dictator, *Alexander* should have waited, if had he come: namely, *M. Valerius*

A digression to a discourse of comparison between *Alexander* the Great and the Romans.

Corvinus, C. Martins Rutilius, C. Sulpitius, T. Manlius Torquatus, Q. Publius Philo, L. Papirius Cursor, Q. Fabius Maximus: the two *Decii, L. Volturnus, M. Curius*: Besides other brave men and valiant personages that followed after in case he had fought the Carthaginian were first (for if he had lived he meant to have warred there) and then passed over into *Italy*, when he had been well steeped in years. In every one of these there were the same good parts, the like towardness of nature, as much forwardness of courage and spirit, as in *Alexander*, yea, and as good Military discipline, which even from the foundation of the City, passing from hand to hand, grew at length to the form and perfection of an Art, framed & compiled of continual rules and precepts, and confirmed by experiments. For so, after one course the Kings conducted their wars: even so, next unto them the banishers of the Kings, (to wit, the *Junii* and *Valerii*) so, consequently the *Fabii*, the *Quintii*, and *Cornelii*: so did *Furius Camillus*, whom those two Romans in their youth (*Manlius Torquatus* and *Valerius Corvinus*) with whom *Alexander* should have encountered, saw an aged man in the latter end of his daies. And whereas *Alexander* ventured his own proper person in battel, and performed all Military duties with other soldiers, (which was not the least part of his praise & glory) would *Manlius Torquatus* have given him one inch of ground, think ye, if he had met with him in skirmish equally matched? or *Valerius Corvinus* either, both of them brave & stout souldiers before they were leaders and captains? Or would the *Decii* have given him place, who with devoted bodies to death, came among the thickest of their enemies into present danger? Would *Papirius Cursor* have given him way, a man of that incomparable strength of body, & invincible courage of heart? And (not to name every one particularly) would that Senat & Council have been overwrought with the stratagems & policies of that one young man? which, whosoever he was that said, it consisted and was composed altogether of Kings, was the only man that conceived & comprehended the true image and Idea of the Roman Senat. May, here was all the doubt (forsooth) left that he knew how to chuse out a convenient plot of ground, to pitch a Camp in, more wisely & cunningly than any one of those before named, to make provision for victual, to foresee & beware of ambushes, to pick out & take a meet time for to fight a battel, to set his battailons in array, and to strengthen the same with sufficient succours & supplies from the roegard. Surely, he would have said himself, that he had not now to deal with *Darius*, which Monarch carrying with time a train of dainty women, and tender Eunuchs, weakened and made effeminate with wearing purple and gold, with all his rich furniture, for shew and ostentation of his wealthy and superfluous fortune, *Alexander* without any bloudshed, with doing nought else, but knowing well how to condemn such toies and vanities conquered as a prey and booty rather than an enemy and warrior. He would have thought verily that the situation and nature of *Italy* far differed from that of *India*, through which he marched at his ease with his drunken Army, feasting and banqueting all the way; but specially, when he should have beheld the woody forrests and unpassable straights of *Apulia*, the high hills and mountains of *Lucania*, and the fresh marks and tokens of the loes that happed in his own name and house, namely, where not long before his Uncle *Alexander* late King of *Epirus* miserably perished. Our talk all this while is of *Alexander*, not drowned yet with the overflow of prosperity; wherein no man had ever less rule of himself than he. Whom if we consider, as he was attired in the habit and attire of his new fortune, and (if I may so say) of a new nature, whereinto after his conquests and victories he was transfigured: surely he would have come into *Italy* more like a *Darius* than an *Alexander*, and brought a bastard army with him, nothing at all resembling but quite forgetting their native country of *Macedonie*, degenerated already, and growing out of kind, into the manners and fashions of the Persians. It grieveth me, and I am ashamed, in so great a Monarch as he was, to report the proud changing and variety every while of his apparel, his excessive vain-glory and desire of being courted and crouched unto (as he was) in flattering manner, by men lying upon the earth groveling and prostrat at his feet. Such abject baseness should have been hardly endured of *Macedonians* conquered and subdued; much less than being conquerours as they were. Abashed I am to recount the foul and horrible torments & executions, the murders of his well deserving friends, even in the midst of his cups and dainty viands: last of all, his vanity, his over-weening, and forging to himself a divine race and pedigree from the gods. But what if his drunkenness and unmeasurable love of wine, were every day more than other? what if his fell anger and exceeding heat of choler increased daily? (for I report nothing, but that which all writers agree upon) reckon we not these infirmities for great blemishes, and wondrous hindrances, to the vertues and perfections of a warrior & general commander? But here is all the danger and fear (which some are wont to give out & alledge, even the vainest persons of all other Greeks, who favour & magnifie the glory of the very Parthians in comparison of the Roman name) that the people of *Rome* had never been able to abide the very majesty and name of *Alexander* the great. (And I think verily, that even themselves that talk so much of him, never heard the truth, so much as by the brute and fame) and that against whom in *Athem*, O a City mightily decayed by war with the *Macedonians*, and even then, when as they might see before their face the ruins of *Thebes* in manner smoking full in their eyes, the Orators durst freely make publike invectives (which appeareth by the very records of their Orations now extant) against him: I say, not one of so many States and noble personages of *Rome* durst have opened his mouth and given one word again frankly and boldly. How much soever the grandeur and greatness of this man may be conceived and imagined in the mind, all that shall be but one only man, rising, growing, and come to his height with the felicity of little more than ten years.

Whic

A Which happines of his, they that extol in this respect, that the people of *Rome*, although in no war they were subdued, yet in many battels had the foile and lost the day: whereas *Alexander* never fought field but he won the victory: little understand they, that compare the exploits of one person, and him a young man, with the deeds and acts of a State, which had now warred eight hundred years. And can we marvell, it when on the one part there may be reckoned more ages than years on the other, that in so long a time, fortune should vary more, than in the space of thirteen years? But why compare you not man with man, Captain with Captain, and lay their fortunes together? How many Roman Captains and Generals, in this case am I able to name, who never lost field? Ye may turn every leaf and page of the yearly annals of Magistrates, of day-books and journals of those Consuls and Dictators, whose valour and felicity the people of *Rome* had never cause to repent of and be discontented for, so much as one day. And that which maketh them more wonderful, and to be admired above *Alexander* or any other King in the world, some of them bare the Dictatorship but ten or twenty daies; and none the Consulship longer than a year. Their levies and musters now and then were letted and impeached by the Tribunes of the Commons. The due and best time for war otherwhiles overlipped them, and yet they went forth. Before their term expired, they were often called home for to be presidents of the Magistrates Election. In the very midst and busiest time of their affairs, the year very often turned about. The inconsiderate rashness one while, and the peevish crookedness another while of a Collegue and companion in government was hindrance and harm both. They succeeded sundry times after the loss and overthrow of their predecessors, and received the army either of raw untrained souldiers, or such as were in ill discipline trained up: whereas Kings and Monarchs contrariwise, not only freed and exempt from all such obstacles and inconveniences, but also Lords and Masters, and of absolute command over their enterprises, over times and seasons fit for execution, give direction to others, draw all after them to their advice and counsel, and are themselves directed and over-ruled by none. Say now, that *Alexander* were invincible, and dealt with these Captains as invincible as himself, he should likewise have hazarded as great pawns and favours of fortune as any of them; nay rather, he should have adventured and incurred more jeopardy, in that the Macedonians had but *Alexander* alone, a man not only subject but also exposing himself to many perillous chances: but many Romans there had been equal to *Alexander*, either for glory or greatness of their worthy deeds: who every one should have lived and died according to the fatal course of his own severall destiny, without the hazard of the whole and main chance. It remaineth now that forces be compared with forces, and armies to armies, either in number, or in quality of souldiers, or multitude of Allies, from whom they had their aids. There were esteemed by computation in the Taxing years, and Surveies taken by the Censors of that age, two hundred and fifty thousand polls Citizens of *Rome*. And therefore in all the revolts and rebellions of their allies the Latines, they were able to levy and enroll ten legions compleat of Roman Citizens well near and none else. And for many years oftentimes there were four and five armies employed at once, which maintained wars in *Tuscan*, in *Heituria*, in *Umbria*, take also the Gauls with you their enemies, likewise *Lucania* in *Sannium*. Besides all these, *Alexander* should have found all *Latium* with the Sabins, Volscians, and Equians; all *Campania*, part of *Umbria* and *Heituria*, with the Picentes the Maritians, Pelignians, Vestins, and Apulians, and all the coast adjoyning thereto of the Greeks, along the nether Tyrrhen sea, from the Thuriens to *Naples* and *Cumes*, and from thence, the Samnites, as far as to *Antium* and *Hofia*. All these he should have met with, either mighty and puissant allies and friends to the Romans, or if they were enemies, vanquished and subdued by their arms. He should have passed the seas himself, having of old Macedonian bands, not above thirty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, and those, most of them Thessalians; for this was all his power. And in case he had joynd thereto the Persians, Indians, and other such nations, he should have drawn along after him, more let and encumbrance, that help and succour by them. Take this over and besides, The Romans had fresh supplies alwaies ready and near at hand, at home in the City: whereas *Alexander* his army (as afterwards it happed to *Annibal* warring in a strange country) would have waxed old and decayed. They had for their armour and weapons, a shield or buckler, and a spear in manner of a pike. The Romans had a target of larger capacity to cover the whole body, and a javelin, being a weapon much better and more forcible than the pike, either to strike and push withall near hand, or to be lanced a far off. The souldiers, I confess, both of the one side and the other, stood their ground surely, kept their place and array still within their severall ranks. The Macedonian huge Phalanx moved not, was stedfast and alwaies after one sort: but the Romans battallion more distinct, and consisting of many parts easie both to divide and display, or to joyn and reunit upon any occasion. To speak now of painfull work and travell, what souldier is comparable to the Roman? Who better able to endure all sorts of labour? *Alexander* by the loss but of one battell had been clean done, and his war at an end forever. But the Romans, whose hearts, neither the shameful disgrace at *Candium*, nor the wofull defeat at *Canna*, could amate and dunt: what power would have discouraged? What battell in the world would have broken their backs? Certainly, *Alexander* although he had prospered and good success in his first beginnings and enterprises, would oftentimes here have missed his Persians and Indians, and desire with all his heart to have had dealing with them again, and other cowardly and dastard Nations of *Asia*: nay, he would have said, that he had warred before but with women, as *Alexander*, King of *Epirus* (by report) gave out,

when he was wounded to death, conferring the easie occurrents of war which this young Prince H his nephew, met withall in *Asia*, with the difficulties of his own, that he found here in *Italy*. And verily, when I call to mind and remember the conflicts and fights at sea, in the first Punick war, for the space of twenty four years, with the Carthaginians, I suppose the whole age of *Alexander* would hardly have brought about and finished that one war, and against one of those two States. And peradventure, when both Carthaginians and Romans had been combined, either according to the ancient leagues, or for equall fear of a common enemy, and those two Cities most puissant both for men and munition, had taken arms at once against him, he would have been overwhelmed with the Punick and Roman war together. Moreover, the Romans have made good proof of the Macedonians as enemies, if not when they had *Alexander* to be their Captain, nor whiles the Empire of Macedonia was at the best, and stood upright unfoiled: yet tried them they have, and made head against them under the conduct of *Antiochus*, *Philip*, and *Perseus*: and it never cost them the loss and overthrow of their own part, no, nor so much as any appearance of danger at all. I would not be thought to speak a proud word, but be it said without arrogancy, and setting all our civill wars aside: never were we distressed, either by horse or foot, never in open field and battell ranged, never on even and plain ground, never in unequal places of disadvantage, were we endangered. The souldier in heavy and compleat harness, I confess, may fear the Cavalry in the plains: may fear shot of arrows, cumbersome forrests and woods, straight gullets, and unpassable wilds, without waies forward or backward: but let there be a thousand armies greater and stronger than the Macedonians or *Alexanders*, so long as we hold together, and continue still in this love of peace and care of civill concord, wherein we live at this present, we are able, and ever shall be, to discomfit and put them all to flight.

After this, were *M. Follius Flaccina*, and *L. Plautius Venox* Consuls. The same year there came from sundry Nations of the Samnits Embassadors, to treat for the renewing of the league, and moved the Senat, most humbly kneeling prostrate upon the ground: but being put off and referred to the people, their prayers availed not to such effect: for as touching a league, they had a flat nay. And after they had for certain daies together importuned them one by one apart, with cap and congee: at length after much suit, they obtained truce for two years. And out of *Apulia* the *Theanenses* and *Canusins* wearied with rodes and spoil made in their Territories, after they had put in hostages to *Lucius Plautius* the Consul, yielded themselves to his protection. The same year first began Provosts to be created at *Capua*, to govern under certain laws given unto them by *L. Furius* the Pretor: after that themselves had made suit for the one and the other, as a remedy for their state, greatly decayed through civill discord. And at *Rome* were two more Tribes added to the rest, *Ufentina*, and *Falerina*. When *Apulia* began once to shrink and go backward, the *Theatins*, being also *Apulians*, presented themselves unto the new Consuls, *C. Junius Bubulcus*, and *Q. Emylius Barbula*, and sued to enter into a league with the Romans. And since they were the men that led the way first, and by their example and perswasion induced all *Apulia* to be in peace with the Romans, and had confidently undertaken, as sureties and pledges to bring it to pass, they obtained their request. Yet was not the league indifferent and formal, with equal conditions, but so, as they should be in subjection to the people of *Rome*. After that *Apulia* was conquered (for *Junius* had won also *Tarentum*, a strong town and a rich) they marched forward against the *Lucans*. Then upon the sudden coming of *Emylius* the other Consul, *Nerulum* was by force taken. And after that it was noised abroad amongst the allies of the people of *Rome*, that the state and weal publike of *Capua* were established by Roman discipline and government: the *Arriats* also, who made moan and complained, that they lived without positive set laws and Magistrates, obtained of the Senate certain Advocats and Commissioners, to ordain Statutes likewise for that Colony. So, that not only the Roman arms, but also their law and jurisdiction extended far and near, and was of great request. *C. Junius Bubulcus*, and *Q. Emylius Barbula* Consuls, in the end of the year, delivered their Legions not to the Coss. by them created, *Sp. Nautius*, and *M. Popilius*, but consigned them to *L. Emylius* the Dictator. Who with his General of horse, *L. Pulvius*, began to lay siege to *Satricula*, whereby he gave the Samnits occasion to rebell. Which brought upon the Romans a double fear two waies. For of the one side the Samnits having assembled a mighty army, to deliver their allies from the siege, pitched their Camp not far from the Romans leaguer: on the other side, the *Satricans* set open their gates suddenly, and with a great tumult brake into the wards and corps de guard of their enemies. And so both parts, relying rather upon hope of succour and help elsewhere, than trusting upon their own strength, within a while began to charge the Romans in full battell, with banner displayed, and distressed them. And although the Dictator was assailed both waies, yet was he sure and safe on either side, because he had got a plot of ground, not easie to be compassed, and made head both against the one and the other, advancing his ensigns accordingly. Howbeit, he charged more hotly upon them that sallied forth, and without much ado beat them again within the wals. Then turned he the whole battell upon the Samnits. Where there was hard hold, and more to do. The victory, though long first, was neither doubtful nor variable. The Samnits being chased and driven into their Camp, having in the night put out all their fires, dislodged and departed privily away: and being past all hope of defending *Satricula*, they besieged *Plisilia*, a town confederate to the Romans, to requite their enemy with the like displeasure. The revolution of the year being gone about, the war continued under the conduct of *Q. Fabius*

A *Q. Fabius* Dictator: and the new Consuls, like as the former remained still at *Rome*. And *Fabius* came before *Satricula* to receive the Army of *Æmylius*, bringing with him a new supply to make up the broken bands: for the Samnites made no stay at *Plisfia*, but having levied and sent for fresh souldiers from home, presuming upon their great numbers, encamped in the very place where they lay afore: where by braying the Romans, and challenging them with many skirmishes, they would have forced them to raise the siege. But the Dictator so much more earnestly bent his forces against the wals of the enemies, thinking it the best piece of service to assail the Town, as being of such importance to the rest of the war, which depended thereon: and was more carele is therefore of the Samnites, and only opposed against them certain guards both day and night, along the trench and rampire, to keep them from making any assault upon the Camp. But the Samnites on the other side, so much the more fiercely skirmished on horseback about the fortifications, and never gave them rest. Insomuch, as when the enemy now was at the point to enter the gates of the Camp, the General of the Horse, *Q. Æmylius Carcanus*, without advice and direction of the Dictator riding forth in a great noise with all his Corners of Horse, repelled the enemy. But even in that light manner of skirmish, and no set battell of any long continuance, Fortune so plaid her part, and shewed what she could do, that on either side there heell a notable loss, with the glorious death of both the Captains. For the General of the Samnites first taking it to heart, to see *Æmylius* so fiercely ride and give the charge, and himself to be disarraied and driven out of his place, with much intreating and exhorting his horsemen, renewed the fight. Against whom, as he advanced himself bravely to be seen amongst his men and fought most valiantly, the Roman General of the horse, with spear in rest, so galloped his horse, that with one push he unhorsed him and left him for dead: and yet for all this was not the whole troop besides (as commonly it is seen) at the fall of their Captain so much amazed, as provoked rather to fight. For they that were about him charged *Æmylius* hard as he rashly rode without heed, and engaged himself too far within the thickest of the squadrons of his enemies, and lanced their javelins at him: but they gave the special honour to the brother of the Samnites Captain to be revenged for his death. He, full of anger and sorrow, plucked *Æmylius* from his horse, and slew him in the place, even in the midst of his victory: and for that he fell among the troops of his enemies, he had like to have left his dead corps among the Samnites. But presently the Romans alighted on foot, and the Samnites were forced to do the same: and thus being arranged suddenly in great haste into battallions, there began a cruell fight on foot about the bodies of the Captains. Wherein the Romans went clear away with the better, and having recovered the corps of *Æmylius*, in great joy, intermingled with sorrow, they returned winners into their Camp. The Samnites thus having lost their Captain, and tried their strength what they could do in fight on horse-back, left *Satricula*, which they supposed could not possibly be defended, and so returned again to the siege of *Plisfia*. After few daies, *Satricula* was surrendred by composition to the Romans, and the Samnites by assault won *Plisfia*. Then changed they the seat town of the war. For out of *Samnium* and *Apulia*, the Legions were removed to *Sora*. This *Sora* was revolted to the Samnites, and had slain all the inhabitants therein that were Romans. Against which place, when the Romans were come first by great journeyes to revenge the loss of their Countrymen, and to recover the Colony, their espials and scouts whom they had sent out dispersed along the high waies, brought word, that the Legions of the Samnites solowed, yea, and one after another gave advertisement, that they were not far off. Hereupon they went forth to meet with the enemy, and near to a place called *Lanula*, there was fought a doubtful and dangerous battell: for no slaughter it was, nor flight of either part, but the very night that parted them, and they knew not whether they had the better or the worse. In some Chronicles I find, that the Romans lost the day, and that there died in this battell *Q. Æmylius* General of the horse. *C. Fabius* chosen in the room of *Æmylius*, came with a new and fresh army from *Rome*, and having dispatched messengers before to the Dictator to know his advice, where he should stay and rest, and what time, and which on side he should set upon the enemy: after he was well informed and instructed in all points what to do, he put himself close in ambush. The Dictator himself, who had for certain daies after the last skirmish, kept his souldiers within trench, more like one besieged, than besieging: all on a sudden, put forth the signal and token of battell: and thinking nothing more effectual to animate and kindle the courages of hardy men, than to know of no other help or hope, nor to trust upon any man but in themselves, he concealed from his souldiers the coming of the General of Horse and his fresh forces: and as if there had been no other way but one, even to break forth and jally with violence: "We being" (quoth he) my souldiers, pent here and taken tardy in these straights have no other issue but "that which by victory we shall make open. Our hold wherein we lie is fortified sure enough but "the same for scarcity of all things noisome, irksome, and hurtfull to us: for all parts hereabout "are revolted from whence we should have convoy of victuals: and were it that the people were "disposed to help us, yet the advenues & passages are hard, and the place of our abode incommo- "dious. Therefore will not I deceive and abuse you any longer, by leaving here your tents into "which ye may after (ye have missed the entire victory) betake your selves for safety, as ye did the "other day: for our fortifications and holds, ought to be defended by force of arms: and not "our arms by fenced forts. Let them have their Camp well fortified, to issue forth and to retire "thither again at their pleasure, who have a purpose to make a long war of it. But let

The Oration
of *Q. Fabius*
Dictator to his
Souldiers.

"us cut off all regard of other matters, but only of a present and final victory. Advance then your ensigns directly against the enemy: and so soon as our Army is once without the trench and rampiers, let them let the tents a fire, that have the charge so to do: you shall make up your losses again, my souldiers, with the spoil of all the nations hereabouts, that have revolted. At this speech of the Dictator, which shewed no other semblance but of extream necessity, the souldiers took heart and were hot set to march straight to the enemy. And the very sight of their tents burning behind them (albeit those only which stood next were set on fire, for so the Dictator had given commandment) was no small provocation and prick unto them. And therefore they gave a charge like mad men, and at the fift push and brunt they brake the array of the enemies: and withall, in good time, the General of the horse, when he saw a far off the tents on fire (for that was the signal agreed between them) came hastily upon the back of the enemies and assailed them. So the Samnites being environed round about, made every man what shift he could to get forth and escape, and so fled. But the main multitude that were shuffled together all on a round heap, for fear, being an hinderance one to another in the press, was slain in the midst and cut in pieces, the enemies camp won, and ransacked: with the pillage whereof the souldiers were laden, and the Dictator brought them back unto their own Camp: who were not so joyous for the victory, as for that they found (besides a little part thereof disfigured by fire) all the rest safe and sound, beyond their expectation.

From thence they returned to *Sora*, where the new Consuls *M. Petilius* and *Caius Sulpicius* took the Army at the hands of *Fabius* the Dictator: who discharged many of the old souldiers, and brought certain new cohorts for supply in their stead. But when by reason of the difficult and unaccessable fight of the Town, they knew not well which way, and by what means to make assault, and seeing that the winning of it would either ask long time, or be exposed to manifold and present dangers: a certain runaway-Traitor of *Sora* who was closely stoln out of the Town, got to the Roman Sentinels, and required forthwith to be brought to the Consuls: who being presented before them, promised to betray the Town: and being questioned withall, how and by what means he would perform that which he undertook, seemed unto them to alledge some reasons to good purpose, and prevailed so far with them, that he caused the Roman Camp, which lay in a manner close under the wals, to be removed six miles off the Town, saying, that thereby, the wards by day, and the watch by night would be neglected, and less careful and diligent to keep the City. Himself the night following, after he had willed certain cohorts of footmen to lye in ambush within the woods near the Town, took with him ten elect and chosen souldiers: and through steep places, and such as were not well passable, conducted them into the Castle, having brought thither more shot and darts to throw than to serve so small a number of men: besides, there was good store of stones at hand, which lay there, either scattering by chance (as commonly in such craggy and rocky ground) or else heaped together by the townsmen of purpose, for the better defence of the place. Where, after he had bestowed the Romans, and shewed them a narrow and steep path-way out of the town into the Castle, From getting up here (quoth he) there needs no more but three men only well armed to keep back the greatest multitude that is: ye are in number ten, and more than that, Romans: and of Romans the most hardy and valiant: the place will stand you, I know, the darkness of the night will be for your purpose, the night, I say, which by reason of uncertainties, maketh all things seem much more than they are to men affrighted and amazed already. I will for my part set all in a hurly burly, look you in the mean time that you duly keep the fortress. This said, he runs down with as great a noise and shouting as he could, crying, Alarm, help, help Citizens, the Castle is taken by the enemy. come away to defence. These words he resounded ever as he rapped at the gates of the principal Citizens and Noblemen: these words he redoubled aloud to all that he met, and to as many as ran forth affrighted into the streets. This fearful alarm received from one man, was set abroad by many more all over the City. The Magistrates quaking for fear, sent certain to the Castle in espial to discover the truth: and advertised by them that the Castle was surprized indeed by armed men, and full of armor (for they made the number, and every thing else, more than it was) were clean put out of all hope to recover their Fortress. So every where they fell to running away: the gates were broken open by them that were not well awake, and those most part unarmed. At one of the gates, those companies of the Romans aforesaid, who lay in ambush, and were raised with the noise and clamour, brake in, and killed all that in this fright ran headlong in their way. Thus was *Sora* won against the Consuls should come in the morning betimes by break of day: and look whose fortune it was to scape out of the massacre made in the night, and to flie away those they took to mercy upon submission: whereof two hundred twenty five, even those who by the general voice of all were pointed at, and reputed above the rest the principal actors in that horrid massacre aforesaid, of the Roman Coloners, inhabitants, and the authors of their revolt they had away with them to *Rome*, bound hand and foot. The other multitude they left at *Sora* safe and unhurt, and planted there a garrison. All they that were brought to *Rome* were in the market-place scourged with rods, and beheaded, with the exceeding joy and contentment of all the Commons, whom it concerned most, that the multitude which should be sent into sundry Colonies might in every place live in safety and security of their lives.

Sora surprized
by treason.

The Consuls being departed from *Sora*, marched forward to make war upon the Lands and Territories

A Territories of the Aufonians: for the coming of the Samnites after the battle of *Lanuvium*; they were all out, full of insurrections and commotions; and many conspiracies there were in all places about *Campania*: neither was *Capua* it self without blame and faultless. Nay, this matter passed as far as to *Rome*, where information was made against some of the Nobles, and warning given to enquire into them. But the whole nation of the Aufonians, by reason that the Cities were betrayed, like as *Sora*, was reduced under obedience to the people of *Rome*. *Aufonia*, *Minerva*, and *Vesfina* were the Cities, out of which twelve of the chief young Gentlemen having conspired and sworn together to betray their own Cities, presented themselves unto the Consuls, giving them to understand, "That their countrymen wished long ago for the coming of the Samnites, and for

A conspiracy of the Aufonians.

B "soon as they heard of the battle before *Lanuvium*, made account that the Romans were utterly vanquished, and helped the Samnites both with men and munition. But now, say they, that the Samnites were chased from thence, they lived unresolute in doubtful terms of peace, and shut not their gates in dread upon the Romans, for fear of bringing war upon themselves, yet obstinately bent to shut them if their Army approached toward them. In this wavering and doubtful floating of their minds, they might at unawares be suddenly surprised. By this persuasion of theirs, they encamped nearer, and at one and the self-same time were souldiers sent about those three towns before named, some in armor closely to lie in ambush in convenient places near the walls: others in side gowns with swords under them, who a little before day, so soon as the gates were set open, should enter into those Cities. By whom the matter was so handled, that at one instant they began to kill the wardens at the gates, and gave a signal to those armed souldiers who lay in ambush, for to rise at once and come to succour. Thus were the gates seized and possessed, and three towns in one hour by the same stratagem surprized. But because this exploit was performed in the absence of the Captains, there was no stay in execution and slaughter, but beyond all measure, and without all mercy, no sex nor age was spared: and so the whole nation of the Aufones, before they were detected for certain of revolt, was destroyed and extinguished, as if they had warred mortally, and been at deadly feud.

C The same year *Luceria* came into the hands of the Samnites, by reason that the City had betrayed and delivered the Roman garrison to them; but the traitors went not long unpunished for it. The Roman Army chanced to be not far from thence, and at the first assault, the City standing as it did on a plain, was won. The Lucerins and Samnites both were put to the sword every one: and so far forth proceeded their furious rage, that when the Senat sate in council at *Rome*, about sending men to inhabit *Luceria*, many were of mind, that the City it self should be rased to the ground and destroyed: for besides the cursed and execrable hatred they bare against them being twice conquered and revolted: the distance also of the place so remote, caused them to dislike greatly, and abhor the confining, as it were, of their Citizens, so far from home, to live amongst such a kind of people so cruel and dangerous. Howbeit, their opinion took place and prevailed: who gave advice, that Coloners and inhabitants should thither be sent, and to the number of 2500 were there planted.

D The same year when as the Romans found all unloyal unto them, and nothing but falsehood on all sides; at *Capua* also certain secret conspiracies of the Nobles and best of the City were detected and revealed. Touching which, the Senat's advice was asked, and the matter not neglected by them, but Commissions were appointed: and thought good it was that a Dictator should be nominated for to sit upon the same commissions and inquisitions. And *C. Manius* was created, who named *M. Felli* General of the Horse. Great was the terror of that Magistrate, and thereupon either for fear, or guiltiness of conscience, the two *Calavii*, *Ovinus* and *Novius*, who were the chief of that complot, before information was given against them by name to the Dictator, died: & questionable by their own hands shortened their daies, and so avoided the trial of justice and punishment accordingly. After that, when the Inquisition wanted subject matter once about the *Capuans*, the Inquisitors (by interpretation of words in the Commission) proceeded to *Rome*, saying, F that the Senat had good warrant to make enquiry and straight search, not by name and precisely, who at *Capua* only; but generally, who in any place whatsoever had used conventicles, and conspired against the Common-wealth: and all secret meetings, say they, and packings together, for to get Dignities and Offices, were directly against the State and Common-wealth: so that the Commission extended larger both for person and real action. Yea, and the Dictator himself nothing gainsaid, but that the vertue of his Commission was directed without limitation. Hereupon were certain Gentlemen of the Nobility brought into question: and notwithstanding they called upon the Tribunes for to assist them, with interposing their negative, yet there was not one of them would succour and relieve them, the presentment was taken against them, and they indicted. Then the Nobility, I mean not them alone who were in trouble, but generally the whole Gentry of the City, at once, pleaded, That they were not the natural and true Noblemen indeed, who were to be touched and charged with this crime: who if it were not for sinister and indirect courses, had easie and open success unto all honourable places and promotions; but certain new upstarts and Gentlemen of the first head: saying, That it was the very case of the Dictator himself, and his General of Horse, who were rather parties guilty, and offenders themselves, than sufficient Inquisitors, and competent Judges: and that should they well know and understand, when they were once out of their place and office. This made *Manius* to bestir himself, who mindful rather of his good name and reputation, than respective of his high place and absolute

The Oration
of *Manius* the
Dictator.

absolute government, went up into the common place of audience before all the people, and spake H
to this effect: "My Masters and friends all, Citizens of *Rome*, well assured I am, that privy ye are
to the whole carriage and course of my former life: and besides that, even this very honour
and dignity which you have bestowed upon me, is able to testify and approve mine innocencie.
For, to sit upon these inquisitions, there was not to be chosen now for Dictator (as oftentimes
heretofore, according to the dangerous occasions and necessity of the time) a man reputed
the best and most noblest warrior of all other; but such a one, as throughout his whole life
hath most of all misliked and condemned ambitious conventicles. Howbeit, forasmuch as cer-
tain persons of noble linage, (for what cause, it is more meet for you to deem and judge, than for
me being a Magistrate, to speak without book, as they say, and upon no preground) first have en-
deavoured with all their might and main to overthrow the process of the inquisition it self; and
afterwards, seeing they were not able themselves to bring that about (notwithstanding they were
Parentis) have fled to the holds of their very adversaries, even the protection of the Tribunes and
their negative, rather than to justify themselves and stand to the trial of their cause: and at last
having there also a repulse (thinking all means safer than to approve their innocencie) have fallen up-
on us, and bashed not (privat men as they are) to accuse and touch the person of him that is
Dictator: to the end therefore, that both God and man and all the world may know, that as they
have assied to compass that which they are not able to bring to pass, namely, to avoid the ren-
dering an account of their life and demeanor: so, I am ready (to set forward their accusations)
to offer my self unto mine adversaries, and giving them means to call me to mine answer, here
I resign up my Dictatorship. And I beseech you O Consuls, if so be this charge be laid on you
by the Senat, to proceed in examination against me first, and this Gentleman the General of
Horse *M. Felli*: that it may appear, how we, through our own innocency alone, and not by
the countenance and privilege of our dignity and high calling, are protected and safe from these
slanders and intended crimes. Herewith he gave over his place of Dictator: and after him in-
continently, *M. Felli* yielded up his room likewise of General over the Horse. These persons
were the first, who being charged and put to their trial judicially before the Consuls, (for to them
by order from the Senat, was the commission directed) notwithstanding all the depositions and
testimonies of the *Parentis*, were in every point found unguilty, and acquit. *P. Philo* also, albeit he
had so many times attained to the supremie dignities of state, after he had achieved so many wor-
thy deeds, as well in peace as war, yet a man maliced or envied rather of the Nobility, was put
to plead for himself, and finally absolved. But this inquiry into such men of name and quality,
lasted no longer in force, (as it is usually seen) than whiles it was fresh, and in the first heat thereof.
From them it began to fall to persons of less reckoning and baser account, untill such time, as by
the same conventicles and factions, against which it was devised, it fell to the ground, and was tro-
dden underfoot.

The fruit of these things, and more than that, the hope of the Campains revolt, whereto cer-
tain had conspired and sworn (as ye have heard) recalled the Samnits back again to *Caudium*, who
were turned and bent wholly into *Apulia*: that from thence, being so near at hand unto *Capua*,
they might (it haply any insurrection and trouble presented the overture and opportunity) seize
upon it and take it perforce from the Romans. Thither came the Consuls with a strong and
mighty army: and at the first they staied and lingred about the passes and straights, having
on the one side and the other an ill way of passage unto the enemies. Afterwards the Samnits
fetching a short compass about, came down with their army through the open places into the
plains, I mean, the champain country and fields about *Capua*. And that was the first time that the
enemies had a sight one of the others Camp. Whereupon by light skirmishes, on horseback oftner
than on foot, they tried masteries on either side: neither were the Romans one jot discontented
with the issue and event thereof, nor repented of the delay whereby they drew the war a-
length. Contrariwise, the Samnit Captains perceived their forces to wear daily by small losses, and
their courage to cool and decay evidently by that lingring war. Whereupon, they came abroad
into the field: and divided their Cavalry into wings: with a special charge, to have a more careful
eye backward toward their camp (for fear of any impression and assault that way) than to the main
battel: which would be guarded safe enough by the Infantry. The Cos, marshalled themselves in
this manner *Sulpitius* led the right point of the battel, and *Petilius* the left: the right side (where-
as the Samnits also were arranged in thinner ranks and files, of purpose to compass and environ
the enemies, or not to be compassed and enclosed themselves) shewed it self more abroad and o-
pen. They on the left hand, besides that they stood thicker and more close, were by occasion of a
sudden policy of *Petilius* the Cos, farther strengthened. For those cohorts and bands which were
reserved apart in the rereward, for help at any need, and kept fresh against all occurrents and ha-
zards of long fight, he advanced presently to the forefront in the vanguard, and with all his forces at
once charged the enemy at the first encounter, & forced him to retreat. When the footmen of the
Samnits were thereby troubled and disarraied, the horsemen followed close and entred into the
skirmish. But as they rode cross and overthwart between the two hosts, the Roman horsemen
pricked and galloped their horses to flank them, and disordered and troubled the ensignes, cornets,
squadrons and troops of foot and horse, pell-mell together, untill he had caused the whole battel
of that side, to turn their backs. In this left point not *Petilius* alone, but *Sulpitius* also joyned with
him, and was present in person to exhort and encourage the souldiers: for he had transported and
distracted

A distracted himself from his own men, who as yet were not come to joyn battel at the cry & shout that arose from the left side: and seeing on that part undoubted victory, he went towards his own charge, accompanied with 1200 men: Where he found a change of fortune, namely, the Romans to have retreated and lost ground, and the enemy as victor, advancing forward his ensigns upon them sore dismayed and daunted. Howbeit, the Consul his coming made a present alteration: for both at the sight of their Captain were the souldiers hearts refreshed and comforted; and for to aid them, there came a greater supply indeed, than in shew of number, of tall and lusty men. So when they heard first, and saw soon after, the victory got of the other part, they renewed the fight. After this on all sides the Romans had the better hand, and the Samnits giving over fight, B were either slain or taken prisoners: saving only those, who fled to *Maleventum* a town now named *Beneventum*. It is left in record, that there were upon 30000 Samnits, either left killed in the place, or brought away captive.

The Consuls having obtained this notable victory, forthwith from thence lead their Legions to lay siege unto *Bovianum*: and there wintered before the Town, untill such time as C. *Petilius* (chosen Dictator together with M. *Fellus* his General of the Horse, by the new Consuls L. *Papyrius* *Cursus* for the fifth time, and C. *Jun. Bubulcus* the second time) received the Army at their hands. Who hearing, that the Castle of *Fregella* was by the Samnits taken, left *Bovianum*, and went forward to *Fregella*; which he recovered again without drawing his sword: for that the enemies had quit the place, and were fled by night: and when he had placed a strong garrison there he returned from thence into *Campania*, of special purpose to regain *Nola* by force of arms. Thither were retired within the wals, a little before the Dictator his coming, both all the whole multitude of the Samnits, and the rustical peasants about *Nola*. The Dictator having viewed the situation of the Town, to the end he might have the more open access to the wals, set all the houses on fire that were in the suburbs along the counterscarpe (and there they stood thick and were well inhabited.) And not long after, whether it were by *Petilius* Dictator (I know not) or C. *Junius* Consul (for it is reported as well of the one as the other) *Nola* was forced and won. They that would draw unto the Consul the honour of winning *Nola*, add moreover and say; That he won also *Atina* and *Calatia*: and that *Petilius* upon a pestilence that began, was made Dictator, for the setting or fastning of a spike or great nail. Two Colonies that year were conducted to *Suessa* and *Pontia*, *Suessa* belonged to the *Aurunci*. The *Volscians* inhabited the Island *Pontia* situate over against their own shore within a kenning. And a decree passed from the Senat, that to *Cassinus* also, a third Colony there should be sent inhabitants. M. *Valerius* and P. *Decius*, the Consuls that next succeeded, ordained three *Triumvirs* for that purpose, and sent four thousand to people those places.

The war with the Samnits was in a manner now dispatched and brought to an end: but before that the Nobles and Senators of *Rome* had left the care thereof, a brute was blown of the *Tuscans* war. And there was in those daies another nation (setting the Gauls tumults aside) whose forces and hostility they more feared; for that their country was so near a neighbour and so populous withall. Therefore, while one of the Consuls was occupied in dispatching the reliques of the war in *Samnium*, P. *Decius* who staid at *Rome* grievously sick, by authority of the Senat, named Dictator C. *Junius Bubulcus*. He according as the important affairs required, caused all the younger sort to take the military oath, and prest them for souldiers. Armor, and whatsoever requisite besides, with great diligence he prepared. And albeit he were thus furnished and well appointed yet was he nothing bold and forward to begin war, willing (no doubt) to be quiet and stand upon his guard, unless the *Tuscans* shewed themselves first in arms. The same purpose had the *Tuscans* also, both in preparing for war, and in making stay to begin war. So, of neither side they departed out of their own limits.

In that year was there a famous Censorship of App. *Claudius*, and C. *Plautius*. But the name of *Appius* became more memorable of the twain, and of happier renown unto posterity, for that F he paved with stone the causey or *Port-way* (bearing his name) and conveyed a channel of water into the City of *Rome*. Which works he finished alone, for that his Colleague for shame of an infamous and odious choice of certain Senators which he made, gave over the office. But *Appius* having the stout stomach, engraffed in his name and house from the beginning, bare the Censorship alone. By the motion and means of the same *Appius*, the *Porcii*, to whose family properly belonged the Priestly service, at the altar of *Hercules* called *Maxima*, had taught certain public servants (for that the function might be committed over to them as delegats) the solemn rites and ceremonies of that sacred ministry. Hereupon is reported a wonder to be spoken, and that which might strike a scruple of conscience, and make men afraid ever after, to alter any thing in religion from the former state and first institution. For whereas at the same time there were twelve houses of the *Porcii*, and in them about thirty that were above fourteen years of age; within one year it is said, that they died all, with their whole issue and off-spring. Moreover, that not only the name of the *Porcii* became thus extinct, but that *Appius* also the Censor, within certain years (such was the ire of the gods, mindfull of revenge) fell stark blind. Therefore the Consuls that followed in the next year, C. *Junius Bubulcus* the third time, and Q. *Emilius Barbula* the second time, in the very entrance of their office framed a complaint unto the people: That by the leud and corrupt Election of some new Senators, that honourable state and order was deformed, and namely, how some were over-slips, who were of more worth than those that were taken in: And saying plainly, That

* Surnamed
Cecus, that is,
Blind or Blind.
* Appia via.
* Out of the
river Anio, and
was called,
Aqua Claudia

That they would not observe and have in any regard such a choice, which without respect of good and bad was made for favour and affection to some, and at the pleasure of the Censors: and immediately they cited the Senat by name in that order and form, as had been used before the Censors, *App. Claudius* and *C. Plautius*.

* A Legion consisted now of 4000 footmen; howsoever at other times, of 3000, 5000, yea, and 6000, and the Colonels fewer or more in a legion, according to the quantity thereof. There belonged besides to every legion ordinarily 300 horse. With whom the Tribunes or Colonels aforesaid had nothing to do, being Captains of robbers for a peece.

And in that year were two places of charge and command, first given by the people, both pertaining to warfare: the one, that sixteen Colonels for four * Legions, should from that time forward by the people be created, which before were in a manner the gifts and favours conferred by the Dictators and Consuls: and few or none of the people had any hand or voice therein. This Act and Ordinance was propounded by *L. Petilius* and *C. Martius*, Tribunes of the Commons. The other was, That the same people should have the appointment and ordaining of two Duumvirs at sea, for the rigging, repairing, and trimming of the Navy. The maker of this Act was *M. Decius*, another Tribune of the Commons.

I would let pass one thing that hapned this year, as of small weight and importance, and not worth the speaking, but that it seemed a matter pertinent to religion. The minstrels that plaid upon the flute and hautboies, for that they were prohibited and debarred by the last Censors, to have their good chear any more in the Temple of *Jupiter*, according to an old custome and tradition, took snuff thereat, and in a pelting chafe all in one company went their waies to *Tybur*: so as there was not one of them in the City left to sing and pipe before the pomp of sacrifices, and on their feastival daies. The Senat made some conscience hereof, and were troubled in their mind. Whereupon they dispatched certain messengers to *Tybur*, to travel with the townsmen, and endeavour all they could, that these good fellows might be restored and sent home again to the Romans. The Tyburtins undertook the matter, and promised right courteously to do their best: and first they sent for these musicians into their Town-Hall, and perswaded with them to return again to *Rome*: but when they could not be brought to that, for any thing they could do, then they wrought another policy and feat with them, that sorted and fitted well the humour of such kind of people, and of their coat. Upon a festival holyday, under a colour of making merry with minstrelsie and musick about them, some invited one, and some another, to give them a fit of mirth accordingly. But they plied them so with wine (which all the sort of this profession love but too well) that they drank untill they winked, and winked so long, till they fell fast asleep. And being found asleep, the Tyburtins brought them gently to their beds in certain waggons, and thus bestowed, conveyed them to *Rome*. Neither perceived they ought, senseless drunken sorts they, before that their wagons were left in the market place of *Rome*. Nay, before they had slept out and concocted their wine that steamed up into their heads, and clouded there, the day-light came upon them, and then they awoke. The people came running together from all parts to them, and after they had either got at their hands, or charged them to stay, and make no more such frolics, it was granted unto them, that three daies every year, being disguised and dressed in a mask for the purpose, they might range and walk about the City, with singing, and sounding their instruments, after this licentious manner and jollity, which now adaies is yearly used, and their privilege of eating in the temple was restored to them again, namely, to such as sung and plaid in time of their divine service and sacrifices: and all was well. This ridiculous pageant hapned amidst the care and preparation of two great and dangerous wars.

The Consuls parted their Provinces between them: To *Junius* fell by lot the Samnits, to *Emilius* the new war in *Hetruria*. In *Samnium*, *Cluvia*, a fortress and hold of the Romans being impregnable by an assault, was a long time besieged; and forced by extreame famine, was delivered up to the Samnits. After they were once Masters of the fort, they took the garrison souldiers, and notwithstanding they yielded themselves, yet they whipped and tare their flesh most beastly, and in the end, without all mercy killed them. *Junius* exceeding wroth at this cruelty, thinking nothing more needful to be done first, than the winning again of *Cluvia*; laid all other matters aside, and the same day that he assailed the wals, took it by force, and slew all he could find above fourteen years of age. In this train of victory the Army was brought against *Bovianum*. This was the chief place of the Pentrians in *Samnium*, the wealthiest City, the best provided, and most furnished of all other with men and munition. The souldiers very eager and sharp set for hope of a rich pillage, won the Town. But for that they were nothing so angry and hot of revenge as before, they dealt not so cruelly with the enemies: but they got together and carried away more spoil and sackage from thence than they ever had well near out of all *Samnium*; and as liberally was it bestowed every whit upon the souldiers. And forasmuch as no pitched battel in plain field, no Camp so well fortified, no Cities and Forts, howsoever fenced, were able to withstand the puissant Romans in force of open arms: all the Princes in *Samnium* studied and applied their wits to find means of sleight and subtile policy; it haply, as they wasted and foraged the Territories after a loose and licentious manner, the Army disbanded once, might be entrapped and enclosed within some ambush. It fell out so, that certain fugitive peasants of the Country, and Captives, some by chance, and other of purpose, coming in their way, made relation of tidings to the Consuls, well agreeing all in one tale, and the same sounding of a truth indeed, namely, that a great sort of sheep and other cattel were driven together into a by-forrest out of the way: and so induced them to lead thither the Legions lightly armed, and to fit their hands with a fat booty. Now the Samnits had privily forelaid all the high waies with a mighty army, and after that they saw the Romans to have entred & engaged themselves within the chale or forrest aforesaid, all of a sudden

A sudden they rose up and with a great cry and shout ran upon them to charge them when they least thought of any such thing. At the first this so strange and unexpected occurrence made them afraid, while they took them to their weapons, and laid their fardels and baggage together on a heap in the midst. But after that every man was eased of his load, and had put on his armor, they rallied on all sides to their ensigns; and without the commandment or direction of any man, they of themselves put the battel in array, each one knowing his rank and place according to the accustomed order of the ancient Military discipline. The Consul perceiving that he was brought to a most doubtful and dangerous battel, alight from his horse; and protested before *Jupiter* and *Mars*, and the other gods whom he called all to witness: "That he came not into that place to get glory to himself by any enterprise, but only a booty for his souldiers: and that no fault else could be imputed unto him, but an overmuch desire and affection of his, to enrich his souldiers by the spoil of the enemy. From which blame and shame both, nothing could free and acquit him else, but the manhood and prowess of his souldiers: exhorting them with one accord but to stay themselves and endeavour all together to set upon their enemy, defeated and vanquished in battel, driven out of Camp and field, bereaved of his Towns and strong holds, and come now to attempt his last and utmost hope, of privy and theevish trains of forlaging, trusting upon the vantage of the ground, and not pure force of arms. But what place is there now unaccessible or unpregnable to the valiant Romans? Herewithall he named the Castle of *Fregella* and *Soria*, and what place of disadvantage and hard access soever, they had won by force. With these words the souldiers encouraged and enflamed, forgetting all difficulties and dangers, marched apace and advanced forward up to the army of the enemies that now approached them, and were over their heads. Where the Romans found some difficulty all the while they climbed up the cliff or ridge of the hill against them. But after that the foremost ensigns were mounted up and had gained the plain in the top, and perceived they were embattelled upon an even and equal ground, presently the terror turned upon those that lay in wait for them, & being disbanded, scattered, and driven to fling away their weapons, they fled and tridged as fast as they could to recover again those starting and lurking holes, wherein before they had hid themselves. But even those difficult places which they had sought of purpose for their enemy, and their own deceit and guile, encumbered themselves. For very few of them could find the way out, and escape by flight, in so much as to the number of 20000 were slain. And then the Romans after this victory ran up and down at their pleasure to that booty of sheep and cattel, which was first presented unto them by the enemy, as a bait to catch them with.

Junius the Consul to his souldiers.

While these things thus went in *Savinium*, all the people of *Herruria* by this time, but only the *Arretins*, were up in arms, and entred into a right great war; beginning first with the siege and assault of *Sutrium*: which City being allied to the Romans, was (as a man would say) the very Barriers of all *Herruria*. Thither came the other Consul *Emilius* with an army, to rescue and deliver their allies, and to raise the siege. Against the Romans coming, the *Sutrians* courteously brought victuals for the Camp, lying before the City. The *Tuscans* spent the first day in consulting whether they should make a short war of it, by hot assaults, or temporise and protract the time by lingering siege. The morrow after, when as the Captains liked rather of expedition and hasty courses, than of more sage and safe proceedings, at the sun rising they set out a flag of defiance and the signal of battel, and armed they go forth of their Camp into the open field to fight. Which after it was told the Consul, presently he commanded a watch-word to be given, that the souldiers should take their breakfast: and after they had refreshed and strengthened their bodies with food, go straight to arm themselves: which was obeyed accordingly. The Consul seeing them well appointed in readines, commanded the ensigns to advance forward out of the rampier, and not far from the enemy marshalled his battels. For a good while they stood on both sides, wisely looking, and waiting that the shout and charge should begin from the adverse part. But it was past noon before there was one dart flung or javelin lanced, either from the one side or the other. But then, because they should not go away without doing somewhat, the *Tuscans* began to set up a cry, the trumpets sound the charge, and the standards came forward. Neither were the Romans any jot behind to begin battel: Thus they ran to it, and encountred with exceeding animosity and fury; the enemies more in number, the Romans better in hardiness and verthe. The fight was doubtful and dangerous, and cost the life of many a man on both sides, and namely, those that were most forward and valiant: neither began they to shrink on any part, before that the second battailon of the Romans, fresh and lusty, advanced to the forefront of the vanguard, into the place of their wearied fellows. The *Tuscans* for that their vanguard was not supplied and reenforced by any new succours, both before and all about their ensigns were beaten down and slain every man. Never in any one battel had there been less running away, or more bloodshed, if the night had not protected the *Tuscans*: so resolute were they all to die in the place: in so much as the winners gave over play before the losers. After the sun set, the retreat was sounded: and by night both parts returned into the Camp. After this, no exploit was performed before *Sutrium* that year, worth remembrance: both for that, the foreward of the enemies army, was wholly in that one battel, defeated and destroyed: and they had none left but the Subsidiary souldiers of the rearward, and those hardly able and sufficient to guard and defend the Camp: and also, the Romans were so hurt and sore wounded, that there were more of them died after the battell of their hurts than were slain in the very skirmish outright. *Q. Fabius*, Consul for the year following, succeeded

ed and entred upon this war at *Sutrium*. And for his colleague he had *C. Martius Rutilius*: and like as *Fabius* brought a new supply from *Rome* to furnish out the broken bands, so there came fresh forces also unto the *Tuscans*, levied at home.

For many years there had been no jars and debates between the Magistrates of the Nobility and the Tribunes of the Commons: but now there began a variance and contention out of that family and house, which even then was fatal, (as it were) and born to do mischief to the Tribunes and Commons both. *Appius Claudius* the Censor, after eighteen months expired (which by the law *Emilia* was the full term of bearing that Magistracy) notwithstanding that *C. Plautius* his Colleague had given up his office; could by no means possible be forced himself to go out and give over the place. Then rose up one *P. Sempronius*, a Tribune of the Commons; who took in hand this matter as touching the demission of the Censorship, within the time prefixed by the law: an action doubtless, not more popular than just and rightfull, nor less acceptable to the better sort, than pleasing to the very Commons and base people. He having frequently rehearsed and reiterated the law *Emilia*, extolled with praises up to the sky, the author and maker thereof, *Mamercus Emilius* a Dictator; who had reduced the Censorship, an office aforetime of five years continuance (a puissance and authority, which by the length thereof favoured of Lordship) within the compass of a year and six months. "Come on, quoth he, *Appius Claudius*, answer and say, "what you would have done in case you had been Censor, when *C. Furius*, and *M. Giganus* were "Censors? *Appius* answered and said, that this demand and question of the Tribune did not greatly touch or concern his cause. For put the case, that the law *Emilia* had obliged those Censors, during whose Magistracy the Act was made, (for that after those Censors created, the people had granted that law, and look what they last allowed and ordained the same was good, lawfull, and ratified) yet neither he nor any of them, who after that law enacted were created Censors, could be bound by vertue of that law. Whiles *Appius* thus cavilled, and no man there present soothed him up, or gave applause and assent unto him: "Behold *Quirites*, quoth *Sempronius*, "again, the progeny and race of that *Appius*, who being created Decemvir for one year, elected "himself the second year: and in the third, being chosen neither by himself, nor by any other, in "quality of a private person, held the sovereign dignity and government, with all the regal marks "and ensignes thereof: and thus continuing still in rule and dominion, would never give over, "before that his usurped governments of his ill-gotten, badly born, and naughtily kept and re- "tained, were his final fall and utter overthrow. This is the same family and house, (my Masters "and friends, Citizens of *Rome*) by whose violence, by whose wrongs and oppression, ye were "driven like poor banished persons to forgo your own dear native country, and to seize and "hold the Mount *S. C.*; the very same, against which ye procured and purchased to your selves "the support and help of Tribunes; the same, for which with two armies ye were fain to possess "your selves of the *Aventine* hill; the same that alwaies withstood the Statutes devised against "Usury; the same that ever impugned the laws for division of wast lands among the people; the "same brake for the time, and interrupted the marriages between the Nobles and Commons; "the same kept out the Commons so long from bearing any dignities of the Chair, and of State: "finally, this name is much more spitefully and mortally bent against your freedom, than that "of the *Tarquins*. And is it so indeed, O *App. Claudius*? Would you have us believe, that be- "ing now an hundred years since *Mamercus Emilius* was Dictator, there have been so many "Censors most noble and valiant personages, that none of them all ever read the twelve Tables? "and none of them knew that to be law which the people last granted and allowed? Yes I wis, "they all wist that well enough: and thereupon yielded they, and obeyed rather the law *Emilia* "than the old and ancient Statute, (whereby the first Censors were created in the Common- "wealth) even because the people approved it last: and by reason that there are two ordinances "repugnant and contrary one to the other, there the new alwaies repealeth and abrogateth the "old. And is this your saying, O *Appius*? That the people are not bound to the law *Emilia*? or ra- "ther that they are tied unto it, but your good self alone is free and exempt therefrom? Was the "law *Emilia* able to bridle and curb those violent Censors *C. Furius*, & *M. Giganus*, who shew- "ed sufficiently what harm and mischief this Magistracy could do in a Common-wealth; when "for anger & despite that their term was abridged and cut short, they disfranchised, and deprived "of the right of voice and Suffrage, yea, and brought within the range of Tributaries, *M. Emilius* "the worthiest and most excellent personage of his time, both at home in peace, and abroad in "war? This law took hold of all the Censors, one after another in order, for the space of an hun- "dred years after; and bindeth now *C. Plautius* your Colleague, created with the same Auspices, "and in equall authority with you. Tell me (I pray you) did not the people elect and make him "with as good right and authority as any Censor might be? Are you the only and special man a- "mongst all others to have this prerogative, this priviledge and singular preeminence by your self? "Suppose a man should create the King Sacrificer, should he, having once got the name and title "of a King, give out and avouch, that he was King indeed, of as great a prerogative as any King "of *Rome*? Who, think you, will be content with a Dictatorship of six months, or with an In- "terregne for five daies and no more? Whom may a man boldly and confidently create Dictator "either to fasten a spike or great nail? Or for the stately plaies and games; or horse-running, and "such like? How foolish, think ye my Masters, how base-minded and simple were they in this "man his conceit, who within twenty daies, after notable exploits done and atchieved, gave over "their

The Oration
of *P. Sempronius*
a Tribune
of the Com-
mons, against
Ap. Claudius
[*Cicero*.]

A "their Dictatorship? or they, that being created with some error and default, went out of their place? But what need I to rehearse examples of old date? Of late, even within these ten years, C. Manius Dictator, for enforcing a commission more severely than stood with the safety of some great & wealthy persons, was charged by them with the guiltiness of the same crime, whereupon he late and made inquisition: who, to the end, that being a private person, he might answer the accusation of his adversaries, and justify himself, resigned up his Dictatorship. But I would not, that you in any hand were so modest: no, no, degenerate not a jot from that most imperious stock and proud race: go not you forth of your office, howsoever you do, a day, no, nor an hour sooner than you needs must: but see then withall, that you exceed not the ordinary time limited and set down. At leastwise, it might content you to draw out your Censorship a day longer, or to stretch it farther by a month. A month? what tell you me of a month? I will exercise my Censorship (quoth he) three years and six months, more than may be by the law *Æmylia*: yea, and by my self alone will I exercise it. Yea, many for this is somewhat like indeed, and spoken like a King. What, will you substitute unto you a Colleague in the room of the other? will you so? Whom lawfull it is not to be subrogated and chosen, no, not in the dead his place? For you think it not enough, belike, that you (religious holy Censor that you be) have translated and transmitted, that most ancient solemnity, and only instituted by that good [*Hercules*] in whose honour it is celebrated, from the function of most noble Sacrificers and Chaplains, of that divine and sacred service, unto the ministry of base servants, and abject slaves: and that a kindred and lineage of greater antiquity, than the very first foundation of this City, so sanctified by entertainment and lodging of the immortal gods, by your means, and by occasion of your Censorship, within one year is rooted out and perished every mothers son: unless also by the same means, you hazard the whole Common-wealth, and bring all into the same enormity, and guilt of wickedness, whicheven to prelage and conjecture, my heart doth tremble and quake again. In that *Lustrum* [or five years space] was the City of Rome taken by the Gauls, wherein *L. Papirius Censor*, because he might not go out of his Censorship, took a Colleague unto him, *M. Cornelius Maluginensis*, in the place of *C. Julius* the Censor late deceased. And yet see, how much more sober and moderate was his ambitious humour in that behalf, than this of yours, O *Appian*, For *L. Papirius* neither alone, nor yet beyond the just set time by law, administered his Censorship: yet found he never any one person after him, that would imitate and follow his example. All Censors from that time forward, upon the death of their fellow Censor gave up the office. But as for you, notwithstanding that the date of your Censorship be fully out, and your companion in government departed out of the place: neither law nor shame, is able to rule and restrain. You suppose that vertue consisteth in pride, in audacious boldness, in contempt both of God and man. For mine own part truly, O *Ap. Claudius*, for the reverence and majesty of this honourable place, which you have born, I would not willingly enter into any such hard courses, as to touch your person by violence of hand: no, nor so much as to offend your name with any foul or unkind language. But as these words that have already passed, your own peevish and perverse forwardness, your opinionative contumacy, and insolent pride, having wrung and forced from me: so unless you will obey the law *Æmylia* by your leave, I will be so bold as command you to ward and prison. And since our forefathers and ancestors have so provided and ordained, that in the Election of Censors, if either of the twain come short of sufficient voices requisite for to choose him, the other cannot be admitted and declared Censor: and so they must proceed again to a new election, and the former Scrutinies are of no effect: shall I suffer you to exercise the Censorship alone, who may not lawfully be created alone? These and such like remonstrances after he had alledged, he commanded the Censor to be attached and committed. In these proceedings of his, six of his fellow Tribunes adhered unto him, and three only assisted *Appian*: who called instantly upon them for their protection and lawfull succour: and so with exceeding ill will, and highest discontentment of all states and degrees, he went clear away, and bare off the Censorship alone.

These matters thus passed at Rome, and *Sutrium* was besieged still by the *Tuscans*: and as the Conf. *Fabius* was leading about at the foot of the hills, certain forces to succour his allies, & to assail the fortifications of the enemies what way he could, they with an army in battel array met with him. Whose great multitude when he might discover upon the plains underneath, because he would help out the small number of his men by some advantage of the ground, he wheeled a little about, up toward the hill tops (which were rough and craggy places spred all over with stones) and from thence he turned his banners full upon the face of the enemies. The *Tuscans* forgetting all things, and thinking upon nothing but their multitude, whereof only they presumed; gave battell so hastily and in such greediness, that casting away their shots and darts from them, to the end they might the sooner come to hand-strokes, they drew their swords, as they marched against the enemy. The Romans on the contrary side laid load with shot, and applied them one while with darts, another while with stones which the place plentifully afforded them. Which, as they thumped and clattered, and stuck upon their shields and morions, although they hurt them not much, yet troubled them not a little: neither could the enemies easily come within them to fight neer and close, nor any darts or javelins had they to sling and launce afar off, and thereby to annoy their enemy. And whiles they stood still exposed as Buts, to receive all

that came, and had nothing now to cover and protect them sufficiently; whiles some of them al-
 so gave ground and retreated, and the whole battel was wavering and unsteady, the Roman *Hastati*
 and *Principes*, came forward with a new shout, and charged them afresh. This violent assault
 could not the Tuscans bear, but turning their ensigns, fled again in disarray toward their camp.
 But when as the Roman horsemen who were rid over through the plains and had gotten before,
 met them afront in the rout, they left their way unto the Camp, & turned toward the mountains:
 from whence with their whole company in a manner disarmed and sore wounded, they recover-
 ed the Forrest *Ciminia*. The Romans having slain many thousands of the Tuscans, gained thirty
 eight ensigns of the field, and won also their tents with rich pillage; began to consult about pur-
 suing the enemy. The wood *Ciminia* was at that time more unpassable and to be feared, than were
 of late daies the German Forrests: for never to that day had it been travelled and frequented so
 much as by merchants. And scarcely any one but the Captain himself durst venture to enter into it:
 for, all the rest had not forgot as yet the unhappy luck they had at *Caudium*. Then the Consul his
 brother, one that was there, (*M. Fabius*, as some say, as others, *Cato*, and as other some *C.*
Claudian, his brother only by the mothers side) promised that he would go as a scout inspiall,
 to descry the wood, and within a while bring certain news. He had in his tender years been brought
 up at *Cere*, among the ancient friends of his house and family, where afterwards he was taught the
 Tuscan learning and knowledge, and thereby was perfect in their tongue and language. And I find
 some authors of credit that writ, how in those daies the Romans young children went to school
 for to learn to parl Tuscan, as now they do to speak Greek. But it standeth more like a truth, that
 there was some special matter in this man, who with so bold semblance and dissimulation, durst
 intrude and insinuate himself amongst the enemies. It is said, that one only servitor accompanied
 him, one who had been brought up and nursed together with him, and thereupon not ignorant
 of the same language. And all the way as they went they did nothing else, but superficially and
 after a generall sort, learn the nature and site of the quarters which they were to enter into, and
 the names withall, of the chief rulers and principal personages of that country and nation: to
 the end that in their speech and talk, they might not falter and trip, and be taken tardy in any ap-
 parent thing, which might bewray and discover them. They went clad in pastoral weeds like herd-
 men, armed like country Kernes or Peasants, each of them with a faulchion and two javelins. But
 neither the familiar use and commerce of the tongue, nor the fashion of apparel which they
 wore, or weapons that they carried, saved them so much as this one thing, That no man would
 ever beleieve, that any forreiner and stranger durst enter upon those thick *Ciminian* Forrests. Well,
 forward they went (by report) as far as to the *Camertins* in *Umbria*. There, the Roman ventured
 to bewray who they were: and when he was brought into their Senat, he treated with them in
 the Consuls name, about a league and amity. Whereupon, after he had been courteously enter-
 tained and friendly intreated, he had his dispatch, and was willed to relate unto the Romans, That
 there should be ready for their army, sufficient victuals for one whole month, if they would come
 into those parts: Also, that the youth of the *Camertins* in *Umbria* should be at their command,
 prest in arms at all times. These tidings being reported to the Consul, after that he had sent before
 his carriages at the first watch of the night, and commanded the legions to go after, himself staid
 still with the horsemen: and the morrow morning by day-light he began to skirmish with the
corps de guard of his enemies, which were quartered without the Forrest, and when he had long
 enough kept them play, and amused them at his pleasure, he retired unto his Camp; from whence
 he went forth at another gate, and before night overtaken the main army. The morrow after, at
 the point of day-break, he was got up to the crest of the hill *Ciminus*: from whence, after he had
 beheld and vewed the goodly prospect of the rich grounds and fields of *Hetruria*, he sendeth out
 his souldiers abroad to forrage and fetch in prizes, and by that time they had got, and were dri-
 ving a fat booty, certain tumultuary bands of the rustical Peasants of *Hetruria*, gathered together
 in great hast, and of a sudden, by the States of that country met with the Romans; but so out of
 order were they, that being come to rescue a prey, they had like to have been a prey themselves. A
 number of them were slain or put to flight, and the Romans, having wasted and made spoil all o-
 ver the country, enriched with store of all things, returned victorious into their Camp. Thither
 were arrived (as it fell out) five messengers or pursuivants with the Tribune of the Commons to
 warn and command *Fabius* in the name of the Senat, not to pass through the Forrest *Ciminus*.
 But these messengers being glad that they came too late for to hinder and interrupt their enter-
 prises, returned home again to *Rome* with news of the victory.

By this expedition and journey made by the Cos, the war rather encreased and spread farther,
 than was dispatched & brought to an end. For all that tract lying along the bottom & foot of the
 mountain *Ciminus*, felt the smart of this rode: and provoked to anger & desire of revenge, not on-
 ly the State of *Hetruria*, but also the borders and marches of *Umbria*. Whereupon there came to
Sutrium, a greater power than ever afore: for not only they removed their Camp forward out of
 the woods, but also for the eager desire of fight withal speed, they came abroad into the plain field.
 Afterwards, they stood first embattelled in a plot, by them sely chosen, leaving over against them a
 space of ground for the enemies to set themselves in order of battel: but perceiving the enemies
 to fall off, & loath to fight, they approached the very trench and rampiers; but finding there, that
 the guards were retired within their hold, all at once they began to cry with one voice to their cap-
 tains, for to give order, that the rest of their allowance of victuals for that day should be brought
 them

A them thither out of the camp; for they would stay in their armor and harness, as they were, and either in the night, or else in the morning betimes by day-light, give the assault upon their enemies camp. The Roman army was no more quiet then they, yet at their Generals commandment kept in. Now it was welnear the * tenth hour of the day; When as the Consul willed his souldiers to take their refection, and warned them to be ready in armes at what hour soever by day or by night he should give them the signal of battell. And in the mean time maketh a short speech unto them, praising highly, and setting out of the Samnits wars, debasing the Tuscans, saying, that there was no comparison between either enemy to enemy, or number for number: over and besides, he said that he had another feat and secret devise in store for them, which they should know when time served; in the mean while they must keep silence of necessity, and hold their peace. By these dark speeches and hidden mysteries, he made semblance, as though he had some privy intelligence,

B that one part of the enemies would betray the rest when time came: this did he, to the end, that the heart of his souldiers (which haply were dismaied and discouraged at their great multitudes) might be comforted and refreshed: and for that the enemies lay abroad in field without any hold and fort, it was more likely and probable, which he pretended. The souldiers having taken their repast, they laid their bodies to repose and sleep, and somewhat before the reliefe of the * fourth watch, they were raised without noise, and armed themselves. The souldiers boies and lackies, and such as followed the camp, had mattocks and spades divided amongst them, to cast down the rampire, and to fill up the ditches with the bank; whiles that within the compasse and circuit of the camp, they were marshalled in battell array. The chosen * cohorts or bands were placed at the gates and passages forth. Then at the sound of trumpet, a little before day (which in summer nights is the time of the deepest and soundest sleep) the whole army, when the rampire was laid along and levell, issued forth at once, and charged the enemies on all sides, lying here and there scattered on the ground. Some before they were stirring, others half asleep and half awake in their couches; but the greatest part, making hast in that sudden fright to take arms, were slain and cut in peeces. Few had time to put themselves in armour, and they having no ensigns, no colours to follow, and no captains to direct them, were by the Romans soon discomfited, put to flight, and pursued in chace. Some made hast to the camp, other to the woods, sundry waies one from another. But the woods were the safest place of refuge. For their camp pitched in a plain, was the same day taken, and won. All the gold and silver there found, was by expresse commandment brought unto the Consul his pavilion; the rest of the pillage, was the souldiers share. Slain and taken prisoners that day, there were of the enemies to the number of 60000. This so noble a battell (some writers say) was fought on the other side of the wood *Ciminia*, before *Perusia*: who also report, that the City of *Rome* was in great fear, lest that the army being inclosed within so dangerous a wood, should have been surprisid and defeated by the Tuscans and Umbrians, who were risen up in arms together from all parts. But wheresoever it was fought, the Romans had the day. Whereupon there came Embassadors from *Perusia*, * *Cortona*, and * *Arretium*, where were in maner the chief and principall Cities at that time of all Tuscan, treating and suing to the Romans for peace, and a league: but they obtained truce only for thirty years.

* Four a clock
after-noon.

* Between two
and three of
clock in the
morning.

* A Cohort is
a regiment or
band of 500
footmen com-
monly. Once
in Levy we
read of *Quin-
dringenaria*
cohorts, of 400
and no more.

* *Cortona*
* *Cortonee*
* *Arrezzo*

During these affairs in *Hetruria*, the other Consul, *C. Martius Rutilius*, wan from the Samnits the town * *Allifas*. Many other villages and castles were either utterly demolished and destroyed by way of extreame hostility, or yielded safe and whole unto their subjection. At the same time the Roman navy also, under the Conduct of *P. Cornelius*, whom the Senat ordained Admiral of the sea-coast, set sail for *Campania*, and being arrived at * *Pompeii*, the mariners and sea-servitors went a land to waite and forage the territories about * *Nucerina*; and after they had made spoil, and pillaged by snatches the parts lying neerest unto the sea, from whence they might safely again return to their ships; they adventured farther for sweetnesse of gain and booty (as usually it falleth out) and so gave the alarm to the enemies for to rise. As they stragled all over the fields, no man made head against them, at what time, as they might have been soon slain every one; but as they were returning with a disordered march, and stood not upon their guards, a troop of the peasants of the country overtook them, not far from the Ships, and eased them of their spoil and pillage, and slew some of them: the rest of the multitude, as many as escaped the sword, were chased to their fleet.

Alphie

* *Magnarella*
* *Nocera*

The journey of *Q. Fabius* beyond the Forrest *Ciminia*, as it caused great fear in *Rome*, so it gave occasion of as joyfull news in *Samnium*. For the rumor ran, that the Romans army was shut up and besieged. And hereupon they called to remembrance, and alledged the like example of a losse and shameful disgrace at *Claudinna*; reporting and giving forth, that these Romans being a nation greedy alwaies of incroaching farther, and winning more ground, were through the same rashnesse now run headlong into the blind Forrests impassable, and invironed not so much with the power and force of enemies, as the dangerous difficulties of those passages. In such sort as amid this joy of theirs, they envied also that fortune had turned the glorious honour of the conquest over the Romans, from the Samnits, to the Tuscans. And therefore being well appointed with men and armour, they ran out from all parts, to tread down and confound *C. Martius* the Consul for ever: minding from thence, in case *Martius* would not abide a battell, to go into *Hetruria* through the *Maris* and *Sabins*. But the Consul met with them by the way; where was fought a shape and cruell battell with doubtful event, and much effusion of blood on both sides. And as uncertain as it was, whether part lost more blood, yet the rumor went, that the Romans had the worle

worle

worse, by reason of the losse of certain knights and gentlemen of *Rome*, and Colonels, and one Lieutenant; and that which made most, for that the Consul himself was hurt. Hereupon the brute (as commonly is seen) got more feathers still as it flew, and made every thing greater: so as the LL. of the Senat in *Rome*, were in great fear and perplexity, and agreed to create a Dictator. Neither was there any doubt at all, but that *Papirius Cursor* should be the man, who in those daies was reputed the only warrior above all others. But neither could they be assured of sending a messenger safe into *Samnium* (considering all the country was up in arms) nor that the Consul was for certain alive. And as for the other Consul *Fabius*, upon an old secret and privat grudge, he maliced *Papirius*: which quarell, lest it might hinder the service of the Commonweal, the Senat thought good to send unto him certain Embassadors (as it were) even such as had been Consuls; who of their own authority, as well as by vertue of publick commission from the State, should admonish and counsel him to remit and forget all old displeasures and rancours, for his countries sake. When these personages were come to *Fabius* the Col. and had delivered unto him the decree of the Senat, and used withall such speech and reasons of their own, as suited well to the errand they had in charge: the Col. casting his eies down toward the ground, departed from the Embassadors without giving ever a word, and left them doubtfull what he would do. But the night following, in the dead time (as the manner is) he nominated *L. Papirius* for Dictator. And when these messengers or Embassadors gave him great thanks for mastering and ruling his affections to exceeding well, he held his resolution still of silence, and without any answer given, or mention made of himself, dismissed them: that it might appear, how upon an high mind and haughty stomach, he bridled and kept in that grief of heart and spiteful anger of his, *Papirius* named *C. Junius Bubulcus* commander of the horse. And whiles he proposed an act concerning the regiment and command of his army, before the people assembled by the *Curia* or wards, there hapned a matter of ominous preface, which caused that businesse to be put off untill the next day: for that the ward *Fancia*, which by lot had the prerogative now to give the first voices, was noted already for infamous and unhappy, in regard that two calamities which happened in both years, wherein the same *Curia* likewise began the suffrages first; namely, the taking of the City of *Rome*, and the Caudine peace. *Macer Licinius* making that ward ominous and unlucky, for a third losse and calamity received at *Tremera*. But the next morrow, the Dictator, after he had taken new Auspices, went through with the act, and obtained his commission, and set forward with the legions lately mustered and enrolled upon the fearfull alarm given, that the Roman army was passed the wood *Cyminia*, untill he arrived at *Longula*: where, after he had received of the Consul *Martius*, the old bands of souldiers, he brought his forces into the field to give battell. The enemies for their part seemed not to refuse fight: howbeit, as they stood armed and aranged, and neither the one side nor the other would begin to charge, the night came upon them, and forced them to retire. Then they abode encamped neer together in rest and quiet for certain dayes, neither distrusting their own puissance, nor yet disdainig and despising their enemies. In this mean time there was doings and war in *Etruria*: for both there was a battell fought with the army of the Umbrians: howbeit, the enemies were rather discomfited and put to flight than slain, for that they were not able to hold out and maintain fight long with such courage and animosity as they began: and also neer the lake and Meare **Vadimon*, the Tuscans had levied a new army, according to a sacred law, whereby one man had chosen another (who as sworn brethren were to live and die together) where they fought a field, not only with greater number, but also with more courage than ever at any time before: and with such heat of anger and malice one against the other they encountred, that of neither side they thought of discharging shot and flancing darts, but began at the very first with their swords to go to handstrokes: and the conflict being right fiercely begun, increased still, and waxed hotter in the very skirmish, and continued for a good while so doubtfull, that the Romans thought they dealt not with Tuscans so often by them defeated and vanquished, but with some new nation more warlike than they. No shew of flight on neither side; down go the formost, and lay dead before their Standards: and lest that the ensignes should be left naked and bare, and without the defendants, the second range and ward of the battailon came in place to supply the first: and so still new succours and fresh were set even as far as from the rereward behind, destined for the last help and utmost refuge. And to that extremity of travel and perill they proceeded, that the Roman horsemen abandoning their horses alighted on foot, and were faine to go to the footmen in the forefront of the vanguard, over armor, and over dead bodies, lying all spread upon the ground; which new troop and battailon risen and sprung (as it were) a fresh, to reenforce and strengthen their distressed fellowes, disordered the squadrons and ensignes of the Tuscans. The other legionary souldiers, wearied (as they were) followed hard and seconded their violence and forceable charge, and at length brake through the ranks of their enemies. Then the Tuscans as stiffe as they stood afore, began to have the worse, and certain bands gave way and retreated: and when they once turned back, they fell plainly to take their heels and run away. This was the first day, that overthrew and laid along the puissance of the Tuscans, who abounded so long in wealth and fortunate prosperity. Their whole flour and strength which they had, was in this battell slain, and at the same time their camp won and ransacked.

With like hazard and glorious successe of the end, was the war managed with the Samnites soon after; who besides all other preparations and ordinary furniture of war, gave order that their

*Lego di veterbo.

A their army should glitter and shine againe with a new kind of garnishing their harnesse and armors. For having divided their forces in two armies, the one had laid their shields with gold, the other with silver. The form and fashion whereof was this, that upper part wherewith the breast and shoulders are covered, was broader, and the head of it of even height: but the nether end growing downward to the bottom was more pointed wedgewise, for to weld it more nimble; Their breast and stomack was fenced with sponges, the left leg armed with a good greave, their morions with high crests made a shew of tall stature. The souldiers aforesaid with guilded shields wore coats of sundry colours; the other with silvered, white linnen: and these had the leading of the right wing, or point of the battell; but they of the left. The Romans had notice and knowledge already what preparation there was of brave and goodly armor: and their Captains had taught them afore, that a souldier ought to be dreadful and terrible, not dight and decked in his damasked gold and silver, but trusting in the sharp edge of iron and steel, and a good heart and courage withall: and as for that other furniture, it was rather a good booty than armor of proof; fair and resplendent, before men come to the sharp, but foul and unseemly amongst bloody wounds. The true ornament and beauty of a souldier, is valour and hardinesse; as for all those braveries, they went commonly with victory: and to conclude, that a rich enemy would serve well for a good prize to the conqueror, were he never so poor and needy. With these speeches after that *Curio* had animated his souldiers, he leade them into the field: himself he put in the right wing; the left he committeth to the conduct of the General of horse. So soon as they charged one another and buckled together, a great conflict and hardy had they with the enemy, and no lesse emulation there was between the Dictator and him; striving much whether of them twain should begin the victory. But as hap was, first *Junius* disordered the enemy, and from the left point which he commanded, he charged right lustily the right wing of the enemies: saying ever and anon, That he offered and sacrificed unto the Devill and infernall spirits, those souldiers of theirs, consecrated already unto them after the manner of the Samnites, and decked accordingly in white livery, and bright silvered armour, suting in colour thereunto: and withall advanced forward his standards, brake their staves, and made the battell to shrink evidently and give ground. Which when the Dictator perceived, How now, quoth he, shall the victory begin at the left wing, and shall the right, wherein the Dictator fighteth in person, come behind and follow the battell of another, and not carry away with it the greatest part of the victory? Herewith he setteth on his souldiers, yet gave the horsemen no place in manhood to the footmen, or the service of the Lieutenants was inferiour to the Captains themselves and chief commanders: *M. Valerius* on the right point, *P. Decius* on the left, both Consular men, put themselves forward, and rode out to the horsemen ranged in the wings, exhorted them to take part with them in honor, and charged a-crosse upon the sides and flanks of the enemies. Whiles this new terror upon the former, had on every side entred the battell of the enemies; and the Roman legions, to terrifie them the more, had redoubled a fresh shout, & charged them with great fury, then began the Samnites to flie again. Now were the fields overspread with the bodies of slain men, and strewed thick with armor, ere while so brave and glorious: and at the first, the Samnites in great affright recovered their tents; but being there, were not able so much as to keep them, for they were won and rifled before night, and fire set upon them. The Dictator by a decree of the Senat triumphed: and the said armor which was taken from the enemy, made the goodliest pageant of all other, in the pomp of triumph: which carried so stately a shew and magnificent, that the guilded shields were divided amongst the warders of the company of Bankers and Goldsmiths, to the beautifying of their Hall and Market place. And hereof began first the custome of the *Ediles*, to adorn and set out the common place of the City in their solemn processions, when the sacred images of the gods and holy reliques were carried about for pomp in silver chariots. And the Romans verily for their part put this goodly trim armor of their enemies to this use, namely, to honor their gods withall. But the Campains upon a pride and inveterate hatred that they bare against the Samnites, used to arm their sword-players and fencers at the sharp (which was a solemn fight and pastime they had at their great feasts) with this same attire, and termed them in mockery, by the name of Samnites.

The same year *Fabius* the Consul fought with the rest of the *Tuicani* at **Perusia* (which City **Perugia* also had broken the covenant of truce) where neither doubtfully nor hardly he obtained victory. And the very town it self he had forced & won (for in the same train of his conquest he approached the walls) but that their Embassadors came forth and yielded the City. When he had placed a good garrison at *Perusia* and sent before him to *Rome* unto the Senat, the Embassadors of *Hetruria*, who treated for peace, he being but Consul, made his triumphant entry into the City for a more magnificent victory, then the Dictator. And that for a good part of the honor of subduing the Samnites, was ascribed to the Lieutenants *P. Decius*, and *M. Valerius*, therefore at the next Election, the people with general assent declared the one Consul, and the other Pretour. *Fabius* for having *Hetruria* so bravely and valiantly, continued Consul still, and had for his Colleague *P. Decius*. *Valerius* was created Pretor the fourth time. The Consuls parted between them the provinces, *Hetruria* fell to *Decius*, *Samnium* to *Fabius*. Who taking his voiage to *Neapolis*, laid siege to the City of the *Alliats*, and won it by assault; and notwithstanding they made suit for peace, he rejected and despised them, for that when it was offered, they would not accept it. With the Samnites he fought a battell; but without any great conflict, the enemies were

vanquished. Neither had the remembrance of that field been left in record, but that the Marfians first took arms and warred with the Romans. After the Marfians were revolted, the Pelignians did the semblable, and sped alike. *Decius* also the other Consul had good success in his wars. He drove the Tarquinians for fear, to find the army corn, and to sue for a truce of forty years. Certain castles and holds of the Volscinians, he forceably won: some of them he utterly rased, for that they should not be any receptacle or harbour for the enemies. And with warring round about every where, he became so terrible, that the whole Tuscan nation made suite to the Consul for peace and confederacy. If they could not obtain: but truce for a year was granted. In regard whereof, for that year they satisfied the whole pay for the army, and a double livery for every souldier was exacted and taken of them. This was the pension and fine that their truce cost them.

But now when all was quiet among the Tuscans, the sudden revoking of the Umbrians, a nation free, and saved hitherto from the calamities of war, but only, that the Roman army passing through their territories troubled all anew: for they having raised the strength and flower of their youth and solicited also a great part of the Tuscans to rebel, levied so great a power that making no account of *Decius*, whom they left behind them in *Hetruria*, they gave out proud words of themselves, and spake basely of the Romans, vaunting and boasting that they would march right forth to assault *Rome*. Which designe of theirs, so soon as it was reported to *Decius* the Cos. he made speed, and by long journies departed out of *Hetruria* toward the City, and in the Country of the Papinians, encamped himself; listning ever after the enemies, what they meant to do. Neither at *Rome* was the Umbrians war neglected and set light by: for their very threats and menaces scared them, as who already had seen by experience, by the foil they had at the Gauls hands, how unsure a City they inhabited and not apprenable. Therupon messengers were dispatched to the Cos, *Fabius*, That if he had any breathing time, and rest from the Samnits war, he should with all speed lead his army into *Umbria*. The Cos. obeyed, and by great journies went forward to *Morvania*, where at that time the forces of the Umbrians lay. This sudden and unexpected coming of the Cos. whom they thought verily occupied in *Samnium* far enough off from *Umbria*, so terrified the Umbrians, that some gave advise to retire back to their walled towns, others to relinquish the war altogether. One Canton or tract of their country (which they themselves call *Maserina* not only kept the rest in arms, but also set them on to fight immediately, so as they charged upon *Fabius*, as he was trenching and fortifying. Whom when the Cos. saw rushing upon his rampiers in such heaps, he called his men from their work, and as the ground & time would give leave, he marshalled them in order of battel: and after he had encouraged his souldiers with a true report & discourse of many glorious and honourable journies achieved as well in *Thusaia* as also in *Samnium* he willed them to dispatch this smal residue of the Tuscan war, that hung by and remained behind, and to be revenged of that accursed and impious speech, whereby they threatened to assail the City of *Rome*. These words of his were heard by the souldiers with such alacrity and cheerfulness of heart, that before their Generall had made an end of his speech, they set up a shout of themselves and interrupted him: and thus before commandment and signall given by sound of trumpets and cornets, they ran amain upon the enemies, and charged them as if they had not been men, and those also armed. For (a wonderful thing to be spoken) at the very first they began to pluck the banners and streamers out of the bearers hands, after that, the ensign-bearers themselves were led to the Consuls, and the souldiers armed as they were, transported out of one battalion into another, and where there was any scuffling, they fought not so much with sword, as buckler: and what with their bosses and iron pikes, and what with jussling, shouldering, and striking the enemies about the arme-pits, they were overbrowed and felled. In which skirmish, more men were taken then slain: and no other cry was heard throughout the field, but down with weapon, down with weapon. So that in the very conflict, the principal authors of the war rendred themselves: and the morrow after, and other daies following, the rest of the people of *Umbria* likewise yielded. The Otricoliens by stipulation only and pledges given, were received in amity. And *Fabius* having thus got the victory in that war, which fell to another mans lot and charge, led back his army again into his own province. And in regard of his prosperous and happy exploits, like as the people the year past continued his Consulship: so the Senat against the year following, when *Ap. Claudius*, and *L. Volturnus* were Cos. prorogued his martial rule still, mangre the heart of *Appius*, who was greatly against it. In some Chronicles I find, that *Appius*, while he was Censor, sued to be Consul, and that his Election was crossed and staid by *L. Furius*, a Tribune of Com. untill he had resigned up the Censorship, Being created Cos. and the war with the Salentins (declared new enemies) allotted unto his Colleague, he remained at *Rome*: that by civil policy, and managing home-affairs, he might augment his own state and authority, since that the honour of war-service rested in the hands and conduct of another. *Volturnus* had no cause to repent of his charge and province: for many fortunat battels he fought, and some towns of the enemies by force he won. He was a bountifull giver of the spoil away unto his souldiers: and this bounty in it self alone acceptable, he helped much with great courtesie and gentleness, by which vertues and artificial means, he made the souldiers both venturous in perils and hardy in travell.

Q. Fabius on the other part, in quality of pro-Consul, gave battell to the Samnits near the City *Alisa*, where the day was nothing doubtful. The enemies were discomfited and beaten into their camp: neither had they been able to have kept the field, but that there was but a little

A the day left behind : and yet before night, they were beset round about in their hold : yes, and watched with good guards all night long, that none should make escape. The morrow morning ere it was well day light, they began to yield themselves, and to capitulate, that as many Samnites as there were among them, should be sent forth in their single garments, and they all went under the gallows. As for their confederats and allies, there was no such proviso nor composition made; but they all, to the number of seven thousand, were sold as slaves, and wore a garland. As many as avowed themselves to be Hernicks, were kept apart by themselves to be forth coming. All those *Fabius* sent to Rome to the Senat, and untill such time as enquiry was made, whether in a publick muster they were pressed souldiers or voluntarily served under the Samnites against the Romans, they were committed to be kept in ward among sundry nations of the Latins : during
 B which time, the new Consuls, *Publius Cornelius Arvina*, and *Quintus Martins Tremulus* (for those were now created) had in charge to propose that matter anew unto the Senat. The Hernicks took that ill. Whereupon the Anagnins held a Diet or General Councel in the round Cirque, which they call *Maritimus*, of all the Cities of that Nation, except the Alatrins, Ferentinats, and the Verulans. Where the whole State of Hernicks proclaimed war against the people of Rome. In *Samnium* also, for that *Fabius* was departed thence, there arose new troubles and rebellions. *Calatia* and *Sora* were forced, and the Roman garisons that there lay, were put to the sword; and upon the bodies of as many as they took alive, they exercised much torture and cruelty. Whereupon *Publius Cornelius* the Consul was thither sent. And to *Martius* were the new enemies appointed (for by this time decreed it was, That war should be made upon the
 C Anagnins and the other Hernicks.) At the first the enemies had so seized all the convenient passes and waies between both the Consuls camps, that there could not readily passe a lackey or currier between, in so much, as for certain daies both Consuls abode doubtful how the world went; and uncertain one of the others state. The fear whereof, spread to Rome, for all the younger sort [from seventeen years of age to seven and forty] were to serve : and against all sudden occasions, and occurrents whatsoever, two full and compleat armies were levied and enrolled. But the Hernick war was nothing correspondent either to the present menaces, or to the ancient glory and reputation of that nation : for having done no worthy adventures, and within few daies lost their camp thrice, they covenanted for to have thirty daies truce ; during which time, they might send Embassadors to the Senat of Rome : and in consideration hereof, they
 D promised to lay down two months pay, and to find corn for the army, and allow every souldier one coat. But from the Senat they were put off and referred to *Martius* : unto whom by order from the Senat, a large commission was granted, to dispose of the Hernicks as he thought good : and so he took the whole nation as yielded to his devotion. The other Consul in *Samnium* being in forces more puissant then the enemy, was not withstanding encumbered much with the difficulty of the ground. All the passages had the enemy stopped, and possessed himself of the Forrests and woods which were thorow faies; that no way victuals might be conveyed unto him. Neither could the Consul, for all that daily he displayed banner in field, train them forth to fight : so as it was well seen, that neither the Samnites could abide present battell, nor the Romans long delay of war. But the arrival of *Martius* who upon the subduing of the Hernicks, made hast to aid his
 E Colleague, caused the enemy to defer no longer the trial of the field. For, they, who thought themselves not good enough to match so much as the one army, knew full well that if they suffered two Consuls armies to join together, there had been no hope left. They therefore set upon *Martius* as he marched without order of battell. Hereupon in al hast their trusses and fardels were brought together and laid in the middle; and as the time would permit, he set his souldiers in array. At the first encounter, the shout was hard into the camp of the other Consul. Afterwards the dust descried as it off, gave an alarm, and made a trouble and tumult there. Then the Consul presently commanded to arm : and hastily bringing his souldiers forth into the field, entered upon the battell of the enemies in the flank, while they were busied in another skirmish. He cried aloud to his men, that it were exceeding great shame, to suffer the other army to carry away double victory, and not themselves win the honour of that war, which was their proper charge.
 F Thus, whereforever he charged, he brake in and made entrance, and having pierced and made a great lane through the midst of the enemies battell, he passed on towards their camp, which finding void of defendants, he took and set afire. Which when the souldiers of *Martius* saw burning before their faces, and the enemy likewise, as they looked behind : then began the Samnites on all hands to flee : but killed they were every where down right : all places full of murder and slaughters so in no part could they find means to escape and save themselves. Now when there were thirty thousand of the enemies slain, the Consuls sounded the retreat, and gathered both their armies together, with great congratulation one to the other : by which time, behold, there were descied a far off, certain new bands of enemies, enrolled for a supply ; and they gave occasion
 G of a new and fresh slaughter. Against whom without commandment of Consul, or any signall received from their leaders, the Romans advanced lustily, crying aloud, that these Samnites were to be welcomed with an ill hantell, and this their first training should cost them dear. The Consuls let the legions alone in this their furious heat, as who knew well enough, that these new comers seeing the old beaten souldiers so astonished already and flying away, would soon have enough of it, and not once adventure fight. And they were not deceived in their opinion ; for the whole forces of the Samnites as well old and new, fled apace unto the next mountains : and thither the
 Romans

Romans also make as great speed. But no safe place could those vanquished enemies find: for even from the very hill tops which they held, they were beaten down, so that with one voice they all craved peace. Then after the Consuls had imposed upon them corn for three months, and a years pay, and for every souldier a livery besides, they were permitted to send Embassadors to the Senat, to treat and capitulat thereof. During which time, *Cornelius* was left in *Samnium*, and *Martius* returned into the City, with triumph over the Hernicks. Moreover a decree passed, that his statue riding on horseback should remain in the common place of assemblies, which was erected accordingly even before the Temple of *Castor*. To three States of the Hernicks, to wit, the *Alatrians*, the *Verulans* and *Ferentinans*, their own laws, and ancient liberties were restored again, because they made choice thereof, rather than to be enfranchised Citizens of *Rome*: and permitted they were to marry amongst the Romans, which liberty they only of the Hernicks for a good while enjoied. The *Anagnins*, and those that had born arms against the Romans were incorporat free denizens of *Rome*, but without the priviledge of giving voices and suffrages: debarred they were of holding any Councils and making marriage with them, yea, and denied at all to elect any magistracy, but only the function and ministry of divine service and sacrifices.

The same year the Chappell of dame *Salus* was by *C. Junius Bubulcus* now Cenfor, set out at a price to be built, which he in his Consulship had vowed, in the *Samnits* war. By his direction and appointment, together with his colleague *M. Valerius Maximus*, were the great high waies and cauleys made, of all sides of the City, through the fields, at the common charge and expenses. The same year also, was the league renewed now the third time with the *Carthaginians*: and their Embassadors who came for that purpose, were courteously entertained, and rewarded liberally with rich gifts. In that year there was a Dictator *P. Cornelius Scipio*, with *P. Decius* General of the horse: and these were Presidents at the Election of Consuls, for to that purpose they were created, because neither of the two Consuls could be spared from the wars. Consuls were created *L. Posthumius*, and *T. Minutius*. But *Piso* sayth, that these Consuls immediately succeeded *Q. Fabius* and *P. Decius*: leaving out those two years, wherein he hath written that *Claudius* with *Volumnius*, and *Cornelius* with *Martius* were Consuls. Whether he forgot himself in digesting his Annals and yearly records, or of set purpose overhipt two couple of Consuls, thinking that they were not in truth Consuls, I wot not.

The same year the *Samnits* made rodes into the territories of *Stella*, within the liberties and appurtenances of the *Campains*, and therefore both Consuls were sent into *Samnium*: who when they were parted into divers wayes, for *Posthumius* took his journey to *Tifernum*, and *Minutius* to *Bovianum*: first there was battell fought at *Tifernum*, under the leading of *Posthumius*. Some make no doubt, but write, that the *Samnits* were discomfited, and put to the worse, and thirty thousand of them taken prisoners: others say, that the conflict was equall, and that they departed on even hand: also that *Posthumius* making semblance of fear, journeyed by night, & closely retired unto the hills adjoyning, & the enemies followed after them, two miles, and from thence encamped, and fortified also themselves in strong places of advantage. The Consul, because he would be thought to have fought and chose a safe place, and plentifully stored with all necessaries (as it was no lesse indeed) where he might keep a standing camp: after he had fortified the same, and furnished it with all kind of provision, leaving behind him a strong garrison for defence: at the relief of the third watch, leadeth the neerest way, his legions not encumbered with cariage, to his Colleague, who also himself lay in camp over against another army. There, by the perswasion & advice of *Posthumius*, *Minutius* gave battell; and when as the conflict continued doubtfull until it was far on the day: then *Posthumius* with his fresh legions, on a sudden charged the battailions of the enemies, now already overroyled, & bus partly for weariness, and partly for wounds, they being disabled for to flee away, were out of all measure slain every one, and xxi. banners were taken: and so from thence they went forward to the camp of *Posthumius*. Where these two victorious armies finding the enemy discouraged and amazed at the tidings of this overthrow, set upon them, discomfited, and put them to flight; and wan from them xxvi. ensignes: where the General of the *Samnits* *Stratius Collus*, with many a man besides, was taken prisoner, and both their camps won. *Bovianum* also, which the morrow after began to be assaulted, was shortly after forced: and finally with great glory of no noble acts atchieved, both Consuls triumphed. Some write that the Consul *Minutius* being grievously hurt, was broughed back into the camp, and there dyed: and that *M. Fulvius* was substituted Consul in his room: and that it was he, who being sent unto the army of *Minutius*, won *Bovianum*. The same year *Sora*, *Arpinum*, and *Consentia* were recovered from the *Samnits*: and the great image of *Hercules* was in the Capitol set up and dedicated.

When as *P. Sulpitius Avernus*, and *P. Sempronius Sophus* were Consuls, the *Samnits* desiring either to see an end of war, or else to delay it, sent Embassadors to *Rome* pretending peace. To whom as they pleaded and intreated most humbly, this answer was given: That if the *Samnits* had not so often treated for peace, when they intended and prepared war they might after certain intervals, and conferences passed between, obtain their suit: but since that evermore until that time, their words were but wind; now they would trust to their deeds, and nothing else. *P. Sempronius* the Consul, shall shortly be in *Samnium* with an army: who would not be abused, but soon see, whether their minds be enclined to war or peace: and as he found and saw every thing, so would he bring word and make relation: and therefore their Embassadors were to attend upon

A upon the Consul when he departed out of *Samnium*. The same year after that the Romans army had passed peaceably to and fro, and visited all *Samnium*, having victuals by the country courteously allowed, the ancient league was granted again to the Samnites. From thence turned the Romans their forces against the *Æquians*, their old enemies; but for many years making semblance of quietness, where as indeed their peace was little to be trusted: for that the *Hernick* nation was safe and on foot, they with them, had used oftentimes under hand to send aid unto the Samnites; and also after the subduing of the *Hernicks*, the whole nation in a manner without dissembling, and averring all they did by publick counsell and authority, had fallen away unto the enemy: and after that the Romans had made league with the Samnites, and their heralds came to make claim for their goods took from them by way of hostility, they said, It was but a tempting of them, to see, whether upon fear of war they would suffer themselves to become Romans. Which, say they, how greatly it were to be wish'd, the *Hernicks* was able to teach them: for they, as many of them as had liberty to do what they would, chose rather to live under their own laws, then to be enfranchised citizens of *Rome*; but others, who had not the same scope to choose to their liking, they were constrained to accept of the Burgeoisie of their City, by way of a punishment. Upon these speeches and arguments commonly tossed in their assemblies and Councils, the people of *Rome* decreed war against the *Æquians*: to which both the Consuls went, and encamped four miles from their enemies camp. The *Æquians* (who in their own behalf, and for any quarrell of theirs, had many years sat still and made no war) like as if their army had been levied of a sudden and in haste, without certain Captains appointed, and without any Generall to command, were affraid. Some thought good to go forth into the field, others to defend themselves, and keep within their camp: most of them were moved to think aforehand upon the wasting of their country afterwards, and consequently the destruction of their cities left but with slender garrisons. Therefore after that, amongst many opinions, this only had audience, namely, to abandon the care of publick weal and every man to regard his own privat state, and at the first watch to depart divers waies one from the other, and quit the camp, and convey away all their bag and baggage, and to defend their Cities within the wals: they all with one accord accepted thereof, and imbraced it. Now when the enemies were thus scattered abroad about the country, the Romans by day-light, with banner displayed went forth into the field: and when they saw no man come abroad to meet them, they marched in warlike order apace towards the enemies camp. But when as they could perceive there, neither warders before the gates, nor any man upon the trench & rampiers, nor so much as the usual noise of a leaguer, being moved with this unaccustomed silence, for fear of forelaying and treachery, they stood still: but being got over the rampier, and finding the tents void and empty, they set forward to pursue the enemy by his trace. But when they found their foot-tracks, leading to all parts of the Country alike: as being slipt here and there, sundry and divers waies, at the first they wandred out of the way, and missed of them; but afterwards knowing by their espials the purpose and intent of their enemies, they went round about and besieged every City, and in three-score daies wan forty towns all by assault: most part whereof were razed even with the ground, and consumed into ashes, and the nation of the *Æquians* utterly in a manner destroyed. Over the *Æquians* there was triumph; Whose calamity and desolation was so fearfull an example, to the *Marrucins*, *Marfi*, *Peligni*, and *Ferentins*, that they sent Orators to *Rome* to treat for peace and amity: and to all those nations at their request, a league was granted. The same year, *C. Flavius* a Notary or Register by profession, whose father *Cneus* was no better than of a slave made free, a man, thus descended of base and low parentage, howbeit otherwise crafty and eloquent withall, arose to be an *Ædile Curule*. I find in some records, that when he gave attendance in his calling to the *Ædiles*, and saw that his own Tribe were willing to give him their voices and elect him *Ædile*, but his name not accepted of among other competitors, for that he got his living by his pen, he cast aside his books and papers, and sware an oath, that he would no longer be a Notary and use pencraft. But *Macer Licinius* avoucheth, that a good while before, that he gave over his writing, namely, after he had been Tribune, and born two *Triumvirships*, the one for the night misrules, the other for the placing and transporting of a Colony. But they all agree upon this, that he became very stout, and in great contumacy opposed himself and made head against the Nobles that contemned his base birth. The civil law which before time was laid up in great secret by the Priests, and Prelats in their Arches, he published abroad: and set up a table in the great common place, in manner of a Calendar, wherein all men might know worke-daies from holy-daies; when it was lawfull to plead, and when not. Also in despite, and to the great heart-burning of the *Patritii*, he dedicated the temple of the goddesse *Concord* upon the Court of *Vulcan*: and by the generall consent of the people, *Cornelius Barbatius* the high Priest was compelled to endite and pronounce the certain form of words therto belonging; notwithstanding he contested and denied, that by the customes of their forefathers any could dedicate a Temple, unlesse he were either Consul or Generall of an army. And therefore by the authority of the Senat, a law was preferred to the people, That no man might dedicate a Temple or Altar, without permission and consent of the Consul, or the more part of the Tribuns of Commons. I will report in this place a thing, of itself not worthy of remembrance, but only for a proof and example of the liberty of the Commons against the pride and insolencie of the Nobles. This *Flavius*, coming upon a time to visit his Collegue lying sick, by a complot afore hand of certain young gentle-

gentleman of the Patritians that sat by his bed side, had no reverence done unto him, nor any one so much as rose up at entrance into the chamber: whereupon, he commanded his ivory chair of State to be brought unto him, and set him self upon it; and so he outfaced his adversaries, that were so vexed to the heart with envy of his dignity. This *Flavius* was nominated & chosen *Edile*, by the base faction of the commoners, banding together in the place of assemblies: who first took heart by the Censorship of *Appius Claudius* the first that ever distained and polluted the Senat, by bringing in the Sons of Libertins: and when he saw that no man accounted that Election of Senators good and lawfull, and perceived withall, that in the Court he had not that backing of Citizens which he sought for; he intermingled in every Tribe certain of the most base perions of the Commons: and so he corrupted both the common place and *Mars* field also. In so much as the Election of *Flavius* was reputed so unworthy an indignity, that most of the gentlemen of *Rome* laid away their gold rings and rich trapping of their horses which were the ornaments and ensigns of their calling. And from the time forward the City was divided into two parts. One side was maintained and upheld by the true hearted people, such as favoured and loved good things: the other by the faction of ruffe-raffe and scum of the City: untill the time that *Q. Fabius* and *P. Decius* were created Censors. *Fabius* to bring the City unto an uniform accord, and to withstand this inconvenience, that the Elections of Magistrats should not be carried away by the strong hand of the vilest and most abject persons, made a separation of all that base rabble, and cast them into four Tribes, and called them * *Vrbana*. Which action of his (men say) was accepted with so great contentment and thankfulness, that upon the good temperature of degrees, he purchased the surname of *Maximus*, which in so many victories he had not acquired and obtained. By him also (by report) it was ordained and instituted, that on the Ides of *July*, the horsemen rode, as it were, in a solemn muster, and shewing their great horses to the Censor.

* Tribes of the City such as were born to no lands in the country: all the rest were named *Rusticae*.

The Tenth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the Tenth Book.

Two Colonies were planted in *Sora* and *Alba*. The *maritians* of *Carseola*, were reduced under obedience. The fellowship of the *Augurs* was augmented to the number of nine, whereas before they were wont to be but four. The law or edict as touching the appealing to the people, was now the third time proposed by *Valerius* the Consul. Two Tribes more were added to the rest, *Anienfis* and *Terentina*. War was denounced against the *Samnits*, and fortunately fought with them. What time as there was a battell given to the *Tuscans*, *Umbrians*, *Samnits* and *Gauls*, under the conduct of *P. Decius*, and *Quintus Fabius*, and the Roman army was in great extremity of danger, *P. Decius* following the example of his father, devoted and exposed himselfe to die voluntarily, for to save the host: and by his death obtained the victory of that journey, to his countrymen and fellow Citizens. *Papirius Cursor* put to flight an army of the *Samnits*, who were bound by a solemn oath not to depart out of the battel without victory, to the end, that with more magnanimity and resolution, they should enter into the field. The Cense was held, and the number taken of the Citizens, with the solemn purging and Lustration of the City. And assessed there were 262322 polls.

The Tenth Book of T. Livius.

When *L. Genutius* and *Ser. Cornelius* were Consuls, there was rest in a manner from all wars abroad; in such sort, as they had leisure to place certaine Colonies at *Sora* and *Alba*: And for *Alba* there were enrolled 6000 inhabitants, to affront the *Equians*. As for *Sora*, it had sometimes belonged to the *Volscians* territory; but the *Samnits* usurped the possession of it, and thither four thousand were sent to inhabit. The same year, the *Arpinats* and *Trebulans* were enfranchised denizens at *Rome*. The *Frusinats* were fined with the losse of one third part of their lands: for they were evidently detected to have solicited the *Hernicks* to rebellion; and after that the Consuls Commission from the Senat, had made due inquisition, the principall heads of that conspiracy, were scourged and beheaded, yet because there should not pass a year clean without war, a journey was made (such a one as it was) into *Umbria*; upon news, that there used to issue forth day by day, certain men in arms out of a cave, and to make rodes into the country about. Into this cave or peak, the Romans entred with their ensignes displayed: where by reason that it was a blind corner, they received many a wound, and specially by throwing of stones

A Stones: untill such time as they found the other mouth of the cave (for it was a thorough-fare.) So they piled a deal of wood together at both ends, and set it on fire: with the smoke and vapour whereof, there were about 2000 armed men driven out of their hole, who rushing at last into the flame, desirous to escape, were smothered and burnt to ashes.

When as *M. Livius Dentatus* and *C. Aemilius* were Consuls, the Equians began to war again: for they hardly could abide and endure, that a Colony should be planted upon their borders, as a frontier-fortress to bridle them, and assailed by all kind of force to win the same: but they were lustily repulsed by the Inhabitants only within the town. Howbeit, such a fear they made at Rome, because it was not thought credible, that the Equians alone of themselves, so distressed as they were, would be so hardy as to take arms, that in regard of that trouble, a Dictator was named, to wit, *C. Junius Bubulcus*, with *T. Titinius* General of the horse. Who at the first conflict subdued the Equians, and upon the eighth day of his government returned into the City in triumph: and now the Dictator, dedicated the Temple of *Salus*, which he had vowed being Consul, and had put out to workmen for to be builded, while he was Censor.

The same year a fleet of Greeks, under the conduct of *Cleonymus* a Lacedæmonian, arrived upon the coast of *Italy*, and won *Thuria*, a City of the Salentines. Against this enemy was the Consul *Aemilius* sent, who in one battel discomfited him, and drove him aboard. Thus *Thuria* was rendred again to the former Inhabitants, and the Salentine Country obtained peace and quietness. I find in some Records, that it was *Jun. Bubulcus* the Dictator who was sent to the Salentines: and that *Cleonymus* before he was to encounter with the Romans, departed out of *Italy*. From thence he fetched a compass, and doubled the point of *Brundisium*, and sailed with a fore-wind through the midst of *Venice* gulph: for that on the left hand the Havenless and harbourless coasts of *Italy*, and on the right, the Illyrians, Liburnians, and Istrians, fierce nations, and for the most part, reputed infamous, for roving and robbing by the sea-side, put him in exceeding fear. So he arrived at length upon the river of *Venice*, lying far within the shore, and there he landed a few to discover the Coasts: but hearing that the strand that lay out against them was not broad and spacious, and when they were past over it, there were behind them the plashes (as it were) overflowed with the sea-tides, and that not far off might be seen the champion fields near hand, and hills beyond: and discovering by this means the mouth of a very deep river, into which he saw,

D that the ships might be brought about as into a safe harbour (now that rivers name was *Medusæus*) thither he commanded, that the Armada should put in, and to make sail up against the stream. The heaviest vessels, the chanel of the river would not bear: but the souldiers were transported in lighter barks and small pinaces, and so fell at length with the levell and the plain Country, frequented with much people, by reason that three sea-towns of the Patavins, inhabited that Territory. Being once landed, and having left a slender guard for their ships, they take Towns by assault, burnt houses, plunder and drive away prizes both of men and cattell: and when they had once tasted of the sweetness of booty and pillage, they went far from their ships. The allarme hereof was given at *Patavium* (now the Patavins were alwaies in arms, because of the Gauls their borderers.) Whereupon they divided their fighting youth into two regiments: the one was led in-

E to those quarters whereas the report went, that the Greeks foraged here and there all abroad: the other, because they would not meet with the robbers and rovers, was conducted another way to the harbour, where the ships rid (about fourteen miles from the Town. And after they had slain the warders, they charged upon the small barks. Whereupon the mariners were afraid, and were forced to retire their vessels to the other bank-side. Likewise upon the main they sped as well in fight against the stragling rovers: for when as the Greeks fled back to recover the harbour, the Venerians encountred them afront, and made head against them. So the enemies were environed in the midst, and most of them slain: some that were taken prisoners, bewrayed what their fleet was, and that King *Cleonymus* was three miles off. There, when they had bestowed the prisoners sure enough in ward within the next village; some man with souldiers of their river-vessels, made fitly and framed with flat bottoms, for to pass over the meers and shallow washes; others embark armed men in the small gallions taken from the enemies, and made way apace to give an assault upon the main fleet, and beset those ships which rid at anchor, and durst not weigh and remove, fearing not the enemy, so much as the unknown coasts. These, I say, they environed, and charged upon them: and when they made haste to gain the deep and open sea, without any resistance at all, they were pursued and chased unto the mouth of the river. Thus when they had taken the enemies ships, and fired others, namely, such as for fear and haste were driven upon the shelves, and run a-ground, they returned with victory. *Cleonymus* hardly saved the fifth part of his fleet. And thus having had no good luck in attempting to land in any coast of the Adriatick sea, he departed. The stems of the ships, with their beak-heads, and brazen pikes, together with the spoils of the Lacedæmonians, were set up in the old Temple of *Juno*, and there be many at this day alive, which have seen them. The memoriall of this sea-fight, is celebrated yearly (upon the very same day that it was fought) at *Patavium*, with a solemn skirmish and combate of ships represented upon the river, within the midst of the City.

The same year was a League made at Rome with the Vettins, who came to sue for peace and amity. But from that time, there arose many and divers fearfull occurrents. For news came, that

that *Hetruria* rebelled, which troubles took their beginning by occasion of the civil dissension and discord of the *Arcins*: who began to expell by force of arms the house and family of the *Licinii* (mighty and puissant above the rest) for very envy and repine of their wealth and riches. Over and besides, the *Marfians* stood out, and by arms maintained their title to that part of their territory, into which there had been a Colony of *Carfcolans* brought, to the number of four thousand men, enrolled there to inhabit. Against which stir and tumults, *Marcus Fulvius Maximus* was created Dictator, who made choice of *M. Emilius Paulus* to be the Commander of the Horse. Which I rather believe to be true, than that *Q. Fabius*, a man of those years and that worth, after so many honourable dignities, should be under *Valerius*. But I would not deny, that the error might grow by reason of the surname of *Maximus*. The Dictator having taken the field with his Army, in one battell discomfited the *Marfians*; and after he had driven them into their walled and fenced Towns, *Milenniana*, *Plesina*, and *Fresilia*; within few daies, he won them also over their heads: and having fined the *Marfians* with the loss of some part of their Territory, he received them into their ancient League again. Then all the forces were employed against the *Tuscans*; and whiles the Dictator was departed to *Rome* to take his Auspices anew, the General of Horse, being gone out a foraging, was by a secret ambush entrapped. And having lost certain ensignes, he was forced into the Camp, after a foul slaughter and shameful flight of his men, which fearfull cowardice is not like to have been in *Fabius*, not only, because if ever he deserved his surname of *Maximus* by any commendable parts, it was especially for his prowels in war: but also, for that in remembrance of *Papyrus* his cruelty toward him, he never could have been brought to fight, without the commandment or permission of the Dictator. This discomfite and loss being reported at *Rome*, caused a greater terrour than there was cause. For no less than if the Army had been utterly defeated, there was published and proclaimed a stay and cessation of all law-matters, warders bestowed at the gates, order taken for standing watches in every street, and armour and darts carried up to the walls. And after that all the younger sort were sworn and prest to serve the Dictator was sent again to the Army. Where, he found all more quiet than he looked for, through the carefull diligence of the General of Horse. The Camp was removed to a place of more strength and safety, the bands and companies which had lost their ensignes, left on the bare earth without the rampiers, destitute of tents and covert: and the army eager and desirous of fight, to do away and rale out the former ignominy and shame. Presently therefore, he raised his Camp, and removed forward into the country of *Rasella*. Thither followed the enemies also hard at heels; Who albeit, upon their late good speed, they were in right great hope and affiance, to be strong enough even in open fight and plain field; yet they assailed the enemy also by the same sleights and trains which they had already fortunately tried. There fortuned to be in the country thereabout, not far from the Romans Camp, certain houses half pulled down and ruinate, belonging to a village which was burned when the country was over-run: where, after they had bestowed closely certain men in arms, they drave their beasts and cattel in the very sight of the Roman *corps de guard*, commanded by *G. Fulvius*, a Lieutenant: at which haire, when as there stirred no man from the Roman wards, one of the Heardmen advanced even under the very trench and fortifications of the Romans, and called aloud to the rest (that seemed for fear to drive but slowly from the ruins of the village aforesaid) asking why they staid behind, seeing they might safely march, and pass forward still (as it were) through the middle of the Roman Camp? These words certain Carits interpreted to the Lieutenant *Fulvius*. Whereat, every band or company of souldiers took great indignation, but durst not stir a foot without a warrant. Then he commanded those that were skilfull in the tongue to mark whether their language sounded neerer to the speech of peasants or to Citizens: Who brought word, that both their voice, and also the habit and fresh hue of their bodies, was more elegant and civill than for country shepherds. Go your waies then (quoth he) unto them and bid them beware and discover their ambush, which in vain they seem to hide: for that the Romans were cunning in all things, and advertised of their designs, and could no more now be overtaken with wiles, than overcome by arms. When these words were once heard and carried to those that lay in wait, presently they start up out of their lurking holes, and brought forth their ensignes all abroad into the open field. The Lieutenant supposing they were a greater troop than might be dealt withall and marched by his *corps de guard*, with all speed sent for aid to the Dictator: and in the mean while himself received and bare off the brunt and forcible charge of his enemies. This message was no sooner brought, but the Dictator commanded the standards to be advanced, and the souldiers to arm and follow: but every thing was done sooner almost than it could be commanded: forthwith they caught up the ensignes, and took weapon in hand: and scarcely could they be held in, but that they would run amain. For not only the pitiful anger of the late received loss pricked them on, but also the shouts of their fellows, which they might hear more loud, and to be redoubled thicker, according as the skirmish grew hotter and hotter. The greater haste therefore they made, whiles one putteth forward another, and crieth to the port-ensignes to go faster and mend their pace. But the more haste the Dictator seeth them to make, the more earnest was he to keep them back in their march, and to hold them in; willing them to go fair and softly. Contrariwise the *Tuscans*, who rose up at the beginning of the battell, were there ready with their whole forces to give the charge. Whereupon there came messenger after messenger to the Dictator, bringing word that all the

legions

A legions of the Tuscans were entered into the fight, and that his men already were not able to fight any longer. Nay himself also, from the higher ground, might see in what danger the *corpus* of *Panfa* was. But presuming and resting upon this conceit, that the Lieutenant was able yet to maintain fight, considering that he was not far off himself to help and save him out of perill he was desirous that the enemies might be wearied and tired as much as was possible, and that his own forces fresh and in heart, should set upon them over-tired. And albeit they went softly forward, yet by this time had the Horsemen but a very small ground to take theib on with full career. For most marched the ensigns of his legions, that the enemy should not see any covert and privy stratagem, but leave good spaces and distances between the files of their footmen, through which the Horses might have room and liberty enough to gallop with ease. Then all the battallion of the Infantry set up a cry and shout when they charged, and wished the Cavalry, with reins at large entered within the ranks of the enemies, who being not marshalled and set in order against such a blustering storm of Horsemen, were with a sudden fear astonished. Whereupon, the troop of *Fulvius* which erewhile was in manner environed and compassed about, and had help and rescue almost too late, now all in general breathed themselves at ease, and were put to nothing. For their chief came fresh and lusty, undertook the whole weight of the conflict: which was neither long nor doubtful. The enemies were put to flight, and in disaray made hast to recover their camp. And when as the Romans advanced against them with battal displayed, they quit their place and retreated, gathering themselves round about heaps in the farthest part of the camp: and as they would have fled out, they stuck fast in the narrow gaps and passages of the gates: a great part of them leapt upon the banck, to climb the rampier, if haply either from the higher ground they might defend themselves, or get over any where and escape. By chance in one place where the banck was not well rammed, the rampier was surcharged with the weight of so many standing upon it, and so tumbled down into the trench. Whereupon, they set up a cry all together, That the Gods had made them way to escape, and by that means indeed they saved themselves, but more of them unarmed than armed. In this batel, were the forces of the Tuscans once again utterly abated: in so much as after they had capitulated and promised a years pay, and corn for two months, the Dictator permitted them to send Embassadors to Rome for a treaty of peace. Peace was denied, but truce for two years granted: and the Dictator with triumph returned into the City. I find in some writers, that *Hetruria* was by the Dictator quiered, without any notable batel, only by composing the variance and debate of the Aretins, and reconciling the unity of the *Licinis* with the Commons.

M. Valerius upon his Dictatorship became Consul. Some have believed that he was created without his own suit, yea, and while he was absent, and that the said Election was held by the Interregent. But howsoever it was, out of all question, he bare the Consulship with *Apuleius Panfa*. Whiles *M. Valerius* and *Q. Apuleius* were Consuls, all was well quiered abroad: for the Tuscans of one side, partly upon their ill success in war and partly by reason of their truce, were forced to be still and in repose. The Samnits also on the other side, being well tamed with the overthrowes so many years together, repented not yet, and were not weary of their new league. At Rome likewise the Commons were quiet, and found themselves much eased, and discharged of a great number of base and poor people, which were withdrawn and sent away into Colonies. But because their rest should not be every where entire and perfect, there arose a quarrel between the chief and principal men of the City, as well the Nobles as Commons, and that by the suggestion and instigation of *Q. and Cn. Ogulnius*, Tribuns of the Com. Who having sought occasion and matter every way to accuse and blame the Nobility unto the Commons: when they saw all means assayed in vain, at length entered into an action, whereby they kindled and set on fire not only the meanness, but even the chief heads of the Commons, such as had been Consuls, and triumphed: who wanted no promotions and honors, but only Sacerdotal dignities and Prelacies, which as yet were not indifferently common to both States. They proposed therefore a Law, That whereas at that time there were but 4. Augurs, and as many Prelats or Bishops, and for asmuch as they thought it good, that the number of Priests should be increased, there might be chosen to the rest, 4. Bishops, and 5. Augurs, all out of the body of the Commons. But how this Colledge or Fellowship of Augurs, was reduced to the number of four, huddy the death of two, I can not find: since this is certain, that among the Augurs the number must be odd: namely that the three ancient tribes, *Rhamneses*, *Titieses*, and *Luceres*, should have each one their Augur: or if they needed more, they should with equal number increase those Priests, like as they were augmented and multiplied: when as five being put to four, made up the number of nine: that is to say, for every tribe three. Howbeit, because they were chosen out of the Commons, who should supply, and make up the number, the Nobles took it as grievously to the heart, as when they saw the Consulship parted equally in common: but they made semblance as though this indignity pertained to the Gods more than to them: who would themselves see, that their holy service and sacred mysteries should not be polluted. And as for them, this only they could do, namely pray and wish, that no calamity thereby should light upon the common-weal. But less earnest were they in opposing themselves and making resistance, for that they were used already in all such broils and contentions to have the worse: and they saw besides, that their adversaries shot not at that (which in time past they could scarce hope for) namely, the greatest honours and dignities: but that they had already obtained all, for which they had strived so long in so doubtful terms of hope, to wit, manifold Consulats,

P. Decius Mus
against Ap.
Claudius.

Censorships, and Triumphs. Howbeit, the contention and dispute in debating and arguing to
and fro the law proposed, was maintained (as men say) between *Ap. Claudius* especially, and *P.
Decius Mus*; and after they had contested and discounted in their Orations *pro & contra*, the
same reasons in manner, touching the rights and liberties pretended by the Nobles and Com-
mons, which sometimes had been alleged, both for, and against the law *Licinia*, at what time as
as it was set on foot for the Commons to be Consuls: *Decius* (as it is said) represented in open
audience the very resemblance and shew of his father, in such manner, as many of them who
were then present at the assembly, had seen him: to wit, girded and apparelled in Sabine robe,
standing over his javelin, in which gesture, habit, and fashion, he offered himself to voluntary
death, for to save the people and legions of the Romans: "Seemed (quoth he) *P. Decius*, that
then was God, as pure and religious in the fight of the immortal Gods, as if *T. Manlius* his col-
league had been likewise devowed and offered: and might not the same *P. Decius* have rightly
been chosen, to execute the publick divine service and sacrifices of the people of Rome? or is this
all the fear and doubt, that the Gods would giveless ear to his prayers, than to *Ap. Claudius*? or
doth *Ap. Claudius* with more devotion serve God privately, and worship the Gods more re-
ligiously, than himself? Who was there ever that repented or misliked of the vows, which so
many Consuls and Dictators of the Com. either at their first setting forth to their armies, or in
time of war and battel, pronounced for the Common-wealth? Reckon and count the chief
Captains, year by year, since the first time that the Commons began to have the leading and
conduct of the wars: number all the triumphs ever since: it will appear that the Commons are
no whit abashed, and have no cause to complain of their own nobility. And this I know for
certain, that if any new sudden war should arise, the Senat and people of Rome would repose
no more hope and confidence in the ancient *Patritii*, than in the Com. for to be the Captains
and Commanders. This being so, quoth he, what God or man can think it an indignity, to
adorn those persons also with the titles and ornaments of Bishops and Augurs, whom ye have
honoured with chair of Ivory, with the long robe bordered with purple, with the coat of arms
embroidred and branched with the palm tree, with the gown or mantle of purple, wrought with
divers colours, with the chaplets and coronets of triumph, and with the victorious branch and
garland of lawrel: whose houses ye have beautified above the rest, with setting up the spoils of
enemies? Or who can thinck much, if he be seen with a sacring cup, or holy-water pot, and with
a crossier staff, and his head veiled, either to kill a sacrifice, or to take Augury by flight of birds
from the castle hill: who hath been adorned and decked with the ensignes and ornaments of the
great God *Jupiter*, and hath ridden in a gilded chariot through the City into the Capitol? Or in
whose Title, inscription and stile over his image, men shall with content, read Consulship, Cen-
sorship, and Triumph: will not the same abide to see and read that ye have added thereunto ei-
ther Augurship, or Pontifical dignity? I verily for my part hope (without the displeasure, and
with reverence of the Gods be it spoken) that we by the beneficence of the people of Rome are
such, as for our quality and worthineis, may and will yeeld no less credit and honor to our
Priest-hoods, than we shall receive thereby: and who desire, in regard of the honor and service
of God, more than for our own sakes and proper interests, to have the means, That whom we
serve and reverence in private, those we may also worship and honor publicly. But why have
I hitherto so pleaded the cause, as if the *Patritii* were entirely alone intituled and invested in the
prerogative of Sacerdotal Dignities; and as though we were not already possessed of one right
honorable and principal Priest-hood? We see that the Decemvirs for celebration of sacrifices,
and for interpretation of *Sibylla* her Prophecies, and other the fatal destinies of this people, the
Prelats also and Ministers of *Apollo* his sacrifice, and other Holy Ceremonies, are of the Com-
mons. Neither was there any injury done unto the *Patritii* at that time, when for to gratify the
Commons, the number of the Duumvirs was increased; those I mean, who should oversee (as
superintendents) the offering of sacrifices. And now at this present they have no greater cause to
complain, if the Tribun, a stout and brave man, hath added five places more of Augurs, and four
of Bishops, unto which commoners may be nominated: not to dispossess you of your rooms,
or to displace you, O *Appius*, but that men of the commons might assist you in the function and
ministry of divine service and Church matters: like as they do their part, and perform good ser-
vice in human and civil affairs. And be not ashamed, O *Appius*, to have him for your colleague in
the Priest-hood, whom you might beserm to have in Consulat or Censorship, your companion
and fellow; unto whom being Dictator, you might be Collonel of Horse; as well as he to you in
your Dictatorship. Those ancient Nobles in old time (our progenitors) admitted into their num-
ber and order, a Sabine stranger, the very head and top of your nobility, one *Ap. Clausus*, or *Ap.
Claudius* (chose you whether.) You must not thinck much then, to accept us into the number of
Priests. We bring with us many honorable titles, even all the same that make you so proud, and
to bear your head aloft. *L. Sextius* was the first Commoner, created Consul; and *C. Licinius Stolo*
the first Collonel of Horse. *C. Rutilius* was the first Dictator and Censor, and *Q. Publius Philo* the
first Prator. We have heard this song evermore sounding in our ears, That to you alone pertai-
neth the taking of Auspicia: that you only are of noble descent and gentility: that ye and none
but ye, by right and duty ought to manage the affairs, and the sovereign government, both at
home and abroad: and yet alwayes hitherto the commons in their places and charges, have done
and sped as well as the *Patritii*, and henceforth ever shall (I doubt not.) What? heard ye never

A it spoken, that the *Patritii* were at first made and created, and not descended from Heaven: but such as were able to name their father and grandfire: that is to say, even free men just, and no more? What? I my self can nominate already mine own father to have been a Consul, and shortly shall my son be able to alledge his grandfire. There is nothing else, O *Quirites*, in the matter whereupon we stand, but that we may obtain all which hath been denied us. For the Nobles desire only to maintain a side and to contend; and care not greatly what issue their contentions come unto. As for me, I do advise, and this would I have, That (to the good profit, and happy estate of you all, and the weal publicly) this law may pass under your affirmative voyce [*Uis rogat*]. Then presently the people commanded the Tribes to be called to a scrutiny: and soon it appeared, that the law would without all doubt be accepted: but that day was lost, by the opposition and negative of some Tribuns. Howbeit, the morrow after, they were afraid to cross it: and then with exceeding consent of all hands it passed cleer. So there were created Prelats or Bishops; first, *P. Decius Mus* himself (that so pleaded for the law) with *P. Sempronius Sophus*, *C. Martius Rutilius*, and *M. Livius Dentus*. Likewise five Augurs of the Commons, to wit, *C. Genutius*, *P. Aelius Paetus*, *M. Minutius Festus*, *C. Martius*, and *J. Publius*. So there were eight Prelats in number, and nine Augurs.

The same year, *M. Valerius* the Consul, procured the law of appealing to the people, more surely to be established and confirmed. This was now the third time after the deposition of the Kings, that this one Act was revived; and alwayes by the same house or family of the *Valerii*. The cause of renewing the same so often, was no other I suppose, than this; for that the mightiness of some few great men of the *Patritii*, was more powerful than the liberty and freedom of the Commons. Only the Law *Portia*, seemeth to have been enacted for to save the back and sides of Citizens from whipping, because that it awarded and set a grievous punishment upon him, that either had beaten or killed a Citizen of *Rome*. The Law *Valeria*, which forbade, to scourge or behead any man whosoever, that made his appeal, had this annexed only, that if any one had trespassed and proceeded farther, it should be decreed, *Leauidly and naughtily done*. Such was the modesty and reverence of men in those dayes, that this one addition [in my conceit verily] was supposed to be a sufficient bond to strengthen the Law. But now adayes, would a man scarcely threaten his servant or slave in that manner.

D The same Consul made war, without any worthy or memorable exploit, against the *Aequians* that rebelled; who (setting aside their stout and proud stomachs) had nothing left of their ancient fortune and estate. The other Coss. *Apuleius*, besieged the Town * *Nequinum* in *Umbria*. The place was difficult and hard to get up, and on the one side steep down right (whereas now standeth *Narnia*) so that it was impregnable, either by assault, or countermines and sconces whatsoever. Whereupon, the new Consuls, *M. Fulvius Patrus*, and *T. Manlius Torquatus*, entered upon this enterprise, left undone and unfinished by the former. Now when all the Centuries nominated with one voyce *Q. Fabius* for the Consulship of that year, even without his own suit and seeking; *Macer Licinius* and *Tuvero* do write, that he himself laboured to have that charge put off, and reserved unto a year of more war: alledging, that for the present he would serve the Common-weal in better stead, by bearing some civil office in the City: and so neither dissembling what he rather desired, nor yet seeking for it, he was made *Aedile* of the Chair, with *L. Papirius Curfor*. But, to set this down for a certain truth I dare not; because that *Piso*, a more ancient Writer of Chronicles, saith, that the *Aediles* Curule of that year, were *C. Domitius*, *Cn. F. Calpurnius*, *Sp. Carvilius*, and *Q. Fabius Maximus*. That surname, I suppose verily, gave occasion of the error in the *Aediles*. Whereupon ensued a tale (sorting to that error) mixed and compounded of the Elections of *Aediles* and Consuls together. The same year was held a solemn survey and purging of the City by sacrifice, called *Lustrum*, by *P. Sempronius Sophus*, and *P. Sulpitius Avernus*; and two Tribes more were added to the rest, *Aniensis*, and *Tarentina*. And thus much concerning the affairs at *Rome*.

F But now to return to *Nequinum*; after much time spent in long and lingering siege before the Town two of the inhabitants, whose houses joyned close to the wall, undermined the ground, and by a secret way came as far as the corps de guard of the Romans. From whence they were brought before the Consul, and promised him to let in and receive what garrison and troop of armed men he would, within the City. This offer was thought neither to be neglected and refused, nor yet rashly to be credited. So with the one of these twain (for the other was kept behind as an hostage) two other spies were sent by the same mine to discover the train. By whose relation, when it appeared sufficiently, that all was safe and without danger: by the leading and guiding of the traitor aforesaid, 300 armed men, by night entered the City, & seized that gate which was next unto them: at which, being broken open, the Consul and the Roman army without resistance, made entry, and surprised the City. In this sort *Nequinum* was reduced to the obedience of the people of *Rome*. A Colony was thither sent to Frontier against the *Umbrians*, called of the Rivers name [which runneth under it] * *Narnia*. And the army with a rich prize was brought again to *Rome*.

The same year the *Tuscans*, contrary to the tenure of the truce, made preparation for war. But whilst they were busily occupied otherwise, it fortune, that a puissant army of Gauls invaded their marches, and for a while altered their designments. Afterwards, by the means of money, whereof they were full and bare themselves mighty, they sought to make the Gauls, of enemies to become their friends, and solicited them to band together, and so jointly to maintain

* The same
that *Narnia*.

* *Nar*, now *Na-
gr.*
* *Narni*.

tain war with the Romans. Their society and friendship the barbarous people refused not; only, they stood upon the sum what they should have for their hire. Which being agreed upon and received, and all things else in a readiness for to go into the field; when the Tuscans willed them to follow after, they flatly denied, that they had received any consideration for to make war upon the Romans: but whatsoever they had taken, it was because they should not wait the Tuscan Land, and by way of hostility and force of arms, do any violence upon the inhabitants: howbeit, if the Tuscans were so minded to employ them, they would be willing to serve, but for no other reward and recompence, than to be admitted into part of their territory; that at the length they might have some certain place of abode, to settle themselves in. Many Diets and consultations hereabout were held by the States of Tuscan, but nothing resolved and concluded: not so much, for that they feared to part with some of their Lands, as because they were in great dread every one and abhorred, to have dwelling by them such neighbours, descended from so savage a race and cruel Nation. Thus were the Gauls let go and dismissed, having away with them a huge mass of money, which they got without any travel or peril of theirs.

* *Marca Antonia.*

The bruit of the Gauls tumult and insurrection, together with the Tuscans war, caused no little fear at *Rome*. Whereupon, more hast was made to conclude a league with the * *Picene* people. *T. Manlius* the Consul had the charge of the Tuscan war allotted unto him. Who scarcely was entred into the confines of the enemies, but as he was training and exercising amongst the Horsemen, he ran his Horse with full career, and suddenly as he turned about, was cast off, and presently lay for dead: and so the Consul, three dayes after his fall, ended his life. Which the Tuscans taking hold of, as a good ominous token and presage, got heart and were very jolly; saying, that the Gods had in favour of them, begun this war. This was heavy news at *Rome*, both for the loss of so brave a personage, and for the time, wherein so unhappily it fell out: so as, the assembly held (by the advice of the chief Peers) for to substitute a Consul in his place that was deceased, frightened the Senators from chusing a Dictator. All their sentences, and all the centuries gave with *M. Valerius* to be Consul: who was the man, whom the Senat was about to have pricked for Dictator. Then forthwith, they ordained him to go into Tuscany to the army. Whose coming suppressed and kept under the Tuscans: so as not a man durst once go out of their trenches and hold. Even their very fear was as good as a siege unto them: for that the new Consul neither by wasting the fields, nor firing their houses in such sort, as every where, not only the small villages, but also the good and well-peopled Towns were seen to smoke and burn again, could draw them forth to fight.

This war continued longer than men thought: but behold, there arose a bruit of another; (which, considering the mutual losses of both sides, was for good causes greatly to be feared) upon intelligence given from the *Picenes* their new allies, namely, that the *Samnites* were about to take arms and rebel, and had solicited them also to do the same. The *Picentes* were highly thanked for this, and a great part of the Senators care was diverted now from Tuscany to the *Samnites*. The dearth besides, of corn and victuals troubled the City: and driven they had been to extreme famine, if *Fabius Maximus* (as they have written, who are of opinion that he was *Ædile* that year) by provident purveying and diligent conveying of corn, had not been as careful and industrious, in the dispensing of victual now at home, as many times before in war affairs. The same year there was an Interreign, but upon what occasion, it is not known. The Interregents were *App. Claudius*, and after him *P. Sulpitius*, who held an Election of Consuls, and created *L. Cornelius Scipio*, and *Cn. Fulvius*.

In the beginning of this year, there came Orators from the *Lucans* to these new Consuls, for to make complaint, That the *Samnites*, who by no conditions and means could induce them for to band and take arms with them, were entred into their confines, and made wast of the country, and by very force provoked them to war, saying, That the *Lucans* had long ago over-shot and passed themselves that way: but now they were so fully resolute, that they could find in their hearts, sooner to abide and endure all kind of calamity whatsoever, than ever after to offend and displease the Roman name. They besought the Senat therefore, to receive the *Lucans* into their protection, and also to keep and defend them from the violence and injury of the *Samnites*. And for themselves, albeit entering into war already with the *Samnites*, they were of necessity obliged to be fast and true unto the Romans: yet for better security they were ready to put in sufficient hostages. The Senat was not long consulting hereabout: but all with one consent were of opinion, to make league with the *Lucans*, and to summon the *Samnites* to make amends and restitution. The *Lucans*, besides a courteous and gracious answer, were accepted into the league. Then were there *Fecial Heralds* dispatched to the *Samnites*, to give them warning for to depart the territory of the Roman allies, and to withdraw their forces out of the confines of the *Lucans*. But the *Samnites* sent out certain messengers to meet them upon the way, and to denounce unto them, that if they presented themselves in any Council within *Samnium*, they should not depart again with safeguard of their persons. When these news were heard at *Rome*, both the Senat advised, and the people allowed, to make war upon the *Samnites*. The Consuls parted their Provinces and charges between themselves. To *Scipio* fell *Hetruria*, and the *Samnites* to *Fulvius*: and so they take their journey divers wayes, each one to the war allotted unto him. *Scipio* looked for no other, but a lingering war at the enemies hands, and like to the defensive service of the former year: but behold, they with an army well appointed and arranged,

A arranged, encountered him and gave him battle near to * *Volaterra*: where they fought the better * *Volterra*, part of the day, with much bloodshed on both sides: and whilst they were doubtful which way the victory went, the night came between. But the morning after bewrayed both who were winners, and who were losers. For the Tuscans in the still and dead time of the night dislodged. The Roman Consul coming forth into the field, and seeing by the enemies departure, the victory confessed; went forward to the camp: which he found empty of men, but full of rich pillage, (for they had fearfully and in great haste abandoned their tents) and was master thereof. From thence he retired his forces into the territory of the *Faliscans*: and after he had left at *Falerii*, all his bag and baggage with a meetly garrison there, lightly appointed, he marched forward, and with a running camp walked the marches and territories of his enemies. He put all to fire and sword: drove away booties from all parts: and left not the ground only, wast and desart, but set fire also upon Castles and borough Towns. Only he forbore to assault the great and strong Cities, into which fear had driven the Tuscans for refuge. *C. Fulvius* the Consul on the other part fought a noble battle in *Sannium*, near * *Boianum*, and the victory was no whit doubtful. After which he assailed *Boianum*, and not long after *Ausidena*: and both Cities he won by force. The same year was there a Colony brought to * *Carseti* within the territory of the *Agnuculi*. And *Fulvius* * *Arceolo* the Consul triumphed over the Samnites.

When as now the time of the Consuls Election drew near, there was a rumour raised, that the Tuscans and Samnites were levying and enrolling of great and mighty forces: that openly in all their C Assemblies and Diets, the Princes of the Tuscans were checked and reproved, for that they had not waged the Gauls to war, whatsoever it had cost them: that the Magistrates of the Samnites were blamed, for exposing that army as it were a prey unto the Romans, which had been provided against their enemies the Lucans. For now seeing that the enemies both with their own power, and also with the help of their allies, were come to war: they should not be able to match them, having their forces thus redoubled. Now albeit there were other famous and renowned persons stood to be Consuls, yet this new fear and affright turned all men to be come favourers of *Q. Fabius Maximus*: who at the first made no suit, and afterwards, seeing the inclination of their affections, refused also to be Consul. "Demanding what they meant to trouble and molest him, so "aged a man as he was, and one, who as he had gone through all labours and travels of this D "world: so he had passed also the rewards, and recompences of his travels: alledging, that neither strength of body, nor vigor of spirit could alwayes continue the same, and last for ever: and "besides, he feared fortune her self, lest haply she might be thought of any of the Gods too propitious and favourable unto him, and more permanent than the ordinary train and course of "this world would permit. Therefore, like as himself had grown up after the glory of his elders, "and succeeded them, so he saw and beheld with joy of heart, others also rising up after him, and "to succeed him in the like glory: and as there wanted not at *Rome* high promotions and advancements for hardy and valiant men, so there failed not brave men of worth for to receive those "honors and dignities. But by this refusal of his so modest, so just and reasonable he whetted and kindled more and more their earnest affections and favours towards him, which he thinking to

E dull and quench, with the reverent regard and awe of the laws, commanded a statute to be read, wherein it was not lawful for one and the same man within ten years to be created Consul twice. But scarcely for the noise that the people made could this law be heard read: and the Tribunes of the Com. said, that this should be no law: for they would prefer a bill unto the people, that he might be discharged and dispensed with, from the Statutes in that behalf. Howbeit he stood stiffly still in his refusal, demanding of them to what purpose and end were the laws made, if by the very makers thereof, they might be thus deluded and made of no force? For so (quoth he) laws ruled nor, but were over-ruled. But even he, lest the people went to a minority and began to give their voices: and as every Century was called into the rails, they named and chose *Fulvius* Consul, without sticking at the matter. Then at last, overcome with this general accord and consent of the F "whole City: God say Amen (quoth he) *Q. Quinctius*, so that you do and are about. But for as much as you will have your will and dispose of me at your pleasure, do me this favour yet, that I may have the chusing of my Colleague. He seach you make Consul with me; *P. Decius* a man approved unto me already, with whom I have sortted well in the fellowship of another office: a man I say, an worthy otherwise to the greatness of his name, and worthy of his fathers vertue, from whom he is descended. This favour which he requested, seemed unto them just and reasonable. So all the Centuries behind, created *Q. Fabius* and *P. Decius* for Consuls.

The same year the *Ediles* served process upon very many Citizens: for holding and possessing of more Lands, than by Law was limited: and none in a manner was able to acquit himself hereof. Which was a great bridle and restraint to their unmeasurable avarice. As the G new Consuls, *Q. Fabius Maximus* the fourth time, and *P. Decius Mus* the third time, conferred and laid their heads together about their charges, that the one should take in hand the Samnites, and the other the Tuscans; and consulted what forces might serve and be sufficient for this or that Province and exploit; and to whether war either of them were the more meet and sufficient Leader: certain Embassadors, from *Capitium*, *Nepes*, and *Falerii*, advertised them. That the States of Tuscany, were now consulting in their Diets, about a Treaty of peace: which was an occasion, that they turned all their preparations and forces into *Sannium*. The Consuls being gone forth, to the end they might have the readier provision of grain and

Visuals, and the enemy be more to seek; which way they would assail them, led their Legions into *Samnium*: *Fabius*, through the territory of *Sorani* and *Drusi* by the way of the *Sidicini*. When they were come into the confines of their enemies, both of them spied themselves all abroad, and fell to forrage and spoil the country: yet so, as they sent out their spies farther than they waited. Whereupon, they were well aware of their enemies, as they lay in ambush well appointed, with in a close and secret valley near *Tifernum*: what way as they thought to take the vantage of the higher ground; and to set upon the Romans so soon as they were once entered in. *Fabius* having removed his carriages into a sure place, and set there a competent guard for defence, fore-told his souldiers that there was a battel towards: and in a four-square battallion marched directly to the forlaid Embascado, where the enemies lurked and lay in wait. The Samnites then, despairing and out of all hope to do any great exploit, by sudden tumult, considering their trains were discovered; and seeing they must once at the length come to the tryal in open field, were themselves also more willing to put all upon a set battel. Thereupon they descended into the plain and even ground, and committed themselves to the fortune of fight, with more courage of heart than hope of victory. But were it, that they had assembled together the whole flour and manhood out of all the Nations of the Samnites, or that the hazard of the main chace made them more hardy and take the better heart: surely even in plain field, they held the Romans play and put them to great fear. *Fabius* seeing the enemies no way to retreat and give ground, commanded *M. Flavins* and *M. Valerius*, two Colonels, with whom he had set forward and advanced into the forefront, to go to the Horsemen; and to exhort them, If ever they remembered and called to mind, that the Common-wealth had been helped by the valour of the Gentlemen on horseback, they should that day endeavour to make invincible and eternal the glory of that degree and order of Cavalry. For seeing that the enemies stood unmoveable against the Infantry, there was no other hope but in the force of Horsemen: and here withal he called upon those two young Gentlemen, and plied both the one and the other with like courtesy, one while praising them, another while loding them with fair and large promises. But when as the assay of that force likewise, prevailed not, thinking where strength would take no place, there craft was to be tryed and practised, he caused *Scipio* his Lieutenant, to withdraw out of the conflict, the javeliniers of the first legion, and as closely as he could to fetch about with them, toward the next hills: and then, to march up the hill some way from the sight of the enemies; and after he had gained the top, all of a sudden to shew himself behind, and charge upon the enemies backs, whiles their faces were turned another way. Now the Horsemen, by the direction of those two Colonels, being ridden of a sudden before the standards, troubled their own fellows almost as much as the enemies. For against these troops and cornets of Horse that thus violently put forward, the Samnites battel stood unmoveable, and on no part could either be forced to retreat, or to break their array. The Horsemen when they saw this attempt to take no effect, retired themselves behind the ensignes, and departed out of the battel. Hereupon took the enemies more heart unto them; neither had the vanguard of the Romans been able to abide so long a conflict, and the violence of the enemies still encrassing, upon their own confidence, but that the second ranges in the middle ward, by the Consul his commandment, came forward into the front of the vanguard. Where they with their fresh strength, stayed the Samnites, being now ready to enter forceably upon them, and to gain the ground: and withal, at the time appointed, the ensignes shewed themselves from the hills, and came down unaware to the enemies: and setting up a shout, not only daunted the hearts of the Samnites, but also encouraged the Romans. For both *Fabius* cried aloud, that his Colleague *Decius* approached, and every souldier for his part, what he might, with joyful and cheerful hearts, iterated, that the other Consul was come, and the legions were at hand. Which error and mistaking, as it turned to the good of the Romans, so it caused the Samnites to flie, and to be surprized with a fright, fearing and doubting nothing so much, as that being now overtoiled and wearied, they should be overcharged also with fresh and lusty forces. And for that in their running every way, they were scattered asunder, there was less slaughter than for the preparation of so great a victory. For 3400 N only were slain, and of prisoners were taken, whereof three hundred and thirty: and three and twenty honours and ensignes won and carried away. The Apulians had joyned with the Samnites before the battel, but that *P. Decius* the Consul encamped against them at *Maleventum*, and having drawn them forth to fight, discomfited them. Where also there were more that fled, than died upon the sword: for not above 2000 Apulians were slain. And *Decius* making no reckoning of that enemy, conducted his legions into *Samnium*. Where, two Consular hosts, having overrun the country in divers parts, within five months space laid all wast and desolate. Five and forty places there were in *Samnium*, where *Decius* had encamped: and eighty six, wherein the other Consul had pitched. In which, they left behind them not only the marks of stakes, rampiers, and ditches, but also many other more notable signs and tokens of the country wasted all about, and utterly spoiled by them. *Pallus* besides, won the City *Cusula*. Where there were taken prisoners two thousand and four hundred armed souldiers, and slain there were in fight upon

430 From thence he went to *Rome* against the Election of new Consuls, and made all the haste he could to dispatch that business. And when as all the Centuries first called forth to give their suffrages, named *Q. Fabius* for the Consul: then *Appius Claudius* a Consular man, and one of the Competitors, a grim fir, and ambitious by nature, laboured no more for his own honour and advancement,

A vancement, than to recover again unto the *Patritii*, both the rooms of the Consulship, and employed as well his own devoir, as also all the means and assistance of the *Patritii* and Nobility, to have himself chosen Consul with *Q. Fabius*. As for *Fabius*, at the first, spake and alledged in his own behalf, the same reasons in manner which he had used the former year, and refused to be Consul. The whole body of the Nobility stood about his seat, praying instantly, and entreating him to pluck the Consulship out of the mire and base degree of these Commons, and to restore the ancient Majesty both to the Magistracy itself, and also to the *Patritii* and their houses and families. *Fabius* after silence made, framed a middle and moderate kind of speech, whereby he appeased and allayed their hot affection, promising and assuring them, that he would willingly accept the names of two of the Nobility, if he might see, that they would create any other Consul but himself: for at this present Election, he would in no wise admit himself, to be eligible and nominated Consul, and give so bad a precedent to prejudice all course of law, for the time to come. So *L. Volturnius*, out of the body of the Commons, was created Consul with *App. Claudius*, who likewise in the former Consulship had been matched Colleagues together. The Nobility used to object unto *Fabius*, and reproached him, that he avoided *App. Claudius* to be his companion in government, who for eloquence and other civil parts was no doubt a singular and excellent man. When the Election was ended, the old Consuls were commanded to war in *Samnium*, having their Government continued, and their commission renewed for six months. And so in the year following likewise, when *L. Volturnius* and *Appius Claudius* were Consuls, *P. Decius*, who being Consul, had been left behind his Colleague in *Samnium*, ceased not now in quality and name of Proconsul, to waite the country; until at length, when the Samnites would in no place abide battle, they were by him chased out of their own borders and limits. And thus driven out of the field, and excluded out of their own country, they went into *Hetruria*. Where, supposing that with so huge a multitude of armed men, they should do that more effectually with intreaty and prayers, mingled with threats among which by so many Embassages they had so oft attempted in vain; they called for a Diet and general Council of the States and Princes of *Hetruria*. Which being assembled, they declared and shewed, for how many years space they had maintained war with the Romans in the right of their freedom; that they had assayed all means, if haply they might have been able by their own puissance alone, to sustain and support the weight of so huge and important a war: that they had besides made proof of the aids of other neighbouring nations, but to little effect; that they had sought for peace of the people of *Rome*, when they were not able to wage war any longer; and because peace was more grievous unto them, than their subjection, than war with their liberty, they had rebelled and made war again: and now their only hope they had, remained in the Tuscans, knowing well enough, that for men, munition, and money, they were the mightiest nation of all *Italy*; as having to their neighbours the Gauls, a people born and bred up in armor and war: by natural disposition fierce and cruel, but especially in any quarrel against the people of *Rome*; of whom they do (and not untruly report) that they were by them vanquished and constrained to ransom themselves for gold. Now, if the Tuscans were of that heart and courage, as *Porcius* sometimes, and other their noble progenitors were: there were no doubt, but that they might dislize the Romans, and dispossess them of all the ground on this side *Tyberis*, and make them fight for the defence and preservation of their lives, and not for the intolerable slavery and dominion of *Italy*. They said moreover, that there was now come unto them an army of Samnites, well appointed and furnished with armour, and stored with pay and money, who would follow them forthwith, even to the assault of the City of *Rome*, if they would lead them.

While they were thus braving, and gloriously boasting themselves, and preparing of war in Tuscany, the Romans war at their own doles, lay fore upon them, and hung them at the heels. For *P. Decius*, having learned by the spies, that the Samnites army was gone forth, and had taken their voyage, assembled a Council and said, What mean we thus to range over the fields, warping from village to village? And not rather assail the walled Towns and strong Cities? There is no army now that defendeth *Samnium*; gone they are out of their confines, and wrought their own exile and banishment. When they all had allowed of this motion, he led forth his power to assault the strong City *Murratinus*. And so hotly were the soldiers set, both for the love they bare to their Captain, and also for hope of winning a richer pillage thereby, than by driving booties out of the country, that in one day by mere force of arms they won the Town. Where two thousand and one hundred Samnites, fighting men, either fell upon the edge of the sword, or were taken prisoners, with a great and rich booty besides. But for fear that it should surcharge and encumber the army with heavy carriages, *Decius* caused his soldiers to be called together unto an audience, and thus to them he said, And will ye stand contented indeed with this victory only, and this prey? Or will ye build your hope still, answerable to your prowess and valour? All the Cities of the Samnites, all the substance and riches that both men and beasts in their Cities do yours for much as ye have in so many battles vanquished their legions, and at last driven them out of their own country. Sell these prizes, and with hope of gain draw after you chapmen and merchants to follow the army. I will from time to time still help you to sell wares and commodities for to sell. Let us go from hence straight to the City *Romula*, where if your toil shall not be so great, but the spoil far greater. So when they had made sale of their pillage, and willingly of themselves called upon and exhorted their Captain to that expedition,

to *Romulea* they go. Where likewise, without mure and platform, without warlike engines of battery, so soon as they advanced their ensigns, and approached the walls, they could by no violence be driven from thence, but set up ladders in all haste, at the next place that every man could find, and so scaled up the walls. Thus the Town was won and sacked. To the number of 2300 were slain, and 6000 taken prisoners. The souldiers having got an exceeding booty, were forced to sell it, and make all away, as before: and from thence without any rest at all given unto them were they led to *Ferentinum*, yet they marched thither with exceeding courage and cheerfulness. Howbeit there they found more difficult and perilous service: for the walls were with all forcible means defended, and the place it self was both by mans hand, and natural situation, surely fenced: but yet the souldiers now being fleshed, and enured to spoil, overcame all difficulties. Three thousand men about the walls were slain: and the sackage fell to the souldiers share. The greatest part of the honor in assailing and winning of these Cities, is ascribed in some Chronicles to *Fabius Maximus*. For they write, that *Murgantia* was by *Decius* won, but *Ferentinum* and *Romulea*, by the conduct of *Fabius*. But some attribute the glory hereof unto the new Consuls. And there are, that give the glory not to both, but to the one of them, to wit, *P. Volumnius*, unto whom be fell the Province of *Samnium*.

Whiles these affairs thus went in *Samnium* (by whose leading and managing it skills not) in the mean time a mighty war was preparing in *Hetruria*: and that, of many nations banded together: the principal author whereof was *Gellius Egnatius* a Samnit. The Tuscans, in manner all, had taken arms and levied their forces, and the neer society, caused also the people of *Umbria* adjoining to take their part: besides, Gauls also were waged for money to aid: all which multitude assembled together, and met in the Samnits camp. The news of which sudden and unexpected tumult, being brought to *Rome*: for so much as *P. Volumnius* the Cos, with the second and third legions, and with 15000. confederats was gone already into *Samnium*: it was thought good and determined, that *App. Claudius* with all speed possible, should go into *Hetruria*: and after him, two Roman legions followed, to wit, the first and fourth, with twelve thousand allies: who encamped not far from the enemy. But more good was done there, in respect that they came thither betimes, (to the end that the fear of the Roman name might keep in awe certain nations in *Hetruria*, which already intended war) than for any exploit performed either skillfully or luckily, under the conduct of the Consul. Many skirmishes there passed in places of disadvantage, and at times inconvenient: in so much, as the enemy took more heart, and conceived greater hope every day more than other: and now it grew welbees to this point, that neither souldier could well reckon of the sufficiency of Captain, nor Captain trust upon the loyalty of the souldier. In three severall Annals I find, that *Appius* dispatched his letters to his fellow Consul, and sent for him out of *Samnium*: howbeit, I am loth to set this down, being so uncertain as it is: seeing that the very Consuls themselves of *Rome*, who now the second time were coupled together in one government, contested, and openly jarred about this point: whiles *Appius* denied flatly that he sent any script at all, and *Volumnius* again avouched, that he was sent for by *Appius* by his letters. *Volumnius* by this time had won three Cities in *Samnium*, wherein were slain three thousand enemies, and almost half so many taken prisoners: and composed besides the seditions and quarrels of the Lucans, which arose from the Commons and needy persons: and that, with the exceeding good contentment of the chief and principal personages of the country, by the means and mediation of *Q. Fabius* the Proconsul, who was thither sent with the old army. This done, he left *Decius* to wast and pill the country of the enemies, and himself with his forces marched toward his Colleague into *Hetruria*. Who at his first coming, was received generally with all the joy that might be. For mine own part, I suppose verily, that as *Appius* had good cause to carry an angry stomack with him, in case his confidence bare him witness, that he wrote not unto him: so again, if he had need of his Colleagues aid, he shewed an illiberal, unkind, and unthankful nature of his own, in that he would to dissemble, and not be known thereof. For being come forth to meet him, before they had well greeted and saluted one another, How now, quoth he, O *L. Volumnius*, is all well? How goes the World in *Samnium*? What hath moved you to abandon and leave your own charge and province, and to depart? *Volumnius* made answer, that in *Samnium* all things went well and chieft prosperously, and that himself was now come, as sent for by his letters: which if they were counterfeit, and that there were no need of him in *Hetruria*, he would presently turn his ensigns, and be gone. Mary, quoth he, and good leave have you: you may be gone when you will, and no man holdeth you: and ill beleeming it is, that you who per adventure are not able to wield and manage your own affairs of war, should glory thus, and make your boast that you are come hither to help others. Hereat *Volumnius* should reply again and say: It is well, and God send us good luck: I had rather lose my labour, than ought should have happened, whereby one Consuls army were not sufficient to deal with *Hetruria*. Now as the Consuls were parting asunder one from the other, the Lieutenants and Colonels of *Appius* his army, came and stood round about them both: Some requested their own General, that the aid of his Colleague which ought to have been accepted by them if it had been required: now that it was offered so willingly, and of his own accord, should not be refused and rejected. But he more part encountered *Volumnius*, as he was ready to go his way, and earnestly besought him not for any forward contention, and debate with his companion, to betray the common weal. For if any overthrow or misadventure should happen, the blame would be imputed rather to the forsaker

A "saker than the forsaken: and now things were come to this pass, that the honor or dishonor of the war in *Hetruria*, prove it well or ill, should fall upon *L. Volturnius*: for that no man would enquire of the words and language that *Appius* gave him, but of the fortune and success of the army: and albeit *Appius* had given him his farewell and passport, the weal publick and the army held him still by the sleeve, and for proof hereof, let him but make tryal of the souldiers hearts and affections. Thus with remonstrances, persuasions, and hearty prayers to the one Consul and the other, they drew them both, in manner against their wils, to parly in publick audience before the whole army. Where they grew to longer speeches and discouries, but to the same purpose and effect, as before in the hearing and presence of a few. Now when *Volturnius* (as having the better cause) seemed to reply, and that with good grace & words enough, against that singular eloquence of his Colleague: and that *Appius* in trumpling and taunting manner, gave out and said; That they were beholden to him, and might con him thank, that of a dumb and tongue-tied Consul they had one now, that was so ready and eloquent: and who in his former Consulship, and specially in the first months, could not open his mouth, and speak a word, was now of a sudden become an Orator, and able to make plausible and popular Orations: then replied *Volturnius* and said, "Would God, with all my heart, you rather had learned of me to fight valiantly, then I of you to speak finely: and in conclusion, he said, he would tender him an offer, which should determine and put out of all doubt, whether of them twain, were, not the better Lawyer and Orator (for at this present the Common-weal stood not in need of such) but the better warrior and Captain General. Whereas therefore, there are ii. Provinces, *Hetruria* and *Samnium*, it shal be in your choice (qd. he) to take one of them, whether you will, and I my self will with my own army, make war in the other. Then began the souldiers to cry aloud unto them, that they would jointly enter both upon the *Tuscan* war. Which consent and accord of theirs, when *Volturnius* had perceived, Forasmuch (qd. he) as I have once mistaken and misinterpreted the will of my Colleague, I will not in any case stand in doubt and be ignorant of your minds too: Let me know therefore by a shout of yours, whether you would have me tarry or depart? Whereat they set up such a note, that it gave an alarm to the enemies, and raised them out of their camp: and presently they caught their weapons up, and came forth into the field. *Volturnius* likewise caused the trumpets to sound, and the standards and ensigs to be brought abroad. Then *Appius* (as it is reported) seeing plainly, that whether he fought or fate still, the victory would be ascribed to his Colleague, stood in a hammering and suspence for a while: but afterwards fearing, lest that his own legions also would follow *Volturnius*, gave likewise unto his men the signal of battel, which they so instantly called for. But neither they, nor the enemies were well arranged and in good order: for both the leader of the *Samnits* (*Gellius Egnatius*) was gone a foraging abroad, with some few cohorts and bands with him: whereupon the souldiers rather of their own head, than by conduct and direction of Captains, began to charge: and also the Roman armies were not both lead forth together, nor yet had time enough to be marshalled accordingly: for *Volturnius* first gave the charge, before that *Appius* could come to encounter the enemies: whereupon, the forefronts were not equally matched together: and as if some fortune had exchanged the enemies, that they were wont to fight withal: the *Tuscans* presented themselves to *Volturnius*, and the *Samnits* who stayed awhile (for that their General was absent) affronted *Appius*. It is reported that *Appius* in the very heat of the skirmish, was seen in the front of the foremost ensigs, to lift up his hands to Heaven, and pray in this wise, "O Lady *Bellona*, if thou give us victory, and the honor of this day then, be sure, I vow here unto thee at this hour, a fair Temple. When he had thus prayed, as if the goddess had put life unto him, and animated his courage, both himself matched the valour of his Colleague, and his army answered the vertue of their Commander. For he performed the devoir and part (indeed) of a brave General. The souldiers likewise, for fear that the other army should begin the victory, endeavoured and streined all that ever they could: Whereby, they disarrayed, discomfited, and put to flight the enemies, who could not easily abide any extraordinary force and violence, more than they were wont to meet withal. And so with pressing hard upon them still that retreated, and chasing them hotly that were scattered in flight, they beat them into their camp. There, by the coming in of *Gellius* and the *Sabellian* bands, the battel for the time was freshly renewed. But when they also, within a while were discomfited, then was the camp assaulted by the conquerors. Thus while *Volturnius* for his part entered with banner displayed unto the very gate, and *Appius* ever and anon, reiterated the name of *Bellona* the victress, and all, to set on fire and inflame the courage of his souldiers: there was neither trench nor rampier that could hold them back. So the camp was won and sacked, and a huge pillage therein found, which was given all to the souldiers. Seven thousand and three hundred enemies were slain, 1120 taken prisoners.

During the time that both Consuls, and the whole puissance of the Romans, were thus more bent and employed in the war within *Tuscany*: there were new forces raised in *Samnium*, to wait the marches of the Roman Dominion: who taking their way through the *Vestins*, into *Campania* and the country of *Faleria*, drave huge prizes and booties away. And as *Volturnius* by great journeyes returned into *Samnium* (for by this time *Fabius* and *Decius* were come to an end of their prorogued government) the bruit that was blown abroad of the *Samnits* army and their foraging of the territory of *Capua*, turned him out of his way, to the defence of his allies and confederats. So soon as he was entred into the country *Calenum*, both he himself saw the fresh marks and tokens of great damage and desolation: and also the *Calenians* advertised him, that the

the enemies carried with them already so excessive a prey and booty, that they were scarce able for it to march in good order, and that their Captains began openly to speak and say, that the best courie they could take, was presently to retire *Sapuntum*, there to leave their prizes and booties, and so to return afresh to their rodes and make new expeditions; and not to commit an army, so laden and surcharged, to the fortune and hazard of a battel. Which words, albeit they sounded much to a truth, yet he thought it meet to look better into the matter, and to build upon a slier ground, and therefore he sent certain light Horsemen, to intercept some forragers as they straggled and were scattered one from another in the fields. By whom he learned, after much questioning with them, that the enemies encamped by the river ** Vulturno*, and from thence at the ** third* watch, would set forward on their journey directly into *Sapuntum*. After he had sufficient intelligences and advertisements concerning these things, he dislodged and put himself upon his way and encamped so far from the enemies, as his approach by being too near could not be known, and yet he might be able to surprize them as they should issue in disorder out of their camp. So, a good while before day, he marched towards the enemy: and sent such as were well seen in the Oscan tongue, to listen and learn what they did. Who being intermingled with the enemies (which was an easy matter in that night garboil and confusion) they found that the ensignes were set forward, not sufficiently accompanied with armed men for defence; and that the whole pillage with the guard and convoy thereof, was now going forth, and marched carelessly like a sort of vile and base lozels, every man thinking of his own particulars and running on his own head, without consent of others, and with little or no direction and government. This was thought the meetest time to set upon them: and now it drew neer day. Whereupon he commanded the trumpets to sound the charge, and set upon the march of the enemies. The Samnits, incumbered as they were, and pestered with their booty, and few of them here and there in armour, began, some of them to double their pace and to march faster away, and drive before them the booty: some stood still, and wist not whether they were better, to go on forward, or retire again into the camp. But while they thus trifled and stayed, they were environed and surprized by the Romans: and by this time they had gotten over their rampier: much killing there was, and confusion in the camp. The Samnits, as they marched, besides that they were troubled with the assault of their enemies, were also disquieted with the sudden escape and revolt of their prisoners: who being some of them loose, looked also those that were bound: while others of them, caught up their weapons which were fastned to the packs, and being confusedly intermingled in the march, made a greater and more fearful garboil and havock, than the very battel of the enemies. And more than that, they performed one memorable and notable Act above the rest. For as *Stratius Egnatius* the General, went about the ranks and files encouraging the souldiers to fight, they set upon him, scattered the Horsemen asunder, that accompanied him, environed him about, and took him as he sat on Horseback, and haled him to the Roman Consul. Upon which tumult and stir, the foremost ensignes of the Samnits were called back, and the battel which in manner was done, now began afresh: yet could not they any long time resist and hold out. Slain there were about six thousand; two thousand and five hundred taken prisoners. Amongst whom, were 4 Colonels and 30 Ensigns; and (that, wherein the victors took contentment) of captives, 7000 and 400 hundred were again recovered; with an exceeding great booty which they had got from their allies: whereunto, by proclamation were called, all that could lay any claim, or pretend a right, to seize upon their own goods, and to receive the same by a day appointed. And look what parcels could not be owned or challenged by the true owner, was given away to the souldiers: who were compelled to make sale thereof, to the end, that they should not set their heart upon any thing but war.

This sackage of the territory of *Capua*, had raised great trouble and stir in *Rome*. And at the very same time also, it chanced, that there came news out of *Herrugia*, how that upon the withdrawing of *Volturnus* his forces out of those parts, all that country was up afresh in arms; that *Gellius Egnatius* the Samnit Captain, and the Umbrians likewise, were moved to revolt; and the Gauls also solicited with great sums of money. At this bruit the Senat being affraid, commanded an abstinence or vacation of term, and that all sorts of men should be mustered: and not only the free born natural citizens, and the flower of the youth were prest and sworn, but certain ** companies* also of the elder sort, yea, and bands of Libertins newly enfranchised, were inrolled by the hundreds. Likewise they sat in Council about devising means for defence of the City: and *P. Sempronius* the Pretor, had the whole government of the State. But the Senat was partly eased and discharged of this care, by the letters of *L. Volturnus* the Cos. which gave intelligence that the forragers of Campain were defeated, slain, and put to flight. Thereupon were decreed in favour of the Consul, for this exploit by him achieved, solemn processions, and the abstinence of term again was remitted, which had continued for eighteen dayes space: and the procession aforesaid, was right joyfully performed. Then began they to devise about garrisons for defence of the country, thus wasted and overrun by the Samnits. And agreed it was, that two Colonies should be sent about the Vestin and Falern coasts, one to the mouth of the river *Liris*, which Colony was called ** Minturne*, the other in the Vestin Forrest and Straights, adjoining to the Falern country; where *Synope*, a Greek Town sometime stood, and afterwards was called by the Romans there inhabiting, ** Sinuessa*. The Tribuns of the Com. had in charge to ordain by an Act of the common people, that *P. Sempronius* the Pretor should choose certain Trium-

** Natarone*, or *Vulturno*.
** About mid. night.*

** Cohortes*, i. of 500. in a coh. bott.

** Traietto.*

** Sinuessa*, vel *Rocha de Monte Dragoni*.

virs,

A wars, about the sending and translating of inhabitants into those Colonies. But much ado they had to find those that willingly yielded to be enrolled Colonists, supposing indeed that they were sent thither, not to inhabit Land and ground for their butt-betwixt, but to lie in garrison, and to stand upon their guard in those frontiers, which were continually molested by warlike enemies. From the state of these affairs, the Senat was withdrawn, by occasion of the Tuscan war, whereof the rumour daily encreased: and letters also came thick from *Appius*, who warned them not to neglect the rising of that countrey: which letters imported, that four nations had united their forces, and binded themselves together: to wit, *Tuscania*, *Sabinum*, *Umbria*, and the Gauls: that they were already encamped in two places, for that one was not able to receive so great a multitude. Upon these occasions, as also for that the time drew neer of Election of Consuls, *Lucius Volturnius* the Consul was called home to *Rome*. Who before that he called the Centuries for to give their voyces, having assembled the people to an audience, discoursed before them at large, concerning the greatness of the Tuscan war. "How that afore time, when he himself and his brother Consul warred there together, it was of so great importance, that neither one leader, nor yet one army was sufficient: and by report, the Umbrians, and a mighty power of Gauls were afterward combined unto them. So that they should remember, that they were to chuse that day two Coss. against four Nations. As for himself, but that he was certainly persuaded and assured, that the people of *Rome* would with a general consent declare him Coss. who at that time, without all controverſie was counted the principal Captain and best leader of all others, he would forthwith nominat a Dictator. No man doubted, but the *Q. Fabius* was the man, who by the assent of all, was meant and destined to this charge: and him together with *Volturnius*, both the prerogative tribe, and all those that were called first, every one, nominated to be Coss. *Fabius* made a speech by way of excuse, in substance, like as he had done before, two years together: but afterwards seeing he was overcome with the general agreement of the people, he framed it so in the end, that he required *P. Decius* to be his colleague: "Alledging, that he would be in stead of a good prop and stay to him in his old age: how he had found by experience in one Censorship and two Consulships, born jointly together with him, that there was no surery and defence of the Common-weal, to the concord and agreement of those that are companions in government. And to any other new Colleague besides him, hardly could an old man's mind sort and frame. Also that he would and could more easily impart his mind and purpose to one, whose humor, condition, and behavior, he had been already acquainted with. The Coss. himself confirmed his Oration, and accorded therunto; as well, in regard of the commendable parts and deserts of *P. Decius*, as also of the good that proceeded and ensued upon the managing of war-affairs, by the concord and unity of the Consuls; and of the hurt which hapned and followed upon their disagreement and dissention: "and therewith he shewed how neer they were of late to utter peril and destruction, through quarrels between him and his brother *Appius*; admonishing *Decius* and *Fabius* both to live so, as with one mind and heart they affected and intended the same things. He added moreover and said, they were men of Action both, born for war and to be souldiers; for martial feats renowned already: but for to maintain contentions of words and quarrels of the tongue, altogether rude and unskilful, and such natures, (said he) were fittest to make Consuls. As for nimble heads and fine wits, deeply seen in points and quirks of law, full of their eloquent tearms, such as *Ap. Claudius* was; those were meet to be made Lord Presidents of the City and chief Justices in the common place, for to sit in judgment of causes, and see the execution of laws. Thus in handling of these matters was that day spent. The morrow after, according to the Consuls appointment, was the Election held, both of new Consuls, and also of Pretors. *Q. Fabius* and *P. Decius* were created Consuls, and *App. Claudius* Pretor, all absent. And *L. Volturnius* by Act of the Senat, and grant of the Commons, had his government prorogued, and continued in his charge one year longer.

The same year were many strange sights and prodigious monsters seen: for the turning away of the dangers foresignified and menaced thereby, the Senat decreed supplications and Letanies for two dayes together. Wine and incense for the sacrifices, was allowed at the publick charges of the City, and in procession went both men and women in great number, with much reverence, to visit the Holy shrines, and there to do their devotions. These solemn supplications were more renowned and memorable, by reason of a contention that arose among the dames of the City, in the Chappel of Lady *Pudicitia Parvita*, which standeth in the beast-market, by the round Church of *Hercules*. The Noblemens wives would not admit into that Chappel *Virginia* the daughter of *Aulus*, who, notwithstanding she was nobly descended from the race of the *Patritii*, yet had espoused *Volturnius* the Consul, a Commoner, and was married (forsooth) out of the family and ranck of the *Parviti*. Whereupon, there began some short and cutt shrewd words to be dealt between: and so (as women commonly are soon angry and set on fire) there grew to heart-burning and hot contention. Whiles *Virginia* alledged and said, that she being a Gentlewoman and *Parvita* born, and a chaste and honest Dame, was entered in the Chappel of *Parvitan Chastities*: over and besides, she had not been noted for Bigamy; but was the wife of one only husband: unto whom she was given and brought a pure maid: and as for her husband, and his dignities which he had born, his noble acts that he had atchieved, she had no cause to complain, or be ashamed, nay rather, she gloried therein right greatly. After this, she accumulated these magnificent and glorious words, with a generous and brave a deed. For in the

long

long street where she dwelt, she set by and out of a part of her dwelling house, as much as would serve for an Oratory or pety Chappel, and there erected an Altar. And when she had assembled the wives of the Commoners together, and had complained of this injurious dealing of the Patritian dames: "This altar (quoth she) do I dedicate unto *Pudicitia Plebeia*: and all you here I exhort, "that with what emulation, the men our husbands, in this City contend about feats of valour "and arms, who may do best: so, likewise the Marrons and wives strive and excel in continence "and chastity: and that ye will labour and endeavour, that this altar may have the name to be "frequented, and resorted unto, with more reverence and devotion, yea, and if (it be possible) of "more chaste women, than that other of the Nobility. And so it fell out indeed, that from that time, this altar also had the same rites (in a manner) and ceremonies as the other, which was more ancient: in such sort, as no wife, but of approved honesty and chastity, and wedded but to one husband during her life, might be allowed there to sacrifice and offer oblations. But this religious order and institution, in lapse and procees of time was prophaned afterwards and divulged, and the altar frequented by them that were stained and infamous; and not only by matrons of name and quality, but also by women of all sorts and degrees, until at last through disuse it grew to be utterly forgotten, and came to nothing.

The same year the *Ediles Curule*, *Cn.* and *Q. Ogulius* accused certain Usurers, who were convicted, and their goods forfeit and confiscat. And of that which came into the common chest, they caused to be made a brazen portal in the Capitol, and silver vessels for to furnish out three tables in *Jupiter* his Chappel: also the image of *Jupiter* himself in the Lantern or frontispice of the Capitol, sitting in his chariot drawn with four steeds. Moreover, at the Fig-tree *Ruminalis*, they erected and set up the images of the foundling babes, the first founders of the City, pendant at the teats of a shee-wolf. They paved also with square stone, the causey and high way from the gate *Capena*, unto the Temple of *Mars*. The *Ediles* likewise Commoners, *L. Atilius Paucus*, and *C. Fulvius Curvus*, of the forfeited mony which they levied of the graasers or farmers of the City pastures, who were condemned and fined, exhibited certain pageants and playes, and set up golden bolles in the Temple of *Ceres*.

After this, *Q. Fabius* the fifth time Consul, and *P. Decius* the fourth, entered their government, who now had been companions together in three Consulats, and in one Censorship, men renowned, not more for the honor of their noble exploits in war, which was right great, than for their loving agreement and concord. Which unity of theirs was not perpetual to the end; by occasion, I suppose, of the contention of the States that came between, rather than of any difference betwixt themselves. For the *Patritii* laboured, that *Fabius* should have the Province of *Tuscan* extraordinarily: and the Commons were as earnest with *Decius* to put the matter to a Lottery. Certain it is, that a great contention there was in the Senat. But afterwards, seeing that *Fabius* was able there to do more and make a greater side than his Colleague, the matter was brought again before the people. In which assembly, few words passed between the parties themselves, being martial men both, standing more upon deeds than words. *Fabius* gave out and said: "That it was an indignity, that another should gather fruit under the Tree that he had planted. "Also, that himself was the man, who had opened the way through the wood *Ciminia*, and had "given entrance and passage for the Roman war, through desert and wild Forrests. What meant "they then to trouble him, a man of those years, with this place of charge, in case, they minded "to give the conduct of this war to any other General but himself? No doubt, but by little and "little he upbraided them covertly and cast in their teeth, for chusing unto him an adversary, and "not a companion in government: yea, and charged *Decius*, that he repented and envied the "good concord, wherein they had lived together, during the time of three Magistracies already. "Finally, he aimed and reached at no farther matter than this, but if so be, they thought him "worthy of the Province, thither to send him. For as he had been at the appointment and pleasure of the Senate, so would he be at the ordering and direction of the people. On the other "side, *P. Decius* complained of the injury offered by the Senat: for that the Nobles had endeavoured "to their power, and done their best, that no Commons might have access to honourable "places and dignities: and after that prowess and valour had got the upperhand, and prevailed "so, as even in those kind of men vertue wanted not her due reward and honour: there were "means sought, that not only the voyces of the people were deluded and made vain; but also "the very awards and arbitrements of fortune, were transferred to the wills and pleasures of some "few. All Consuls before him had their provinces by lot: and now the Senat by their absolute "authority, without casting lots, gave unto *Fabius* the charge of his province. If it be (saith he) "to honour the man: verily, he hath so well deserved both of my self and of the Common- "wealth, that I favour highly and tender the glory of *Q. Fabius*: provided alwayes, that it get "not a shining lustre, by a foil of my disgrace and dishonour. And who will ever doubt, where "there is one difficult and dangerous war, and the same precisely and absolutely charged upon "one Consul, without ordinary and lawful calling: but that the other Consul standeth for a "Cipher, and is reputed either needless, or good for nothing? As for *Fabius*, like as he gloried "in his service and noble Acts achieved in *Tuscan*, even so would *Publius Decius* also full fain "do the semblable: and peradventure, he should be able to put out and quench that fire once for "all, which *Fabius* left behind him, so covered and raked up, as that oftentimes it suddenly brake "out again, and yielded forth new flames and blazes. In conclusion, he could be content to yeild

Debate between *Decius* and *Fabius* for their Provinces.

A "yeeld the titles of honour and all rewards of vertue unto his Colleague, in the reverent regard
 "of his old age, and majesty of his person: but for any hazard or jeopardy that might be pre-
 "sented unto them, he neither at this time gave place, nor ever would (with his good will) to
 "him or any man else whatsoever; and if he gat no other good by this contention, yet would he
 "obtain thus much at the least, that the people should hold their own, and dispose of that abso-
 "lutely at their discretion, which was in their power: rather then permit the Nobles to gratifie
 "any one therewith at their pleasure. And herewith he prayed *Jup. Opt. Max.* and all the im-
 "mortal gods, that even as they vouchsafed to bestow upon him and his Colleague equal valour
 "and happines in the conduct of their war, so they would afford them one and the same right
 B "and authority and rule. For, surely it was in nature meet and reason, for example good and
 "profitable, and for the credit and fame of the people of *Rome* much material, that such should
 "be Consuls, as by either of their guidance and conduct, without exceptions, the war with the
 "Tuscan might be administred as it ought to be. *Fabius* then, having besought the people
 naught else, but that before the Tribes were called in to give their suffrages, they would hear the
 letters of *App. Claudius* Pretor read, which were brought out of *Tuscany*, departed out of the
 assembly. So the Province of *Tuscany*, without casting lots, was awarded unto *Fabius*, with no
 less consent of the people, then of the Senat. Hereupon, all the younger sort (in manner) ran un-
 to the Consul, and offered their service of themselves, and gave their names to be enrolled, so
 desirous were they to serve under that Captain. Which multitude being thus flocked about him
 round; Four thousand footmen (quoth he) and six hundred horse, and no more, am I mind-
 C ed to take up and levy. As many therefore, as to day and to morrow, will present them-
 selves and give their names, will I accept of, and take with me: more care have I to bring you
 all home rich and wealthy, then to have numbers of souldiers to fight my battels. Thus went
 he forth with a competent Army well appointed, and so much more confident, and in hope of
 good success, by how much less he stood upon the great number; and directed his journey to
 the Town *Abarna*, where *Appius* the Pretor encamped, and from whence the enemy was not
 far distant. A few miles on this side, the fewellers or wood-purveyors, accompanied with a good
 guard of souldiers for their convoy, met him: who seeing the Sergeants going before, and under-
 standing that it was *Fabius* the Consul, with joy and cheerful hearts, thanked God and the peo-
 ple of *Rome*, for sending unto them such a General. After this, when they came all about the
 Consul to salute and welcome him, *Fabius* demanded whither they went? who answered,
 D To purvey wood and fewel. Say ye so? (quoth he) and have ye not your camp empaled and for-
 tified? Yes, cried they all, and that with a double rampart and ditch, but yet are we in exceeding
 fear. Then (quoth he) ye have wood and timber enough. Go ye back again, and down with the
 trench and pallisade. Who returned into the camp, and as they were plucking up the rampart,
 they gave the alarm both to the souldiers that tarried behind in the camp, and to *Appius* himself,
 and made them afraid. Then every man said to one or other as they came, that it was by the ex-
 press commandment of *Q. Fabius* the Consul that they did so. The morrow after they removed
 the camp; and *Appius* the Pretor was dismissed and sent away to *Rome*: After which time, the
 E Romans abode no where in standing camp: for he said, it was not good and commodious for an
 army to make abode in any one place; but that it was better and more wholsom both for the a-
 gility and health of their bodies, to have a running camp, to be ever marching, and changing the
 air and the soil. But their journeys were no other, then the winter would permit, which was
 not yet past.

In the beginning of the Spring, *Fabius* having left the second legion at *Clusium*, which in old
 time was called *Camars*, and appointed *L. Scipio* Pro-pretor, to be governor of the camp, he return-
 ed himself to *Rome* for to consult about the war: were it of his own accord and motion, because
 it appeared evidently in view of eye much greater then it was reputed before; or that he was
 sent for by order from the Senat: for there be writers that affirm both the one and the other. Some
 F would have it thought, that he was called back again by *Appius Claudius* Pretor, who both at
 the Councel Table in the Senat-House, and also before the body of the people (like as he had
 continually done by letters) enforced the fear and terror of the Tuscan war, saying, that one Ge-
 neral and one Army, were not sufficient to make head against four Nations: that it would be
 dangerous and doubtful, whether they jointly in one body gave battel unto one, or maintained
 war apart in divers quarters: that one man was not able to perform and mannage all at once.
 As for himself, he had left behind him two Roman Legions and no more, and with *Fabius* there
 were come not full five thousand in all, of horse and foot together. His opinion therefore was,
 that with all speed, *P. Decius* the Consul, should go to his Colleague into *Tuscany*, and *L. Vo-*
lumnus have the charge of *Samnium* in the meantime. But in case the Consul had rather go in-
 G to his own Province, then he advised, that *Volumnius* took his way directly with a full and com-
 plect Consular army into *Tuscany*, to the Consul. When this discourse of the Pretor had moved
 a great part of the House, then *P. Decius* spake (by report) to this effect; That all should be left
 entire and free to the disposition of *Q. Fabius*, until such time as either himself in person (if it
 might stand with the weal-publick) were come to *Rome*, or sent one of his Lieutenants by whom
 the Senat might be enformed, and truly understand the poysse and importance of the war in *Tus-*
cany; what forces were requisite, and how many Leaders and Captains were expedient and need-
 ful; *Fabius*, so soon as he was returned to *Rome*, both in the Senat-House, and also in the audience

of the people, held a middle course in all his speech: that he might seem neither to encrease, nor yet to diminish the rumor of the war: and in assuming to himself another Captain, he pretended, that he condescended thereunto, in regard of other mens fear, more then for his own safety, or for any danger that the State was like to incur. Howbeit, if they would allow him a coadjutor and companion in war, how might he forget *P. Decius* the Consul: of whom he had so good proof and experience in so many Magistracies, which they had born and administered together. Of all men in the world he loved none better, and would make choice of no one sooner: and having *P. Decius* with him, he would never think his forces too few about him, nor his enemies too many before him. But if peradventure the mind and heart of his Colleague stood otherwise, his request was, that they would give him *L. Volturnus* to be his assistant. The determination of all was referred over to *Fabius*, both by the people and Senat, and also by the Consul himself. And when as *Decius* shewed and testified, that he was ready to take a journey either into *Samnium* or *Tuscany*, there followed such a joy and gratulation of all men, as if they had conceived in their spirit a victory afore-hand, and even now, had decreed for the Consuls, not a doubtful war, but a glorious triumph. I find in some writers, that *Fabius* and *Decius*, presently upon the entrance into their Magistracy, went into *Tuscany*, without any mention of casting lots for their charges and provinces, or of the contention between the two Collegues, which I have set down. There be some again, who having laid abroad these debates, stayed not there, but over and besides have added a surcease of matter, touching the invectives of *Appius* before the people, against *Fabius* in his absence; as also the obstinate stubbornness of him being Pretor, against the Consul, to his very face: moreover, another contention and variance between the two Consuls; whiles *Decius* endeavoured to bring about, and was instant that each one should keep him to his own Province allotted unto him, and hold it. But all writers agree in the course of the history, from the time that both Consuls went out to war, and so forward.

But before that the Consuls arrived in *Tuscany*, certain Gauls called *Senones*, came with a great power before *Clusium*, ready to give assault unto the Roman Legion and the camp. But *Scipio*, who was left Governor thereof, thinking it necessary to help out the small number of his men, by advantage of the ground, led his army up to the hill between the town and the camp. But (as it falleth out in such sudden cases) he had not discovered aforehand the wayes and passes all about; but inconsiderately went forward, and engaged himself up to the top and pitch of the hill, which the enemy was master of already, by another side. Thus was the legion assailed on the back and beat down, and thus was it enclosed and environed round, by a multitude of enemies, and put to the sword. Some writers there be who report, that the whole legion perished there, so as not one escaped alive to carry tidings. Also, that the Consuls who now were not far from *Clusium*, had no news brought them of this overthrow, before the horsemen of the Gauls were in fight, who carrying the heads of them that were slain, some hanging before at their horsepoitrals, others sticking aloft upon their lances, braved and triumphed, singing and chanting songs of joy, after their manner. Some write that they were the *Umbri* and not the Gauls, and that the defeat and massacre was not so great: also that when the forragers for the camp under the leading of *L. Manlius Torguatus* a Lieutenant, were compassed about by the enemy; then *Scipio* the Pro-pretor came forth of the camp to succour and rescue them, and that the *Umbrians* who first had the better, afterwards when the battel was renewed, suffered the foil and were overcome; and that as well their prisoners as their booty was taken from them. But more probable it is, that this overthrow was given by the Gauls, then the *Umbrians*; for that as divers times afore, so that year especially the City was frighted with the tumults and risings of the Gauls. Upon this defeat, over and besides, that both the Consuls were gone to war with four legions, and a great power of Cavalry of natural Romans, and a thousand horsemen of *Capua*, chosen out of purpose for that war, and sent unto them, with a greater power also of Allies, and of Latins then of Romans; there were two other armies not far from the City of *Rome*, opposed to frontier and make head against *Tuscany*: the one in the *Faliscian* territory, the other in the *Vatican*. *Cn. Fulvius* and *L. Posthumius Megillus*, both Pro-pretors, were commanded to keep a standing camp in those parts. But the Consuls by this time, having passed over the mountain *Apenninus*, were come to the enemies within the country of the *Sentinars*. And there about four miles off, they sat them down and encamped. Then the enemies, after much consultation, resolved in the end upon this point: not to be intermingled all in one camp, nor come into the field and hazard all their forces at once in one battel: But that the Gauls should take the *Samnites* unto them, and the *Umbrians* join with the *Tuscans*. The day of the battel was appointed. The Gauls and *Samnites* had the charge to maintain the fight: and in the time of battel the *Tuscans* and *Umbrians* were commanded to assault the camp of the Romans. But these their designs and purposes were altered by reason of three *Clusin* fugitive traitors, who by night stole away privily unto the Consul *Fabius*, and disclosed the inrents and enterprise of the enemies: who were sent away with rich rewards, to the end that every hour, upon new plots and devices that should be determined by the enemies, they would give them an inkling and certain intelligence. The Consuls write unto *Fulvius* and *Posthumius*, that the one should advance and come forward with his army, out of the *Faliscan* country; and the other out of the *Vatican* directly unto *Clusium*: and that with all their forces, they should overrun and destroy the enemies country. The rumor of these rodes & invasions, caused the *Tuscans* to remove out of the

Sentinars

A Sentinat territory; to the defence of their own frontier. Hereupon the Consuls made speed to strike a battel in their absence. And for two dayes space they skirmished continually with their enemy, and challenged him to the field: but for those two dayes, no worthy deed of importance was achieved. A few on both sides were slain, and hereby were their courages rather provoked, and their stomacks whet to a full set battel: then any trial or hazard made of the main chance. Upon the third day into plain field they come with all their power. When both armies stood ranged in battel array, there fortuned a Hind to be chased out of the mountains, and to run away before a Wolf, even through the midst of the plains between both armies: then, parted both these wild beasts asunder, the Hind took her way to the Gauls, and the Wolf his course to the Romans. The Wolf had way given him through all the ranks and files: but the Hind was killed among the Gauls.

B Then a Roman souldier, one of the foremost, who was to fight before the Ensigns: There will the flight (quoth he) there will the slaughter be, where you see the beast sacred and dedicated to Diana lie dead: but here on this party, the martial Wolf consecrated to Mars, having with victory gone clear away safe and unwounded, hath put us in mind of our martial Nation and of our first founder, the son of Mars. The Gauls put themselves in the right wing, the Samnites in the left. Against the Samnites, Fabius marshalled the first and third Legions, in the right point: and Decius the fifth and sixth in the left, affront the Gauls. For the second and fourth served in Samnium under L. Volturnius Pro-consul. At the first shock and encounter, the battel was so indifferently fought, and with so equal force, that if the Tuscans and Umbrians had either shewed themselves in the field, or assailed the camp, the loss and overthrow must needs have, light in either place, whereas they had bent their forces. Howbeit, although hitherto the conflict of battel went equal and indifferent, and that as yet fortune had not determined, which way she would incline and give the victory; yet they fought not alike, in the right and left wings. For the Romans under the conduct of Fabius, rather warded the enemy warily, and stood upon their guard, then offered to charge lustily: so as they maintained fight, and drew it at length until it was very late in the evening, because the Captain was enforced and perswaded of the Samnites and Gauls both, that being as they were in the first skirmish very hot and furious, it was sufficient to keep off at length and at staves end. As for the Samnites, their courages would abate and fall, by any long continuance of the holidays of the Gauls, (who of all other can least away with travel, & heat especially) would turn all to sweat, & melt away: who at the beginning, fight more fiercely then men, but in the end more faintly then women. Against that time therefore, when the enemy used to fall & give over, Fabius had kept his souldiers in breath, & reserved their strength fresh & lusty. But Decius, being very eager & hot by reason of his youth and courage of heart, laid on lustily at the first, and spent upon the enemies all the force & vigor he had: and for that the Infantry seemed to fight but coldly, he set the Cavalry a work: and himself personally in the thickest throng and troop of most valiant and hardy Knights, exhorted and befought the foremost gallants of those lusty youths, to join with him & to charge upon the enemy saying, that they should carry away a double honor, if by the means of the men of arms, the victory began at the left wing. Twice they forced the Gauls horsemens to turn side and back; but when as they were engaged farther within, and were now fighting hard pell mell among the squadrons of the horsemen, they beheld a new and strange kind of fight, which troubled and terrified them. For the enemies standing all armed upon chariots & wagons, with a great noise of their steeds, and rumbling of the wheels, ran full upon them & mightily affrighted the onsets of the Romans, which had not been acquainted with such uncouth & strange noises. So the horsemen who had the upper hand before, & were at point of victory, were now, with a foul fear discomfited and scattered, as if the hideous furies of hell, & the devil himself had been amongst them. Whereupon they fled suddenly, & not looking before them were overthrown both men & horse. By this occasion the ensigns of footmen were distressed & disordered, and many of those that were ranged in the front before the ensigns, were by force of horse & wagons driven cross through the battails: long, troden under foot, and their guts squashed out. Hereupon the battalions of the Gauls footmen, seeing their enemies thus scared, followed on apace, & gave them no time of breathing. Decius cried out aloud to his men, Whither flee ye? Or what hope have ye to save yourselves by flight? Decius opposed himself against them that retreated and fled. Decius rallied those that were disbanded and scattered: but seeing that by no force or means he could stay them, thus amazed & astonished as they were; he called upon his father P. Decius by name, and said: Why do I stay any longer the fatal death that is destined to my house & name? It is given to our race & family to be sacrificed in lieu of propitiatory sacrifices, for to spoil & save the publick weal from dangers impending: & threatened unto it. Even now therefore, wil I offer the legions of the enemies to be sacrificed with my self to Dame Tellus and other infernal gods. When he had spoken these words, he commanded M. Livius the high Priest (whom as he marched into the field, he straightly had charged not to depart from him) for to pronounce and say that form of words, whereby he should devote, offer, and betake himself to death, together with the legions of the enemies, for to save the army of the Quirits and people of Rome. Which when he had done by the same form of prayer, and in the same habit wherein his father P. Decius at the river Veseris, in the war against the Latins, caused himself to be offered to death: and besides these solemn prayers, added moreover these words: That he drave before him, Fright, Flight, Murder, Massacre, Bloodshed, Ire and Wrath of gods, in Heaven & fiends in Hell; and that he would with deadly maledictions and execrable curses smite the ensigns, weapons, and armors of his enemies; and that one and the same place, should give

both himself, and also the Gauls and Samnites together with him, plague, perdition, and destruction. After these cursed, horrible, and detestable speeches against his own person and his enemies: look where he saw the thickest ranks of the Gauls; thither he spurred his horse, and rode in amongst them: where amidst the pikes, javelins, and swords, he was presently slain. Then could it hardly be seen, that the battle was any longer fought by power and help of man. The Romans so soon as they had lost their Captain, (which at all other times is wont to smite a terror into them) stayed their flight, and were willing and contented to renew the battle afresh. The Gauls, and especially that troop which stood about the Cos, his body, stared as though they had been out of their wits, flung their darts from them (I know not how) to no purpose, and in vain: some of them stood still, as it were benumbed, forgetting both to run away, and to fight still. But on the other side the high Priest *Decius*, with whom *Decius* had left the serjeants, and whom before his death he nominated and ordained to be Propretor, cried out, as loud as he could, that the Romans had the victory, and by the death of the Cos, were acquit and excused from all other fatal danger: but as for the Gauls and the Samnites, they were destined and forfeited (as it were) to mother *Tellus* and the infernal spirits. And now *Decius* (quoth he) haled after him, and called to follow him, the army that with him was devoted, cursed, and offered: now all the enemies are full of furies and fearful fright. Then, as these aforesaid began the skirmish again, behold there came unto them, *Cornelius Scipio*, and *C. Marcius* with a supply of succours from the rearward: who by commandment of *Q. Fabius* the Consul, were sent to aid and rescue his Collegue. Where they heard of the worthy end of *P. Decius*, a noble example to encourage them to adventure all hazards in the service of their country and Common-weal. Therefore, when as the Gauls stood close and thick together, opposing their targets before them, ranged and joined one over another featherwise, so, as to deal with them affront, and to cope together at hand strokes, was thought a difficult and dangerous matter: then, by the commandment of those two Lieutenants, the darts and lances which lay strewed upon the ground, between the two armies, were gathered up, and flung against the pavoise or tortoise-sense of the enemies targets aforesaid. And by reason that these javelins and spears light and stuck fast, some in their targets, and some in their very bodies, it hapned that their knot was broken, and the battailon (as huge and close as it was) disbanded, in such sort, as many of them, notwithstanding their bodies were untouched and unhurt, fell down astonished one upon another. Lo how fortune altered the case, and changed all in the left wing of the Romans. But in the right, *Fabius* (as is before said) at the first, lingered and drew on the day: but afterwards, when as he perceived, that neither the enemies shouts, nor their manner of giving charge, nor yet the darts and javelins which they lanced, had the same vigor and force, as before he commanded the Captains of the horsemen to wheel about with their Cornets, and to flank the Samnites, that upon a signal given, they might charge them overthwart with all the violence they could; while his own Legionary footmen by little and little advanced forward, and brake the ranks and disordered the enemy. When he saw once, no resistance made, and that without all doubt they were wearied and out of breath: then he gathered together all his subsidiary companies of the rearguard, which he had reserved until that time and business, fresh and in heart: and at once, both set forward the Legions, and gave the horsemen also a signal to set upon the enemies. But the Samnites could not endure this violent charge, but ran as fast as ever they could to recover the camp fast by the battailon of the Gauls, leaving their fellows behind them in fight to pay the reckoning. The Gauls having likewise made a target-sense, stood thick and close together under it. Then *Fabius* advertised of the death of his brother Consul, commanded a wing or Cornet, of the number almost of 500 horsemen of *Capua*, to withdraw themselves out of the conflict, to take about and to play upon the backs of the Gauls: after whom, he caused the *Principes* of the third Legion to follow: and wheresoever they espied the ranks of the enemies by force of horsemen disordered and broken; there, to second them, and press on still, and kill them while they were in disarray, and afraid. Himself vowed a Temple to *Jupiter Victor*, together with the spoils of his enemies: Which done, he advanced straight forward to the camp of the Samnites. Thither all the multitude of them were driven in great fright and disarray. And for that the gates were not able to receive so great a multitude, crowding together, they that were kept out, and could not get in, by reason of the throng of their fellows, began again to fight under the rampart. Where *Gellius Egmatius*, the General of the Samnites was stricken down and slain: after this, the Samnites beaten within their rampart, were killed every one, and their camp after small resistance won. The Gauls behind their back were environed and cut in pieces. That day were slain of enemies five and twenty thousand, and 8000 taken prisoners. Howbeit, this victory cost the Romans blood: for of *P. Decius* his army, there died 7000 and of *Fabius*, 1200. *Fabius* then having sent out to seek out the body of his Collegue, gathered up all the spoils of the enemies into an heap, and burned them, to the honor of *Jupiter Victor*. But that day could not the Consul his body be seen, by reason it was covered and hidden under heaps of the Gauls that lay there dead. The morrow after it was found and brought again with many a tear of all his souldiers. Then *Fabius* setting all other matters for the time aside, solemnized the burial and funeral obsequies of his fellow Consul, with due commendation and condigne praises, and with all honor that could be devised.

In Tuscany also about the same time, *Cn. Fulvius* Propretor, had fortunate success to his hearts desire: for besides great damage done to the enemy, by invasions & rides into the country, he fought also

Also a notable battel: wherein of Perusins and Clusins were slain above 3000, and twenty ensigns won. The Samnites, as they fled through the territory of the Pelignians, were by them intercepted and enclosed; and of five thousand, they were left but one thousand. Great is the fame of that day, and of the battel that was fought in the Sentinate territory, if a man hold him only to the truth, and make no more of it than it was. But some have overreached a little, and written, that the enemies were 40330. foot, and 46000. horse strong: also, that they had a thousand chariots or waggons, reckoning and comprising the Umbrians and Tuscans withal: who also (as they say) were at the battel. And to increase also the power and forces of the Romans, they report, that *L. Volumnius* Propetor, was a Commander, together with the Consuls, and that his army was joined with the Legions of the Consuls. But I find in most Chronicles, that this victory was achieved by the two Consuls only, *Volumnius* in the meantime warred in *Samnium*; and having forced and driven the army of the Samnites, to take the hill *Tifernum*, nothing afraid for the disadvantage of the place, discomfited them, and put them to flight. *Q. Fabius*, having left the army of *Decius* behind him in Tuscany, reduced his own legions into the City, and triumphed over the Gauls, Tuscans, and Samnites. His souldiers followed him in his triumph, who in their rude military rhimes and songs, celebrated no less the brave and noble death of *P. Decius*, than the worthy victory of *Quintus Fabius*. And they revived the memorial of his father late deceased, comparing him in equal degree, for the issue and event, as well publick as privat, with the praises of his son. Of the booty and pillage gained from the enemies, the souldiers had given unto them * 82 Asles apeece, with a livery cloak, and coat: a good reward for a souldiers service in those days.

* 2 lb. 7. d. ob.
flor.

For all these notable victories achieved, yet neither the Samnites nor the Tuscans were at quiet. For, both the Perusins began to rebel, so soon as the Consul had away his army: and also the Samnites came down to forrage and spoil into the territory of *Vesstin* and *Formianum*; and another way into *Efetrnum*, which lie along the river *Vulturnus*. Against them was *Appius Claudius* the Pretor, sent with *Decius* his army. And *Fabius* in Tuscany, which began new war, slew four thousand and five hundred Perusins, took prisoners 1740. who were ransomed for * 310. Asles a peece. The rest of the spoil was all bestowed upon the souldiers. The Legions of the Samnites being pursued hard at heels, partly by *Appius Claudius* Pretor, and partly by *L. Volumnius* Proconsul, met all together in the territory of *Stella*. Where both the Samnit Legions abode, and also *Appius* and *Volumnius* joined and encamped together. There was a sharp and cruel battel fought on both sides. The Romans were incensed with anger and choler against those that had so often rebelled: the other, upon a desperate mind were resolute to hazard the utmost. So there were slain of the Samnites, 16300; 2700. taken prisoners, and of the Romans there died two thousand seven hundred.

* 46 lb. 10. d.
ob. flor.

* Territorio Ca-
vilano.

This year so fortunate in war, was by reason of pestilence much afflicted; and for certain prodigious tokens, full of care and perplexed. For it was reported, that in divers places it rained earth: and that in the army of *Appius Claudius*, there were many smitten & blasted with lightning. In regard hereof, the books of *Sibylla* were perused and sought into. The same year *Q. Fabius Garges*, the Consul his son, fined and punished by the purse, certain wives who had been convicted and condemned, before the people, of Adultery: of which money so raised by their fines, he caused to be built the Temple of *Venus*, which standeth neer the Cirque or Race.

There remain yet behind certain wars of the Samnites, whereof we have now continued our history in these four books, for the space of six and forty years, ever since that *M. Valerius*, and *M. Corneilius* were Consuls, wtho were the first that waxed in *Samnium*. To let pass therefore, and not to trouble the readers, with a prolix narration of the alternative overthrowes given and received between both nations so many years one after another, for all which calamities and losses their hearts and courages could not be daunted or conquered: the very last year, the Samnites, in the Sentinate country, in the Pelign territory, at *Tifernum*, and in the territory of *Stella*, were defeated both by themselves, with their own legions, and also mingled with others; and that, by four armies, and four Roman Captains: lost the bravest and most noble General of all their nation; saw their confederates and allies in war, the Tuscans, Umbrians, and Gauls, in the same predicament as themselves, not able to stand and maintain their estate any longer, either by their own power, or with help of foreign forces; yet for all this, would they not abstain from war, so little weary were they of defending their liberty although it were unfortunately: choosing rather to be vanquished, than not to attempt the winning of victory. Who is he, that would not think itarkom, and tedious, either to write or read this long suite and train of wars, which they in fighting were never wearied?

After *Q. Fabius* and *P. Decius* succeeded Consuls *L. Posthumius Megillus* and *M. Atilius Regulus*. To them both, was committed charge of *Samnium*, for that the bruit went, that the enemies had prepared three full armies, the one to go again into Tuscany, the second to invade and over-run aresh the territory of *Capua*, and the third to defend their own frontiers. *Posthumius* by reason of sickness remained at *Rome*; but *Atilius* went presently with an army forth, to the end that he might surprize the enemies on a sudden in *Samnium*, before they had taken the field: for so the Senat had given direction: and he found the enemy in the way to meet him, as if it had been so of purpose before by them determined, ready there to keep him from entrance: and so far off were they from waisting the hands of the Samnites, that they could not once enter into

their confines; nay, the Samnites debared them from departure thence, into the peaceable parts and territories of their allies. Now when as they were encamped affront one against another; that, which the Romans being so often conquerors, would hardly have adventured, (see how utter despair driveth men to rash projects and extremities) the Samnites attempted: even to give assault upon the Romans camp. And albeit this so venturous enterprise sped not well in the final effect, yet was it not altogether in vain attempted. There chanced to be a foggy mist, which continued a good part of the day, so thick and palpable, as men could not see before them, I say not, so far as without the trench, but not so much as those that came close to speak one to another. The Samnites hereupon taking the advantage fit for an ambushment, before it was full day light, and the same much overcast and dim with the mist, came as far as the *Corps de guard* of the Romans, who in the gates and entrance of the camp warded but negligently: being thus taken on a sudden, they had neither courage nor strength enough to resist. At the back-side of the camp, they assaulted the great gate *Decimiana*, seized the Quæstors pavilion, and that quarter about it: where the Quæstor himself (*L. Opimius Pansa*) was slain, and thereupon the alarm was given. The Consul, being with this tumult raised, commanded two bands or cohorts of allies, to wit, the one of Lucanians, and the other of Sueffians, which haply were next hand, to defend and guard the Pretors pavilion, and that quarter. In the mean while he marched with the legionary bands along the high broad street in the camp, called *Principalis*, and before they had buckled and fitted their armor about them, they were ranged in battel array; and had knowledge of the enemy, by the ear and ontcries, rather than by the sight of the eye: neither could they give an estimate what number they were. At the first, as doubtful of the event, and mistrusting their fortune, they retreated, and received their enemies in, and let them come even into the midst of the camp: but then the Consul cried out, and asked, Whether they meant to be turned out of their own ramparts and holds first, and after have a new piece of work to assail and win them again? So, they set up a shout, and put all their might together, and first made resistance only and kept their ground: but afterwards they set forward, and pressed upon them: and having once beat them back, they drave them afore them; with the same fear, that they themselves began, yea, and chased them out of the gate and the trench: but to proceed further, for to pursue the chase, they durst not, for fear of some ambushment, by reason of the misty and troubled weather, contenting themselves with the saving of their camp and no more: and so they retired within their ramparts having slain to the number welnear, of three hundred enemies. Of Romans, as well those that were in the first *Corps de guard* and Sentinels, who kept the watch, as of those that were surpris'd about the Quæstors lodging, were killed 230. This bold adventure of the Samnites speeding so well, made them take better heart; so as they would not permit the Romans to encamp farther into the Country, no, nor so much, as to go a foraging into their territory: whereupon they were compelled to retire again, and to purvey forrage in the quiet and peaceable quarters of their friends about *Sora*.

The bruit of all these occurrences more troublesome and fearful then truth was, being come to Rome, caused *L. Posthumius* the Consul, before he was well recovered of his sickness, to take the field: but ere he departed the City, he proclaimed the *Rendezvous* at *Sora*; for his souldiers there to meet. Himself now dedicated unto the goddess *Vittoria*, the Temple, which in the time of his Curule Edileship he took order to be built, with the money raised of certain fines taken of persons condemned. Then took he his journey to the army, and so went forward from *Sora* directly into *Samnium*, to the camp of his brother Consul. But the Samnites distrusting themselves, as not able to withstand two armies, were dislodged, and departed back: and the Consuls also parted one from another, sundry ways, to waste the country, and assault the towns. *Posthumius* at his first coming, assayed by meer force to assail the town *Milionia*, and seeing he could do small good that way, at length by rolling trenches and platforms, he approached close to the walls, and wan it: and albeit the town were thus forced, yet there continued a sharp and long fight in all streets and parts thereof, from the fourth hour of the day until the eighth, with doubtful and variable events for a good while; but in the end the Romans became masters of the town. Of Samnites were slain 3200 and 4100, were taken prisoners: besides the gaining of other booty and pillage. From thence, he led forth the legions to *Ferentinum*, but the inhabitants with their bag and baggage, and all that ever they could drive or carry, had quit the town in the still night season, and departed in great silence at a contrary postern gate, which opened from the camp of the enemy. The Consul so soon as he was come, at the first approached the walls, as well appointed and provided of all things, as if he should have found as much to do, as at *Milionia*: but afterwards, perceiving all silent and desolate throughout the City, seeing neither men nor munition within the towers and upon the walls: he held back his souldiers, desirous and greedy to enter upon the bare walls, so abandoned and disurnished of defence: and doubting to fall headlong ere he were aware, into the trains of some hidden and privy ambush, he commanded two Cornets of the Cavalry of Latine confederates, to ride about the walls about the counterescarp, and well to view and consider all places. The horsemen finding one or two gates neerer together standing wide open, and in the very same ways that led from thence, the fresh tracks and footing of the enemies, as they fled by night; rode softly neerer and neerer to the gates: and there they might see straight afore them safe entrance, and the City lying open even from one end to the other: whereupon they brought word back to the Consul, that the City was abandoned, and the enemies

* From ten of the clock in the morning, until two in the afternoon.

A enemies gone: which was very evident and apparent, as well by the very solitude thereof, as the new and fresh marks and traces of their dislodging and departure: as also by the stuff and goods that lay here and there scattered all abroad, whiles they halted fearfully in the dark, to take their flight. The Consul upon this report, with his host drew to that side of the town, which the horsemen were at: and pitching down his ensigns not far from the gate, commanded five other horsemen to enter into the City: giving order, that when they had gone forward a pretty way, three of them should stay behind in the same place, if they saw all safe and out of danger: and the other two, bring him word what they had seen and found. Who being returned, made relation that they were gone so far as they might see about them every way into all parts, & could perceive nothing but silence and vast desolation all about, both far and near: then forthwith, the Consul entered the City, with certain cohorts lightly appointed, and charged the rest in the mean while to fortifie the camp. The souldiers being once entered, fell to break open the doors: where they found a few silly old folk, and some feeble and diseased persons, with such moveables as were hard to be conveyed and transported: those they rifled, and ranlackt: and by certain captives they understood, that divers other towns thet about, were all with one accord fled and gone: and as for their own countrymen, they departed at the first watch of the night, and they thought no other verily but that in the rest of the Cities, they should find the like emptiness and solitude. And as the prisoners said, so it proved indeed: and the Consul possessed himself of those forlorn and abandoned towns.

C The other Consul *M. Attilius*, had so easie war for his part: who as he was marching with his Legions toward *Luceria*, which he heard was besieged by the Samnits: the enemy encountered and met him in the very entry of the frontiers, and gave him battel: and the anger and indignation on both parts, but the end and issue more heavy and dolorous on the Romans side: both because they were not used to be vanquished: and also for that in the very loose and retreat, rather then in combat and skirmish, they found that many more were hurt and slain of their part. Which fearful fight and terror, as it began in the camp, if it had surprized them in the conflict, it would have been an heavy day with them, & no doubt they had received a notable overthrow. And even then, being as it was, they had a careful night, and full of anguish, thinking verily that the Samnits would presently assault their camp, or at leastwise that in the morning betimes they must of necessity fight with the conquerors. But the enemies, as their loss was less, so their heart and courage was never the more: For so soon as the day brake, desirous were they to be gone without any battel. Howbeit there was but one way, & that lay close and near to their enemies: which they were not so soon entered into, but they made shew a far off, as if they marched straight to the assault of the camp. The Consul commanded his men to arm, and to follow after him without the ramparts. To his Lieutenants, Colonels and Captains of the Allies he gave several charges to do as he thought needful and requisite. They all promised to execute any direction whatsoever: but they said withal, that their souldiers hearts were done, that they had watched and sit up all night, amongst the grievous wounds and uncomfortable groans of them that lay a dying: and no doubt if the enemy had come before day against the camp, so daunted were they, that they

D would have abandoned their colours: and even now for very shame and nothing else, they forbore indeed to run away, but otherwise their hearts were gone, and they clean spent. The Consul hearing this, thought good to go about himself in person, unto every one of his souldiers, and to speak unto them: and even as he met with any of them, and saw them so backward, and going about so coldly to take arms and weapon in hand: he checked and rebuked them: crying aloud, and asking why they tarried so long? why they loitered and made such delay? saying, that the enemies would come to them within the very camp, and cut their throats, unless they made more haste to sally forth: yea, and forced they should be to fight before their tent doors, if they would not give battel without the trench and ramparts. They that are armed (saith he) and will fight manfully, shall obtain undoubted victory: but the unarmed and naked man that attendeth the enemies coming,

E must either die for it, or endure captivity. As he rated and rebuked them in these tearms, they answered flatly again, that they had enough of yesterdays work, and were utterly done: and had neither strength nor blood left them in their bodies: and now the enemies (say they) seem more in number then they were the day before. Amid these speeches the army approached: and being now but a little way off, they might take a full view of them more certainly, and see every thing. Whereupon they said confidently, that they saw the Samnits to bring with them their stakes and pales to cast a pallisado, no doubt, round about their whole camp. At this, the Consul cried out upon them for very shame to suffer so foul a reproach and disgrace of a most dastardly enemy. "And shall we be (quoth he) beset and empaled within our own camp, there to die for hunger and famine with shame, rather then by edge of sword (if there be no other remedy) with honor, like men?"

F "The gods speed us well (quoth he) and their will be done: and do every man as he thinks best: as for *M. Attilius* the Consul, he is resolved even himself alone (if no man else will follow) to meet the enemy in the face, and rather be beaten down and die amongst the Samnits ensigns, than see the Roman camp besieged with a trench cast, and rampart raised about it. The Lieutenants, Colonels, and all the bands and Coronets of the Cavalry, yea, and the principal Centurions of the foremost companies liked well of this, and accepted the Consul his words. Then the souldiers for stark shame, full faintly take weapon in hand, and as slowly, God wot, go forth of camp. And thus in long ranks and files, not close united together but broken here and there, with hea-

vy cheer, and as men half vanquished already, they marched after a sort toward the enemy, who was neither in hope nor in heart better resolved and settled then they. For so soon as the Samnits discovered the Roman Standards, suddenly from the vanguard to the rereguard, there went a muttering and bruit from one to another, that the Romans were come forth (the only thing they always feared) to empeach and stop their passage, so as now there was no way for them to fly and escape from them, and save themselves, but must either die in the place, or slay their enemies and make a land even over their bodies. All their packs and fardels, they cast together upon an heap in the midst: and being armed as they were, every man ranged and marshalled themselves in their own arrays. Now was there a very little space between the two armies, and they stood looking one upon another, waiting when their enemies would begin to give the first charge, and set up the first shout. But neither of both had any stomach to fight. And surely on both sides they had gone sundry ways untouched, and without any blows given or taken, but that they feared both, lest if they had dismarched of one part first, the other would have come upon them. Thus of themselves they began a faint fight, as unwilling and loath thereto, with an uncertain and unequal shout: neither stirred any man one foot. Then the Roman Consul, to begin the skirmish, sent out some few Cornets of horsemen from a side, without the battaillons: whereof the most part fel from their horses, and others were disarrayed and put out of order: whereupon both Samnits ran out to kill those that were fallen, and Romans also to rescue their fellows. Then the skirmish began a little to wax hot: but the Samnits advanced forward in greater number far, and bestirred themselves (as it seemed) more lustily: and withal, the Roman horsemen being disordered and in confusion, with their horses affrighted trod under their feet the footmen that came to rescue. Who beginning once to flie, caused the whole Roman army also to turn their backs. And now the Samnits played upon the backs of the Romans, as they fled: whereat the Consul rode before a gallop to the camp gate, where he bestowed a good *corps de guard* of horsemen, opposite in the way: and made proclamation, that whosoever came toward the camp, were he Samnit or were he Roman, should be taken and used as an enemy. With these and such like threats, he put himself against the souldiers, that marched so fast in heaps to the camp. Whither away sirrah, (quoth he to every souldier that he met) even here shalt thou find men in arms to fight withal: here shalt thou meet with thine enemy, as well as in the field behind: no entring here into the camp without victory, so long as thy Consul liveth: chuse therefore whether thou hadst rather fight with thy own countrimen or thine enemies. Whiles the Consul entertained them with this welcom, the horsemen also with spear in rest, and bent full against them, came all about, charging the footmen upon their peril to turn again to battel. Thus not only the Consul his vertue and prowess served in good stead, but fortune also went on their side: for the Samnits followed not the chase so hard, but that the Romans had both time and ground enough to turn about their ensignes, and to direct their battaillons from their camp against the enemy. Then one encouraged another to go to battel again. The Centurions snatched the banners out of the bearers hands, and advanced them forward: declaring to their souldiers, how few the enemies were in number, and how disorderly and out of all array they came against them. In this while the Consul lift up his hands to heaven, and with a clear and audible voice, vowed a Temple to *Jupiter Stator*, if so be the Roman army stayed their flight, and by renewing the conflict should kill and vanquish the Samnits Legions. Hereupon endevoured they on all hands, the Captain and souldier, both horsemen and footmen, to re-enforce the battel. And even the very gods from heaven seemed to have a special regard of the Romans at that time, so quickly the dice turned, and the enemies were repulled from the ramparts, and within a small while forced again to the very place where the battel began. Whereby reason of their fardels and packs which they had heaped together in the midst, and now lay in their very way, they were stopped in their very passage, and for fear lest their goods should be rifled and spoiled, they cast a ring round about their bag and baggage. Then the Roman Infantry afront, and the Cavalry behind, compassed them, and charged upon them right fiercely: wherein the midst between, they were either slain or taken. The prisoners were in number 7300. who were all put naked under the yoke, and sold: the number of them that were slain was about 4800. The Romans for all this had no great list to boast and brag of their victory, for the Consul taking view and account of his loss these two days, found by computation, that he missed 7300.

Whiles these things thus passed in *Apulia*, the Samnits with another power, assayed to surprize and get again *Interamna*, a Colony of the Romans: situate upon the Latine high-way: but when they could not be masters of the town, they overran and plundered the territory: and having got a good booty of men, women, and cattel, one with another: whiles they were driving the same before them, together with certain Coloners whom they had taken prisoners, they light upon Consul as he returned with victory from *Luceria*: where they not only lost their spoil, but were themselves slain as they marched disorderly in long files. The Consul made proclamation, That every man should repair to *Interamna*, for to own and challenge his own goods, and to receive the same again: and there, leaving his army, went to *Rome*, against the Election of new Magistrates. When he laboured instantly for a triumph, he was denied that honor: both for that he had lost so many thousands, and also because he had put his captives under the gallows, and sold them, without farther imposition.

The other Col. *Posthumius*, wanting subject matter of war to work upon among the Samnits, passed

A passed with his army into Tuscany: and after he had first pill'd and spoiled the Volsinians territory, he gave them battel not far from their walls, who issued forth to defend their frontiers: where there were 2200. Tuscans slain: the rest, by reason that the City was so neer, escaped and saved themselves. Then led he his army into the territory of *Rosellum*, where he not only laid the fields waste, but won the town also: took prisoners above two thousand, and slew under two thousand before their walls. Howbeit, in that year, the peace obtained in *Hetruria*, was more honorable and renowned then the war had been. For three of the strongest and most puissant States, even the very Capital Cities of Tuscany, to wit, *Volturni*, *Perusia*, and *Arretium*, desired accord. And having conditioned with the Consul, and promised, to find his souldiers clothing and corn, so they might have leave to send Orators to *Rome* to treat for peace. obtained at length a truce of forty years. And for that present, each City was fined to pay * 500000 Asles. For these acts done, the Consul having requested triumph of the Senat, for manner and fashion, rather then upon any hope to speed: and perceiving some of them to deny him flatly, as pretending, that it was so late ere he departed the City: and other some, for that without order and direction of the Senat, he passed out of *Samnium* into *Tuscany*: and that partly his adversaries, & partly the friends of his Collegue, who might take some comfort and contentment, that he also had the repulse with him, were against his triumph: My Masters (quoth he) you that are Senators of *Rome*, I wil not be so far mindful of your honor and majesty, as that I will forget my self to be a Consul: and by vertue of the same authority of commission, wherewith I have conducted and managed these wars; for so much as, I have happily brought them to end, and subdued *Samnium* and *Tuscany*, atchieved victory, and obtained peace: triumph I will, and ask you no leave. And with that he departed out of the Senat. After this, there arose a debate and dissention among the Tribuns of the Commons. Some of them said, they would enterpose their negative, that he should not in this manner triumph, and give so ill a precedent. Others gave out, that they would assist him in his triumph, maugre the heads of all their Collegues. After much ado, the matter was referred unto the people, and the Consul being thither called, alledged, that *L. Horatius*, and *Mar. Valerius* Consuls, also *Caius Marius Rutilius* of late days, even the father of him, who then was Censor, triumphed without the authority and approbation of Senat, only by the ordinance of the people. Over and besides, he added and said, that himself also would have moved the people therein, but that he knew that the Tribuns of the Commons, who were become vassals and slaves to the Nobles, would have nipped and crossed the bill. As for himself, he protested, that he did and would account of the will and favour of the people, agreeing together, as well as of all their Acts and Decrees whatsoever. So the morrow after, by the assistance of three Trib. banded against the opposition and negative voices of seven, yea, and against the general resolution of the Senat, he triumphed: and all the people with great joy solemnized and celebrated the honor of that day. But the records do vary much about the acts and affairs of this year also. *Claudius* writeth, That *Posthumus* having won certain towns in *Samnium*, was after in *Apulia* discomfited and put to flight: and that himself in person being hurt, was with some few besides, driven to take *Luceria* for refuge: and that it was *Artilius*, that fought in *Tuscany*, and triumphed. *Fabius* contrarily reporteth, That both Consuls warred in *Samnium*, and at *Luceria*: and that one of the armies was transported into *Tuscany*: but which of the Consuls had the conduct thereof, he hath not set down wihal: also, that before *Luceria*, there were on both parts many slain: and how in that battel, there was a Temple vowed to *Jupiter Stator*, like as *Romulus* had done before in times past: howbeit, before this time, there was no Temple erected, but only a *Fannus*, [i. a place pronounced, destined, and consecrated before to build a Temple on.] But in this year at last, the City being now twice bound and obliged to perform one and the same vow, made a conscience of it, and moved the Senat to decree and take order, that the house and temple aforesaid should be edified accordingly.

After this year, there succeeded a brave and noble Consul, *L. Papyrius Cursor*, as well in regard of his fathers glory, as his own reputation. Also a mighty great war, and such a victory as never any General wan the like at the Samnites hands before that day, but *L. Papyrius* again the Consuls father. And as it fell out, they made the like preparation for war, with the same endeavor and furniture of most costly and brave armor, as before time. Moreover, they used the help and favor of the gods besides, by a strange kind of induction and institution of the souldiers, binding them to take their oath, after an old ceremonial custom, as if they were to take orders in some holy mysteries: yea, and levied musters throughout all *Samnium*, after a new form of a law and edict: That whosoever of the younger sort and serviceable men, fit to bear arms, shewed not themselves, and gave attendance at the Generals appointment and proclamation, and whosoever departed without his leave and licence, his head should be forfeit unto *Jupiter* as accursed and damned. Which done, the *Rendezvous* was appointed at *Aquilonia*, for all the forces to assemble. Where there gathered together, to the number of forty thousand fighting men, even the whole flower and manhood of *Samnium*. There, about the midst of the camp, was a plot of ground set out, well fenced and enclosed all about with hurdles and boards, and the same covered all over with linnen cloaths: the place was two hundred foot square, every way. Then there was a solemn sacrifice celebrated, and divine service said, according to an order read out of an old book made of linnen, and the same by a certain Priest, one *Ovinus Paccius*, a very aged man: who avouched, that he fet these sacred and holy ceremonies from the old ancient Religion of the Samnites, according to the manner and custom, which in times past their ancestors had used, at what time as they

* 1562. l. 16. A
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complotted

conspired secretly and conspired, to surprize *Capua* out of the *Tuscans* hands. When the sacrifice was done, the General of the army by his Purfivant at arms, commanded to cite and call forth by name, the noblest persons, either for parentage, or acts achieved: who were brought into the place aforesaid, one by one. Amongst other preparations of this sacred solemnity (which were able to strike a religious fear and devotion in a mans mind) there were certain altars erected in the midst of this place closely covered in all parts, and sacrifices lying slain all about, and the Centurions standing round with their swords ready drawn. Then the souldier was caused to approach neer the altars (like a sacrifice himself, rather then one that should have his part of the sacrifice) and urged by vertue of an oath, to promise, that he would never utter abroad and reveal, whatsoever he there should see or hear. Afterward he was put to swear, after an horrible and dreadful form of words, framed and tending expressely to the cursing of his own person, his house and all his race and linage, in case, he went not into any battel, wheresoever the Generals should lead him, and if either himself fled out of the field, or saw any one to run away, and slew him not outright in the place. At the first verily, some there were that refused to take such an oath, and presently were massacred by the Altars side. And lying there along together with the beasts, which had their throats cut for sacrifices, they served for a warning to teach all the rest how they made refusal. When the chief of the *Samnits* had taken this abominable and cursed oath, ten of them were elected and nominated by the sovereign Captain, who every one had in charge to chuse himself a fellow, and they likewise successively to take other to them, man by man, until they had made up the number of 16000. And these were called *Limeata Legio* [i. the linnen Legion] taking the name of the covering of that inclosure, wherein the Nobility of the *Samnits* were sworn. These had given unto them brave and glorious armor, with helmets crested and plumed, because they should seem taller then the rest. Another army there was, consisting of twenty thousand and better, who neither in goodly and tall personage, nor in martial prowels and reputation, nor yet in furniture and setting out, were inferiour to the linnen Legion aforesaid. Lo, what a number there was of fighting men, even the whole strength and manhood of all *Samnium*, assembled and encamped in *Aquilona*.

The Roman Consuls took their journey from the City of *Rome*, and *C. Carvilius* first; unto whom were appointed the old Legions, which *M. Attilius* the Consul of the former year, had left in the territory of *Interamna*. And with them he marched into *Samnium*. And mean while that the enemies were over much busied and amused about their superstitious ceremonies, and held their secret and mystical counsels, he won by force from the *Samnits*, the town *Amisernum*. Where almost 2800. men were slain, and 4270. taken prisoners. But *Papirius*, having by direction from the Senat enrolled a new army, forced the town *Duronia*; took fewer prisoners then his Colleague, but in lieu thereof, put many more to the sword. A rich booty there was got, both in the one place and the other. Afterwards, the Consuls oversaw the whole counry of *Samnium*, but they spoiled and wasted especially the lands about *Atinum*. *Carvilius* marched as far as *Cominium*, and *Papirius* to *Aquilona*, where the whole power of the *Samnits* lay encamped. There, for a good while they neither sat still, and were altogether idle in the camp, nor yet was there any hot service in the field. They spent the time in provoking them to fight, that gladly would have sitten still; or in lying off and giving ground, to those that assailed them: and thus, I say, with threatening, rather then offering battel, they passed the day. For whiles they began ever and anon, and gave over as quickly, there was no issue seen of any skirmishes, & the decision even of small matters and occurrents were prolonged and put off from day to day. The other camp of the Romans lay twenty miles off: and albeit the other Consul was absent, yet his hand and counsel was in every enterprise and exploit. For as there lay a greater weight and charge at *Aquilona*, then at *Cominium*: so *Carvilius* had a more careful eye that way, then to the place which himself besieged. *L. Papirius* being now at all points provided to fight, dispatched a messenger to his Colleague, to signifie unto him: that he minded the next day, if he were not checked by the Auspices to give the enemy battel: and withal, that it was expedient and needful that he likewise should with all his forces assault *Cominium*; that the *Samnits* within, might have neither means nor leisure to send any succour to *Aquilona*. This post had that one day allowed him to doe his message, and attend his dispatch; and by night he made return, and brought word unto the Consul from his Colleague, that he liked well of his purpose and advice. *Papirius* then immediately dismissed and sent away the courier aforesaid, and assembled his souldiers to an audience, where he discoursed at large concerning war in general. Much he spake also as touching the present preparation and magnificent furniture of the enemies, more brave and goodly for shew and ostentation then effectual and of importance in the end: "For they are not the plumed crests (quoth he) that give the deadly wounds. but the Romans spear and lance it is, that is able to pierce their gilded and damasked shields: yea, and that other glittering army with milk white diaper coats. must be died red in blood, when they come to stroaks, and to try it out by dint of sword. The golden and silvered armies of the *Samnits*, were sometimes by my father put to the sword, and killed to the last man: and they served rather for rich spoils to honour the victorious enemy, then for armor of proof, to defend and save themselves. This is a fatal gift, and destined to our name and family, for to be chosen Generals, and to be opposed against the greatest puissance and attempts of the *Samnits*, and to bring away with them, those spoils which might be ornaments to beautifie the publick places of the City. And the immortal gods

A "no doubt are present to defend and assist us in our quarrel, against those that so oft have sought for peace and alliance, and as often broke the same themselves. And if a man may conjecture and guess of the will and providence of the Gods, they never were to any army more adverse and full of indignity, then to that, which being stained and polluted with the blood of beasts and men, massacred and mingled together in an horrible and execrable kind of sacrifice; and devoted to a double anger of the gods, having in dread and horror of one side, the vengeance of the same gods, witnesses off their breach of covenants with the Romans; and on the other side the detestable and abominable curses, comprised in an oath, taken against all covenant and promise; hath sworn by constraint and perforce; hateth and detesteth the oath whereby they are perjured, and at one time, is in fear of the gods, of their own selves, and their enemies.

B Thus having shewed unto his souldiers (who were already of themselves badly and maliciously enough bent against the enemies) that he had certain intelligence of all these things, by the constant relation averred by certain fugitives that were fled from them unto him; they all being now full of assured hope of Gods help and mans, with one uniform cry called for battel: and nothing grieved them more then this, That it was put off until the morrow; having in their hearts the rest of that day behind; and that one night, for being so long. About mid-night, Papyrius having received letters back from his Collegue, gat him up closely when all were fast asleep, and sent the chick-master to take token, & observe the presage of the pullers. There was not one throughout the whole camp, of what quality or degree soever but had a desire to fight. The highest as well as the lowest were earnest and eager: the Captains might behold and see the souldiers affection and courage that way, and the souldier likewise the Captains; in so much that the same ardent desire of battel which was in all the rest, reached also even to those that had the charge of the Auspices. For when as the chickens would not peck, the chick-master adventured to lye and falsifie the token, and made report to the Consul, that it was * *Tripudium solistimum*. Whereat the Consul right glad and joyous, pronounced that the token was lucky, and that they were to fight under the favour and conduct of the gods; and hereupon he put forth the signal or bloody banner of battel. As he was now marching forth into the field with his army, behold a fugitive out of the enemies camp, brought word, that twenty cohorts or companies of Samnits, and those were about 400. in a cohort, were gone to *Cominium*. And because his Collegue *Carvilius* should not be ignorant hereof, he presently dispatched a currier in post unto him, and himself commanded the Ensigns and Standards to be advanced and set forward with speed, ordaining the bands in the rereward for succours, and disposing them in divers places, with Captains over the same, accordingly. He appointed *L. Volumnius* to lead the right wing, and *L. Scipio* the left, and the horsemen he committed to the conduct of two other Lieutenants, *C. Ceditius*, and *Trebonius*. As for *Sp. Nautius*, he charged him in all haste to take off the pack-saddles from the Mules, and to mount the cohorts of the light armed footmen that serve in the wings, upon their backs, and with them to fetch a compass, and to seize upon an hill there in sight, and in the heat of the conflict, to shew himself from thence and to raise as great a cloud of dust as possibly he could. While the General was occupied hereabout, there arose some warbling amongst the chicken-masters touching the Auspice or presage of that day; in so much as they were overheard of the Roman horsemen; who supposing it a matter of good consequence and to be regarded, advertised *Sp. Papyrius* (the Consuls Nephew, or Brothers Son) that there was some doubt and question about the Auspice. The youth born in those days when there were no Atheists, nor Lectures read of despising God and Religion; enquired farther into the matter, because he would not certifie any thing wherof he was not sure: and when he had found out the truth, gave knowledg thereof to the Consul: who said thus unto him, "God blest thee my son, and be not thou dismayed therat, but fight hardly more valiantly, and do thy best endeavour. As for him that has the charge and oversight of the Birds and Auspice, if he have made a wrong report, and given up a contrary presage, or false sign, all the mischief and peril light upon his own head for his lewd lye. As for me

F "I was told of a *Tripudium*, and that the birds fell heartily to their meat: and I hold it for a lucky Auspice and token of good success unto the people of Rome and the army, and for no other. This said, he commanded the Centurions to set those pullers, in the forefront of the battel. The Samnits also for their part set forward their Ensigns, and their battaillons follow after gallantly set out in gorgeous armor and brave apparrel, in such sort, as the very sight of the enemies represented a magnificent and stately shew to the beholders. But see what hapned; before the first shout given, before the first volley of shot and encounter, the principal Puller chanced to be stricken with a javelin, lanced at adventure and at random, and fell down dead even before the Ensigns. Which being reported unto the Consul, "Behold the handy work of God (quoth he) the gods are present in this battel, the guilty person hath his due reward. And as the Consul was a speaking these words, lo, just before him a Raven set out a wide clear throat, and cried with a loud note: at which Augury, the Cos. rejoiced, and avowed, that the gods appeared never in mens affairs more evidently. And herewith he commanded the trumpets to sound, and to set up a lusty shout: then followed a cruel and terrible fight on both sides, but with hearts and courages far unlike. The Romans were ravished and carried on end to the battel, with anger, hope, and heat of conflict greedy of bathing their swords, and embruving their hands in the enemies bloodshed. But the Samnits many of them by force of necessity, and constraint of a blind and superstitious religion, even against their wills, were forced to make resistance, and defend themselves rather then to fight

* The chickens fell to their meat so eagerly, that with their hasty feeding, some corn fell from their bills to the ground, and rebounded again: and this was *Tripudium solistimum*, and in their learning was reputed the best Auspice in that kind, and prelagged most happy success.

and offend the enemy. Neither had they sustained and held out the first shout, charge and shock of the Romans (as having now for certain years past been used ever more to go away defeated and vanquished) but that a mightier fear imprinted and settled in their heart roots, held them perforce from running away: for they ever had continually represented in their eye, the whole furniture of that secret sacrifice; of those armed sacrificers and Priests with naked swords; of that hideous butchery of men and of brute beasts, lying slain one with another in their blood intermingled together; of the Altars besprinkled and stained with the lawful shedding of the one; and the detestable effusion of the other; of the dreadful and horrible execrations; and to conclude, of that frantick, furious, and detestable form of words, composed and devised to the detestation and malediction of their line and race. Being fast bound, I say, with these bonds for fleeing away, they stood to it, and stirred not back, fearing their own countrymen more than the enemies. The Romans from both points, and from the middle and main battailon charged hotly, beat them down, killed and cut them in pieces, thus amazed and astonished as they were with dread of gods and awe of man. Small resistance made they, as who only feared to flee and run away: so as by this time, there was execution and havock made of them almost to the very Standards. At which very instant, there appeared overthwart from the one side a dust, as if a mighty army had raised it to their march; namely, *Sp. Nautius* (or as some say, *Octavius Metius*) who had the leading of certain Cohorts called *Aleria*, mounted upon Mules; which on purpose made a dust greater, then for that number they were. For those varlets and new horsemen, as they sat on their Mules and Sumpter-beasts, drew after them trailing on the ground, boughs of trees full of branches and leaves: and first, there appeared in the fore-front (as it were, through a dusky and dim light) their armour and guidons: but the dust behind them, rising higher and thicker, made shew of a troop of horsemen flanked an army of footmen: wherewith not only the Samnites but Romans also were deceived. And the Consul himself, to avow the error and bear them down it was so; cried aloud amongst the foremost Ensigns, so as his voice reached unto his enemies, That *Cominium* was won, and his Brother Consul was come with victory; and therefore, they should endeavour and enforce themselves to get the day, before that another army should win the honour out of their hands. Thus cried he out on horseback galloping among the ranks to and fro. Then he commanded the Colonels and Centurions, to make a way for the men of arms. Himself afore, had willed *Trebonius* and *Ceditius*, that when they espied him to bear his spear upright and to shake it, then they should with all the might they had, put forth the Cavalry and charge the enemies. Every thing was done at a beck, according as they were directed and instructed before-hand. The wayes were made wide between the files. The horsemen sling out, and with spear in rest charge upon the middle battailon of the enemies, and brake their arrayes wheresoever they charged. *Volumnius* and *Scipio* seconded them with the Infantry: and while they were disarrayed overthrew them, and bare them to the ground. Down went these linnen Cohorts now, when God and man fought against them, and were discomfited: and as well those that took the oath, and the other that were unsworn, fled again; and without respect of one thing or other, feared none but their enemies. All the footmen that escaped the batle, were beaten into their camp at *Aquilonia*. The Gentlemen and the men of arms fled toward *Bovianum*. The Cavalry of the Romans pursued the horsemen; and the Infantry chased the footmen. The wings took divers ways, the right toward the camp of the Samnites, the left unto the Town. *Volumnius* was somewhat before, and got the Camp. *Scipio* found more resistance in the City: not for that vanquished men, as they were, had more courage and resolution, but because that walls are stronger to endure an assault, and better to keep out armed men, then a plain trench and rampart. For, from the Courtine, with stones they beat and repulsed the enemy. *Scipio* foreseeing well enough that they should be longer about the assault of a strong and fenced town, unless he dispatched the matter quickly and went through with it, in their first affright and confusion, before they took heart again: demanded of his souldiers, If they could take it well, and abide to see the camp won by the other point, of the batle, and themselves (being likewise Conquerors) to be repelled from the City Gates? When they all cried, No; and said they would never endure that disgrace: himself with his target over his head, approached the gate, the others following after under a target-sense, rush into the City, thrust down the Samnites about the Gate, and gat to the Walls: but to engage themselves farther into the City, they durst not, being so few as they were. The Consul himself at the first knew nothing of all this, but was occupied about the retreat, and rallying of his men: for now the sun was well neer down, and the night coming on apace, caused every thing even to the very victors to seem dangerous and suspicious. But when he was advanced farther, he saw on the right hand the camp taken: and on the left, he heard a confused cry and tumult in the City, compounded of the noise of fighting men, and frighted persons: and even at that instant, it fortuned, that they skirmished at the gate. Then he rode on, neerer and neerer, and saw his own men upon the Walls, howbeit nothing yet fully performed; but through the rash adventure and fool-hardiness of some few, an overture only made, and some advantage got of performing a great piece of service and worthy exploit. Whereupon, he commanded the forces that were retired, to be called, and with banner displayed to enter the City. So soon as they were in, they took the next quarter to the Gate, and for that the night approached, there they rested, and went no farther. But even in that very night, the enemies abandoned the Town.

There

A There were slain that day before *Aquilonia* 3634^o Samnits, and 3870 taken prisoners: and of field ensigns they went away with 90. Moreover, this is reported and recorded of *Papyrius*, that there had not been lightly seen a General in any battel more lightsome, chearfull, and merry; were it of his own natural disposition, or upon assured confidence of victory. Upon which courage and resolution, he could not be revoked from battel, albeit there was some question and scruple about the Auspice: and even in the hottest time, and dangerous point of the conflict, at what time as the manner is to vow temples to the immortal gods: he vowed unto *Jupiter Victor*, if so be that he defeated the Legions of the enemies, to present him with a cup of a sweet and pleasing mead, before he drank any strong and heady wine of the grape: which vow the gods accepted and blessed of, and turned the ill presage of the Auspices to good.

B The other Consull had as good speed at *Cominium*: For at the break of day he approached with all his forces to the wals of the town, and invested it round about: and set strong guards at the gates, for fear they should issue or sally forth. And even as he was about to give the signall of assault, there came a messenger post from his fellow Consull, who in great affright brought word of the coming of twenty cohorts to the succour of them within the City: which both kept him short from giving the assault, and caused him to call back again part of his forces, which were arranged and ready under the counterescarp to assail the defendants. Then he gave charge to *Decius Brutus Serrus*, one of the Lieutenants, to take the first legion and twenty cohorts of the wings, and other horsemen, to make head against the rescue of the enemies aforesaid: and wheresoever he met them, there to impeach them, yea, and if occasion served, to give them battel: and in no case to suffer that power to come to *Cominium*. Himself commanded that ladders should be reared on every side of the town, and under a fence of targets approached the gates. So that in an instant the gates were burst open, and the wals scaled on every part. The Samnits, as their hearts served them well enough to keep the enemies from entrance, before they saw any armed men upon the wals: so, after they perceived, that they were assailed not aloof with stones and darts, but fast by and with hand-strokes: and how that they, who hardly and with great difficulty from the plain gat up the wals, having now gained and surmounted the place (which they most feared before) could fight at ease from aloft with their enemy, who was not able to match them in the even ground: quit their towers and wals, and gathered all together in the market place, and there for a while tried the utmost hazard of battel. But afterwards throwing down their weapons, 15400^o of them yielded themselves to the Consull his mercy. There were slain 4380. Thus went the game at *Cominium*, and thus at *Aquilonia*.

C In the mid way between these two Cities, where a third battel was looked for, the enemies were not to be found. And when they were seven miles off from *Cominium*, they had a countermand from their own country-men, and were called away, and so came not to the rescue, neither in the one battell nor the other. In the shutting in of the evening, when it began to be dark, being within the sight of the Camp of one hand, and *Aquilonia* on the other: they might hear a like noise and cry from both parts, which caused them to pause. But afterwards, when they were over-against the Camp which was fired by the Romans: the flame spreading far abroad declared the defeat of the Samnits more evidently, and staied them there for going farther. In which very place they laid down here and there in their armour (as they were) and passed a restless and unquiet long night, expecting (and yet fearing) the light of the day. At the dawning whereof, and so soon as it began to peep, while they were uncertain and doubtfull what way to take, they hapned to be discovered by the cavalry of the enemies: and suddenly in a fearful amaze and affright, they took them to their heels and fled in great disorder. Those horsemen having pursued the Samnits, who in the night season escaped out of the town, chanced to espy this foresaid multitude, and perceived they were neither entrenched, nor defended with a good corps de guard. This company was descried also even from the wals of *Aquilonia*: whereupon, by this time the legionary footmen likewise made after them; but they could not overtake them in the chase, so fast they fled: howbeit the horsemen cut off some, and slew two hundred and fourscore in the tail of the rearguard. In this affright they left much armour behind them, and eighteen ensigns, and so the rest of the army saved themselves, and as well as they might in so fearfull confusion, recovered *Bovianum*. The joy of these two Romans armies was wonderfully encreased, to see one another have so good and fortunate success in their enterprises. Both the Consuls, by each others advice and consent, gave their towns thus won unto the souldiers to be sacked and rifled: and after the goods were out, to set fire on the empty houses; in such wise, that in one and the same day both *Aquilonia* and *Cominium* were burnt to ashes: and the Consuls, with mutuall congratulation and joy, as well between their Legions as themselves, feasting one another joyned both their Camps in one. Afterwards in the sight of both Armies, *Carvilius* highly commended and praised his souldiers every one as he deserved, and rewarded them with gifts accordingly. *Papyrius* also for his part, who had performed many and sundry skirmishes as well in the field and battel: as about the winning of the Camp and forcing the City, bestowed by way of honour upon *Sp. Nautius* and *Sp. Papyrius* his brothers son, as also upon four Centurions and the band of the *Hastati* or Javelineers, bracelets and coronets of gold: and namely, *Nautius* for that he bare himself so worthily in that journey and expedition, wherein with his counterfeit troop of horsemen upon Mules, he so terrified the enemy, as if he had conducted a main army of men at armes: and young *Papyrius* for his good service with his cavalry as well in the battel and con-

fleet, as also in that night, wherein he forced the Samnites to flee secretly, and quit the City *Aquilonia*: the Centurions and souldiers, in this regard, that they were the first who seized the gates and walls of that town: as for all the horsemen, in consideration of their manifold travells, and brave exploits shewed in sundry places, he gave them bracelets and little horns of silver. This done, forasmuch as it was time now to withdraw their army from out of *Samnium*, either both twain, or one of them alone, they sate in Council and consultation thereupon: and thought it was the better course (to the end that the Samnites might be brought lower, and their state more sensibly decayed) to go forward still, and charge them with greater force and resolution, and to pursue the rest that was behind: that *Samnium* might be delivered up to the Consuls their successors, utterly tamed and subdued: since that the enemies now had no army abroad in field, like either to give or abide another battell: and there remained but one manner of making war, even to besiege and assault their Cities and strong Towns: by the winning and subversion whereof, they might with the pillage enrich and make their own souldiers for ever, and withall impoverish their enemies, and make a hand of them quite, being now at the last cast forced to fight for Church and Home. Hereupon the Consuls dispatched their letters to the Senat and people of *Rome*, containing the effect at large of all their exploits: and then divided themselves, and took two severall waies: *Papirius* marched with his legions to the siege of *Sepinum*; and *Carvilius* with his to besiege *Volana*.

The Consuls letters were read and heard with exceeding joy, as well in the court of the Council of the City, as in the Common Hall of assemblies; and this publike contentment and rejoicing was solemnized with generall processions, for the space of four daies, and with marvellous zeal, affection, and devotion of private persons in particular. And to say a truth, this victory was to the state of *Rome* not only great and honourable, but also of great consequence, in regard that it fell out in so good and commodious a time. For even then, news came, that *Tuscany* was revolted and rebelled, and men began to cast in their minds, and discourse how they should do (in case ought should hap but well in *Samnium*) to withstand the forces and invasions of the *Tuscans*: who taking heart, and presuming upon the Samnites, and their cursed and execrable oath, by vertue whereof they were obliged to fight to the utmost extremity, embraced the occasion and opportunity of taking armes again, whiles both the Consuls and the whole forces of *Rome* were diverted and withdrawn into *Samnium*, and there employed. The Embassadors of their allies and confederats, were by *M. Attilius* the Prætor brought into the Senat, and had audience given them: where they complained, that their Territories were over-run, burnt, and spoiled, by the *Tuscans* their next neighbours; and all because they were unwilling to revolt from the people of *Rome*: humbly beseeching the LL. of the Senat, to defend and protect them against the violence, wrong, and outrage of common enemies. Answer was returned unto the Embassadors: That the Senat would have regard, that their allies should have no cause to repent of their faithful allegiance, and constant loyalty; and that ere many daies went over their heads, the *Tuscans* should taste of the same cup that the Samnites had begun unto them. Howbeit, they would have been slack and cold enough in dealing with the *Tuscans*, had not fresh news come, that the *Falisci* also, who had for many years continued in amity and friendship with the people of *Rome*, were combined with the *Tuscans*, and entred into arms, as well as they. The near neighbourhood of this nation, gave an edge to the Senators, and whet them on, to take care and ordain, that their Feiall Heralds should be addressed thither to demand restitution and amends for harms done: which being denied, and no goods restored; by the advice and authority of the Senat, together with the grant of the people, war was proclaimed against the *Tuscans*: and the Consuls were commanded to cast lots, whether of them should paise out of *Samnium* with his forces, into *Tuscany*.

By this time now *Carvilius* had won *Volana*, *Palumbinum*, and *Herculanum*, towns appertaining to the Samnites. *Volana* was forced within few daies: *Palumbinum*, the same day that he came before the walls: but at *Herculanum*, he fought two severall battels, with doubtfull and uncertain issue, yea, and with more loss of his own part than of the enemies. But afterwards, he pitched his camp before the town, beleaguered the enemies, and kept them within their walls, gave the assault, and won it in the end. In these three towns there were either taken prisoners or slain in all, to the number of ten thousand: but so, as through fear the greater part by far, suffered themselves to be captives, rather then to dye on the edge of the sword.

The Consuls cast lots for their Provinces; and it fell unto *Carvilius* to go into *Tuscany*, as the souldiers wished and desired, who could no longer away with the rigour of cold weather in *Samnium*. As for *Papirius*, he found a greater power of enemies, and more resistance, before *Sepinum*. Many a time he was fought withall in battell arranged: oft skirmished with in his march: yea, and oftentimes under the very walls, the enemies sallied out against him from the Town, in such sort, as he could not tell what to make of it: for neither was it to be called properly a siege alone, nor yet altogether a battell fight: considering that the enemies were no more protected and covered themselves, by the strength of their walls: than the walls were defended by force of arms, and men of war: howbeit in the end, what with fighting and what with skirmishing, he lodged them within the City, so as they durst come abroad no more, but kept themselves close, and were besieged indeed: and after long siege, as well with forcible assaults, as by trenches, bastils, and rampiers, he was master of the town: and therefore after he was possessed of it, upon anger and choler

A choler that they had so long stood out and put him to so much trouble, that there was more blood-shed; and seven thousand died by the sword, whereas under three thousand were taken prisoners. The spoil and pillage, which was exceeding great, considering that the Samnites had laid up all their gods in some few Cities, was given to the souldiers. And now lay the snow thick all over upon the ground: neither could men endure abroad in the field without house and harbor: and thereupon the Consul retired his Army out of Samnium. Against his coming to Rome, it was decreed by the general voice of all men, that he should triumph: and so he triumphed whilst he was in his Magistracy, with great magnificence, and sumptuous pomp, as those daies would afford. For as well his footmen as horsemen marched and passed by in a shew, adorned with their

gift and prizes of honour. Many a civick, vallare and minale garland was seen worn that day. Much looking and wondring there was at the spoils also of the Samnites armour and apparel: for with their goodly beauty and glorious hue were they comparable to those that his father had won before him, which were commonly seen, and well known in the publike places of the City, adorned and beautified therewith. Moreover, there were led before him in this triumph and pompous entrance of his into the City, certain captives and prisoners of noble blood defended, men of great worth sometime, and name, as well for their own deeds, as their fathers acts. Great store of Brasse Bullion in Ingots, and not coined, was carried in shew, amounting to the weight of 1200533 pound: which mass of brasse or copper was raised of the ransome of prisoners. But the silver which was got in the sackage of the towne came to 1330 pound weight and above. All the brasse and silver was laid up in the common Treasury of the City, and nothing at all of the whole booty given to the souldiers: and the discontentment and heart-burning that grew thereby, was so much the greater in the common people, by reason they were charged besides with an exaction and contribution for souldiers pay: whereas if the Consul had not upon a vain-glorious humour brought into the City-Chamber, such sums which he had gained from the enemy there might a good portion thereof have been bestowed freely amongst the souldiers, & of the surplussage their due wages paid and dispatched. Moreover, whilst he was Consul, he dedicated the Temple of Quirinus, which his father, being Dictator, had vowed: for, that himself vowed it in the very time of the battell. I find not in any ancient writer; and certainly in so short a space, he could not possibly have built and finished it. He trimmed it besides, and garnished it with the spoils of the enemies, whereof there was such store and abundance, that not only the foresaid Temple and the market-place were therewith set out and bravely decked, but they were distributed abroad to their allies also and Coloners, near inhabitants, for the decoration and beautifying of their Churches and publike places. After the triumph ended, he brought his Army to winter in the Territory of the Veiins, because those quarters were distressed and annoied by the Samnites.

In this mean while, Corvilius the Consul, having at his first coming given the assault unto Troilum, a City in Tuscany, granted license to 470 of the richest Citizens, to depart from thence and by composition, to pay a great sum of money unto him. The rest of the multitude fell into his hands, after he had won the town by mere force. This done, he forced five Castles, situate in places of great strength: where were slain of enemies 2400, and not all out 2000 taken prisoners. He granted to the Falisci (who sued for peace) truce for one year, and yet to make present payment of 100000 Asse, and to discharge the souldiers wages for that year. After these exploits achieved, he departed to his triumph: which as it was less honourable and glorious than that of other of his companion in government, in regard of the service performed against the Samnites: so, if we consider withall, the Tuscan war, it was equal and comparable unto it every way. Of brasse money he brought into the common Chest 300000 pound: of the surplussage of the pillage and other spoils, he caused the Chappel of Fortuna to be built, near unto the Temple of the same goddess, dedicated by King Servius Tullus. To the souldiers that served on foot, he gave of his booty 100 Asse a piece, and twice as much to every Centurion and horseman. Which reward they accepted more thankfully at his hands, by reason of the nigardise and misery of his Colleague before him. And so gracious was this Consul, that he protected and saved L. Volturnus, one of his Lieutenants, against the people: who being arrested and called to his answer by M. Caninius, a Tribune of the Commons fled for his last help to his Lieutenantship (as they say) and avoided thereby the danger of their judgement: for that during his absence in that charge, his accusation might well be set on foot and followed, but brought to a final end and definitive sentence, it could not be.

After this year expired, the new Tribunes of the Commons entred their office: and for that there was supposed some error in their creation, the fifth day after were other chosen in their stead. The same year there was a Lustrum or solemn survey of the City, held by P. Cornelius Arvignus, and C. Marius Rutilius Censors. In which were numbered and assessed 262322 polls of Roman Citizens. There were in order the six and twentieth Censors from the beginning: and this was reckoned the nineteenth Lustrum after the first institution. In this year, and never before, the spectators of the Roman Games and Plaies, in regard of their happy success in wars, stood adorned with wreaths and garlands of flowers upon their heads: and then came up the fashion at Rome, borrowed from the manner and custome of Greece, to honour those with branches of the olive tree, who won the prizes, and were victors in those solemn Games.

The same year the Ediles Curule, who exhibited the said pastimes and exercises of Activity, paved

* For saving of
a Citizens life
in battell, made
of grasse.

* For mounting
first over the
rampier of the
enemies
Camp, fashioned
like the
pales in a rampier.

* For scaling
over the walls
first of an enemies
City: and
formed to the
manner of the
curtin or battlements
of a wall.

* Two millions
five hundred
thirty three
Asse in value,
and of english
sterl. 25. 06 li.
13 shill 4. d.
within a farthing.

* 3950 pound
sterling after
five shillings
an ounce.

* 312 li. 10 sh.

* 637 li. 19 sh.
7 d. ob. sterl.

* 6 sh. 5 d. ob.
sterl.

paved the causey or high-way with flint or pibble stone, from the Temple of Mars unto Boville: H and the fines of certain Publicans or farmers of the City, that were gravers and condemned, paid the charges. Then Papyrius held the great Assembly for election of new Consuls, and created Q. Fabius Gurges the son of Maximus, and D. Junius Brutus Scaeva, Consuls. Papyrius himself was chosen Prætor. This year, so joious and fortunate in many respects, could hardly countervail and recompence with all other comforts, one only calamity, namely a pestilence and mortality, which consumed and devoured both town and country. In so much, as for the strangeness and extremity thereof, it was held for a prodigious and portentous sign beyond all course of nature, and reach of reason. Whereupon, the books of Sibylla were perused, to know out of them, what issue and remedy the gods would vouchsafe to shew of this malady and misery. Wherein they found, I that the Image of Æsculapius must be sent for, from as far as Epidaurus to Rome. But for that by year, reason that the Consuls were busied in the wars, nothing was done, but only one day bestowed wholly in supplications and devout Letanies, to the honour of the said god Æsculapius.

* Pigeon, or
Cerberus.

The ten Books next following of T. Livius (usually called the second Decade) are lost: The Arguments whereof remain yet extant in the Abridgments or Breviaries of L. Florus, which instead of the History it self, are set down in this place.

The Breviary of L. Florus to the Eleventh Book.

Vhen Fabius Gurges the Consul, had fought an unfortunate battell against the Samnites, and the Senate were about to discharge and remove him from his Army: Fabius Maximus his father, besought them for his sake, not to offer him that disgrace and dishonour. For rather than that should come to pass, he promised to serve in person under his son in quality of his Lieutenant. Which moved the Senate, and prevailed more than anything else. And he was his words master. For he went to the field, and by his means and good advice, the Consul his son was so well assisted, that he defeated the Samnites, triumphed over them, led captive before his triumphant Chariot C. Pontius, Lord General of the Samnites, and afterwards struck off his head. Whiles the City [of Rome] was pitiously visited and afflicted with the plague, there were certain Embassadors addressed and sent to Epidaurus, for to translate the Image of Æsculapius from thence to Rome. And instead thereof they brought away a great snake or serpent, which of it self embarked in their ship, and wherein they were verily persuaded, that the puissance and divine power of the said god was resident. And when they had conducted it with them by sea as far as to Rome, it went forth of its own accord, and swam to the Island within Tyberis, where it sailed: and in that very place where it took land, they erected a Temple to Æsculapius. L. Posthumius, a Consular man [i.e. who had been Consul] having the charge of an Army, was condemned, and had a round fine set upon his head, for that he employed his souldiers about some work in one of his farms. The League was now the fourth time renewed with the Samnites, at their earnest suit and request. Cn. Dentatus the Consul, after he had defeated and slain the Samnites, vanquished the Sabines, who were revolted and rebelled, and received them under his obedience, triumphed twice during the time of one Consulship. Three Colonies were erected, and peopled, to wit, Castrum, Sena, and Adria. The three Triumvirs to sit upon capital crimes were then first created. A sassing was holden, and a solemn Iustrium, wherein by just account were numbred 273000 Citizens of Romans. The Commons, because they were deeply engaged in debt, in regard of grievous and long seditions and dissensions, retired in the end to Janiculum, from whence they were reclaimed and brought again into the City, by the means of Q. Hortensius the Dictator, who died in the very time of his Magistracy. This book containeth moreover the exploits against the Volturnians, and also the Lucans, against whom it was thought good and ordained, to send aid and succours to the Tyrrhenians.

The

The Breviary of L. Florus to the twelfth Book.

THe Roman Embassadors being murdered by the Senonians in Gaul, and war thereupon denounced and proclaimed against them, Lucius Cæcilius the Prætor, furnished with his whole army to be defeated by them, and put to the sword. When the Roman fleet was spoiled and ransacked by the Tarentines, and their Admiral besides slain, the Senat dispatched their Embassadors unto them to make complaint of these wrongs and outrages; but they were evil intreated and sent away with great abuse. Whereupon, defiance was likewise given unto them, and war proclaimed. The Samnites revolted. Against whom together with the Lucians, Brutians, and Tuscans, sundry battels were fortunately fought by divers Roman Captains. Pyrrhus the King of the Epirots [or the Albanos] passed over into Italy, for to aid the Tarentines. When a Legion of the Campanians was sent under the conduct of Decius Jubellius to Rhegium, there to lie in garrison, they treacherously slew the naturall inhabitants, and seized the City of Rhegium to their own behoof.

The Breviary of L. Florus for the thirteenth Book.

Valerius Levinus the Consul lost the field against Pyrrhus: by occasion principally that his souldiers were terrified and amazed at the uncomon sight of the Elephants. After that battell, when Pyrrhus viewed and beheld the dead bodies of the Romans, lying slain on the ground; he observed and marked, that all their faces were turned toward the enemy affront. From thence he went forward spoiling and wasting all the way to Rome. C. Fabricius was sent unto him for to treat about the redemption and ransom of the prisoners: and was solicited by the King (but in vain) to abandon the service of his own country. The foresaid prisoners were enlarged and sent home without paying any ransom at all. Cynæas was sent as Embassador from the King unto the Senat; who required, that the King his Master, for to end and compound all quarrells, might be received into the City and amity of the people of Rome: but when it was thought meet to debate and consult of this important matter, in a more frequent assembly of the Senators, Appianus Claudius, who many a day had not intermeddled with the affairs of State and Council, presented himself in the Court among the Senators: where his opinion carried the matter clear away, and Pyrrhus his demand was flatly denied. P. Domitius, the first Censor of the Commoners, held a Lustrum or survey of the City, in which were found 278222 Roman Citizens by the poll. A second field was fought against Pyrrhus, but with doubtful event and issue. With the Carthaginians, the alliance was renewed now the fourth time. When a certain fugitive traitor that ran from Pyrrhus, offered to C. Fabricius the Consul for to poison the King, he was sent back again, and the treason was discovered to the King. Over and besides, this book containeth the prosperous affairs in war against the Tuscans, Lucanians, Brutians, and Samnites.

The Breviary of L. Florus, upon the fourteenth Book.

PYRRHUS passed the seas into Sicily. When among other prodigies and fearfull tokens, the image of Jupiter in the Capitoll was overthrowen and smitten down with lightning, the head thereof was recovered and found again by the soothsayers. Curius Dentatus, as he was taking maisters, sold in port-sale the goods of one that would not answer to his name when he was called. He defeated Pyrrhus after his return again out of Sicily into Italy; and forced him to avoid and depart once for all. Fabricius a Censor, casted and displaced out of his Senators room P. Cornelius Rufinus, one that had been Consul, for that he had in silver plate to the weight of ten pounds. There was a Lustrum holden by the Censors, and therein were found 271224 Citizens. A society and alliance was contracted with Ptolemy King of Egypt. Sextilia a professed vestall Nun was convicted of uncleanness and fornication, and buried quick. Two new Colonies were erected, to wit, Pofidonia and Cosa. A fleet of Carthaginians arrived to aid the Mæmærentins by occasion whereof the league was broken. This book compriseth also, the happy exploits against the Lucanians, Samnites, and Brutians: together with the death of King Pyrrhus.

The Breviary of L. Florus to the fifteenth Book.

THe Tarentins being vanquished hath peace granted, and liberty also restored unto them. The souldiers of the Campan legion aforesaid, which had possessed themselves of Rhegium, were besieged: and after they had absolutely yielded were every one made shorter by the head. Certain lusty youths of Rome, who had misused and beaten the Embassadors of the Apolloniats, sent unto the Senat, were delivered unto their hands to be used according to their discretion. The Picenes were overcome in battell, and obtained peace. Two Colonels were sent, the one to Ariminum within the marches of Picenum, (i.e. Ancona) the other to Beneventum, in Samnium. Now and never before began the Romans to use silver coin for their money. The Umbrians and Salentins were vanquished, and their submission of obedience received. The number of the Quæstors was augmented [to be eight.]

The Breviary of L. Florus to the sixteenth Book.

H

* The inhabitants of Messana.

* Eutropius. saith 392000.

THe first rising of the Carthaginians, with the beginning of their City, are in this book related: Against whom together with Hiero King of the Syracusians, the Senat of Rome ordained to send aid unto the Mamertins: and after much arguing and debate about this point, whiles some perswaded, & others again dissuaded the gentlemen of Rome, who served on horseback, then first crossed the seas, and bare themselves bravely in many battels and to good purpose against Hiero: who at length craved peace, and had it granted. The Censors held a Lustrum and numbred the people: and enrolled* 372224 Citizens of Rome, into the subsidy book. D. Junius Brutus was the first that ever represented combats of sword-fencers at the sharp to the utterance, in the honour of his father late deceased. One Colony was planted at Aesernia. This book comprehendeth besides, the good success of the affairs against the Carthaginians and the Volscinians.

The Breviary of L. Florus for the seventeenth Book.

CNENS Cornelius the Consul, being surprised and environed with a fleet of Carthaginians, and under colour of a parley, trained forth and called unto them: was villanously taken prisoner and kept still with them. Cn. Duillius the Consul fought with happy success against this their foresaid fleet: and was the first Roman Captain that rode in triumph, for a naval victory at sea. In regard whereof this honour for ever after was done unto him, That when he supped forth in any place of the City, as he returned home to his own house, the Waits should sound, the hautboies all the way, and a man go before him with a burning torch. L. Cornelius the Consul won a field in Sardinia against the Islanders, together with the Corsicans, and Hanno the Generall of the Carthaginians. Attilius Calatinus the Consul, having unadvisedly engaged his army within a place of great disadvantage, whereas the Carthaginians lay round about in ambush, retired and escaped by the valour and industrious means of M. Calphurnius a Colonel: who with a regiment of 300 foot venturously sallied out, and turned all the forces of the enemies upon himself. One Annibal a Carthaginian Commander, upon the defeat of the Armado, whereof he was Admiral was by his own souldiers trussed up and crucified. Attilius Regulus the Consul, having in battell at sea vanquished the Carthaginians sailed over into Affrick.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the eighteenth Book.

ATtilius Regulus the Consul slew [in Affrick] a serpent of a mighty and wonderful bigness, but with the exceeding loss of his souldiers. And after many encounters and battels with the Carthaginians, when the Senat by reason of his so happy conduct and management of the wars, sent no other to succeed him, he dispatched his letters unto them and complained thereof: and among other pregnant reasons that he alledged for to have a successor to come unto him, this was one: That the little inheritance and living which he had suffered waste, by the default or lewdness of his bailiffs of husbandry. Meanwhiles, as if fortune had been disposed and sought means to shew a notable example in the person of this one man Regulus, as well of adversity as prosperity, he was overthrowen in plain field, and taken prisoner by Xan-Mthippus, a renowned Captain of the Lacedamonians, whom the Carthaginians had waged, and sent for to aid them. After this the sundry shipwracks of the Roman Navy, eclipsed, obscured, and disfigured all the other exploits that the Roman Captains had fortunately atchieved before, as well by land as sea. T. Coruncanus was the first High Priest or Arch-Prelate, created out of the body of the Commons. M. Sempronius Sophus and M. Valerius Maximus the Censors, when they made a review of the Senat, casted thirteen, and took their embroidered purple cloaks from them. They held a survey also of the whole City, and enired into their subsidy book 317217 Roman Citizens. Regulus being sent from the Carthaginians to the Senat of Rome, to treat a peaceable accord, or if he could not obtain so much, so deal about the exchange of prisoners one for another, bound himself by an oath to return again to Carthage, if he sped not for the exchange aforesaid. And being come to Rome, himself dissuaded both the one and the other: howbeit, to accomplish and perform his promise by oath given, he made return accordingly, and by the Carthaginians was despitefully put to cruell torture, and so died.

The Breviary of L. Florus to the nineteenth Book.

CAius Cecilius Metellus, in consideration of his fortunate conduct of the wars against the Carthaginians, rode in a most stately and magnificent triumph: wherein were shewed and led captive thirteen chief Captains of the enemies, and 120 Elephants. Claudius Pulcher the Consul, who managred the adverse presages of the Auspices, would needs hazard a battell, commanded the sacred Pullets to be doused and dripped over the head in the water, to see if they would drink, since they refused to eat their meat: and received an overthrow at sea, in a conflict with the Carthaginians. For which he was called home by the Senat, and commanded to nominate a Dictator: whereupon he declared C. Glaucia, a base companion, and a person of the meanest degree and quality: who being constrained to resign his Magistracy, yet notwithstanding afterwards beheld the games and plaies in his mantle of estate. Attilius Calatinus was the first Roman Dictator, that led an army out of Italy. An exchange was made of Roman captives for Carthaginians. Two Colonies were transported, namely, to Fregellæ, and to Brundisium, in the

- A** the territory of the Salentins. Another Lustrum was taken by the Censors: wherein were reckoned of Roman Citizens 251 222. Claudia, the sister of that P. Claudius, who in contempt and despite of the Auspices fought a battle to great loss, fortun'd upon a time as she came from the great Plaies to be crowded in the thrust and press of people: whereupon she cried out with a loud voice, Would God my brother were alive again, and had the charge of another Armado: for which words she had a good fine set on her head, and paid it. Two Praetors were now created, the first that ever were at Rome. Cæcilius Metellus the High Priest kept perforce within the City. A. Posthumius the Consul, because he was besides the Flaminio Mars: and would not suffer him to be Non-resident, and absent himself from his charge. After sundry battels and conflicts that many Roman Captains had against the Carthaginians, C. Luctarius the Consul obtained the honour of the final victory, when he had defeated their Fleet: and so made a full end of the first Punick war. The Carthaginians therefore sued for peace, and had it granted. At what time as the Temple of Vesta was on a light fire, Cæcilius the High Priest recovered and saved out of the flame the holy reliques. Two Tribes were added to the rest, Velina and Quirina. The Falisci rebelled, & within six daies were subdued, and brought under subjection.

The Breviary of L. Florus to the twentieth Book.

- A** Colony was planted at Spoletum. An army was led against the Ligurians [i.e. Genovais], which was the first time that they were warred upon. The Sardinians and the Corsians, who revolted and took arms were subdued. Tuccia a Vestal virgin and a Potary was condemned and executed for her incest or whoredoms. War was proclaimed against the Illyrians: for that they killed one of the Embassadors which were sent unto them, and being defeated, confessed themselves subjects to the Romans. The number of the Praetors was encreased from two to four. The Gauls inhabiting beyond the Alps (toward France) who came down and entred into Italy, were overthrowen and put to the sword. In which war the Romans had by report of the Latins and other confederats and allies, so the number of 300000 fighting men that served under them. The Roman forces passed then first over the river Padus [i.e. Po.] where the French Insubrians [i.e. Lombards] after certain discomfitures were glad to be ruled by reason, and rendred themselves. Mar. Claudius Marcellus the Consul, having slain Viridomarus the General of the Lombards with his own hand, went away with the honour of the third rich and royal spoiles got from the enemy.
- D** The Istrians were subdued: so were the Illyrians also, after they had revolted and put themselves in arms: and were so tamed, that they came under obedience. The Censors held a Lustrum, and took account of the number of the Roman Citizens, and found in all 270000. The Liberins (or slaves enfranchised) were reduced into four tribes by themselves, to wit, Esquilina, Palatina, Suburrana, and Collina: whereas beforetime they had been dispersed indifferently, and mingled among the rest. C. Flaminius the Censor paved the high way called Flaminia, and built the great Cirque or Theater named Flaminius Circus. And two Colonies were established within those Territories that were conquered from the Gauls, to wit, * Placentia, and Cremona.

E

The one and twentieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the one and twentieth Book.

- F** In this book are rehearsed the acts which passed in Italy, as touching the second Punick war, and how Annibal, the Chief Commander of the Carthaginians, contrary to the accord of alliance, passed over the river Iberus: by whom Saguntum, a City belonging to the allies of the people of Rome, was in the eighth month of the siege forced by assault. For to complain of those wrongs and injuries Embassadors were sent to the Carthaginians. And for that they would not make satisfaction and amends therefore, war was proclaimed against them. Annibal having passed over the mountains Pyrene, and discomfited the Volsians, who made head against him, and would have emperched his passage, mounted the Alps, and after he had passed through them with great difficulty and pains, and repulsed also the French mountainers in sundry skirmishes and battels, he descended into Italy: and near the river Ticinius, discomfited and disarrayed the Romans in a battle of Cavalry. In which conflict, when P. Cornelius Scipio was wounded, his son (the same who afterwards was surnamed Africanus) rescued him, and saved his life.
- G** Annibal after he had defeated the Roman army a second time, near the river Trebia, passed over the Appenine: where his souldiers were mightily afflicted and distressed, by reason of foul weather and violence of storm and tempest. Cn. Cornelius Scipio sped well in his war against the Carthaginians within Spain, and took prisoner Mago, the General Commander of the enemies.

The

The one and twentieth book of T. Livius.

THe same may I well say, in the Preface and entrance of this one part of my work, which most writers of histories have promised and made profession of, in the beginning of the whole, to wit, That I will write the most famous and memorable war that ever was, even that, which the Carthaginians under the conduct of *Annibal* fought with the people & State of *Rome*. For neither any other Cities or Nations are known to have warred together more wealthy and puissant than they; nor at any time ever were they themselves so great, so strong in forces, and so mighty in means, as now they were. Moreover, they came not newly now, to wage war, without knowledge of the prowess and martiall skill, one of another; for trial they had made thereof sufficient already, in the first punick war. Besides, so variable was the fortune of the field, so doubtfully were their battels fought, that neerer loss and danger were they, who in the end won the better, and achieved the victory. And to conclude, if a man observe the whole course and proceeding of these their wars, their malice and hatred was greater in a manner than their forces: while the Romans took fou) (corn and disdain that they, whose hap before was to be vanquished, should unprovoked begin war afresh with the Conquerors; and the Carthaginians were as male-content, and thoroughly offended, as taking themselves (notwithstanding they were overcome) to be abused too much at their hands by their proud, insolent, and covetous rule over them. Over and besides all this, the report goeth, that *Annibal* being but nine years old, or thereabouts, came fawning and flattering as wanton children do to his father *Amilcar*, that he would take him with him into *Spain*, at what time, as after the Affrican war ended, his father was offering sacrifice, ready to pass over thither with an army: where he was brought to the altar side, and induced to lay his hand thereupon, and to touch the sacrifice, and so to swear, that so soon as ever he were able, he would be a professed and mortal enemy to the people of *Rome*. Vexed (no doubt) at the heart, was *Amilcar* himself, a man of high spirit and great courage, for the loss of the Islands *Sicily* and *Sardinia*: for not only *Sicily* was overhastily yielded (as he thought) as despairing too soon of the state thereof, and doubting how it should be defended: but also *Sardinia* was by the cunning and fraudulent practice of the Romans surprized out of the Carthaginians hands, while they were troubled with the commotion and rebellion of *Affrick*: and a Tribute besides imposed upon them. He being disquieted, I say, and troubled with these griefs and discontents, so bore himself for five years space in the *Affrick* war, which ensued immediately upon the peace concluded with the Romans; and likewise after, in *Spain*, for nine years together, enlarging ever still the dominion of *Carthage*: that all the world might see, he intended and designed a greater war than that he had in hand; and if God had spared him longer life, it should have been well seen that the Carthaginians under the leading of *Amilcar*, would have made that war upon *Italy*, which afterward they waged by the conduct of *Annibal*. But the death of *Amilcar* hapning in so good season [for the Romans] and the childhood and tender nonage of *Annibal* together, were the cause that this war was put off and deferred. In the meantime, between the father and the son, *Asdrubal* bare all the rule for the space almost of eight years. This *Asdrubal* had been *Amilcar* his minion, grown highly into his grace and favour, at the first (as men say) for the very prime and flower of his youth; but afterwards, in regard of the singular forwardness of a brave and haughty mind, which soon appeared in him, and for his forwardness to action, he was preferred to be his son in law, and married his daughter. Now, forasmuch as he was *Amilcar* his son in law, he was advanced to the sovereign conduct of the war, with no good liking at all and consent of the Nobility and Peers, but by the means and favour only of the Barchin faction, which bare a great stroke, and might do all in all, among the souldiers and the common people. Who managed all his affairs, more by policy and sage counsell, than by force and violence: and using the authority and name of the Princes and great Lords of those countries, and by entertaining friendship with the chief Rulers, won daily the hearts of new nations still, and by that means enlarged the power and seignory of the Carthaginians in *Spain*, rather than by any war and force of arms. But for all this peace, with (forrein States, he was never the more sure of his own life at home. For a certain barbarous fellow, for anger that his Master and Lord was put to death, slew him in open place: and being laid hold on by them that were attendant about *Asdrubal* his person, he kept the same countenance still, as if he had escaped and gone clear away: yea, and when he was by cruell torments all mangled and torn, he looked so cheerfully and pleasantly on the matter, as if he had seemed to smile. For his joy of heart surpassed the pains and anguish of his body. With this *Asdrubal*, for that he had so singular a gift and wonderfull dexterity, in soliciting and annexing unto his dominion the nations aforesaid, the people of *Rome* had renewed the League, upon these two capitulations and conditions: first, that the river * *Iberus* should limit and determine the seignories of them both: Item, that the *Saguntins*, seated in the midst between the territories of both nations, should remain free, and enjoy their ancient liberties.

Asdrubal killed.

The wonderfull constancy and resolution of a slave.

No doubt at all there was now, but when a new Commander should succeed in the room of *Asdrubal*, the favour of the people would go clear with the prerogative voice and choice of the souldiers: who presently brought young *Annibal* into the Generall his pavilion, and with exceeding

A ding great acclamation and accord of all, saluted him by the name of Captain General. For this you must understand, that *Asdrubal* by his letters missive had sent for him, being very young, and hardly fourteen years of age; yea, and the matter was debated first in the Council-House at Carthage, where they of the *Barchine* side laboured and followed the matter earnestly, that *Annibal* should be trained in warfare, and grow up to succeed his father in equal prowels & greatness. But *Hanno* the chiefe man of the contrary faction: "It is but meet and reason (quoth he) that *Asdrubal* doth demand: and yet for mine own part I think it not good, that his request should be granted. When they mused and marvelled much at this so doubtfull speech of his, and wist not what construction to make of it. "Why then (quoth *Hanno*) to be plain, That flourish and beauty of youth, which *Asdrubal* himself yielded and parted withall sometimes unto *Annibals* father, for to use or abuse at his pleasure: the same he thinketh by good right he may challenge and have again, from the son, to make quittance. But it becometh not us for to acquaint our young youths with the Camp, that under the colour, and instead of their military institution and teaching, they abandon and give their bodies to serve the lust and appetite of the Generals. What? Is this the thing we fear, That the son of *Amilcar* should tarry too long ere he see the excessive grandeur and sovereignty of his father, and the stately shew as it were of his royalty? Or doubt we, that we shall not soon enough serve in all dutifull allegiance his natural son unto, whose son in law, all our Armies have been left (as it were) in lawfull right of inheritance? Nay, I am of opinion, and this is my judgment, That this youth be kept in awe at home, under obedience of laws, under civill Magistrates, and learn a while to live in equal condition with the rest of the Citizens and subjects: for fear lest at one time or other, this little spark do burn outright, and raise a mighty flame. A few, and those were, in a manner, all of the best sort and soundest judgment, accorded with *Hanno*. But, as commonly it is seen, the greater number over-weighed the better.

* *Amilcar* the father of *Annibal* was the son of *Barcha*, from whence arose the *Barchin* faction so often named in this story. The speech of *Hanno* in the Senate of Carthage.

Thus *Annibal* was sent into Spain, and immediately at his first coming, drew all the whole army after him; so highly he was regarded and beloved. The old souldiers beleevd verily that *Amilcar* was alive again, and come amongst them: they thought they beheld and saw the same vigour and spirit in his countenance & visage, the same quickness and liveliness in his eyes, the same proportion, feature and lineaments of his face. And afterwards, within short time, he had so wrought and wound himself into their favour, that the late remembrance of his father was the least matter of all others, that won him grace and love among them. Never was there one and the self-same nature, framed and fitted better, for two things that are in quality most contrary: namely, to rule, and to obey. Whereby, a man could hardly discern and judge, whether he was more dear unto the General for the one, or to the Army for the other. For neither *Asdrubal* would make choice of any one before him, when there was some valiant service or brave exploit to be executed: nor the souldiers put more confidence in any other Leader, nor go more boldly and resolutely to any enterprize, than under him. Most forward he was and hardy to all hazards and dangerous adventures: right provident and wary again, at the very point of perill and jeopardy. No travell was able to weary and tire his body: no pains-taking could daunt and break his heart. He could away with heat and cold alike. For his diet and feeding, he measured both his meat and drink by his naturall appetite, and not by pleasure and delightfome taste. For sleeping, for waking, day and night was all one with him. When he had once performed his service, and finished his exploit: if there were any spare time after, therein would he take his rest and repose: and that should not be upon a soft bed neither, nor procured with great curiosity by still silence, and making no noise about him. Full often many a man hath seen him lying on the hard and bare ground, under a good souldiers jacket and homely cassock cast over him, even among the sentinels and *corps de guard*. For his apparel, it was not more costly nor braver than his fellows and companions: mary, in his armour and horses he loved ever to be goodly be-seen above all other. Amongst footmen and horsemen both, he would alwaies be a great way foremost. And to conclude in giving a charge upon the enemy, and to begin to battell, he was by his good will ever the first: and when the fight was done, the last man seen to retire out of the field. Of these so noble qualities and manly vertues, he had not so many, but there were as great vices and imperfections in him again, to counterpoise the same. Cruelty most savage and inhumane, falshood and treachery more than Punick: no truth, no honesty, no fear of God, no regard of oath, no conscience, nor religion.

The naturall disposition of *Annibal*.

His vertues.

His vices.
* Ordinary in Carthaginians.

Disposed thus as he was, and inclined by nature, to vertues, and vices, he served full three years under General *Asdrubal*. During which time, he omitted and forgot no one thing that was meet either to be executed or enterprised by a man that was himself another day to be a Captain and chief Commander in the wars. From the very first day that he was chosen and declared Lord General: as if at the same instant, Italy had been the Province assigned unto him, as if, I say, he had received Commission to war with the Romans, he thought good to make no delays, for fear lest haply whiles he lingered and slacked the time, some mischance might prevent his designs and cut him short, like as it had overtaken his father first, and *Asdrubal* afterwards: but presently determined to make war upon the Saguntines, by assailing whom, the Romans no doubt were touched, and would take arms and enter into the quarrel. But first he led his army into the marches of the *Olcadet* (a nation beyond *Iberus*, rather siding and taking part with the Carthaginians, than under their jurisdiction) that he might not seem to have shot at the Saguntins and intended

* A people within the kingdom of Toledo in Spain near the City *Orissa*.

intended ought against them directly: but that by order and course of his affairs, after he had subdued the countries bordering upon them, he had been drawn (as it were) for vicinity and neighbourhood sake to that war, and to joyn them also with the rest unto the Empire. And first he wan by force, and sacked ^b *Carthia*, a rich City, the seat town and chief place of all that nation. Whereupon, other meaner and smaller Cities also, for fear came under his obedience, and yielded to pay tribute. His Army then after these victories, and enriched with spoil and pillage, was brought back to new *Carthage*, there for to winter. Where he made sure unto him the hearts and affectionate love, as well of his own countrymen as of the allies, partly, by bestowing the pillage liberally among them, and partly, by making true payment of souldiers wages for the time past. And then in the very prime of the spring, he went forward to war upon the *Vacei*. He forced by assault *Hermadica* and *Arbacula*, two Towns of the *Carthi*. *Arbacula* by the manhood and multitude of the Townsmen held out a long time. But certain fugitives that were fled from *Hermadica*, having rallied themselves, and joyned with other exiled persons of the *Olcades*, a nation the summer before subdued, raised also the *Carpetans* to take arms: and set upon *Annibal*, in his return from the *Vacei*; and not far from the river ^b *Tagus*, troubled and disordered his march, heavily charged with spoil and booty. *Annibal* forbore to fight, and encamped himself upon the bank of the river: and so soon as the enemies were in their first sleep, and all still and hush, passed over with his Army at the foord: and after he had pitched his Camp far off from the river side, as that his enemies might have room enough to march away besides him, he determined to set upon them as they should pass over the river. To his horsemen he gave commandment to charge upon the Regiment of footmen, so soon as they perceived them to have taken the water: and upon the bank he arranged forty Elephants afont them. There were of the *Carpetans*, counting the aids and succours of the *Olcades* and *Vacei*, 10000 strong: an Army invincible, if they had fought on even and indifferent ground. Who being both by nature fierce and courageous, and for multitude confident; presumptuous besides, upon their imagination that the enemy was retired for fear; supposed that the only stay of their victory was, because the river ran between: and setting up a shout and out-cry, without direction of any Leader, in all disorder they ran into the river here and there, every man what way was next him. Now from the other side of the bank, a great troop of horsemen were entred into the river, encountred them in the midst of the channel, and fought with great advantage. For whereas the footmen unsteady and not able to keep fast footing, and hardly trusting the foord, might easily be cast aside and overturned, even by naked horsemen, if they did but put forth and prick forward their horses it killed not how the horsemen on the other side having their bodies at liberty, and able to wield their weapon, with their horses under them standing sure even in the midst of the stream and whirlpools, might with ease either fight close hand to hand; or assail the enemies aloof. Many of them besides perished in the water: some by the whirling waves of the river were driven upon the enemies, and by the Elephants trodden under foot, and crushed to death. The hindmost, who might with more safety recover their own bank, after they were rallied together into one from divers places, as fear had scattered them; before they could upon so great a fright, take heart and come again to themselves, *Annibal* who with a four-square battailon had entred the river, forced to flie from the bank: and when he had wasted the country, within few daies brought the *Carpetans* also under his obedience.

And now all beyond *Iberus* was subject to the Carthaginians, the Saguntins only excepted. With whom as yet he would not seem to war: howbeit, to minister some cause and occasion thereof, quarrels were picked, and seeds of dissensions sown between them and their neighbors, namely, the *Turdetans*. Unto whose aid, when he was come, that was himself the sower of all the variance, and had set them together by the ears; and when it appeared plainly that it was not a matter of right to be tried by law, but an occasion rather sought of fight and open war; then the Saguntins sent their Embassadors to *Rome*, for to crave aid against that war, which doubtless was at hand. The Consuls at that time of *Rome*, were *P. Cornelius Scipio*, and *Titus Sempronius Longus*, who having brought the Embassadors into the Councill House, and proposed matters unto the LL. there, concerning the weal publike, and decreed to send their Embassadors into *Spain* to take survey, and looke into the state of their allies: who also if they thought it meet, should give *Annibal* warning, not to meddle with their confederats, and molest the Saguntins; and withall, to sail over to *Carthage* into *Affrick*, and there make relation of the complaints and grievances of the allies of the people of *Rome*: when, I say, this Embassage was decreed, but yet not sent, news came sooner than all men looked for, that *Saguntum* was already besieged. Then was the matter propounded new again before the Senate. Some were of mind to dispatch the Consuls unto the Provinces of *Spain* and *Affrick*, with commission to make war both by sea and land. Others thought better to bend all their forces wholly into *Spain* against *Annibal*. There were again of opinion, that so great and weighty an enterprise was not hand, over head, and rashly to be attempted; but rather that they should attend the return of the Embassadors out of *Spain*: and this advice that seemed most safe, was held for the better and took place. And therefore so much the sooner were these Embassadors *P. Valerius Flaccus*, and *Q. Bibius Pampilius*, addressed unto *Annibal* before *Saguntum*, with direction, from thence to go forward to *Carthage* (in case he would not desist and give over war) and for to demand the Captain himself, for amends and satisfaction of breaking the league. But whiles the Romans were amused about these consultations & decrees,

b Clufus sup-
poiesh it to be
Cartagena:
some take it
for Canill's o-
thers for Tarif-
sae, or rather
Algeria. The
French Tran-
slator, calleth
it Alstina.
c Cartagena.
d Old Castile
or Castile.
e Salamanca in
Castile.
f People in
Andalucia.
g Inhabitants
of the kingdom
of Toletum.
h Taio.

* *Algarbia*, a
people in Por-
tugal.

* *Morvedre*.

A decrees, *Saguntum* was by this time with all forcible means assaulted. This City of all other most wealthy and rich, stood beyond *Iberus*, situate almost a mile from the sea. The inhabitants are said to have had their beginning out of the Island *Zacynthus*; and some among them, were descended from *Ardea*, a City of the Rutilians: but they grew within short time to this poissance and wealth of theirs, partly by the fruits and revenues of their lands, and partly, by the traffick and gain of their merchandise, and commodities transported by sea, as also by the great affluence and encrease of people, and lastly, by their strait rule of discipline, whereby they observed their troth and loyalty with their allies, even to their own ruine and final destruction.

B *Annibal* after he had invaded their confines as an enemy, and by way of hostility, with his Army overrun and wasted their countrey, besieged and assailed the City three waies. There was one canton or angle of the wall shooting out into a more plain and open valley, than any other place all about: against which he meant to raise certain mantlets or fabricks, under which he might approach with the Ram to batter the wall. But as the place far from the wall, was even enough and handsome for such engines of battery to be driven upon: so after that they came to the proof and execution indeed, the success answered nothing to the enterprise begun. For besides that there was a mighty tower over-looked and commanded them, the wall it self (as in a place doubted and suspected) was more fortified and raised higher there than elsewhere: and also the chosen youth and ablest men were bestowed, to make more forcible resistance, where there was like to be most trouble and danger. And first with shot of darts and quarrels, and such like, they put the enemy back,

C and would not suffer the pioneers and labourers in any place to entrench or raise rampiets in safety. In process also, they shot not from the wall only and that towers, and shewed themselves there in arms for defence, but also their hearts served them to sally forth, and to break into the guards of the enemies: yea, and to enter upon their trenches and fabricks. In which skirmishes there died not many more *Saguntins* than *Carthaginians*. But so soon as *Annibal* himself, approaching unadvisedly under the wall, happened to be wounded grievously in the forepart of his thigh, with a dart or light javelin, and therewith fell to the ground: they all about him fled so fast, and were so scared, that they had like to have given over quite and abandoned their mantlets, and other fabricks aforesaid. After this, for some few daies, whiles their General was under cure of his hurt, they lay at siegerather, than followed the assault. In which mean time, as they rested from skirmish, so they ceased not to invent new devices, and to prepare new fabricks. Whereupon the assault began again more hot than before: and in many parts at once they fell to raise rolling mantlets, so many and so thick, that some places would not receive them: and withall, to drive the Ram against the walls. *Annibal* had men good store, for it is thought he was 15000 in Camp strong.

D The townsmen with devising means to defend, and see to every place, began to have their hands full: but all would not serve. For now were the walls beaten with the rams, and many parts thereof shaken and battered: and at one place above the rest, by continual battery there was such a breach, as the town lay open and naked to the enemy. After that, three turrets, and all the wall between fell down with a mighty and horribly crash, insomuch as the *Carthaginians* thought verily that with that rush the town had been won: by which breach, as if the wall had protected both

E parties before, they ran forth together on each side to fight. The battell was not like to a tumultuary skirmish, such as are wont to be about assaults of Cities, by the occasion and advantage of the one part or the other: but a very set and ranged field (as it were) in an open ground between the breaches of the wall, and the houses of the town, that stood a pretty way distant within. Of one side they were pricked forward with hope, on the other with despair: whiles *Annibal* thought verily that he was master of the town already if he held on but a little longer: and the *Saguntins* seeing their town bare, and void of walls, opposed their bodies in the breach, not one stepping back a foot, lest in the space between he should let in the enemy. The more fiercely therefore, and the thicker and closer that they fought together on both parts, the more were wounded: and there was not a dart could light in vain between their bodies and their armour, but it did mischief.

F The *Saguntins* used a weapon called *Falarica*, in manner of a dart, which they let fly and lanced from them, having a long shaft of steel, round and even every where, toward the one end, where it was headed with iron, and bound about with tow, and smeared with pitch. The iron head was three foot long, that it might pierce both harness and body through. But the greatest scare that it did was this, although it stuck fast in the target, and entered not into the body, that being driven and flung, when the middle part was set on fire, by the motion thereof as it flew, it gathered much more fire, forced the souldier to forsake his armour, and exposed him disarmed and naked to the shot following. Well, the fight continued doubtful a long time, by reason that the *Saguntins* took better heart unto them, because they had rested beyond their hope and expectation: and the *Carthaginians* took themselves vanquished, for that they had not got the victory, and better hand: whereupon, the townsmen all at once set up a cry, and beat the enemies back to the very breaches, and ruins of the wall, and from thence thrust them out clean, whiles they were thus encumbered and affrighted, yea, and at last discomfited them, put them to flight, and chased them as far as their Camp.

G In the mean while news came, that there were Embassadors arrived from *Rome*: unto whom *Annibal* dispatched certain messengers to meet with them at sea side, and to give them to understand, That neither they might safely with security of their persons come among the broiles of so many barbarous & fierce nations: nor their Master *Annibal* amidst those dangerous and troublesome

Saguntum besieged by *Annibal*.
" *Zante*."

The description of a weapon or dart, called *Falarica*.

The Oration
of Hanno in
the Senat of
Carthage.

* *Gutha*, or *Fas*
vegana. The
same which
Virgil calleth
Ara, and the
Italians in old
time *Saxa*.
* A City in
Sicily, situate
upon an high
hill of that
name, *Trapani*,
or *Monte S.*
Juliano at this
day.

ble some affairs, had any leisure to attend or give audience unto embassages. He knew full well, that the Embassadors being not received and entertained, would straight to *Carthage*. Whereupon, he addressed a forehand his letters and curriers to the chief of the Barchine faction, to frame and prepare the minds of that side, so, as they of the other part might not gratify, or do any thing in favour of the Romans. By which means, besides that they were neither admitted by *Annibal*, nor audience given them, that embassage also was in vain, and took no effect at *Carthage*. Only *Hanno* notwithstanding the whole body of the Senate was against him, spake with great silence and assent of the hearers, by reason of his authority and reputation, and pleaded to the point of the breach of League, in this wise: "I have, quoth he, foretold and warned you in the name "and for the love of the gods, who are the witnesses and judges of covenants and confederacies, I "I have, I say, admonished you, that ye should not send *Amilcar* his son, or any of his breed unto "the Camp: for that neither the ghost and spirit, nor the progeny and race of that man can rest "and be quiet: nor the Roman league will ever be assured and established, so long as there remaineth one alive of the Barchine name and family. But sent ye have, for all my words, unto "your armies, a youth boiling in ambition, enflamed with a covetous desire of being a King, and "one that seeth no other way thereto, but by raising one war after another, to live guarded with "armies and legions about him. In which action of yours, ye have as it were ministered dry fuel, "and put oil to the fire: ye have, I say, fed that fire, wherewith ye now all are set a burning. Your "armies now besiege *Saguntum*, from which by covenant and vertue of the League they are deterred. Within a while and shortly will the Roman legions lie in siege before *Carthage*, under "the conduct and guidance, no doubt, of those gods, by whose support and aid in the former war, they were revenged for the breach of the accord and alliance. What? know ye not yet, either "your enemy, or your selves, or the fortune of both nations? This good Captain and gentle General, forsooth, of your making, would not admit and receive into his Camp Embassadors coming from our allies, and in the behalf also of our allies: wherein he abolished the law of Nations. Howbeit, they having taken a repulse, from whence even the very Embassadors of enemies, are not wont to be repelled, are come unto you, and by vertue of their League demand amends of "trespass and restitution or satisfaction for their damages. And presuppose the State be not touched nor culpable in this Action, they require no more, but to have the author himself in person, "who is the offender. The more gently they deale, and the longer it is ere they begin, the more "obstinat they will be, and continue with greater rigour (I fear me) if they once begin. Set before "your eyes the Islands *Egates*, and *Eryx*: and what for these four and twenty years past, ye "have endured both by land and sea. Neither was this beardless boy our Captain then, but his father *Amilcar* himself, even a second *Mars*, as these his supports would have him. But what of "that? We could not then, according to our league, hold our hands, and let *Tarentum* in Italy alone: like as now we are doing with *Saguntum*. Therefore, both God and man took the matter in hand, and vanquished us in the end: and when we were at angking and debating the case "with discourse of words about this point, Whether Nation of the twain had broken the league? the event of war, as an indifferent and equall judge, awarded victory where the right was. And "Carthage it is, against which, *Annibal* even now hath reared manlets, towers, and other engins "of assault: even now, battereth and shaketh he *Carthage* wals with the Ram. The ruins of *Saguntum* (God grant I be a false Prophet) will fall upon our heads, and the war begun with the Saguntins, we must maintain against the Romans. How then? (will some man say) shall we yield "Annibal unto them? I know well, how small my authority is in this point, by reason of the old "grudge and enmity between me and his father deceased. Howbeit, as I rejoyced, that *Amilcar* "was dead, for that if he had lived still, we should ere now have warred with the Romans: so this "very youth, an impe of his, I hate and detest as the very fury and fire-brand of this war: whom "I would have by my good will, not only to be rendred unto them, for to purge and expiate the "breach of league: but if no man would challenge him for to be punished, I would award, that he "should be carried and transported as far as there is sea or land, and to be sent away thither from "whence we might not once hear of him again, and where he might never trouble the quiet and "peaceable state of this City any more. Over and besides, my opinion and resolution is, that some "Embassadors be sent presently to *Rome*, to satisfie the Senate: and others also, with a message to "Annibal that he withdraw his forces from *Saguntum*: and with commission to render up *Annibal* himself into the Romans hands, according to the tenour of the League: and a third Embassage likewise to the Saguntins, for to make restitution and amends for their harms and losses already sustained. When *Hanno* had made an end of his speech, it was altogether needless; that any one man there should make reply, and debate the matter with him by way of Oration, the whole Senate was so possessed already and wrought for *Annibal*: and with one voice they blamed *Hanno*, and sounded it out, That he had made a bitter speech, and more favouring of an enemy, O than *Flaccus Valerius* himself the Roman Embassador. After this, the Roman Embassadors had this answer returned, That the war began by the Saguntins, and not by *Annibal*. Also, that the people of *Rome* offered them injury, in preferring the Saguntins before the most ancient alliance of the Carthaginians. Whiles the Romans thus spent time in sending Embassages, *Annibal* having wearied his men, what with skirmishes, and what with trenching and raising mounts and fabricks, he gave them rest some few daies and bestowed certain good guards to ward and keep the manlets and of her engins of battery. In the mean season he encouraged his souldiers, and set their hearts

A hearts on fire, partly, by pricking and provoking them to anger against their enemies, and partly, by drawing them on, and alluring them with hope of great rewards. But after he had once in a general assembly made proclamation, That the spoil and pillage should be the soldiers share; they were all so enkindled and enflamed, that if presently he had sounded the signal of battel, it seemed, that no force in the World had been able to resist them. The Saguntins, as they had some rest from skirmish, and continued certain dayes, neither assailing nor assailed: so they gave not over labouring night and day, for to make up a new wall and counter-mure, on that side of the Town which lay open by reason of breaches. But after this, grew the assault more hot and furious than before: neither wist they well (the shouts and alarms were so divers and dissonant on every side) whether to come first, or where was most need of help and succour. *Annibal* himself was present in person to encourage and exhort his souldiers, where as the rouling Tower was driven, which was so high, that it overlooked all the mures and counter-Fabrick of the City, and being once approached near the walls, furnished as it was in every loft and story, with ordnance of quarrel shot, brakes, and other artillery, beat the defendants from off the walls, so as none durst abide upon them. Then *Annibal* taking the time, and supposing that he had now a good opportunity presented unto him, sent about 500 Africans that were pioneers with pick-axes, mattocks and such like tools, to undermine the wall, yea, and to dig into it from the very foundation. And that was no hard matter to do, for that the cement or mortar was not hardened and bound with lime, but tempered with earth and clay, after the old manner of building: and therefore the wall came tumbling down before it was hewn and wrought into: and through the wide breaches, whole troops of armed souldiers entered the Town: and withal, they seized one high place above the rest, whereon they planted their artillery and ordnance of slings and brakes, and cast a wall about it, that they might have within the very City a fort and bastillon of their own, like a Castle to overlook all. The Saguntins likewise raised another mure within along that side where the Town as yet was not taken: So that on both sides they made fortifications, and also fought with all their might and main. But the Saguntins defending the inner parts, by little and little brought their Town daily into a smaller compass. And by that means, as also by reason of the long siege, as scarcity and want of all things grew more and more, so the expectation of forraign aid and succour was every day less than other: the Romans their only hope, being so far off, and their enemies so near on every hand. Howbeit, the sudden rode and journey of *Annibal* against the * Oretans and * Carperans, refreshed for a while their troubled and afflicted spirits. These two Nations being risen upon a discontentment of a freight muster and rigorous levy of souldiers, had staid and detained those Muster-masters, that had in commission to take up all sufficient and able men for the wars and so, made some shew and fear of rebellion: but being prevented in the beginning by the speedy coming of *Annibal*, were soon quiet, and laid down their arms. But the assault of *Saguntum* continued nevertheless. For *Maharbal*, *Himilco* his son, whom *Annibal* had left behind as Lieutenant, so bestirred himself, that neither the Townsmen nor the enemy found the miss or absence of the General. This *Maharbal* had made some fortunat skirmishes, and with three rams shaken a good part of the wall, so as he shewed to *Annibal* at his return, all lying along E and every place full of fresh ruins. Whereupon the army was presently brought against the very Castle of the City, where began a cruel and bloody conflict, with the slaughter of many on both sides, and one part of the said fortress was forced and won.

* The inhabitants of Oretava.
* In the realm of Tolusum.

Afterwards there was some treaty of peace and agreement, by means of two persons, *Alcon* a Saguntine, and *Aloron* a Spaniard, and some small hope there was of it. *Alcon* supposing he could somewhat prevail by way of request and entreating, without knowledge of the Saguntins, departed away by night to *Annibal*. But after that he saw, that with all his weeping he could do no good, but that heavy and intolerable articles and capitulations of peace were exhibited, as from a wrathful conqueror, of an Orator, proved to be a very traitor, and remained still in the camp with the enemies, saying, that he was sure to die, whosoever should move the Saguntins to peace, F under those conditions. For demanded it was of the Saguntins, *Imprimis*, to make restitution to the Turdetans of all harmes and losses. *Item*, to deliver up all their gold and silver. *Item*, to quit the Town, and depart but with one sure of apparel a piece; and there to dwell, where the Carthaginians would appoint. When *Alcon* avouched plainly, that the Saguntins would never accept of peace with these conditions, *Aloron* replied again and said, That seeing all things else now failed them, their hearts also must needs come down, and fall like wise; and therewith promised to deliver unto them the tenor of the said peace, and to be a mediator and dealer in the compassing thereof. At that time he served *Annibal* as a private souldier: howbeit, a publick friend he was, and an host and guest of old to the Saguntins. Who having in sight of all men yielded up his offensive arms, to the warders of the enemies, and passed the rampiers, was brought (for so himself desired) before the Governor and Provost of *Saguntum*. Thither came running presently, a number of all sorts of people: but after the rest of the multitude were commanded to void, *Aloron* was called into their Council house, and having audience given, made this or the like speech unto them. "If *Alcon* your countryman and fellow citizen, as he came from you to *Annibal* for "to treat about peace, had likewise brought back again unto you from *Annibal* the conditions "and articles of peace, I needed not to have taken this journey; who am come unto you neither "as an Orator from *Annibal*, nor yet as a fugitive. But seeing he, hath remained with the enemy, "either through your default or his own, I know not whither, if he pretended and fained causeless

The Oration of *Aloron* a Spaniard, in the Senat of *Saguntum*.

"fear himself is to blame; but if they stand in danger that report a truth unto you, then are ye in
 "great fault. I therefore, to the end ye should not be ignorant, but that there are conditions
 "offred to you of life, of safety, and of peace; in regard of old amity and acquaintance, in regard
 "(I say) of mutual intertainment long time between us, am now come unto you. And that ye
 "may believe, that whatsoever you shall hear delivered from me, I speak it for your good, and for
 "the favour of no man else; this one thing, if no more, may assure you, that neither so long as
 "ye were able to make resistance by your own strength, nor all the while that ye hoped for aid
 "from the Romans, I never made word or mention of peace unto you. But seeing now, that ye
 "have not any hope at all from the Romans, and that your own forces and City walls, are able no
 "longer to defend you: I present unto you a peace, more necessary, I confess, than equal and rea-
 "sonable. Whereof you may have some hope, in these terms; namely, if as *Annibal* offereth and
 "presenteth it like a conquerour, so you will hear of it, and accept thereof as conquered: if I say,
 "ye will not make reckning of that which you forgo as a loss and damage (seeing by extremity all
 "is the victors) but that which is left, as gain and advantage, yea, and freely given unto you. Your
 "Town, wherof a great part is ruinated by him, and which he hath taken in manner all, that he
 "mindeth to put you by: your Lands and possessions he leaveth unto you, purposing to set you
 "out a plot of ground, whereupon you may build your selves a new City. Your gold and silver
 "all, as well common treasure as private monies and plate, he commandeth to be brought unto
 "him: the bodies of your wives and children he is content to spare and save undefiled: upon this
 "condition that you will depart without armor, and with a double suit of apparel a peece, and no
 "more. These are the impositions that your enemy (a conqueror) demandeth: Which albeit they
 "be hard and grievous, yet your fortune and state is such, as you must allow thereof and be con-
 "tent. For mine own part, I am not out of hope, but when you have put all into his hands, he
 "will deal better by you, and remit somewhat of these conditions. But I think ye were better to
 "abide all this, rather than your bodies to be murdered, your wives and children to be ravished,
 "haled and forced before your faces, as the law and manner of war requireth.

The winning
of *Saguntum*.

To the hearing of this Oration the people had flocked about, and by little and little enter-
 mingled their own assembly with the Senators: and all of a sudden the chief of them withdrew
 themselves and departed, before answer was given: and brought all their silver and gold, as well
 publick as private, into the market place: and when they had cast it into a great fire made hastily
 for that purpose, most of them threw themselves into it headlong after. Whereupon there being
 a fear and trouble already throughout the whole City: behold, another outcry besides and noise
 was heard from the Castle. For a certain Tower that had been a long time battered and shaken,
 fell down: and at the breach thereof, a band of Carthaginians made entry, and gave sign to their
 General that the City was abandoned of the ordinary Watchmen and *corps de guard* of the ene-
 mies, and altogether lay open and naked. *Annibal* supposing it was no wisdom to neglect and
 slack so good an opportunity, with all his forces at once assailed the City, and wan it in the turn-
 ing of an hand: and presently gave order that all above fourteen years of age should be put to the
 sword. A cruel commandment, no doubt, but yet needful, as afterwards it was well seen in the
 end and upshot of all. For who would have spared and taken pity of those, that either shut them-
 selves with their wives and children into their houses, and burnt them over their own heads, or
 in their armor, gave not over fight before they died? Thus was the Town won with exceeding
 store of pillage within it. And albeit much was spoiled on purpose by the owners, and that in
 the massacre and execution they had no respect of age in the fury of their anger: and for all that,
 the prisoners fell to the souldiers share: yet certain it is, that of the goods sold in port-sale, there
 arose a good round piece of mony: and much rich household stuff and costly apparel was sent to
Carthage.

Cartagena.

Tesino.
Sestertio.

Some there be that write, how *Saguntum* was won the eight Month after the siege began: and
 that from thence *Annibal* departed to winter in new *Carthage*: as also, that the fifth month after
 he departed from *Carthage*, he arrived in *Italy*. Which being so, it cannot be, that *P. Cornelius* N
 and *T. Sempronius* should be the Consuls, unto whom both in beginning of the siege, the *Sagun-*
tin Embassadors, were sent; and who also in their year of government fought with *Annibal*, the
 one neer the river *Ticinus*, and both together a good while after, at *Trebia*. And we must say,
 that either all these things were atchieved in shorter time a good deal, or else that *Saguntum* in the
 beginning of that year, wherein *P. Cornelius* and *T. Sempronius* were Consuls, began not to be be-
 sieged; but finally was forced and won. For the battel at *Trebia* could not be so long after, as to
 fall in the year wherein *Cn. Servilius* and *C. Flaminius* were Consuls. For that *Flaminius* entred
 his Consulship at *Ariminum*, and was created by *T. Sempronius*, Consul, who after the battel of
Trebia came to *Rome* to elect Consuls, and after the Election was ended, returned again to his ar-
 my, into the wintering harbours.

About the same time, as well the Embassadors which returned from *Carthage*, brought word
 to *Rome* that there was nothing but war: as also tidings came, of the destruction of *Saguntum*.
 And so greatly grieved and sorrowed the Senators, and pitied withal their allies thus unworthily
 massacred, so ashamed in themselves they were, that they had not sent aid in time, so deeply offend-
 ed and incensed with indignation against the Carthaginians, yea, and so mightily feared the
 losse of the very main chance at home, as if the enemy had been already at the gates of the City:
 that in very deed, having their minds possessed at one time, with so many troubles, they rather
 trem-

A trembled and quaked for fear, than felted themselves to consultation and counsel. For they considered and saw very well, that neither a more fierce and warlike enemy ever encountred with them: nor the State of *Rome* was at any time so reddy, so feeble, and so undispensed to war. Moreover, it was commonly said, that the *Sardi*, *Corfi*, *Hifti*, and *Illyrici* had rather challenged the Romans, and made bravados of war, than exercised and toiled them in any hard conflicts: as for the Gauls, they were but tumults, rumors, and alarms which they made, and no wars indeed: but the Carthaginians their enemies, they were old beaten soldiers, injured and hardened for this 23 years in most difficult service of war, amongst the Spanish Nations, and went away ever with victory: first trained and practised under *Amilcar*, then under *Asdrubal*, and now lastly under the conduct of *Annibal*, a right hardy and valiant Captain. Considering moreover, that now he cometh fresh from the ruin of *Saguntum*, a most rich City, and passeth straight-ways over *Iberia*: drawing after him a train of so many nations of the Spaniards, exercised already by him in the wars: and will no doubt raise the Gauls, a people at all times ready to take arms: so as now they were to wage war in *Italy*, with no more but all the World besides, yea, and under the walls of *Rome*, for the defence of the City.

* The Islanders of *Sardegna*.
* The Islanders of *Corfica*.
* The people of *Istria*.
* The people of *Silvania*.

Now had the Provinces been nominated and appointed before to the Consuls: but then were they commanded by casting lots, to part them between them. To *Cornelius* fell *Spain*: To *Sempronius* *Affrick* and *Sicily*. Likewise decreed it was, that for that year, there should be levied six Legions of Romans: and of allies, as many as they thought good: also that as great a navy as might be, should be rigged and set out. So there were enrolled 24000 Roman footmen, and of horsemen 1800: of allies 44000 foot, and 4000 horse, 120 gallies, with five course of oars on a side, and twenty foists, were set afloat. After this, a bill was preferred unto the people, that it might please them to determine and grant, that war should be proclaimed against the people of *Carthage*. And in regard of that war, there was also a solemn supplication holden through the City: wherein the people adored and prayed the Gods to prosper and bring to an happy end, this war which the people of *Rome* had determined. And betwixt the Consuls thus were the forces divided: *Sempronius* had the conduct of two Legions, consisting of four thousand foot, and three hundred horse a piece: also of allies sixteen thousand foot, one thousand and eight hundred horse, besides 160 gallies, and twelve barks or foists. With this power for Land and Sea service,

D was *Sempronius* sent into *Sicily*, from thence to passe over into *Affrick*, in case the other Consul were able to impeach the Carthaginians for coming into *Italy*. *Cornelius* had the charge of a smaller power: for that *L. Manlius* the Pretor, was sent in person into *France* with a sufficient army: but in the number of ships especially, was *Cornelius* scantied 60 gallies of five banks of oars he had, and no more, (for it was supposed that the enemy would neither come by Sea, nor fight in that kind of service) and two Roman Legions with the full proportion of Horsemen and 14000 footmen of allies, with 1200 men of arms. That Province of *France* (in those parts where the Carthagian was was expected) had that year two Legions of Roman footmen, 14000 allies, besides 1000 Horse from them, and 6000 of the Romans. When all things were thus prepared, to the end that before war began, it might appear they dealt by order of law, and with justice: and that all due complements might be performed, they sent certain grave and ancient personages in Embassie into *Affrick*, to wit, *Q. Fabius*, *M. Livius*, *L. Amylius*, *C. Licinius*, and *Q. Bebius*. First, to demand and know of the Carthaginians, whether *Annibal* by their publick warrant and authority, besieged and assailed *Saguntum*: then, if they avowed the act, and stood to it (as they were like to do) confessing that it was done by the counsel of the State: to give defiance, and proclaim open war against them. The Romans being arrived at *Carthage*, had audience given in their Senat-house: where, after *Q. Fabius* had briefly demanded nothing else, but that one thing which he had in charge and commission, there a principal Senator amongst the Carthaginians stood up and said:

i. 300 to a Legion.

in 1600 of 17
to 1600
in 1600
to 1600
in 1600
to 1600

The Oration of a Senator in *Carthage*.

F "Your former Embassage, my masters of *Rome*, was even as vain as this, when ye required and would needs have *Annibal* to be yielded unto you: as if he had besieged *Saguntum* of his own head. And as for this, that you come with now, howsoever in words it seem more mild and smooth, in very deed and in truth it is more rude and rigorous: for then, was *Annibal* only charged and demanded to justice: but now are we both urged to acknowledge a fault, and also forced to make restitution and satisfaction out of hand: as if we had avowed, and confessed the action. For mine own part, of this mind am I, that the case ought thus to be laid, and the question brought to this issue, not whether *Saguntum* was besieged by a privat person, or publick Council, but whether by right, or wrongfully. For to enquire and examine whether our citizen and subject have done this by our advice, or of himself, pertaineth to us alone, as a to censure and punish him accordingly: with you we are to debate this point only, Whether it might stand with the league to do it, or no? And therefore since it pleaseth you, that we should dispute and distinguish, between the action of a General, warranted by the publick State, and an enterprise proceeding from his own motive; ye shall understand, that there was indeed a league between you and us, contracted by *Laetanius* the Consul, wherein there is a clause, comprising the allies of both parties: as concerning the *Saguntins* (who as then were none of your confederats) there was not one word at all therein, but in that league, (ye will say) that was contracted with *Asdrubal*, the *Saguntins* are expressly named and excepted: to which I have nothing to plead, but even that which I have learned of you. For ye your selves denied, that ye were bound to stand

"to that accord which *C. Lutatius* your Consul first made with us, because it passed neither by the consent of the nobles, nor grant of the people. Whereupon, there was another league anew drawn out, and by publick agreement enacted. If you then, be not tied to observe your leagues, unless they be authorized by the nobles, or ratified by the people; no more can the league of *Asdrubal* oblige us, which he concluded without our privity and knowledge. Forbear therefore to speak either of *Saguntum*, or *Iberus*; and what your mind hath so long conceived, let it hatch now at length, and bring it forth. Then *Q. Fabius* the Roman Ambassador, having made a hollow lap within the plait and fold of his side gown, Here quoth he, within this lappet, we present and offer war and peace unto you, take whether ye will. At which word, they all cryed out at once with as great stomack and boldness: Many even which you will your self. Whereat he let his robe loose again; Why then, there is war, quoth he, take it amongst you; Let come say they all again, and welcome be it; and as willingly as we accept thereof, so shall we follow and manage it as throughly.

This direct demand, and round denouncing of war, seemed more for the honor of the Romans, than to make much dispute and argument about the right of the cause, and of the covenants; a vain matter before, but now especially, after the winning and destruction of *Saguntum*. For if the question were to be decided by words and reasoning, that league of *Asdrubal* which was exchanged for the former of *Lutatius*, was not the same, nor the tenor thereof to be compared: seeing that in the accord of *Lutatius*, this branch and proviso was expressly added, [That it should stand good, and be ratified, if the people approved thereof:] but in this of *Asdrubal*, there was no such condition at all: and besides, the covenant for so many years space during his life, was so established and confirmed, and no word to the contrary; that when the very maker and author thereof was dead, there was no change and alteration. And yet, put case they should have stood upon the former alliance; the *Saguntins* were therein well enough comprised and provided for, in that the allies of either part were excepted and comprehended. For neither was this clause added [They who at that time were allies] nor yet were they excepted against, who afterwards should become, or be admitted allies. And seeing that it was lawful to entertain new confederats, who is it that would judge it reasonable, either that no man should be received unto amity for any good desert whatsoever; or being once received into protection, should not be defended accordingly: Provided alwayes, that no allies of the *Carthaginians* should either be solicited to rebellion, or received again, if of themselves they once revolted.

The Roman Ambassadors, as they were commanded at *Rome*, passed the seas from *Carthage* into *Spain*, for to visit all the Cities, and to see whether they could either draw them to their society, or withdraw them from the *Carthaginians*. And first they came to the *Burgosians*, where being courteously entertained (for weary they were of the *Carthaginian* government) they stirred up many other nations beyond *Iberus*, to have a desire to change for a new world. From thence they came to the *Volsicians*, whose notable answer reported throughout all *Spain*, turned away all other States from banding with the Romans: for thus in a solemn assembly a sage and ancient father among them framed his answer. "With what face can ye (*Romans*) require us to prefer your friendship and amity before the *Carthaginians*; seeing that the *Saguntins* who did the same, have been more cruelly by you their allies betrayed, than by their enemies the *Carthaginians* destroyed? "By my advice go and seek you confederats there, where the woful calamity and misery of *Saguntum* is not known. The lamentable ruins of which City, as it is a doleful example, so it shall be a notable warning to all nations of *Spain*, that no man ever after repose trust in the protection and society of the Romans. Whereupon, they were commanded to depart the borders of the *Volsicians* immediately, and in no Diet or Council of *Spain*, had they afterwards any better entertainment, and more courteous language. Thus having in vain gone through all *Spain*, they took their way into *Gaul*: where they saw a strange sight, and a fearful fashion: for all in armour (such was the guise and manner of the country) they came to their publick assemblies: and there, these Ambassadors after they had set out in goodly words the greatness and glory of the people of *Rome*, and highly magnified their large empire and dominion, and thereupon made request, that they would not give the *Carthaginians* leave (who minded to make war upon *Italy*) for to pass through their Cities and Towns: hereat they set up such a laughter, with a certain grumbling and murmuring, that scarcely could the youth be stilled and quieted by the Magistrates and Elders; so foolish, so foolish, and shameless seemed this demand, in their conceit: that they should once imagine that the *Gauls* were such allies, as they would be content (rather than to let the war passe into *Italy*) to avert and turn it upon themselves, and to suffer, yea, and offer their own territories to be spoiled and foraged, for the safety (forsooth) of other mens Lands, who were but meer aliens and strangers unto them. The noise and garboil being at length hushed and appeased, this answer was returned to the Ambassadors: "That neither the Romans had deserved so well, nor the *Carthaginians* so ill at their hands, that they should take arms either for Romans, or against *Carthaginians*. But contrary-wise, they were advertised, that some of their nation, were by the people of *Rome* driven out of the marches and confines of *Italy*, put to pay tribute, yea, and endured other outrages and indignities. The like demands and answers passed to and fro in other Councils and Assemblies of *Gaul*: neither could they meet with any friendly entertainment, or have peaceable words given them, before they came to *Masilia*: where, after diligent inquiry, and faithful search made by their allies, they had true advertisements, that *Annibal*

The answer of one of the principal *Volsicians* in *Spain*, to the Roman Ambassadors.

* *Masilia*.

afore.

Aforehand had wrought the hearts of the Gauls to his own purpose, and was possessed of them: but they understood withal, that they were not like to continue long in good terms of kindness and favor even to him, (so fierce and savage, so untractable are they, and untamed by nature) unless their Princes and Rulers be ever and anon well fed and plied with gold, whereof that nation of all other is most greedy and covetous. The Roman Embassadors, having thus gone their circuit over all the States of Spain and Gaul, returned to Rome: not long after that the Coss. had taken their journey into their Provinces: where they found the whole City possessed with the expectation of war: so rise and currant was the rumor and bruit abroad, that the Carthaginians were already passed over the River *Iberus*.

B Annibal after the winning of *Saguntum*, had retired himself to winter in new Carthage: and there having intelligence what had been done and decreed as well at Rome, as at Carthage [in *Africk*] and that he was reputed not only the Captain General and Conductor, but also the very author and cause of all this war: so soon as he had divided and sold the rest of the booty and pillage that remained, thought good now to make no longer delays, but assembled the souldiers of the Spanish Nation, and to them he spake in this manner: "My trusty friends and loyal confeder-

The speech of Annibal to his Spanish souldiers.

rats, I am perswaded, that ye your selves do see as well as I, now that all the States of Spain are in peace and quietness, that either ye are to make an end of souldiery, and all our forces to be cased and discharged from service: or else that ye must remove the war into other Lands. For so

C shall these Nations prosper and flourish, and not only enjoy the blessings of peace, but also reap the fruits of war, if we will seek to gain riches, and to acquire glory and honor from others.

Since therefore we are to war shortly far from home, and doubt it is, when you shall see again your houses, and whatsoever there is dear unto you: if any of you be desirous to visit home, his wife and children, kinsfolk, and friends, I give him licence and free passport. But I command you withal, to shew your selves here again before me, in the beginning of the next spring: that with the help of God, we may in hand with that war, whereby we shall purchase both worship and wealth. There was not one in a manner but well accepted of this liberty so frankly offered by himself, and were desirous to have a sight of house and land both for that every one already longed for their friends and kindred, and foresaw in farther time to come, a greater miss, and cause of more longing after them. This rest all Winter time, between their travels past, and those they

D were soon after to endure, refreshed as well their bodies as their minds, and prepared them to abide and endure all new pains whatsoever. So in the very prime of the spring, according to the Edict aforesaid, they all assembled together again. Annibal having taken a muster and survey of the aids that were sent unto him from all those Nations, went to *Gades*: and there, to *Hercules*

* Cadix, or Castles Males, or Cales.

he paid his old vows, and bound himself to new, if the rest of his enterprizes should speed well and have good success. After this, dividing and casting care indifferently, as well for offensive as defensive war, doubting lest while he went by Land through Spain and France into Italy, *Africk* should lie open and naked to the Romans from *Sicily* side; purposed to fortifie and make that part sure with strong garrisons. In lieu whereof, he sent for fresh supply out of *Africk*, specially of Archers and Javelotiers, and those lightly armed: to the end, that the Africans might serve in

E Spain, and the Spaniards in *Africk*; like (both the one and the other) to prove the better souldiers, far from their own countries; and being bound as it were, with mutual and reciprocal pledges. So he sent into *Africk* 13850 footmen, armed with light targets, and 870 slingers of the Islands * *Baleares*, 1200 Horsemen also out of sundry Nations. Which forces he disposed, partly

* Two Islands. Majorica and Minorica. Of some, *Columba* and *Nura*.

for the defence of Carthage, and partly to be divided through *Africk*, for the guard thereof. He sent withal, certain Commissioners into all their Cities to take up souldiers, and enrolled 4000 of their chosen youths, who should be brought to Carthage, there to lie in garrison, and to serve for hostages. And supposing that Spain was not to be neglected, and the rather, because he was not ignorant how the Roman Embassadors had visited the same round to see how they could sollicit and work the Princes and rulers to their mind; he committed the charge of that Province to his

F brother *Asdrubal*, a valiant and hardy man: and furnished him with good forces, especially out of *Africk*, to wit, 11850 Africans footmen, 300 Ligurians, 500 Balear Islanders. To this power of footmen, three hundred Horse of the * *Libyphœnicians*, a Nation mixt of Carthaginians and Africans. Of * *Numidians* and *Mores*, that coast upon the Ocean, 1900. with a small corner of

* Within the Kingdom of Tunis.

200 Horsemen of *Ilergetes* out of Spain. And because he should want no manner of Land help, fourteen Elephants besides. Moreover, there was a fleet allowed him for the defence of the Sea-coasts. For by what forces and service the Romans had before got victory, thereby it was likely,

* Inhabitants Biled-il gerida.

that they would still maintain and continue their wars, 57 Gallies therefore of five banks of oars, he had at Sea, two of four, and five of three. But of the five oared gallies aforesaid, he had no more but two and thirty, fitted and well appointed with rowers and mariners, and so were the

G five of three banks.

From *Gades*, the army of Annibal returned to winter in Carthage: and from thence he passed by the City * *Erovisia*, and marched forward with his forces to *Iberus* and the Sea-coasts. Where it is reported, that in his sleep he dreamed, and saw a vision namely a young man of divine shape and semblance, saying, That he was sent from *Jupiter* to guide him in his voyage into Italy, and willed him therefore to follow him, and in no wise to turn his eyes from him one way or other. Also, that at the first he being scared and affrighted, durst not look either about or behind, but followed him still afterwards (as men by nature are curious) when he cast and discoursed in

* *Hitoma* or *Mequinen/a*. The vision of Annibal.

his mind, what it might be, that he was forbidden so to see behind him, he could not hold and rule his eyes, but must needs look back: and then he beheld behind him, a serpent of huge greatness coming again, and all the way as it went, to bear down trees, groves, and thickets: and after all that, he perceived a great storm and tempest ensuing, with mighty thunder-claps. Now when he was desirous to know what this so great confusion and strange sight might signify, he heard a voyce, saying, That it betokened the ruins and wasting of *Italy*: willing him therefore, to go still forward with his voyage, and search no further into the secrets of the Gods, but leave them to the hidden destinies. *Annibal* right joyous at this vision, passed over *Iberus* with his whole power, divided into three parts, having sent certain before him with gifts and rewards, into all parts whereas he should march with his army, to gain the hearts of the *Gauls*: and withal, to seek out and discover the passages of the *Alpes*. So he crossed the River *Iberus* with 90000 foot, and 12000 Horse, strong. After this, he subdued the *Hergetes*, the *Bargusians*, *Auselans*, and *Aquitain*, which lyeth under the hills *Pyrenai*. The government of all these Nations, he let over to *Hanno*, that he might have at his command the straights which joyned *France* and *Spain* together. Unto whom he allowed 10000 footmen, and 1000 horse, for to defend and keep in obedience those countries. After that his army was on foot and began to march through the Forrest *Pyreneus*, and that there ran amongst the barbarous people a more certain bruit, That they were to make war with the Romans: three thousand footmen of the *Carpenats*, returned back: and for certain it was known, that they departed not, for fear so much of the war, as the tedious journey and unpassable wayes of the *Alpes*. *Annibal*, considering that either to recal them or to keep them by violence, was a dangerous matter: for fear lest thereby he should provoke the fierce stomachs of the rest: sent home again above 7000 of such, as he perceived to be weary, and to have no mind to the service: and made semblance withal, that the *Carpetans* were by his leave discharged. And doubting lest long stay and ease there, might tempt his souldiers, and give occasion of mutinies, with the rest of his forces he passed *Pyreneus*, and pitched his camp before the Town *Illiberis*. The *Gauls*, albeit they were advertised, that it was *Italy*, at which *Annibal* shot; yet because the bruit was blazed, That the Spaniards beyond *Iberus*, were by force subdued, and strong garrisons placed in their Cities: certain Nations of them, for fear of servitude and bondage, rose up in arms, and assembled together at *Ruscino*. Which being related to *Annibal*, he fearing more that they would stay him in his journey, than endanger him in fight: sent certain Orators or Embassadors to their Princes and great Lords, to signify unto them, "That himself in person would gladly parlie with them, and that it should be in their choice whether they would come neerer to *Illiberis*, or himself go forward to *Ruscino*: where, being neer together, they might more easily meet and confer. For as he was willing to receive them into his camp, and would be glad to see them there: so he would not think much of his pains, to repair unto them himself, as one that was thither come, as a friend and guest unto *France*, and not as an enemy: and would not by his good will draw a sword (if the *Gauls* would let him alone.) before he were entred within *Italy*. And thus much verily passed by messengers and courriers between. But so soon as the Lords of *France*, who presently removed their camp to *Illiberis*, were come willingly enough to *Annibal*, as being bribed and corrupted with money and presents, they gave his army good leave to pass through their confines along the Town *Ruscino*.

In *Italy* this while, the Embassadors of *Marseilles* had brought no other word to *Rome*, but that *Annibal* was only gone over *Iberus*: but, by that time, the *Boii* had stirred up the *Insubrians* to mutiny, and were revolted themselves, even as if he had passed the *Alpes* already: which they did not so much upon old rancour and malice to the people of *Rome*, as for that, they took it ill and were discontented, that there were Colonies brought lately into the *Gauls* country, to be planted about *Padus*, *Placencia* and *Cremona*. Whereupon they arose suddenly, took arms, and entred by force into those parts, and made so foul work and fearful havock, that not only the country people and villagers, but also the three Roman Commissioners called *Triumvirs*, to wit, *Caius Lucatius*, *Aul. Servilius*, and *Titus Annins*, who were come to set out the Lands and territory to the said Colonies, not trusting the walls of *Placencia*, fled to *Mutina*. That *Lucatius* was one of them, it is not doubted: but some records have *Q. Acilius* and *C. Herennius*, instead of *A. Servilius* and *T. Annins*: and others again, nominate *P. Cornelius Asina*, and *C. Papirius Mase*. It is uncertain also, whether they were the Embassadors sent to the *Boii*, to reason or expostulate the matter, that had abuse offered them, and were evil intreated: or that the *Triumvirs* above said, were set upon and assailed as they were measuring out the Lands. But whiles they were thus besieged at *Mutina*, and those *Boians* lying at siege (a nation unskilful altogether in the fear of assaunting Towns, and likewise of all other most cowardly, to attempt any martial exploits) whiles they lay idly about the wals, and never once advanced against them, they began to make shew of a treaty for peace. Whereupon the Roman Embassadors or Commissioners, being by the chief of the *Gauls* called out to parlie, were not only against law of nations, but with breach also of their faithful promise, and word which they had given that time, apprehended: and the *Gauls* said plainly they would not let them go, unless their hostages were delivered them again. These news touching the Embassadors being reported and *Mutina* with the garrison in danger: *L. Marcius* the Pretor, in great anger and indignation, brought his army in more haft than good order, before *Mutina*. There were in those dayes great woods about the high way, and most part of the country wilds

* The people
of *Pertm*.
* *Morali*, in *Ca-*
galonia.
* *Guicenne*.

* *Granada*, or
Almaria.

* *Rouffillon*.

* The river
Po.
* The City
Plaisance.
* *Modena*.

* *Bombonois*.

A wilds and waists, not inhabited: where he having engaged himself without his espials, was intrap-
ped within an ambush: so that many of his men, and hardly recovered the open champaign country.
There he incamped himself strongly: and for that the Gauls had no heart to assault, nor hope to
win the camp, his soldiers courages were refreshed: albeit it was well known that they had re-
ceived a shrewd foil, and knew their forces to be much impaired. Then began he to march on, in
his journey afresh. And so long as he led his power through the open country, the enemies were
not in sight: but when they were entered the forests again, they set upon the rereward of them:
where, besides the great fright and damage of all the rest, 800 Roman soldiers were left dead in
the place, and the enemies went away with six ensigns. But afterwards, the Gauls ceased to molest
B and trouble, and the Romans gave over to fear, so soon as they were passed, and escaped the
rough, cumbersome, and unpassable forests. And the Romans being now able in the open and cham-
pian country to march with safety, made halt to get to *Tannetum* a village neer unto the Po. * *Tannetum*.
There within a fort which they made for the time, with the help and provision of victuals by the
river, and the aid also of certain Gauls called * Britanni: they defended themselves against the ene-
* *Of Britain*.
mies, whose number daily increased. After this sudden tumult was reported at Rome, and that
the L.L. of the Senat were advertised, that besides the war with the Carthaginians, the Gauls were
up in arms: they gave order, that C. *Asinius* the Pretor should go (with one Roman Legion, and
four thousand allies, who were enrolled by the Consuls in a new levy) to aid *Manlius*: who
without any skirmish (by reason that the enemies were fled for fear) came to *Tannetum*. Also P.
C. *Cornelius* having newly levied one Legion in lieu of that which was sent with the Pretor, depart-
ed from the City of Rome, and passing with 60 Gauls along the coasts of *Tuscany*, *Liguria*, and so
forward of the *Salver*, shortly arrived at *Massilia*, and encamped neer the next mouth of * *Rho-* * *Rhone*.
danus. (for the river is divided into many branches, and so dischargeth it self into the Sea) being
not fully of belief that *Annibal* as yet had passed over the mountains *Pyrenae*. But when he under-
stood, that he was ready even then to pass *Rhodanus* also; and doubting in what place to encoun-
ter and meet him, his people as yet not well recovered, after their being sea-sick: he sent before,
300 elect men of arms, guided by the Massilians, and certain Gauls that came to aid: for to disco-
ver all, and to take a full view of the enemies safely without danger.

Annibal having appeased the rest of the country, either for fear or by means of money, was now
D come into the country of the * *Vokans*; a puissant people and a vallant. These inhabit along * *Avignon*.
both the banks of *Rhodanus*: and mistrusting that they were not able to defend their Lands against
the Carthaginians, on that side of the River which lay to them: because they might have the
whole River to serve them for a good defence and rampier, transported over the *Rhone* all in
manner that ever they had, and kept the bank on the other side. The rest of the inhabitants neer
to the River, and even those also in whose territories *Annibal* had set foot already, both he him-
self with gifts allured to get together from all parts shipping, and to frame new vessels: and they
of themselves likewise, were as willing to have his army transported, and their own country eased
and delivered (they cared not how soon) of so great a multitude of troublesome guests. Where-
upon, there was got together an huge number of lighters, barges, and boats especially, which
E were made in halt without great workmanship; in which the people inhabiting thereby used to
transport wares and commodities from one to another. Other new whirries also, the Gauls be-
gan first to make of the hollowed trunks of trees: and after them, the souldiers for that they had
both store of timber and saw the workmanship but sleight and easy, made in halt certain bot-
toms, such as they were, like troughs without form or fashion, regarding no handsomeness at all,
so they would but store on the water, and receive burden, in which they might convey over
themselves and that which they had.

Now when they had prepared and made all ready for their passage, the enemies on the other
side right against them, kept and covered all the bank along with men and Horse, putting them to
much trouble and fear. *Annibal* therefore to withdraw them from that place, commanded *Hanno*
F the son of *Bomilear*, at the first watch of the night, to go up the stream along the river side, one
dayes journey, with part of the forces, and thole most of them Spaniards: and wheresoever he
first could espie a convenient place, to cross the river, and to land as secretly as he could: and then
to fetch about with his men, that when need were he might charge upon the back of the enemy.
Hereunto were appointed certain Gauls for guides: who from thence conducted them some 25
miles above, to a little Iland compassed about with the river, which here spread out in breadth by
reason that it divided it self, and thereby the channel was not so deep: where they shewed him a
place of passage. There, in all haste they cut down and hewed timber, and made boats, to set over
Horse and man and other burthen. The Spaniards made no more ado, but fastning their apparel
to vessels of lether like bladders, full of wind, and laying their bucklers thereupon, sat aloft and
G passed over nimbly. The rest of the army also, with joyning planks and troughs together, was
set over. Where having encamped neer the river, as being weary with their night journey, and
toilsome work, they rested one day to refresh themselves, whiles their Captain studied and was
occupied, to execute his commission and his intended service in good and convenient time. The
morrow after, they removed from thence, and gave knowledge by smoke that they were passed
over and not far off. Which when *Annibal* perceived, for that he would not lose the vantage
of that time, he gave signal to his men also to get over the water. Now had the footmen already
their boats prepared and fitted. And the courie and ranks of barges (which to receive and
break

break the force of the current from above, transported the Horsemen, besides the Horses that swam after) made for the small boats that passed beneath, a gentle and calm water. For a number of Horses swam after the ships, haled by the bridle reins which were tied to the pouns, besides those, which being saddled and bridled, and fitted to serve the men of arms so soon as ever they were landed, were bestowed in barges and ferry boats. The Gauls stood upon the bank with loud hooping, hollowing, yelling and singing after their manner, who shaking their targets over their heads, brandishing and flourishing their swords in their right hands, shewed themselves ready to receive them, albeit so great a number and World of barges and boats full in their eye over against them, together with an hideous roaring of the water, might have scared them: besides sundry noises of mariners and souldiers, who laboured and strived to break the power and force of the water, and who being on the other side of the bank encouraged their fellows that were passing over. And thus frightened enough as they were, with the tumult and noise presented before their faces: behold there arose a more fearful and terrible outcry behind their backs, upon the forcing and winning of their camp by *Hanno*. And himself in person came soon after: so that they were put in fear on both sides. For not only out of the ships there was a great multitude got to Land, but also a power at their backs unlooked for, came forward and charged them. The Gauls, after they had made some resistance, and saw they were easily put back; brake through, where they espied the way to lie most open, and so in great fear they fled divers wayes into their Towns and Villages. *Annibal* then, having conveyed over the rest of his forces by leisure, cared no more now for any French stirs and tumults, and so encamped himself. But for the transporting of the Elephants, I suppose there were sundry devices: and certainly, how ever it was, the thing is diversly recorded. Some say, that when the Elephants were gathered together upon the bank, the most couragious and fiercest of them all, was chafed, angered, and failed of purpose by his master or keeper: and when he was purined of the beast, and to save himself fled from him, and took the River, thereupon the Elephant followed after him as he swam, and so drew after him the whole drove of the rest: and as any one of them, (fearing the depth) failed to wade, the very force of the River carried him to the other side. But it is more credibly and certainly reported, that they were conveyed over in certain barges: which as it was a safer way and surer course before it was practised, so when it was done and past, it was more easily credited. They caused therefore one vessel or barge, 200 foot long, and 50 foot broad, to reach from the strand side and the shore into the River: which because it should not be carried down with the course and stream of the water, they fastned to the bank above with many strong ropes, and like as it had been a bridge, they covered it over with earth, that the beasts might boldly go thereon as upon the firm ground. Now there was another barge full as broad, but of length only 100 foot; fitted and appointed to pass the River, and was tied and coupled thereto: and when as the Elephants (driven after the females going before) upon the steady barge, as it had been upon a causey, were gone over into the lesser which was fastned unto it: then presently was it loosed from the bonds wherewith it was slightly tyed, and so haled and drawn by certain galley boats, directed with oars through to the other bank. Thus when the first were landed, they went for more still, until they were all set over: and verily, so long as they were driven on still, as it were upon a long bridge, they nothing feared: the foremost only were afraid when the barge was loosened, and they parted from their fellows, and so were caried away into the wide and deep River, where thronging and struggling together, and jussling one another, they made some trouble, whiles they that were outmost gave back from the water as much as they could, until such time as very fear (when they saw all about them nothing but water) caused them to be quiet. Some of them also like raging beasts as they were, and unruly, fell out into the River, but by reason of their heaviness, they stood sure, and casting their Governors, they sought the sounds foot by foot, by little and little, and got safe to Land.

While the Elephants were thus transporting over, *Annibal* in the mean time had sent 500 Numidian light Horsemen to the Romans camp, as espials to discover the ground, where they were to learn what forces they had, and listen after their designs and purposes. This wing and troop was encountred by three hundred Roman Horsemen, sent as is aforesaid, from the mouth of *Rhodanus*: where there was a more cruel skirmish than for so small a number, for besides many hurt, there were slain on both sides in a manner alike: but in the end, the fear and flight of the Numidians gave the victory to the Romans, being now already much travailed and wearied: on whose part (being the winners) were slain 160, not all Romans, but some Gauls: and on the losers side who were overcome, there dyed above 200. This beginning and prognostication as it were of the war, as it portended and presaged an happy end and success of the whole unto the Romans: so it shewed plainly, that the victory would hang long in equal balance, not without much effusion of blood, and danger of their part. The conflict being thus determined, they returned each one to his own Captain. As for *Scipio*, he could not resolve to take any course himself; but according as he saw the plots and enterprizes of the enemy, so to frame his own. And *Annibal* again being uncertain whether to go forward with his journey begun, into *Italy*, or to give battel unto the first army of the Romans that came in his way and met him: was drawn away from all present conflict, by occasion of the coming of the Embassadors of the *Boii*, and of a great Lord and Potentate, called *Maralus*, who promising to be his guides unto him in his voyage, and companions in his perils, thought it good, and gave advice to invade and set upon *Italy* first of all before any

A any other war, whiles forces were entire in heart, no where put to the hazard, and to give them as it were the first hanſel. The common multitude of the Carthaginians (for that the former war was not clean forgot and out of remembrance) feared verily their enemies, but more their infinite journey, and the *Alps* eſpecially, the name whereof to men not experienced, was very fearful & terrible. Whereupon, *Annibal* being now reſolute to march onward in his journey, and to paſs into *Italy*, aſſembled his people to an audience, and by ſundry means, as well by way of rebuke, as alſo by encouragement, windeth and aſſayeth the minds of his ſouldiers. "I marvel (quoth he) what ſudden fright or new fear hath poſſeſſed your hearts, that ever before now have been undaunted; who have ſerved ſo many years, and alwayes won the victory; who departed not out of *Spain*, before that all thoſe Nations and Lands, which lie enclowed between two divers Seas, were brought in ſubjection to the Carthaginians; who taking indignation and great diſdain, that the people of *Rome* ſhould require all thoſe to be yeilded unto juſtice (as offenders and male-factors) that had beſieged *Saguntum*, have thereupon paſſed the river *Ilerus*, with this intent even to deſtroy and extirp the Roman name, and to ſet free the whole world out of their ſervitude and bondage: no man thought it long then of his travel from Eaſt to Weſt, from the ſetting of the ſun, to the riſing of the ſame: now when as ye ſee the greater part (by far) of our journey done and paſt, the foreſt and mountain of *Pyrenæus*, amid moſt fierce and cruel nations, ſurmounted; that great river *Rhodanus*, paſſed over; mangre the hearts of ſo many thouſand Gauls that would have impeached your paſſage, yea, and the force of his main ſtream overcome: now I ſay, when you are within the ſight of the *Alps* to the other ſide whereof lieth *Italy* cloſe; ye ſeem as it were, and ſtand ſtill tired at the very gates of the enemies. Why? what other thing take ye the *Alps* to be but high hills? And imagine they be higher than the cliffs of *Pyrenæus*, what? there is no land (I am ſure) that reaches up to heaven, and no place for men unſuperable. But for the *Alps*, they are inhabited, and they are tilled, they breed and feed living creatures and cattel: and are they acceſſible indeed, and paſſable for ſome few, and unpaſſable for whole armies? Theſe very Embaſſadors whom you ſee here, flew not over the *Alps* with wings, neither were their anceſtors time out of mind born and bred there, but came from other parts as ſtrangers, and inhabited *Italy* before; yea, and oftentimes have gone over the ſame *Alps* in huge multitudes, together with their wives and children, in manner of travellers and pilgrims that ſeek new countries to inhabit: what ſhould there be unpaſſable then or impoſſible for the armed ſouldier, carying about him nothing but instruments of war? For the winning of *Saguntum*, what perils were adventured, what travels were endured and ſwallowed for eight months ſpace? ſhould any thing then ſeem ſo hard and difficult as to ſtay them in their enterpriſe once begun, who aim at no leſs than to conquer *Rome*, the head City of the world? And have the Gauls indeed forced and won that in times paſt, which the Carthaginians deſpair now to come unto? Therefore, either ye muſt confeſs your ſelves inferior in ſtomack and valor to that nation, which ſo oft (theſe dayes paſſed) by you have been vanquiſhed; or elſe make reckoning with aſſured hope, that the goodly fair fields that lie between *Tiberis* and the walls of *Rome* are the end of your journey.

When in theſe terms he had exhorted and encouraged his ſouldiers, he commanded them to take their reſt and repoſe, to cheriſh and reſreſh their bodies, and to prepare themſelves for the march. The morrow after he departed croſs from the banks of *Rhodanus*, and entered the inland parts of *France*: not for that it was the more direct way to the *Alps*, but becauſe he thought the further he went from the Sea ſide, in ſo much leſſe danger he ſhould be of meeting the Romans, with whom he was not minded to fight, before he was arrived into *Italy*. After that he had travelled four dayes journey, he came to an Iſland where the two rivers * *Arar* and *Rhodanus* ſpring out of ſundry parts of the *Alps*, and taking a direct courſe, after they have run through a good part of the country, fall at length together and meet in one and the ground lying between is called by the name of the Iſland. Neer there inhabit the * *Allobroges*, a Nation even in thoſe dayes nothing inferior, either in wealth and power, or in fame and reputation to any people of ſtate of the Gauls whatſoever. But at that very time there was ſome diſcord and variance among them, by occaſion of two brethren who were aſſeſſed for the crown and Kingdom: the elder (whole name was *Brancus*, and had before enjoyed the ſeignory) was depoſed and thruſt out by his younger brother, and a luſty crew of the youth who as they had leſs right on their ſide, ſo they were the mightier. The deciding of this variance, was referred and put over unto *Annibal*, in as good and ſeaſonable time for his purpoſe, as he could have wiſhed: and he forthwith was made the umpire and judge, to determine whether of them ſhould be King: who reſtored the elder to the Kingdom: like as it would have been adjudged by the award of the Senators and Nobles of the country. For which benefit and good turn, he was ſerved with victual, and ſtore of all things abundantly, yea, and with ſayment and apparel, which he was driven to provide aforehand, for the name that went of the *Alps*, which for their coldneſs were in great diſreſpect.

Having thus appeaſed the debate of the *Allobroges*, and binding now to ſet forward to the *Alps*, he would not go the direct ſtraight way, but turned on the left hand to the * *Tricassins*, and from thence paſſing by the frontiers of the * *Vocantians*, he marched into the * *Tricorians*; and never was he ſtayed or impeached in his journey, before that he came to the River * *Druentia*, which deſcending alſo out of the *Alps*, is of all other Rivers in *France* moſt hard to be paſſed over: for although it carry with it a mighty force of water, yet will it bear no veſſel, becauſe it is kept and reſtrained with no banks, but running at once by many divers channells, maketh ever new

* The River Saone.

* The people of Savoy according to *Siburdus*. But *Daulphinus*, after *Martianus*, *Rhenanus*, and others.

* *Entrecaſſans* in *Provance*, ſaith *Vigenere*.
* *Val de viſe*, or the country of *Biffort*.
* Thoſe of *Craux*.
* *Durance*:
new

new foords, and casteth up new shelves and whirl-pits; (for which cause also a footman hat h much ado to wade therethrough, and knoweth not the foords) besides; it rolleth down round stones and pibbles, whereby there is no sure nor safe footing for him that would wade through. And it chanced at that time, that it swelled and was risen high by fall of rain, and by land-floods, and caused them to have very much to do, that passed over it: and over and besides all other difficulties, they were of themselves troubled and disquieted through their own fearfulness and sundry cries which they made. *Publius Cornelius* the Consul, about three dayes after that *Annibal* dislodged from the bank of *Rhodanus*, was arrived with his army. (arranged in a four-square battel) as far as the place where the enemy was lately encamped, purposing without any stay to give him battel. But seeing the hold abandoned, and that he was not like to overtake him, being so far gone forwards; he returned to his ships at Sea, supposing by that means, with lesse danger and difficulty, to encounter *Annibal* as he descended from the *Alps*. But lest that *Spain* (which was the Province allotted unto him) should be left disarmed of Roman succours; he sent his brother *Cn. Scipio* with the greatest part of his forces against *Asdrubal*: not so much to defend their old allies, and procure new, as to drive *Asdrubal* out of *Spain*. Himself with a very small company returned to *Genua*, with intent to guard *Italy*, with that army which was about the *Po*.

* *Genua*.

Annibal being departed from *Druentia*, marched for the most part through the champion countries, and came in peace and quietly, to the foot of the *Alps*, for any trouble from the peasants that there inhabited. And albeit he had some knowledge of the *Alps* before by report, (which useth to make things that are uncertain, much more than indeed and truth they are) yet seeing now neer at hand the height of those Hills, and the snows, entermingled along with the skie; the rude and mishapen houses set upon rocks; the cattel, sheep, oxen, and hories, singed with cold; the people with long shagg'd hair, and without any trimming, both living and liveless creatures, even parched, stiff and stark with frost; and all things else more strange and illfavoured, than can be spoken: then began his souldiers to fear afresh. So soon as they advanced forward, and began to march up the first cliffs, there appeared over their heads the mountain people, who had seized the Hills: who if they had kept the secret and hidden vallies, and suddenly all at once charged upon them they would have made a foul slaughter of them; and put them to flight. Then *Annibal* commandeth the ensigns to stand still, and sent certain Gauls afore, as espials: by whom he understood, that there was no passage that way: whereupon, he pitched his camp amongst those craggy and steep rough places, upon as large a plain and valley as he could find. Then by the same Gauls (who much differed not in tongue and manners from the others) and had entermingled themselves in talk with the mountaineers) he understood, what they kept the passage, but in the day time, and slept away in the night, every one to his own harbour. So at the break of day he mounted those steep hills, as if he would openly in the day time march through the streights. Thus having spent the day in making semblance and shew of one thing: and intending another, he encamped himself strongly in the place where he had rested and laid: and so soon as he perceived, that the mountain people were departed from the steep hills, and kept not so streight watch and ward; after that he had made shew of fires, more than for the number of those that remained behind; and left with the Cavalry all the bag and baggage; with the greatest part of the footmen: himself in person took unto him the nimblest, most active, and valiant souldiers lightly appointed, and with all speed passed through the streights aforesaid, and encamped on the very hills which the enemies before held and beset. Then in the morning betime his camp dislodged: and the army behind, began to march and set forward. By which time the mountaineers, at the ordinary signal given, came forth out of their Castles and Fortes, and met at the usual place of their accustomed guards: but then all at once they might see some of the enemies over their heads, to have gained their own fortresses, and others also marching in the way. Both which objects at one time presented to their eye, made them blank and to stand still in a muse a good while. But afterwards, when they saw *Annibal* his army, distressed in the streights, and in great trouble and disorder among themselves in the march, by reason especially the hories were so affrighted: supposing, that the least fear and terror (besides) that they could procure, would be enough for their enemies overthrow and confusion, they crossed the rocks overthwart, and (as they were accustomed and used to them) ran to and fro, up and down through the blind and unlighted ways. But then verily the Carthaginians were much encumbered, as well by their enemies, as also by the disadvantage of the place, and more ado there was among them (whiles every one strove who should first escape the danger) than with the enemy. There was nothing that disordered and troubled the army in the march, so much as their own hories, which (by reason of the dissonant and divers cries, that the echoes between the woods and vallies redoubled) were affrighted: and also if any of them chanced to be stricken, galled, or wounded: they kept such wining, and singing about them, that they overthrow and made great havock of men, and of all sorts of carriage. Besides, the press was so great, and the streights of both sides so steep and craggy, that many a man was thrown down head-long a mighty height: yea, and some of them armed: and the sumpter hories and beasts for carriage especially tumbled down again with their loads as if a house or Castle had come down with a mischief. Which, although it were terrible to behold; yet *Annibal* for a while stood still, and kept his own men together for fear of encreasing this disorder and affright. But after that he saw his army disbanded and marching in disarray, and that it was to no purpose

A pose to lead his army safe through the streights, if he lost the carriages: for fear hereof, he ran down from the higher ground, and albeit, with the violence of his charge, he discomfited the enemy, yet he increased the trouble and fear of his own people. But that was soon appeased in a very moment, after the wayes and passages were once cleared, by reason of the Mountainers that were fled: so that within a while the whole host passed through, not only at ease and leisure, but also in a manner without any noise at all. This done, he seized upon a Castle, which was the chief strength of that country, with other villages lying about it: and for three dayes space he victualled and maintained his whole army, with the Carrel of his prisoners. And for that he was now neither molested with the Mountainers, who were at the first discomfited, nor
 B greatly encumbered with the difficulties of the wayes, in those three dayes he rid a good deal of ground, and journeyed a great way into the country: until at the length he came to another coast well peopled (for such Mountain and Hilly quarters;) where he had like to have been overtaken, not by open force, but even in his own professed cunning: first, by a subtile practice, and after by a secret ambush. Certain ancient men, the Rulers and Governours of the Castles, repaired unto *Annibal* as Orators, saying, That they having been taught and made wise, by the profitable example of other mens harms, made choice, rather to trye the amity, than prove the force of the Carthaginians: and therefore were willing to do his commandment, and be at his devotion: requesting him to take at their hands victuals and guides for their journey, yea, and hostages also for better assurance of promises to be performed. *Annibal* neither overhastily be-
 C lieving them, nor yet churlishly distrusting and refusing their offer, left being rejected and cast off, they might become open and professed enemies; gave them good language, and a courteous answer, received the hostages whom they gave, accepted victuals, which they had brought with them to maintain his army by the way, and followed their guides, but so, as his army was not disarrayed in their march, as if he had been amongst his friends, and in a peaceable country. First, went in the van-guard the Elephants, and the Horsemens: himself marched after with the flower and strength of his Footmen, looking all about him with an heedful eye. So soon as he was entered a narrow passage, which of the one side lay under a steep Hill that commanded them aloft, the barbarous people rose out of their ambush from all parts at once, both before and behind, and charged upon him both a far off and neer at hand: yea, and rolled
 D down mighty huge stones upon them as they marched. But the greatest number came behind upon their backs: against whom he turned and made head with the power of his footmen, and without all peradventure (if the tail both of his army, had not been strong and well fortified) they must needs have received in that lane and streights, an exceeding great overthrow. And even then, as it was, they came to an extremity of danger, and in manner fell into a present mischief. For whiles *Annibal* made long stay, and doubted whether he should engage the Regiment of footmen within the streights, for that he had not left any succours in the rereguard to back the footmen, like as himself was a defence to the Horsemens; the mountainers came overthwart, and flanked them; and breaking through the files of the battel, beset the way, and crossed upon him. So that *Annibal* took up his lodging for one night, without his carriages and Horsemen. The morrow after, when as the barbarous people ran between them more coldly than before, he joyned his forces together, and passed the streight, not without great damage and loss; but with more hurt of the sumpter Horses than of men. After this, the Mountainers (fewer in number, and in robbing wise rather than in warlike sort) ran in heaps, one while upon the van-guard, other while upon the rereward, as any one of them could either get the vantage of ground, or by going one while afore, and by staying another while behind, win and catch any occasion and opportunity. The Elephants as they were driven with great leisure, because through these narrow streights, they were ready ever and anon to run on their noses: so what way soever they went, they kept the army safe and sure from the enemies; who being not used unto them, durst not once come neer. The ninth day he won the very tops of the *Alps*, through by-lanes
 F and blind cranks: after he had wandred many times out of the way, either through the deceitfulness of their guides; or for that when they durst not trust them, they adventured rashly themselves upon the vallies, and guessed the way at adventure, and went by aim. Two dayes abode he encamped upon the tops thereof, and the souldiers wearied with travel and fight rested that time: certain also of the sumpter Horses (which had slipped aside from the rocks) by following the tracks of the army as it marched, came to the camp. When they were thus overtoiled and wearied with these tedious travels, the snow that fell (for now the star *Vergily*, was set and gone down out of that horizon) increased their fear exceedingly. Now when as at the break of day the engines were set forward, and the army marched slowly, through the thick and deep snow; and that there appeared in the countenance of them all, slothfulness and desperation: *Annibal* advanced before the standards, and commanded his souldiers to stay upon a certain high Hill, (from
 G whence they had a goodly prospect and might see a great way all about them) and there shewed unto them *Italy*, and the goodly champlain fields about the *Po*, which he had under the foot of the Alpine Mountains: saying, That even then they mounted the wals, not only of *Italy*, but also of the City of *Rome*; as for all besides (saith he) will be plain and easy to be travelled: and after one or two battels at the most, ye shall have at your command, the very Castle and head City of all *Italy*. Then began the army to march forward: and as yet the enemies verily themselves adventured nothing at all, but some petty robberies by stealth, as opportunity and occasion served.

How-

Howbeit they had much more difficult travelling down the hill, than in the climbing and getting up; for that most of the passages to the *Alps* from *Italy* side, as they be steeper, so they are more upright: for all the way in a manner was steep, narrow, and slippery, so as neither they could hold themselves from sliding, nor if any tripped and stumbled never so little, could they possibly (they staggered so) recover themselves and keep sure footing, but one fell upon another, as well Horse as Man. After this they came to a much narrower rock, with crags and rags so steep downright, that hardly a nimble souldier without his armor and baggage (do what he could to take hold with hands upon the twigs and plants that there about grew forth) was able to creep down. This place being before naturally of itself steep and pendant with a down-fall, now was choked and dammed up with a new fall of earth, which left a bank behind it of a wonderful and monstrous height. There the Horsemen stood still as if they had been come to their wayes end: and when *Annibal* marvelled much what the matter might be that stayed them so, as they marched not on: word was brought him that the Rock was unaccessible and unpassable. Whereupon he went himself in person to view the place, and then he saw indeed without all doubt, that although he had fetched a compass about, yet he had gained nought thereby, but conducted his army, to passe through wilds, and such places as before had never been beaten and trodden. And verily that (of all other) was such, as it was impossible to pass through. For, whereas there lay old snow untouched and not trodden on, and over it other snow newly fallen, of a small depth; in this soft and tender snow, and the same not very deep, their feet as they went, easily took hold: but that snow, being once with the going of so many people and beasts upon it, fretted and thawed, they were faine to go upon the bare ice underneath, and in the slabbery snow-broth, as it relented and melted about their heels. There they had soul ado and much struggling, for that they could not tread sure upon the slippery ice: and again, going as they did (down hill) their feet sooner failed them: and when they had helped themselves once in getting up, either with hands or knees; if they chanced to fall again, when those their props and stayes deceived them, there were no twigs nor roots about, whereon a man might take hold, and rest or stay himself, either by hand or foot. And therefore all that the poor beasts could do, was to tumble and wallow only, upon the slippery and glasse ice, and the molten slabby snow. Otherwhiles also, they perished, as they went in the deep snow, whiles it was yet soft and tender: for when they were once slidden and fallen, with flinging out their heels, and beating with their hoofs more forcibly for to take hold, they brake the ice through: so as most of them, as if they had been caught fast and fettered, stuck still in the deep, hard frozen, and congealed ice. At last, when as both man and beast were wearied and overtoiled, and all to no purpose, they encamped upon the top of an hill, having with very much ado cleared the place aforehand for that purpose: such a deal of snow there was to be digged, shovelled, and thrown out. This done, the souldiers were brought to break that rock through which was their only way: and against the time that it was to be hewed through, they felled and overthrew many huge trees that grew there about, and made a mighty heap and pile of wood: the wind served fitly for the time to kindle a fire, and then they set all a burning. Now when the rock was on fire and red hot, they powred thereon strong Vinegar for to calcine and dissolve it. When as the rock was thus baked (as it were) with fire, they digged into it, and opened it with picke-axes, and made the descent gentle and easy, by means of moderate windings and turnings: so as not only the Horses and other beasts, but even the Elephants also might be able to go down. Four dayes he spent about the levelling of this rock: and the beasts were almost pined and lost for hunger. For the hill tops for the most part are bare of grass: and look what forage there was, the snow overhilled it. The dales and lower grounds have some little banks lying to the sun, and rivers withal, neer unto the woods, yea, and places more meet and becoming for men to inhabit. There were the labouring beasts put out to graze and pasture, and the souldiers that were wearied with making the wayes, had three dayes allowed to rest in. From thence they went down into the plain country, where they found both the place more easy and pleasant, and the natures of the inhabitants more tractable.

In this manner, and by this means principally, entred the Carthaginians into *Italy*, five months after they departed from new *Carthage* (as some write:) and within fifteen dayes overcame and passed the *Alps*. What power *Annibal* had, when he was arrived in *Italy*, the historians do not agree. They that speak with the most, write that he was 100000 foot, and 20000 horse strong: they that make the least of it, say they were 20000 foot, and 6000 horse. *L. Cincius Alimentus*, who hath delivered under his hand, that himself was taken prisoner by *Annibal* (a writer of great authority) would induce me sufficiently to believe him, but that he setteth down the number of confusedly, by adding to the rest, the Gauls and Ligurians. He recordeth, that counting them, the Infantry was 80000, and the Cavalry 10000, which was conducted into *Italy* (but likely it is that from all parts there came more thither than so, and so some Authors do report) and that he heard from *Annibal* his own mouth, that after he had passed *Rhodanus*, he had lost 26000 men, and a great number of Horses and other beasts of burden, when he was come down into the *Taurins* Country, which was the next Nation in *Italy*, adjoining to the Gauls. Which being a thing agreed upon amongst all, I marvel so much the more, that there is any doubt, on which side he went over the *Alps*: and that commonly it is believed, that he passed by a place called *Penninum*, and that thereupon the top of the *Alps* took the name, and was so called. *Cornius* faith, he took his way over by the top of *Cremus*: both which passages surely would have brought

A brought him not into the Taurins country, but through the mountain forests, unto the Gauls called *Libui*. But neither is it probable, that in those days the same passages were open into *France*: considering, that the wayes which lead to *Penninum* were environed with nations half Germans. And certainly the *Veragrians*, who inhabit this very top (in case a man may build ought upon this conjecture) never knew that these mountains took the name of any passage of the Carthaginians, that way: but of some one place consecrated in the top of the hill, which the peasants and mountaineers called *Penninum*.

Very happily, and fitly it fell out for the enterprise of his first designments, that the Taurins the next nation he came unto, made war upon the *Insubrians*. But *Annibal* being busied in refreshing his army (that now had most feeling of their harms which they had caught before) could not arm the same to the aid and assisting of either party: for ease after travel, plenty upon icaricity, good keeping and delicate, after loathsome natiuells, did by a sudden change greatly alter and dissemper their lean and pined bodies, well near savage and wild grown. Which was the cause that *P. Cornelius* the Consul, being arrived and landed at *Pisa*, after he had received of *Manlius Attilius* an army of new and raw souldiers, fearful for some shameful disgrace and defeat lately received, made haste and highed him to the *Po*, for to give battel unto the enemy, before he were well refreshed and in heart again. But by that time that the Consul was come to *Placentia*, *Annibal* had dislodged and removed his camp, and won by assault the chief City or Town of the Taurins, because it willingly yeelded not to accept of his amity and protection; and lured by fear only, but also of voluntary good will, he had gained unto him the Gauls that inhabited about the *Po*, but that the sudden coming of the Consul interrupted and surprized them, as they were casting about to spie some opportunity of rebellion. So *Annibal* dislodged, and removed out of the Taurins country, with this opinion, that the Gauls especially, being doubtful as yet what part to take, would follow him being present in place. Now were the armies in manner one in sight of the other, and the Generals approached nigher together: and as they were not yet well known one unto the other, so they had already both of them a great opinion, and reciprocal admiration one of the other. For as *Annibal* was much renowned, and his name right well known among the Romans, even since before *Saguntum* was lost: so *Scipio* was taken of him, and reputed for some singular and excellent man, in that he especially above all other, was choien General against him. Which mutual conceit and impression they had, they augmented themselves one to the other: for that *Scipio*, albeit he was left behind in *France*, yet he met *Annibal*, and was ready to make head against him, so soon as he was passed the *Alps*: and *Annibal* again, because having enterprised so great an adventure, as to pass the *Alps*, and now brought the same to good effect. But *Scipio* to prevent *Annibal* in crossing the *Po* before him, removed his camp to the river *Ticinus*: and for to encourage his souldiers, before he brought them forth to battel, he made an Oration unto them, and began in this manner.

"My valiant souldiers and trusty friends, if I were now to lead that army into the field, which I had with me in *France*, I would have forborn to make any speech at all unto you; for to what purpose needed I to exhort, either that Cavalry, which so valiantly had vanquished the horsemen of the enemies at the river *Rhodanus*: or those legions, with whom I followed in chase as it were; even these very enemies, and whose falling off and refusing battel, I take to be a confession of victory? But now for as much as that army, being indeed levied for the province *Spain*, serveth with my brother *Cn. Scipio*, under my name and commission, where it pleaseth the Senat and people of *Rome*, they should be employed: to the end that ye might have a Consul to be your Captain, against *Annibal* and the Carthaginians, I have willingly offered my self to this war. If being then, your new Captain, and you my new souldiers, meet it is and convenient I should use a few words unto you. And to the end you should not be ignorant, either of the manner of this service, or quality of your enemy: with those men ye are to fight, whom in the former Punick war ye overcame both by land and sea: of whom for these twenty years ye have received tribute; from whom ye have won (as the due wages and reward of the war) *Sicily* and *Sardinia* both, and them do hold and occupy. In this battel therefore, both you and they are to carry that mind, and so to be affected, as winners and losers are to be: for never think that it is valor and hardiness that provoketh them now to fight, but meer necessity and compulsion enforceth them to the field. Unless you will believe, that they who when they had an entire army and unfoiled, refused battel, should now have greater hope, and take more courage, after they have lost two parts of their horse and foot, in the very passage of the *Alps*: and of whom, there have more perished in a manner, then remain alive. But well some man say, True it is, few they are in number, but stout in heart, and tall of hand, whose strength & puissance, no force is hardly able to abide. Images they are, say to say more truly, the very shadows of men, and no better: with hunger bitten, with cold starved, lost for want of keeping, spoiled with nastiness, and filthy, G ordure, bruised and weakened amongst hard rocks and craggy cliffs: over and besides, joints and marrow dried up and burnt, their sinews shrunk hard, and stiff again with cold and chilling snow, their limbs singed with bitter frost, their armor crushed, bruised and their weapons broken: their horses, no other then lame jades and poor hide-bound Tirs. See what horsemen, lo what footmen ye are to fight withal. Believe me, ye shall have the very reliques and last remnants of enemies, and not enemies indeed. And I assure you, nothing fear I more than this, that before ye shall skirmish with this kind of enemy, it will be thought that the *Alps* already have G g vanquished

"vanquished and defeated *Annibal*. But peradventure it was so meet, and reason would, that
 "the gods themselves without mans help, should against that Captain and nation, which had bro-
 "ken league and covenants, begin the war first, set it in good forwardness, and bring it to the point
 "of an end: and then we, who next to the gods have been offended and wronged, should finish
 "the same thus begun to our hands, and brought to so good a pass. I fear not that any man here
 "doth think, that I utter these brave and glorious words only for to hearten you, and that my
 "self think otherwise in heart, then I speak with tongue. I might have gone my self well enough
 "into *Spain*, my proper and peculiar province, (where I had been sometime) and with an army
 "of mine own: I should have had my brother there, both a counsellor to me in my distresses, and
 "a companion with me in my dangers. I found *Asdrubal* rather then *Annibal* mine enemy, and
 "no doubt, the affairs and charge of the war far less then here. But when I sailed by the coast of
 "France, and upon the bruit and news of this enemy was set a land, I sent my Cavalry before, and
 "removed camp as far as to *Rhodanus*, and in a battel of horsemen (for with that part of my forces
 "it was my hap to encounter and fight) I discomfited the enemy: and for that by land I could
 "not overtake his Infantry, so hastily they marched away, like men that fled) I was faine to return
 "to the sea, and embark again into my ships: and with as great expedition and speed as I could
 "make (considering so great a compass about of sea and land) at the very foot of the *Alps*, I was
 "ready to encounter and affront him. Can it be thought then, that whiles I shunned and avoided
 "fight, I fell by chance and at unawares upon this dread and redoubted enemy? or rather, that
 "I followed him hard at heels? and challenged him, to draw him forth unto a battel, thereby to
 "have it decided who should have the victory in the end? I would gladly make tryal, whether
 "all of a sudden the earth hath brought forth for these twenty years, Carthaginians, of another
 "mould or new stamp: or whether they be the same that fought neer the Islands *Ægates*, and
 "whom ye sent away, and let go from *Eryx*, valued after the rate of 18. * deniers a piece, and no
 "more: and faine would I see, whether this *Annibal* be the concurrent of *Hercules*; to undertake
 "his journeys and voyages, as he saith himself: or one left by his father, a tributary, a vassal, and
 "a slave of the people of *Rome*: who, but that he is tormented in conscience for the outrage and
 "and cruelty committed upon *Sapuntum*, would have some respect and regard, if not of his na-
 "tive country (conquered and subdued) yet of his own house, of the peace and covenants writ-
 "ten by his father *Amilcar*, and his own hand: *Amilcar* (I say) who at the commandment of our
 "Consul, removed his garrison from *Eryx*: who fuming and storming, received with sorrowful
 "heart the grievous and heavy conditions of peace imposed upon the conquered Carthaginians;
 "who capitulated and covenanted to abandon *Sicily*, and to pay a tribute to the people of *Rome*: I
 "would have you therefore (my hardy souldiers) to fight against him, not only with the same con-
 "rage as you do with other enemies, but in a certain heat of choler & indignation, as if you should
 "see your own servants and slaves on a sudden to rise up in arms against you. We might wel, if we
 "had been so minded, when they were enclosed and shut fast within *Eryx*, have put them to the
 "nimost extremity of all worldly pain, and famished them. We might have passed over with our
 "victorious Armado into *Africk*, and within few days forced and razed *Carthage*, without any
 "battel fought. We pardoned them at their humble request, and took them to mercy: we let them
 "out where they were besieged and beleaguered; and notwithstanding that they were by us sub-
 "dued, we made peace, and contracted amity with them: and afterward, when they were mole-
 "sted and distressed with the Africans war, we counted them within our protection. In recom-
 "pence of these good favours and demerits, they come against us, under the leading of an humo-
 "rous brain-sick and furious young man, to invade and assail our country. And I would it had
 "pleased God, that we had all this war for our honor only and reputation, and not for our safety
 "and our lives. But we are to fight now, not for the holding and possession of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*,
 "as in times past: but for our freehold, and the inheritance of *Italy*: and that which more is,
 "there is no army behind our backs, to withstand and make head against the enemy, if we chance
 "to fail of victory: neither are there any more *Alps*, which while he is getting over, we might have
 "leisure in the mean time to assemble and prepare new forces. Here in this very place (souldiers)
 "must we stand to it, and make resistance, as if we were fighting under *Rome* walls. Let every man
 "think that he is not only to defend and ward his own body, but to protect his wife and little chil-
 "dren: and let every one regard and take care, not for his privat affairs and domestical charge,
 "but often consider this, That even now the Senat and people of *Rome* beholdeth and seeth our
 "hardy deeds, and look how our force and valor now speedeth and sheweth it self, such from
 "henceforth will the state and fortune be of that City and Empire of *Rome*.

These words had the Consul to the Romans. But *Annibal*, supposing that his men were first to
 be encouraged by representation of some deeds, & then exhorted with words; having marshalled
 his army in a round compass (as it were) to behold some spectacle in a Theatre: he set in the midst
 of them all, the prisoners mountainers, bound (as they were) hand and foot: and casting down at
 their feet, the armor and weapons of the Gauls, he demanded of them by a truchman, or interpre-
 rer, Which of them (upon condition to be eased of his bands, and to have armor, and an horse of
 service, given him for a prize of victory) would enter into combat, and fight at the utterance for
 his life. And when they all answered with one voice, That they would with no better, and not one
 of them but called for a sword & required to fight: and therupon, the lots were shuffled to be cast,
 & not one there was but wished himself to be the man, whom fortune would chuse for the combat.

Then

* xx. lib. 2. d.
Æt. l.

A Then every man as his lot fell in token of cheerfulness and contentment of spirit, leapt for joy among his fellows that rejoiced in his behalf, fell a dancing after their manner, and so (hastily) took arms and weapons: all the while that they were in fight there appeared such affection and disposition of mind, as well in them that were in the same state and condition, as also in those who stood there as spectators only in the multitude to look on; that no less happy and fortunate were they accounted, whose chance it was to die in the place, then those who had the upper hand. Upon the sight of some couples that were thus matched in combat, he dismissed them: and whiles he saw them in this good mind, so well affected and resolute, then he assembled them all together to an audience, and thus by report he spake unto them.

B "My valorous souldiers, if in the consideration of your own fortune, ye will anon but bear that mind, which even now ye shewed in beholding the example of the state of others; the journey is ours, and we have the victory. For that was not a dumb shew and bare pageant, but a very mirror and pattern of your own condition: and I wot not, whether fortune hath compassed about with harder bonds and greater necessities, your own selves, or your prisoners. On both hands, as well the right as the left, enclosed ye are, and shut up within two seas: and have not so much as one ship, to embark in for to escape away, and save yourselves. Before you neer at hand is the *Pe*, a greater river, and more violent then *Rhodanus*; behind you are the *Alps* to hem you in; the *Alps*, I say, which ye hardly passed when you were in heart and lusty. Here must ye either get victory (firs) or lose your lives, even where ye have first encountred your enemy: and the same fortune, which hath laid upon you necessity of fight presenteth and profereth unto you (if you go away with victory) such rewards, as men use not to wish for greater and more honorable at the hands of the immortal gods. If by our manhood and valour we should but recover and win again *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, which were got from our fathers; those were rewards and prizes sufficient; but now, over and besides, what riches or treasure the Romans in so many triumphs, have gathered, laid up, and held in possession, all that will be ours, yea, and the owners thereof themselves withal. Go to it then a Gods name, and take arms, in assured hope of gaining so rich a booty and reward. Ye have all this while been long enough a coursing and chasing the wild beasts in the wide and desert mountains of *Lusitania* and *Celtiberia*, and have seen

* Portugal.
* Biscay, or as
some think
Aragon.

D "no recompence and fruit of your travels and dangers: it is now high time for you to serve in the wars for good pay and rich rewards, and to receive great wages and prizes for your labour and painful service; you that have measured so long a voyage, passed over so many mountains and rivers, and marched through so many armed and warlike nations. Here is the place where fortune hath set down the utmost bound, and pitched the farthest point & limit of your labors; here will she give you a condigne recompence and salary, after you have served and followed the wars the full time, by order and law required. Never think that the victory will be so hardly achieved, as the war in name is counted difficult. For oftentimes an enemy of small or no reckoning and regard, hath given a bloody battel; yea, most noble States, most renowned and glorious Kings, have in the very turning of an hand been overthrown. For, setting aside this

E "goodly, gay, and glittering name only of the Romans, what is there wherein they are with you to be compared? To say nothing of that continual warfare of yours, for 20 years space, with such valour and happy success: even from *Hercules* pillars, from the Ocean, from the utmost bounds of the earth, through so many nations of *Spain*, and most fell and cruel Gauls, ye are come thus far with victory. And now shall ye fight with an army of new and untrained souldiers, who no longer ago then this very summer, were beaten, put to the sword, vanquished and besieged by the Gauls; an army (to say a truth) not known at all to their own Captain, & as little acquainted with him. And to speak of mine own person, if not born yet at leastwile brought up in the very tent and royal pavilion of my father (a most noble warrior and renowned Captain of his time) who have subdued *Spain*, conquered Gauls, overcome not only the people of the *Alps*, but that which is much more, the very *Alps* themselves. Should I make comparison between my self,

F "and this half-year Captain, who hath abandoned and left his own camp and army? Unto whom, if a man should this day, present the Carthaginians and Romans together, without their ensigns and colours, he could not tell, I dare well say, of whether army he were the leader and Consul. For I make no small account, I tell you of this (my tall fellows) that there is not one of you all, who hath not many a time and often seen and beheld my self in person, performing some warlike and military exploit; and unto whom I (as beholder and eye witness of his valor) cannot recount the time and place of his worthy deed & service. Then ye praised and commended me, then ye rewarded & honored me with divers gifts & presents. And even I (who have been a souldier trained up and taught by you, before I was your General) will march in battel against them, that know not one another, and are unknown likewise unto their Captain.

G "Which way soever I turn and cast mine eyes, me thinks, I see all full of courageous stomack, and forcible puissance. The footmen, old beaten and practised souldiers, lances and men of arms, with hard horses, and the light horsemen likewise, chosen forth of most hardy and valiant Nations: of one side, most faithful and resolute allies; on the other, doughty Carthaginians, ready to fight, as well in countries defence, as also for most just and due revenge. We come of our selves to make war, and we descend into *Italy* with banners displayed, resolved to fight with so much more courage, as they commonly who are assailants, have greater stomack and more hope then the defendants. Over and besides, our hearts are kindled, and our minds pricked

“on and provoked with sense of injuries and indignities. First and foremost they acquired, that I
 “your General should be delivered unto them, as a condemned prisoner at the bar: then they
 “would have had all you that were at the assault of *Saguntum*, yielded up into their hands, to be
 “put to most extream torturs & execution. A people they are, full of all excessive cruelty, insolent
 “and proud beyond all measure: they would have but all in their power, and at their disposition
 “they must prescribe, limit, and set down, with whom we should war; with whom we may
 “make peace; restraining and enclosing us within the terms and bounds of hills and rivers;
 “which, forsooth, we must not pass: and they themselves keep not the limits, which they appoint.
 “Pass not (say they) *Iberus* in any wise; meddle not at all with the *Saguntins*: come not near
 “them, *Saguntum* standeth upon the river *Iberus*, step not one foot forward, we advise you. It
 “sufficeth not their turn, that they have taken from us our ancient Provinces, *Sicily* and *Sardinia*,
 “unless they may have away *Spain* too. And if I should depart from thence, and quit that
 “Realm also, they would not stay there, but will pass over straight into *Africa*: nay, they have
 “sent over this year already two Consuls, the one into *Africa*, the other into *Spain*: nothing
 “have they left for us, but that which we can win and hold with the sword's point. Well may
 “they be cowards, and play the idle larks, having a place of refuge to retire unto, who in their
 “own country and ground may be received, when they take their heels and run through wayes
 “without danger, to save themselves. As for us, it stands us upon to play the men, and to make
 “account of no mean designs between victory and death, but upon certain despair of all shifts be-
 “sides, either to obtain victory; or if fortune shall fail and give us the foil, chuse rather to die fight-
 “ing, than to be killed flying. If this be settled and deeply imprinted in your hearts, if this be your
 “resolution, I will say once again, The day is yours. A more poynant and sharper goad, than
 “this, to provoke men to victory, never gave the immortal gods to any whatsoever.

When by these Orations, the souldiers hearts of both sides were inflamed to fight, the Romans made a bridge over *Isonus*: and for defence of the bridg, erected a sconce and fort thereupon. But *Annibal* while the enemies were busie at work, sent *Maharbal* with a Cornet of Numidians, to the number of 500. light horsemen, to overrun and waste the territories belonging to the allies of the people of *Rome*: commanding him withal, to make as great spae of the Gauls as he could, and to sollicit and perswade their Nobles and Lords unto rebellion. After the bridg was finished, the Roman army passed over into the *Insubrians* country, encamped themselves upon certaine hills, five miles off from a village where *Annibal* also lay in camp: who seeing there was a battel toward, sent speedily for *Maharbal* back again, and the horsemen: and thinking belike, that he could never say enough to his souldiers, and admonish them sufficiently to do well and animate them to fight, he called them all again together to an audience: where he proposed, and promised unto them openly, certain assured rewards, the hope whereof might incite them to fight; namely, *Imprimis*, that he would endow them with fair lands, in *Italy*, *Africa*, or *Spain*, where they would themselves, to have, and to enjoy to him and to his heirs for ever, as free hold in frank tenure, without service: if any one would chuse to have money rather than land, him he would content with silver. *Item*, of the allies, as many as hereafter were desirous to be enfranchised Citizens of *Carthage*, they should have their free burgeoisie: & those that had a mind rather to return home again, he would endeavor and bring about that he should live so well, as not one of them would wish for to exchange his state with any of his neighbors and countermen whatsoever. Last of all, look what bond-servants attended and followed their masters, to them he promised freedom: and that in lieu of them, he would deliver again unto their masters, two for one, of the slaves taken captives in war. And that they might be assured, that he would perform all these promises, he held with his left hand a Lamb, and in the right a flint stone, and prayed solemnly. That if he failed herein, *Jupiter* and the rest of the gods, would so kill him, as he slew that Lamb: and presently after his prayer done, he smote the Lamb on the head, and dashed out the brains. Whereat they all every one, conceived and embraced assured hope unto themselves, that the gods said *Amen* and were on their side: and supposing that the only stay of enjoying their hopes, and obtaining their rewards, was, because they had not fought already; with one heart and voice they called for battel.

The Romans for their part, were nothing so lusty; for besides other things, they were affrighted with new prodigies and fearful sights. For it hapned that a Wolf entred their camp, & after he had worried and torn those that came in his way, escaped unhurt. Also a swarm of Bees settled upon a tree that grew over the General's pavilion. Which strange tokens being purged and cleared by an expiatory sacrifice, *Scipio* with his Cavalry and darts lightly appointed, went toward the camp of the enemy, to view their forces, and to observe how many and of what condition and quality they were: and there he encountred *Annibal*, who also was gone forth with his horsemen to discover the country about. At the first they saw not one another, but afterwards, by reason of the thick dust that rose upon the march of so many men and horses, they knew that enemies approached near. On both sides the battailions made a stand, and every man buckled himself to the skirmish. *Scipio* placed his Archers and horsemen of the Gauls in the forefront: the Romans and strength of Allies, he bestowed behind for succours in the rereguard. *Annibal* set in this battel, his great baybed horses with his lances and men of arms, and strengthened the wings with Numidian horsemen. The very first charge and shout was scarce done, when the Archers aforesaid retired among the rereguard in the second battailon: by occasion whereof, the horsemen alone fought a good while in equal

A qualbattel: yea, and afterwards, because the footmen that were intermingled among troubled and disordered the horses, many either fell, or else alighted from their horses, to go thither where they saw their fellows to be environed and overcharged. The conflict became very doubtful in many places until such time as the Numidians (who were in the wings) wheeling about by little and little, shewed themselves behind the backs of the Romans: this fearful fight troubled them greatly, and the fear was increased by reason of the Consul his hurt: the extreame danger wherof, was put by and avoided by the rescue of his son (then a very stripling as yet, and scarce had any hair upon his face) this youth is he, who had the honor of happy ending this war, surnamed afterwards (upon the noble victory and memorable conquest over *Annibal* and the Carthaginians) *Africanus*. But the Archers were they that fled fastest away, even those whom the Numidians set upon first: The rest that were horsemen, keeping thick and close together, recovered their Consul within their files into the midst of them: and protecting him not only with their weapons, but also with their bodies, brought him back safe unto the camp: retiring all the way neither disorderly, nor like fearful men over hastily. The honor of saving the Consul, *Calius* attributeth unto a bondslave of *Liguria*. But I verily would rather beleieve it of the son: which also the greater number of authors do affirm, but the common fame goeth of the said bondslave. This was the first battel with *Annibal*: wherein it easily appeared, that the Carthaginians were better in Cavalry, and therefore the open plain field such as were between the *Po* and the *Alps*, were not so good for the Romans to fight in. The night following therefore, *Scipio* commanded his souldiers secretly without any noise to truss up bag and baggage, and to dislodge: and removed from *Ticinus*, and made haste to *Po*: that whiles his boats were not yet unloosed one from the other, in which (as upon a bridge) he had brought over his army, he might without any trouble and pursuit of the enemy, conduct the same back again. And they came to *Placentia* before that *Annibal* knew they were departed from *Ticinus*: howbeit, he took some of them that made stay on the hither side of the bank, as they were too slow about disjoining and loosening the foresaid bridg of boats: upon which he could not pass over, by reason that when both ends were let loose, the planks and all, went down the water with the stream. *Calius* writeth, that *Mago* with his horses, and Spanish footmen, presently, swam over the river: and that *Annibal* himself led over his army at the upper foords of *Po*: for which purpose, he set the Elephants along on a row to break and beat off the violence and stream of the current. A thing surely that they were hardly able to do, who were skilful and by long experience knew the nature of the River very well. For it foundeth not like a truth, that horsemen with their armor and horses safe, could overcome so great a rage of the river, although we should grant that all the Spaniards gat over upon blown bladders or leather vessels, and besides, they had needed many days to fetch a compass for to find the foords of *Po*, over which, the army (laden with carriage) might be conveyed. But those authors carry more credit and authority with me, who write that scarcely in two days they found a place to make a bridge (of planks joined together) over the river, and that *Mago* and the Spanish light horsemen were sent that way over before.

Whiles *Annibal* on this side of the River, staid in giving audience to the embassages of the Gauls, he conducted over the regiments of footmen more heavily armed: in the mean while, *Mago* and the horsemen, after they had passed the river, marched one * days journey apace toward the enemies at *Placentia*. And *Annibal* (few days after) encamped himself strongly six miles from *Placentia*: and the morrow after in the sight of the enemies he put his men in array, and made them offer of battel. The night following there was a petty massacre committed in the Romans camp by the Gauls that came to aid: but greater was the garboil and tumult, then the harm indeed. For about 2000 footmen, and 200 horsemen, having slain the warders at the gates, fled away to *Annibal*: whom he spake courteously unto, and when he had drawn them on, in hope of great gifts and rewards, he dismissed every one into his own City and Country, to sollicite and perswade their countrimen to side with him. *Scipio* taking that massacre as a foretoken and overture to the Gauls revolt in general: and supposing, that now being once guilty and tainted with this offence, they would in a madness run all to take arms and rise. Although still he were sore of his late wound, yet the night following at the relief of the fourth watch, he marched stilly, and removed his camp neer the river *Trebia*, into the higher countries, and hills, that were more troublesome for men of arms. But he wrought not so closely and without the knowledge of the enemy, as he did at *Ticinus*. For *Annibal* having sent out, first, the Numidian light horse, and then all his Cavalry: without question had disordered and endamaged the reereward, but that the Numidians for greediness of prey and booty, diverted aside, and turned into the tents, abandoned and forsaken of the Romans. Where, whiles they spent time in ransacking and rifling every corner of the camp (and when all was done, could find no pillage worth the stay) the enemy escaped their hands. And when as they had espied that the Romans were newly got over *Trebia*, and pitched out a plot for a camp, they intercepted a few of them that lingered about the river, and slew them. *Scipio* not able now to abide any longer the grief and pain of his wound, by reason of the shaking and shogging of his body as he travelled, and thinking it good to expect the coming of the other Consul his Colleague, (whom he heard already to be sent for out of *Sicily*) chose out a place neer the river which seemed most safe for to encamp in, and it he fortified. *Annibal* also lay not far off in camp: who as he was proud upon the late battel of horsemen, so was he perplexed for want of victuals, which scarcity increased upon him every day more and more.

* About 25 English miles, as appeareth before in this book.

as he travelled through the enemies country, finding in no place provision aforehand. Whereupon, he went to *Clastidium*, a town wherein the Romans had bellowed and laid up great store of grain: where, as he prepared with violence to force the town, there appeared some hope of treason, by corrupting of *P. Brundisius*, the captain of the garrison there, and that with no great sum of money; for in consideration only of 400. peeces of gold given unto him, *Clastidium* was betrayed unto *Annibal*: the very storehouse and garner of corn that the Carthaginians had, all the while they were in leaguer neer *Trebia*. Upon those prisoners that were taken when the garrison and fort was betrayed, he exercised no cruelty, because that in the beginning of his affairs, he would win himself a name and opinion of clemency.

Whiles the war by land continued thus at *Trebia*, there had been some warlike exploits achieved both by sea and land about *Sicily*, and the Islands that lie against *Italy* neer unto it. both by *Sempronius* the Consul, and also before his coming. Twenty gallies with five ranks of Oars, and a thousand armed men, were sent from the Carthaginians to invade and waste the coasts of *Sicily*. Nine of them arrived at * *Lipara*: eight fell with the Island of * *Vulcan*, and three were driven by tempest into the Straights of *Sicily*. Against them being delcrypted within kenning, there were twelve ships let out from * *Messana*, by *Hiero* King of the Saraceni, who hapned at that time to be in *Messana*, attending the Roman Consul his coming; and without any resistance made he boarded those three ships, and brought them away into the Haven of *Messana*. By those that were taken prisoners, it was known, that besides the twenty ships afore said, sent against *Italy* (of which Fleet they were) 35 gallies of five course of Oars, made sail for *Sicily*, to solicit and persuade the old allies there to revolt. Item, that the especial point and design that they shot at, was to seize upon * *Lilybaeum*: but they thought verily that by the same gust or tempest wherein they were scattered, that other Fleet also was cast upon the Island *Aegades*. And according to this Intelligence, the King from *Messana* writeth to *Emilius* the Roman Pretor or Governor of *Sicily*, advising him to keep a strong garrison in *Lilybaeum*: whereupon the Lieutenants and Colonels about the Pretor, were sent from him with all speed to all the Cities about, to give order, that their people might be in readines, to keep good ward, and above all, to hold *Lilybaeum* sure. And for preparation of war, there went forth a proclamation, that the sailors and mariners should bring into the ships ten days provision of victuals and meat ready dressed, to the end that upon the signal given at an hours warning, without all delay, they should a shipboard. Also that all that dwell along the coast, should from their sentinels, watch-towers, and beacons, espy when the enemies fleet approached. Now (albeit the Carthaginians of purpose stayed the course of their ships, that they might come just before day to *Lilybaeum*) they were discovered, both for that the Moon shone all night, and also because they came under sail which they had hoisted up. So soon therefore as the signal was given out of the Sentinels and watch-towers, & alarm cried in the town, the mariners were soon embarked: the souldiers also were bellowed, some to man and guard the wals, and guard the gates, others to lie in the ships. But the Carthaginians perceiving, they were to deal with them that were provided for them, (as being advertised of their coming) forbore to enter the haven until day, and imployed the time in striking sails, in untackling their ships, and preparing them for a battel. When it was broad day light, they retired into the deep, to have lea room enough to fight, and that the enemies ships might have free egress out of the haven. The Romans for their part refused not battel, comforting themselves with the remembrance of the valiant exploits performed in that very place, and trusting also upon the number and valour of their souldiers. They were not so soon lanced into the open sea, but the Romans were desirous to grapple, and to come close to hand fight: but contrariwise, the Carthaginians held off aloof, willing to proceed by cunning and policy more then by strength and meer force; and to make trial rather of the nimbleness and agility of their ships, then either of the prowels of men, or goodness of armor: for as their Fleet was sufficiently furnished, and to the full, with a multitude of mariners, so was it ill provided of souldiers: and wheresoever they grappled together and came to hand-fight, they had not an equal number of men armed to hold play with the enemies: which being once perceived, the Romans gathered heart, and redoubled their courage, by reason of their number; the other side again were discouraged and out of heart, for their default of souldiers. Inasmuch as seven Carthaginian gallies were soon invested round and boarded, the rest fled. Of souldiers and mariners together, 1700. were in them taken; amongst whom, there were three great Gentlemen of Carthage. The Roman fleet still entire and whole, save one vessel only that was bonged and pierced (yet able to be brought back) returned into the haven.

Presently after this battel, and before that they of *Messana* had knowledge thereof, *T. Sempronius* the Consul arrived at *Messana*; and as he entered within the sound, King *Hiero* met him, with a fleet well furnished and richly decked and coming forth of his royal ship into the Admiral of the Consuls, he welcomed him, and rejoiced for the safe return of his men and ships, and prayed God, that his voyage into *Sicily* might prove happy and fortunate. Then shewed he unto him the present estate, and the affairs of the Island; opened the designments of the Carthaginians; and promised withal, that with as good a mind and sound heart as in the former war against the Carthaginians, when he was a young man, he had aided the people of *Rome*: so now in his old age he would assist them: and for proof hereof, he would of his own free cost furnish both the Consuls legions, and also the mariners with corn and rayment. Among other matters he informed him how *Lilybaeum*, and other Cities on the sea coast were in great danger, by reason of

* *Lipara*, one of the Islands *Aeolia*.

* *Vulcano*, another of the same Islands. * *Messana*.

* *Marsallaa* City in *Sicily*, and a Cape there, called the Eye of *Sicily*.

A some among them that desired a change and alteration. Whereupon the Consul thought good to make no delay, but to set sail with all speed to *Lilybaeum*, whom the King and his royal fleet accompanied: and as they were sailing, tidings came of the foresaid battel before *Lilybaeum*, and how the enemies ships were either scattered and put to flight, or boarded and taken.

The Consul having bid King *Hiero* adieu, with his fleet set sail from *Lilybaeum*, leaving behind him the Pretor to defend the coast of *Sicily*, and crossed the sea himself to the Island ** Melita*, which was held by the Carthaginians. At whose coming, *Amilcar* the son of *Gisco*, Captain of the garrison there, rendered himself, and 3000. soldiers within a very few, together with the Town and the Island. From whence, within few days he returned to *Lilybaeum*: where the prisoners

B (excepting certain noble persons of high parentage) were by the Consul and the Pretor both sold openly in port-sale. When the Consul thought *Sicily* on that coast sure enough, he set sail from thence towards the Islands of *Vulcan*, for that the bruit went that a fleet of Carthaginians there lay at road: but there were no enemies to be found about those Islands: for it chanced they were already passed over to waste along the river and coast of *Italy*; and having foraged the territory of ** Vibo*, they put the City also in great fear. As the Consul returned back again to *Sicily*, tidings came that the enemy had made rodes into the country of ** Vibona*: and he received letters also from the Senat, concerning the coming of *Annibal* into *Italy*; and therefore that he should with all speed possible aid and succour his Colleague. The Consul being at once troubled with many cares, presently embarked his army, and by the Adriatick sea, sent them away to ** Ariminum*. To *Sent*,

C *Pomponius* his Lieutenant, he gave the charge of 25 Gallies for the defence of the territory of *Vibo*, and the sea-coast of *Italy*. With *M. Emilius* the Pretor he left a fleet augmented to the number of fifty sail: which done, and all things set in order in *Sicily*, himself with ten ships coasted along *Italy*, and arrived at ** Ariminum*, from whence he put himself in his journey, and marched with one army to the river *Trebia*, where he joined with his fellow Consul. Now were both Consuls, and the whole puissance and force of the Romans opposed against *Annibal*, to wit appeared plainly, that either with that power the Empire of *Rome* might be defended, or else all their hope was gone. Howbeit one of the Consuls being weakened and discouraged with the defeat of his horsemen in one battel, and dismayed besides with the hurt he had received in his body, desired to have the fight deferred: but the other coming fresh and lusty, and thereby more hardy, would

D abide no delay.

It fell out so at that time, that the Gauls inhabited all the Country between the two rivers *Rhoda* and *Po*: who whiles these two most puissant nations were at strife and warred, held off as neutrals, and favoured neither side, making full account of the good will and grace of that party which should have the better. The Romans because they would now make no stir, and have no more irons in the fire, took the matter well enough: but *Annibal* was very much therewith offended, giving out very often, that he was sent for by the Gauls for their deliverance and liberty. Upon this indignation and displeasure, and for that also he would feed his men with booties, he commanded 2000 footmen, and a thousand horsemen, most of them *Numidians*, and some Gauls among, to overrun and spoil all the country forward even to the banks of *Po*. The Gauls standing in need of help, and having until that time kept themselves in doubtful terms, were forced to turn from those that offered them wrong, and to encline and cleave unto the Romans: that should revenge their injuries and protect them. Whereupon they sent Embassadors to the Consuls, requesting the Romans help for their land; which by reason of their exceeding fidelity, and too much loyalty of the inhabitants toward them, was now endangered. *Cornelius* liked neither the cause, nor yet the time to deal in such affairs: he had the nation besides in suspicion and jealousy, as well for many treacherous parts, as also (in case he would or could forget all or her lewd pranks of theirs) for the same disloyalty and falsehood of the Romans. *Sempronius* contrariwise thought in the strict bond to keep their allies in faith and allegiance, to defend those that came first to band and side with him. But notwithstanding his Colleague cast doubts and held off, yet he sent his own

F Cavalry, and a thousand well neer of footmen darters amongst them, to guard the country of *Umbria* beyond *Trebia*: who coming suddenly upon the enemies, and charging them at unawares, as they came scattered asunder, and out of order, yea, and most of them laden with spoil, mightily affrighted them, and made a foul slaughter, and pursued them in flight, as far as to their standing camp, and corps de guard. From whence (nevertheless) they were beaten back by the multitude that issued forth: but by new succours from their own companies, they renewed the fight again. The fight afterward was doubtful and variable: and although they made a saving bargain on both parts, yet the common voice gave the honor of victory (such as it was) to the Romans rather than the enemies. But no man made a greater matter of it, and reckoned it more to the full, than the Consul himself. He joyed, he made his boast, that he had got the better, with the help of the same forces,

G yes, which under the conduct of the other Consul, came by the worse. And now (saith he) the soldiers are comforted and refreshed well enough; and none there is but my brother Consul that would have the battel deferred: who no doubt is more hearted than bodily hurt: and for the remembrance and smart of a little green wound, quaketh to hear of the field, & of all things cannot a way with edg-tools. But we must not thus sit still here and wax aged for the pleasure of one cradle and sickly person. For what reason is it, that we should drive off longer, and spend more time in vain? What other Consul expect we to make up the third? or what army besides should we look for? The Carthaginians lie encamped in *Italy*, and well neer within the view and sight

* Melita.

* Vibona, or Vibona.

* Ariminum.

* Sestertio.

“of the City of *Rome*; and it is neither *Sicily* nor *Sardinia* taken from them by conquest, nor *Spain* on this side *Iberus*, which they shoot at, to win again: but that the Romans should be thrust out of their native soil and country wherein they were born, that is their drift and designment. Oh how deeply (quoth he) would our Fathers sigh, how heartily would they groan, they who were wont to manage war about the walls of *Carthage*, if they should see us their off-spring and children, two Consuls with Consular and roial armies in the midst of *Italy*, frightened thus and panting for fear within our camp? And that *Annibal* hath subdued and brought under his subjection all the country between the *Alps* and *Apenninum*? These and such like speeches uttered he to his Colleague, as he sat by his beds side, where he lay sick: thus spake he, as in an open audience, in the Coss. pavilion and all that quarter, to the souldiers. The time also of the Election of magistrates at *Rome*, being so neer at hand, set him forward for fear, lest the war should be deferred unto the new Coss. and the opportunity withal, of winning all the honor to himself whiles his Colleague continued sick, pricked him on. Whereupon, for all the contradiction of *Cornelius*, which he nothing weighed and regarded, commandment he gave to his souldiers to be ready, to give battel anon unto the enemy. *Annibal* as one that knew and saw well enough what was best and safest for his enemy, could hardly imagin or conceive any hope to himself, that the Consuls would enterprises any thing rashly, or without advisement: but when he understood by hear-say, that which afterwards by good proof and experience he found true, namely, that the one of them by nature was hot, hasty, proud, and furious: and supposing, that he was the prouder and more furious for the late good hand he had of his forragers: made no doubt and distrust of the happy success and issue of a battel, whensoever it should come. Marry, careful he was, that no good time and opportunity presented unto him, should be overslipped: but to try the hazzard and fortune of the field, whiles the enemies souldiers were raw and untrained, and the better and wiser man of the two Generals, was unmeet for service, by reason of his wound as yet uncured: and the courage of the Gauls lusty and forward: for well he wist, that a mighty number of them would the more unwillingly follow, the further they were drawn from their own home. *Annibal*, I say, hoping that by these and such like occasions, a battel would be soon offered: desirous also himself to bid battel, if the enemy staid long: and being advertised besides by the Gauls, his espials (whom he employed to hearken out and learn what he desired to know, and thought them more sure, because they served in both camps) that the Romans were ready for the field: then began he (crafty Carthaginian as he was) to seek out a convenient place for an ambush. Now there was in the mid way between, a river running within the borders, having very high banks of either side, and therefore lying close hidden, and all about overspread with moory weeds, with briars, brambles, and brush-wood, as for the most part, such forlet places are overgrown withal. Which when *Annibal* in person had ridden about, and well viewed, perceiuing that it would afford lurking holes handfom enough even for horsemen there to be hidden, This shall be the place (quoth he to his brother *Mago*) which you shall keep. Chuse therefore out of all the horse and foot a hundred lusty tall fellows of each: and see you repair with them to me at the first watch, for now is it time to take repast, and to refresh your bodies. And with that he sent out to the camp the Criers, to call the souldiers to supper. And long it was not, but *Mago* was come with his chosen men, I see (quoth *Annibal*) ye are goodly men of person, and sufficient. And that ye may be as able in number, as hardy in courage, elect ye also out of the Cornets of horse and squadrons of foot, nine a piece such as your selves to sort withal. *Mago* shall shew you the ground where ye must lie in ambush: you shall find the enemy as blind as beetles, altogether unacquainted with these seats and cunning devices.

Thus *Annibal* having committed unto *Mago* a thousand horsemen and as many footmen himself betimes in the morning, willed the Numidian Cavalry, when they were passed over the river *Trebia*, to ride braving before the gates of the enemies, and by daring and shooting into their guards, to provoke and draw them forth to fight: with this direction moreover, when the skirmish was begun, to fall off, and seem to retire by little and little, and so to train them on this side the river. This charge had the Numidians. But the other Captains, as well of foot as horse, were commanded to let their Companies all to their breakfast: which done, to arm themselves, and with their horses ready saddled, to attend the signal of battel. *Sempronius* upon the alarm and hurlyburly of the Numidians, as being forward and desirous of fight, first brought forth all his horsemen, and bare himself bold and confident in that service; after that six thousand footmen: and at last, all his whole forces: and led them to a place which before he had designed and appointed in his mind. It fell out to be in Winter, about the midst of December, and a snowy day it was in those parts lying between the *Alps* and *Apenninum*. Now by reason of the rivers and moors so neer, both horse and men were exceeding cold: also for that they were hastily on a sudden, called forth fasting, and unprovided of all means against the cold, they had never a whiff of heat left in them: and the neerer they came to the air and vapour of the river, the sharper cold, pinched and pierced them through. But when as once they followed upon the Numidians that gave back, and were entered into the water (which by reason of the rain that fell by night was risen breast-high) they were not so soon gotten out again of the river, but all their bodies begun to chill, and be stiff again for cold, that scarcely they could hold their weapons: and withal, as the day went further on, for very hunger they fainted. But *Annibal* his souldiers, who in the mean time had made fires before their tents, and had oyl sent them to every company, for to supple and soften their joints and

A and his, and taken their repast, and sat at leisure when they heard say, that the enemies were passed the river, with hearts courageous and bodies fresh and lusty, take them to the weapons, and come forth to fight in ordinance of battel. The *Baleares*, and light armed men, to the number almost of 8000, he ranged before the standards in the front: after them he placed the footmen, better appointed and armed to the proof, even the very strength and manhood of all his forces: about the wings he set 10000 horsemen, and behind those wings, he divided and appointed his Elephants both on the one side and the other.

The Consul *Sempronius* seeing his horsemen following the chase on the spur, and out of order; and how at unawares they were charged again by the Numidians, who upon a sudden turned and made head upon them, sounded the retreat: and when they were rallied about him, he compassed his footmen with them. The Romans were in number 18000, of Allies and Latines, 20000, besides the aids of the * *Cenomani*: which Nation of the Gauls only, continued faithful and true to the Romans. With these forces came they into the field, and began the battel. The first charge of the skirmish was given by the Islanders of *Baleares*, upon whom, when the legions made head with greater violence, their light armed men were quickly brought into the wings: which was a cause that the Roman horsemen presently were discharged and distressed. For whereas of themselves they were but 4000 horse, and hardly able to withstand the shock of ten thousand horsemen of the other, the Romans also were wearied, but most of the Carthaginians fresh and untainted: over and besides, they were overwhelmed with a clond (as it were) of darts, flung and shot by the *Baleare* Islanders: Moreover the Elephants which appeared aloft from the hindmost ends of the wings frighted the horses especially, and not only with the strange sight, but also with as uncouth a scent and savor, made them flie every way. The battel of the Infantry was equal in courage of heart, rather then in strength of body: which the Carthaginians, (as having a little afore taken repast) brought fresh with them into the field: but contrariwise the Romans were fasting and weary, and for cold even stark and benumbed. Howbeit their stomachs would have served to have held out and withstood to the end, if they might have fought with footmen only. But both the *Baleares*, having disordered the horsemen, flanked them with their shot, and also the Elephants by this time were entred into the middle battailon of footmen: and withal, *Mago* and the Numidian light horse (so soon as this battailon was unawares gone past their ambushment and lurking holes) start up and arose from behind, and put them in exceeding trouble and fright: Yet for all these inconveniencies and disadvantages (so many on every side) the main battel a good while stood immovable and stirred not, but kept the array, and especially (beyond the expectation of all men) against the Elephants. For certain footmen placed for the purpose, by flinging of darts forced them to turn head: and when they were once turned fromwards, they followed hard upon them, pricking and galling them under the tails, in which place by reason of the tender skin they are soon wounded. Whom when *Annibal* saw thus feared and ready to turn upon their own part, from the main battel to the flanks and outsidies, he commanded them to be driven unto the left wing upon the Gauls that came to aid, and presently enforced them to run away. The Romans seeing their auxiliary Gauls put to flight, were driven into a new fear. Whereupon fighting now as it were in a ring and round on both sides, there were among them to the number also of 10000, who seeing no way else to escape, brake through the middle battailon of the Africans, which was strengthened with the aid of the Gauls, and that with a great slaughter of their enemies: and seeing they neither could return into their camp (the river being between) nor for the rain well discern how to succour their fellows, they took the way straight to *Placentia*. After this, the rest brake forth in all parts. They that took the river either perished in the streams and whirl-pools: or such as made stay to enter, were by the enemy overtaken and slain. But as many as here and there fled scattering through the fields, following the footing and tracks of the battailon that retired back, came to *Placentia*. Some for fear of the enemy, adventured boldly to take the river, and being once over, recovered the camp. The rain and snow together, and the intolerable cold killed many, as well men as beasts and in manner all the Elephants. The Carthaginians followed the enemies in chase as far as *Trebia*, and there gave over: and returned into the camp so clumse and frozen, as scarcely they felt the joy of their victory, by reason whereof the night following, whereas the guard of the Roman camp, and the remnant of that great company of souldiers passed *Trebia* with float-boats and flat barges, the Carthaginians either perceived them not indeed for the noise the tempestuous rain made, or for weariness and sore wounds were not able to stir, and therefore made semblance, as though they knew not of it. And so whiles the Carthaginians were at rest, the army was by *Scipio* the Consul brought (in a still march) to *Placentia*: and from thence having crossed the *Po*, came to *Cremona*, because one Colony alone should not be charged with the wintering of two armies at one time.

G Upon this defeat and overthrow, there arrived such fearful tidings at *Rome*, that they believed verily and looked for no other but that the enemy would come with banner displayed straight to the very City: and that there was no hope nor help left behind to defend their gates and walls from assault and violence. For seeing that the one Consul was vanquished at *Ticinus*, and the other also, who was called unto him out of *Sicily*; since both Consuls, and two consular armies were thus defeated, what other Captains, what Legions remained now to be sent for, to aid? As they were in this agony and fear, *Sempronius* the Consul came home: who with very great danger had passed through the enemies Cavalry, which was spread here and there all about, to fetch in booties; and

* *Dei de Main.*

and more by venturous hardiness then good advice and hope, either to miss them unespied, or to resist if he had happen'd upon them, he got away. And after he had held the assembly for election of the Consuls (the only thing above all other for that present most desired) he returned into his standing camp to winter in. Now there were created Consuls; *Cn. Servilius*, and *Cn. Flaminius* the second time.

Howbeit the Romans were not in quiet within their wintering camp, for the Numidian host-men ranged about, and made excursions into every quarter, and (those who troubled and impeached them, more then they) the Celtiberians and Portugals. Whereby all convoy of victuals from every part was stopped, but only that which came by the *Po*, in Keels and such like vessels. Neer to *Placentia* there was a merchants town, both fortified strongly, and also well furnished with a good garrison: upon hope to force that castle or town, *Annibal* went with his horse and foot, lightly armed; and supposing that to carry the matter covertly, would avail much to the effecting of his purposed enterprise, he came upon them in the night; howbeit he was not so close and secret, but he was descried by the watch: who suddenly set up such an alarm, that it was heard as far as *Placentia*. Whereby, the Consul somewhat before day was there with his Cavalry, having commanded the Infantry to march on aiter, ranged in a square battailon. In the mean while the horsemen skirmished, wherein *Annibal* was hurt, and departed out of the skirmish, by which means the enemies were frightened, and the Castle, and hold manfully defended. After few days that he had taken his ease, before he was well cured of his wound, he went forward to assault *Vicumvie*. That was a town also of merchandize (or mart town) and had been fortified by the Romans in the Gauls war. Whereupon, the people bordering there about, on every side, fled thither to make repair, and much frequented the same: and even then for fear of rodes and excursions many of the Peasants and rural people retired themselves thither for refuge. This multitude (such as they were) upon the report of the valiant holding and defence of the fort by *Placentia*, were encouraged, and took arms, and went forth to encounter *Annibal*. And in the mid-way they chanced to affront him and skirmish, in no battel array, but as they marched disorderly: whereas they were on the one side, none but a rude and confused fort, and on the other side, both a Captain that might trust his souldiers, and souldiers also that might reckon upon their Captain, there were to the number of 35000, discomfited and put to flight, even by a few of their enemies. The morrow after, they yeilded themselves, and received a garrison within the walls, and so soon as upon commandment to give up their armor, they had obeyed and so done; presently a signal was given unto the conquerors to sack and spoil the town, as if it had been forced by assault: where there was not forgotten and omitted any calamity whatsoever, that might afford in such a case, memorable matter & sufficient argument for writers to record. So pitiful examples were practised upon the poor silly wretches, of all looseness and lust, cruelty, and inhuman pride and outrage. And these were the expeditions and enterprises of *Annibal* achieved for this winter time.

After this the souldiers took repose, but no longer then the intollerable cold lasted: For immediately upon the very first and doubtful tokens of spring; he departed from his wintering hold, and led his army into Tuscany, purposing to adjoin unto him (either by force or love) that nation also, as well as the Gauls and Ligurians. But as he passed over *Apenninum*, there arose so terrible a storm and tempest, and surprised him, that it surmounted well-near the foul trouble and encumbrance endured in the *Alps*. For the wind and rain together did beat and drive upon their very faces. At the first, for that either they were to lay away their armor, or else in striving and labouring to march on against the weather, and by the whirl-puffs of wind turned round about, and ready to be born down, they stood still: but when as now the violence and fury of the storm, stopped their breaths, suffered them not to take their wind at will, they were fain to turn their backs, and sit them down on the ground for a time. Then see, the skie thundered amain, and made an horrible noise, and amid those terrible cracks redoubled, it lightened thick. Whereupon, they lost their hearing and seeing, and for fear, all of them became astonished. At length it poured down, and thereby the wind and storm increased more forceably upon them. Whereupon they were driven N to this necessity, even to pitch their camp, even in that very place where they were so suddenly caught and overtaken by tempest. But that was to them the beginning of a new toil and travel: for neither could they spread and display ought, nor pitch any thing surely: neither would that which was pight down, continue and abide the wind, which rent and tare, and broke every thing, and hurried it clean away. And within a while, the water that fell, and by reason of the wind was raised aloft, being congealed once upon the cold tops of the hills, turned into a kind of hail and snow together, and came upon them with such a force, that leaving all things else, the men were forced to lie along, groveling upon their faces, rather stifled and smothered, then covered with their hillings. Hereupon ensued a frost, so violent and outrageous, that of that miserable and pitiful heap of men and beasts, that lay there along, there was not one for a good while could raise and lift up himself when he would, by reason, that for stark cold their snows were benumbed, that they could hardly bend and bow their joints. Afterwards, at length, when with bestirring and chafing their limbs, they gat some heat, and came again to themselves, and that here and there in some places they began to make fires; every one that had no means so to do, ran and fled to the succor and help of others. Thus for two days they remained there pinned up as if they had been besieged. Many a man and beast, and seven Elephants also of them that remained after the battel at *Trebia*, were starved and perished.

A By occasion hereof, *Annibal* departed from *Apenninus*, back again toward *Piacentia*: and when he had marched ten miles on his way, he sat him down and encamped. The morrow after he led against the enemy 12000 foot, and 5000 horse. *Sempronius* the Consul also, being now returned from *Rome*, refused not battel: and the same day, the enemies were distant but three miles asunder. The morrow after they fought on each side most fiercely and courageously, and with variable event and fortune. At the first-on set, the Romans had the better hand, so far forth, as that not only in fight they overcame their enemies, but also after they had discomfited them, and put them back, they chased them into their camp, and anon assailed the same. *Annibal* having ordained some few to defend the rampart and the gates, retired the rest thick and close together into the midst of the camp, and commanded them to give ear, and be inventive to the signal, when he would have them issue forth. Now was it the * ninth hour of the day, when the Roman Consul having roiled and wearied his souldiers to no purpose, and seeing no hope to win the camp, sounded the retreat. Which so soon as *Annibal* heard, and saw the fight withal to slack and was cold, and the enemy retired back from the camp, presently rallied forth himself with the whole strength of his Infantry, for he had sent out his horsemen both on the right hand and the left after the enemies. There had not been lightly a more fierce and cruel battel stricken, and more memorable, for the fatal mischief of both parts, if the day would have given them time to have fought longer. But the night parted the fray, which was hotly begun with exceeding stomach and courage. Whereupon, the confronting and charging one of another, was more eager, then the slaughter bloody between them: and as the fight in manner was equal, so they parted with loss alike. For of each side there died above six hundred footmen, and half as many horsemen. But the loss on the Romans side was greater than in proportion of the number, because certain of the degree and calling of Knights, and five Colonels, and three Captains of the Allies, were slain.

* Three of the clock after noon.

After this journey, *Annibal* went into the country of the Ligurians, and *Sempronius* to *Lucia*. To welcome *Annibal* at his first coming into *Liguria*, there were delivered unto him two Roman Questors or Treasurers, *Cn. Fulvius*, and *L. Lucretius*, who were intercepted by the Ligurians, & taken in a train of ambush, with two Colonels, and five others besides, whose fathers by calling were as good as Senators fellows: and this was done, because he should assure himself the better, that the peace and amity contracted with them, would be faithfully kept and observed.

D While these things thus passed in *Italy*, *Cn. Scipio* who was sent into *Spain* with a fleet and army for sea and land: having set sail from the mouth of *Rhodanus*, and compassed the mountains *Pyrenai*, arrived at a place called *Emporia*: where he disembarked and landed his forces, and reduced unto the Roman Empire all the country, beginning at the *Lacetans*, and so from thence all the sea coast as far as to the river *Iberus*, partly by renewing their ancient leagues, and partly by devising means to contract new. Whereupon, there arose a great name of him for his clemency: whereby he prevailed not only with the States by the sea side, but also amongst the inlanders and mountaineers, even to the nations that were more fierce & savage: with whom he not only made peace, but also wrought them so, that they took arms in his quarrel: and there were levied from amongst them, certain strong cohorts and bands for to aid and succour him. *Hanno*, whom *Annibal* had left for defence of that province, was not ignorant hereof: and therefore, before all was gone, and the country alienated, he thought good to meet with this mischief: and having pitched his camp in sight of the enemies, set his men in ordinance of battel. The Roman Captain likewise resolved not to defer the fight: knowing that so, he might be forced to encounter both with *Hanno* and *Asdrubal*, and rather yet he desired to deal with them one after the other single, than at once with both. But this battel was not so much dangerous. Six thousand enemies were left behind slain, and two thousand taken prisoners, together with those that were left for the guard of the camp. For both the camp was forced and won, and also the General himself with certain guards was taken prisoner. Moreover *Stiffum*, a town neer unto the camp, was won by assault: howbeit, the spoil and pillage of the town were matters of small worth and value: namely, the household stuff, and such pelf and trimpery of barbarous people, and certain poor base slaves. It was the camp that enticed the souldiers: by reason that not only the army which was now vanquished, but that also which with *Annibal* served in *Italy*, and left behind them about *Pyrenus*, all good things to speak of, that they set store by, because they would go lightly, and not be encumbered with carriages. Before any certain report of this overthrow came to *Asdrubal*, he had passed over *Iberus* with 8000 footmen, and 1000 horsemen, as purposing to make head against the Romans at their first coming: but when he heard how the field was lost, and the camp withal, he turned his journey to the sea. And not far from * *Tarracon*, he found the souldiers of the *Amado*,

* *Tarragona*.

F the mariners besides, wandering and stragling over the fields (for usual it is, that happy success should breed careless negligence) whereupon he sent out his horsemen every way, and with great slaughter and flight he chased them to their ships: and not adventuring to make any longer stay thereabout, for fear to be surprised of *Scipio*, he retired back to the other side of *Iberus*. *Scipio* also upon the first report of these new enemies, having rallied his forces together in great haste, after he had slightly chastised a few Captains, and left behind him a small garrison at *Tarracon*, returned with his fleet to *Emporia*. He had no sooner departed from thence, but *Asdrubal* was there in his place: and having induced and incited the State of the *Ilergetes* (who had given hostages to *Scipio*) for to revolt and rebel, even with their own youth waited the territories of all those that continued faithful confederates to the Romans. Afterwards, when *Scipio* was roiled

roused once out of the place where he wintered, the enemy retired again, and quit all the country on that side *Iberus*. Then *Scipio* having in hostile manner invaded the countries, abandoned and left by him that was the author and cause of their rebellion, and by that means the nation likewise of the *Ilergetes*, after he had driven them all within *Arbanagia*, which is their capital town, he laid siege unto it round about, and within few days brought the whole seignory of the *Ilergetes* under his obedience: and besides a greater number of hostages then before (which they were constrained to deliver) he condemned them in a good round sum of money. From thence he went forward against the *Ausetanes*, near to *Iberus*, being associates also to the *Carthaginians*: and having beleaguered their City, he fore-layed and intercepted the *Lacerans* as they came by night to succour their neighbors, not far from the town, even as they were at the point to enter in. There were slain of them 12000, and the rest being well-near all disarmed, fled every way scattering here and there over the fields home to their houses. All the help and defence that they had who were within, was only the foul and cold winter weather, evermore naught and hurtful to assailants that lie forth. The siege lasted thirty days, during which time, seldom fell the snow less then four foot deep, and so covered the pentiles and mantlets of the Romans, that when the enemies flung fireundry times thereupon, that alone saved the same, & nothing else. In the end, upon the departure of their Prince *Amurcius*, who was fled to *Asdrubal*, they yielded, upon condition to pay twenty talents of silver, & so *Scipio* returned to *Tarracon*, there to winter.

* 3750 pound sterling, according to the less Antick Talent.

But that year, at *Rome* and about the City, were many strange and prodigious signs seen, or at leastwise (a thing usual when mens minds are once touched with religion, and given to make scruple) many were reported, and soon beleaved. Among which, this was one: that a babe of condition free born, and but half year old, cried with a loud voice in the herb market *Io Triumpe*. Also in the beasts market, an Ox of himself undriven, climbed up to the third loft or story of an house, and from thence being frightened with the stir and noise of the dwellers by, cast himself down. Moreover, there was seen in the welkin or element, the resemblance of a navy of ships: and the Temple of Lady * *Spes*, standing in the herb market, was smitten with lightning. Likewise at *Lanuvium* the spear of *Juno* shook and brandished of it self: and a Raven flew into *Juno's* Church, and lighted upon the very Shrine or Altar of *Juno*. In the territory of * *Amitemum*, in many places were seen men, as it were, in white garments, but only afar off: for as folk went neerer and neerer, they appeared not, and could not be met withal. In *Picenum* it rained stones: and at *Cere* the lots were found diminished: and in *Gaul*, a Wolfe drew forth a watchman his sword out of his scabbard, and carried it away. For other prodigious tokens, order was given to the Decemvirs to peruse the books of *Sibylla*. But for the raining of stones in *Picenum*, there was ordain a Novendial feast for nine days: and for the expiation of the other prodigies, the whole City in manner was occupied in their devotions. And now above all other things the City was solemnly purged, and greater beasts killed in sacrifice in the honor of those gods, for whom they were ordained, and a present of gold weighing * 40. pound, was carried unto *Juno* at *Lanuvium*.

* The goddess Hope.

* *Pescona*.

* 1440 l. ster.

And the dames and matrons of *Rome* erected a molten image of brass for *Juno* in *Aventinum*: and at *Cere* where the lots were diminished, was appointed a Lectistern, and a procession or supplication to *Fortune* in *Algidum*. At *Rome* also there was a Lectistern solemnized to *Juvens* [the goddess of youth] and a solemn procession at the church of *Hercules*. Moreover, express commandment was given to all the people, to make procession and supplication at every Altar and Shrine of their gods. And to god *Genius*, they sacrificed five greater beasts. And *C. Attilius Serranus* the Pretor, was commanded to pronounce a solemn vow, in case the Common-weal continued in the same good estate, ten years, and decayed not. These portentous prodigies thus expiated, and vows made according to *Sibylls* books, eased mens hearts mightily of their religious fear. Then one of the elect Consuls, to wit, *Flaminius*, to whom were allotted those Legions which wintered at *Placentia*, sent an Edict with Letters to the Consul, that the Army should be in camp at *Ariminum*, upon the * Ides of *March*. His purpose was, to enter into his Consulship in the Province, remembering the old contentions and debates which he had with the Nobles, first when he was a Tribune of the Commons, and afterwards when he was Consul, as well about the Consulship (of which, they would have deprived him) as also, about the triumph, which they denied him. Hated he was besides of the Senat, for the new Act or Law, which *Q. Claudius* (a Tribune of the Commons) had made, so prejudicial to the Senat: and only *C. Flaminius* of all the Nobles, supported it and set it forward: namely, That no Senator, or father of a Senator should have a Ship at Sea, bearing above * 300. Amphores: for that was thought sufficient to transport their commodities and fruits to *Rome*, rising out of their Lands and livings. And as for all other gain by traffick, it was not befitting a Nobleman and Senator. This matter having been debated with great contention, caused the proposer of this law (*Flaminius*) to incur much evil will and displeasure with the Nobility, but it procured him the affection and love of the Commons, and in process of time a second Consulship. Supposing therefore, that with iterating the Auspices, and putting him to take the presages anew by the flight of birds, and by finding other delays, upon occasion of the Latine holy days, and one business or other belonging to the Consuls charge, they would detain and keep him back still in the City, he set a countenance, as though he would take a journey like a private person, and so departed secretly into the Province. Which thing when it was once blazed abroad, made the Nobles who were afore maliciously bent against him, to be angry anew: and they gave out, that it was not the Senat only, that *C. Flaminius* warred against

* 15. day of March:

* Of eight Tun and better.

against, but the immortal Gods also. For he, who before time had been made Col. without regard of taking Auspices, and having the approbation of the birds, when he was reclaimed and called both by God and man out of the field, obeyed not; and now, having a heavy conscience, discharged with offences past, hath fled from the Capitol and the solemn nuncupation and making of vows, for that he would not upon the ordinary day of entering his Magistracy, visit the Temple of *Jup. Opt. Max.* nor (because he was odious to the Senate) and they likewise hated of him alone) see them, and ask their advice and counsellors nor proclaim the Latin Holy-dayes, and celebrate to *Jup. Latialis* the solemn yearly sacrifice upon the *Alban* hill: nor yet, after he had entred into the Capitol by the lucky sight and token of birds, pronounce his vows there, and depart from thence in his rich coat-armour toward the Province. They said moreover, that he was slip and holmsecretly away like a dudgeon that followeth the camp, without the ensignes and ornaments of authority, without Sergeants and Officers, as if he had been banished, and so left his country, minding belike to enter his government more for the honor and dignity of *Arminum* than of *Rome*, and to put upon him his purple robe of estate, embroidered with scarlet rather in an hostlerry and common Inne, than in his own house. They all every one opined and judged that he should be recalled and brought back again peremptorily, yet and he forced personally at home to perform all duties belonging to God and man, before that he went forth to the Province and to the army. About this embassage (for they thought meet to send Embassadors) went *Q. Terentius*, and *M. Antistius*: but they prevailed no more than in his former Consulship the letters missive had done, which were sent from the Senat. A few dayes after he entred his office, and as he was sacrificing, the Calf or young Bullock being already sticke, got away from the hands of the sacrificers, and spotted many of the standers by with blood. But they that stood far off, not knowing what the matter was of that stir, fled away, and ran to and fro: which of most men was judged a foretoken and prelage of some great affright and trouble. After this, when he had received the two legions of *Sempronius*, the Consul of the year before, and other two, of *C. Asinius* the Pretor, he began to conduct his army into Tuscany by the way of *Apenninum*.

The two and twentieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the two and twentieth Book.

ANnibal came into Hetruria, after he had lost one of his eyes by occasion of continual watching in the marshes, through which he marched four dayes and three nights, without taking his repose or sleep. *C. Flaminius* the Consul a rash and inconsiderate man, went forth contrary to the warrent and approbation of the Auspices, and caused the field-ensignes to be digged out of the ground, when others sa they could not be plucked up: and being wounded on Horseback, fell with his head forward from his horse. His fortune was to be surprised in an ambush by *Annibal*, which he had laid for him near the Lake called *Thralymenus*: where he and his army were defeated, and fell upon the edge of the sword. Sit those said *Romans*, who brake through and made an escape, notwithstanding the faithful promise that *Maharbal* had made unto them, were by the fallhood of *Annibal* put in prison. When upon the news of this overthrow, there was great mourning and sorrow at Rome, there forewent two mothers to die for their joy, that beyond their hope and expectation, they recovered their sons, and saw them alive, whom they supposed to have been slain in this field. In regard of this foresaid defeat, there was vowed a sacred spring, according to the books of *Sibylla*. After this, when *Q. Fabius Maximus* the Dictator sent against *Annibal*, would not come to a set battell with him, for fear he should have a discomfite: the soldiers labaly terrified and daunted with aduerso overthrow, against an enemy lusty and proud of so many victories, and by making head, and opposing himself only against *Annibal*, impeached his attempts and enterprises. *M. Minucius* the General of his Horse, a man of a proud spirit and brayn sick humours, with charging the Dictator, and accusing him and the people for a fearful and cowardly person, prevailed so much by his virtue of their power and authority, he was joined in equal commission and command with the Dictator. By means whereof, the army and the forces were divided indifferently between them, and *Minucius* gave the enemy battell in a place of great disadvantage, whereupon his Legions were distressed with great hazard: but *F. Maximus* came in time to his rescue with his part of the army, and saved him out of the present danger. By occasion of which good turn, he was overcome, and his stomach came down in so much, as he was content to join in camp with him, and saluted him by the name of Father, commanding all his own soldiers to do the same to their fellow soldiers. After *F. Maximus*, *Annibal* after he had in field and overrun Campania, chanced between the Town *Capua*, and the mountain *Calicula* to be inclosed and compassed about by *Fabius*: but by a defect of food, the Romans of this stricke were overborne, and setting them on fire, put to flight and chased away the part of the *Romans*, which he kept the straighter of *Calicula*, and by that means gat through the passage of that Forrest. The same *Annibal*, at what time as he made

harock and burned all the territory about for bare to touch the Land of Q. Fabius Maximus the Dictator, to the end, that he might bring him into a suspicion of treason to the State. After this, when Emilius Paulus, and Terentius Varro were Consuls and Generals of the army, there was a battle fought with Annibal, to their exceeding losse and utter overthrow, near unto a village called Cannæ. At which field there were slain of Romans, 45000. together with Paulus the Consul, and fourscore Senators, besides thirty other notable personages that had been Consuls or Prætors, or at leastwise, Aediles of State. After this defeat, when the noble young Gentlemen of the City (for very despair of the State) were in counsell to abandon Italy, P. Cornelius Scipio (a Colonel, who afterwards was surnamed Africanus) held his naked sword over their heads, as they sat in consultation, and swore a great oath, that he would repulse him for a mortal enemy, that would not swear after him: and hereby effected thus much at their hands, that by vertue of an oath, they obliged themselves not to depart out of Italy, and forsake their native country. This book containeth besides, the fights and lamentation made within the City, and the affairs and exploits achieved in Spain, with more happy success. Opimia and Feronia, two professed vestal Virgins, were convicted of incest, and condemned. By reason of small number of souldiers and servicable men for the wars, there were 8000 slaves put in arms. The Captives taken prisoner in the wars, when they might have been redeemed, were not ransomed for all that. A solemn warning there was for Varro his wicked home, with great thanksgiving, because he had not dispaired of the Common-weal.

The two and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

NOW approached the spring, when Annibal removed out of his wintering holds, after he had assayed before to pass over the *Apennine*, but in vain, by reason of the intolerable cold; where also he layed in great fear and danger of his own person. By which time, the Gauls, who having risen up in arms on his side, for hope of spoil and pillage, seeing now in stead of harrying and carrying away of booties out of other mens Lands, that their own country was become the place of the war troubled and molested as well with the one army as the other which abode there all winter turned their hatred and malice from the Romans back again upon Annibal: In such sort, as after he had been sundry times foiled by the secret trains of their Princes, and in danger to be murdered, he escaped only by the deceitfulness and fallshood practised among their own selves. For with what inconstancy and levity they had conspired together, with the same they betrayed one another, and detected the conspiracy unto him. By means whereof, as also by changing one while his apparel, another while the bonnet and attire of his head, by error also and mistaking, he avoided the peril, and saved himself. But so it was, that even this fear in which he stood, caused him to remove the sooner out of his wintering harbour.

* 19 day of
March.

About the same time Cn. Servilius entred into his Consulship at Rome, on the * Ides of March, where, after he had propounded to the Senat concerning the affairs of the Common-weal, the hatred and malice which the LL. had conceived against C. Flaminius, was renewed afresh. For they said, that they created two Consuls, and had but one. For that lawful government and authority which Flaminius should have had, that auspice of Magistracy which was meet and due, he ought to have carried with him from the City, from the publick and private habitations, after he had celebrated the Latin holy-dayes, and offered sacrifice upon the mountain *Alta*, and made his solemn vows accordingly, within the Capitol. But since for default herein, he departed from the City a private person, the Auspices of government could not follow and accompany him: and being gone without them, he might not lawfully take the same anew in forreign soil. Now there were sundry strange prodigious tokens besides, reported from many places at once, which much entreated their fear: namely, that in *Sicily* certain souldiers javelins were on fire: and in *Sardinia*, a Horsemans walking staff, as he went the round, and visited the watch upon the wall, burned in his hand: That upon the Strand and Sea shore, there were seen many light fires, so as all the coasts shone again withall: That two shields sweat blood: That there were some souldiers smitten dead with lightning: That the circle and body of the sun appeared in sight less in compass and eclipsed: Also, that there fell from the skye burning stones, at *Prencesse*: And at *Ar* there were seen in the Element, Palm or Date Trees: and the sun fighting with the moon: Moreover, at *Capua* two moons arose and shewed in the day time: that at *Cere*, the waters ran mingled with blood: That the very fountain of *Hercules* yeilded and cast up water bespotted with blood: That as folk reaped in *Latium* fields, certain bloody ears of corn light into their baskets: At *Faleris* the heaven seemed to cleave in sunder and open, and to shew as it were a great chink; and out of the place where it gaped, there shone a great light: That the lots of their own selves diminished, and one fell out of the pitcher, with this inscription, *Mars brandisheth and shaketh his spear*. And about the same time at Rome the Statue of *Mars* sweated in the high way *Appia*, near to the images of the wolves: and at *Capua* the welkin seemed to be on fire, and the form of a moon to fall down in a rain or shower. After this, men gave belief also to prodigies of small importance: namely, that some mens goats, in stead of hair bare wools: that a hen turned into a cock, and a cock proved to be a hen. These things as folk reported, were declared abroad, and the authors brought into the Senat: where the Consul propounded before the LL. and required their advice, as touching matters of Religion. Whereupon, there passed a decree that these strange tokens, some should be purged and expiated with greater sacrifices, other with young sucklings:

A and that for three dayes, there should be supplications at all the Shrines and Altars of the Gods. As for other matters, after that the Decemvirs had looked into their books, such provision was to be made, as the Gods in their veries should foretel to stand with their pleasure and contentment. So, by the advaysements and directions of the Decemvirs it was decreed as followeth: First, and foremost, that to *Jupiter* there should be made of gold a thunderbolt or form of lightning weighing 50 pounds, and another of silver, presented unto *Juno* and *Minerva*. Item to *Juno Regina* there should be sacrifice offered in the mount *Aventine*, and to *Juno Hospita* in *Lanuvium*, of greater beasts: Item, that the dames of *Rome*, making a contribution (every one to their ability) of a sum of money, should offer an Oblation unto *Juno Regina* and bring it into *Aventine*, and there solemnise a Lectistern: Item, that the very Libertin or enfranchised women also, should according to their power, lay their money together and make a present for the goddess *Feronia*. These things accomplished, the Decemvirs sacrificed in the market place of *Ardea*, and for that purpose killed greater beasts. Last of all, by direction out of the books of *Sylla*, now in the month *December*, they celebrated a sacrifice at *Rome* in the Temple of *Saturn*: and commandment was given that a Lectistern should be solemnized (which bed and table the Senators themselves spread and set out with all the furniture) and a publick feast besides, in any hand: and throughout the City both by day and night were proclaimed the solemn *Saturalia*: and order directed, that the people should hold and observe that day, as holy and festival, forever.

While the Consul was busied at *Rome* in pacifying the Gods, and levying souldiers, *Annibal* (who was departed from his wintering fort, because the rumor ran that *Flamininus* the Consul was come as far as *Arretium*) albeit he saw another way more ready and commodious (though it were somewhat farther about) yet chose that which was the neerer through the marshes, where as the River *Arno* at the same time had overflowed his banks more than usually. As for the Spaniards, Africans, and all his old bearen souldiers (the very flower and strength of his army) he commanded to march foremost together with all their baggage and carriages among them; to this end, that if they were forced any where to stay, they should not fail and want necessities about them: the Gauls he appointed to follow next: and because he was desirous that those kind of people, should be in the middle ward, and the Horsemen likewise to go after them hindmost in the reregard, he charged *Mago* with the light Horsemen of the Numidians, to guard the army and keep them close together in their march, but especially to have an eye to the Gauls, and keep them in, for fear lest they for tediousness of travail, and weariness of long way (as they are a Nation tender enough and not able to abide any hardships) should either sink away, or else stand still. They of the vanguard what way soever the guides led them and went afore, passed through thick and thin, waded through great Rivers and deep quicksands: and albeit they were mired and in a manner overwhelmed and swallowed up of bogs and muddy quagmires, yet they followed still their colours. But the Gauls, if their feet chanced, to slip, could not hold themselves, and when they were down, they were not able to arise out of the dirty sloughs and holes: neither could any of them comfort his corps with congage, nor help his heart with hope of better. Some of them hardly haled their heavy hams, and drew with much adoe their lazie legs and lagging limbs after them: others, whose hearts were done for tedious toil and travail, when they were once down, lay dying amongst the jades and other beasts, which also were conched along every where. But that which hurt and undid them most, was their want of sleep, for they had watched four dayes and three nights continually without a wink. Now when as the water had to covered and overspread every place, that they could find no drie ground, to lay their wearied bodies on, they were faine to pile their packs one upon another in the water, and to cast themselves aloft upon them. All the way as they went, they might see the beasts and Horses lie every where on heaps overthrowen and dead: which served them a while, instead of Couches for want of other means, who sought but only for some thing or other, that appeared above water to repose themselves upon, for to take a nap. As for *Annibal* himself, (who had already an infirmity in his eyes, which came first by the distemperature of the spring season, now hot and then cold) he was mounted upon an Elephant, the only Elephant that was left alive: this beast bare him a good way above the water: but by reason that he had overwatched himself, and the moist nights besides together with the damp and mist of the foggy fens stuffed his head and filled him full of rheums, and because neither time nor place served for any cure and to take Physick, he lost one of his eyes quire.

Thus after many a man lost, many a Horse piteously perished, when he was got out at length of these foul fens and miry marshes, in the first dry ground that he came unto, he pitched his camp: and was certified by his espials and vancourtiers whom he had sent out before, that the Roman army lay about the walls of *Arretium*. Then with great diligence and careful enquiry he endeavoured, to found the intent and the designe of the Consul: to know the coasts and site of the country: to hearken what wayes he travailed; to learn what forces he had: to be advertised how he was stored and provided of victuals: and to understand all other things expedient for his purpose in such a case, and necessary to be known. The country was most fertile and fruitful, as any one in all *Italy*, to wit, the goodly champaign fields of *Tuscany*, lying between *Felsina*, and *Arretium*; plentiful in corn, abundant in cattel, and richly stored with all good things. The Consul was stout and proud, by reason of the former Consulship that he had borne: little account he made of the Majesty of Laws, and authority of Senators, and as small regard and re-

verence he had of the Gods themselves: which rashness, as it cost him nought, but was ingrafted in him by nature, so fortune had nourished and maintained the same with prosperous success in his affairs at home, and wars abroad; so as it appeared evidently, that since he respected neither God nor man, and deigned not to take their counsel and advice, he would go rashly to work, and do all in haste, hand over hand, without discretion. And to the end he might be more forward to plunge himself headlong into these his infirmities and imperfections, *Annibal* devised to anger him, and to move his patience. Leaving the enemy therefore on his left hand, he put himself into the way to *Fesula* for to waite and spoil the country of *Tuscan*; and shewed to the Consul a far off, what foul work and havock he possibly could make; with fire and sword. Then *Flaminius*, who of himself would not have rested and sate still, in case *Annibal* had been quiet, seeing once the goods of his allies and friends, harried and driven away even before his eyes, and thinking it tended greatly to his shame and dishonor, that a Carthaginian should march thus at his pleasure, through the mids of *Italy*, and without any empeaching and controulement, to pass on forward, even to besiege and assault the walls of *Rome*; when all others about him sitting in counsaile, gave advice for profit and safety, rather than for shew and bravery; namely, to pause a while, and expect the coming of his Colleague, that they might with joynt armies, with one heart, and with common accord of counsel, conduct and manage the war: and in the mean time, with the Cavalry, with Auxiliary or aid-souldiers lightly armed, repress the enemy, and stay him from spoiling so licentiously at his pleasure; in a great chafe and choler he rose up, and departed out of the Councel, and presently sounded the march, and gave the signal of battail: and withal, "Nay we were best (quoth he) to remain and sit here still before the walls of *Arretium*: for this," he like, is our native countrey, and here is our place of habitation: as for *Annibal*, let him escape forth of our hands, and waite all *Italy*; let him spoil afore him, and over-run all with fire and sword, until he be as far as *Rome* walls: and let not us, in any case once stir from hence, before that the Senators send for *C. Flaminius* from *Arretium*, as sometimes they called *Cannib* from *Vei*. With these and such like reproachful and taunting words, he commanded in all haste the standards and ensigns to be plucked up, and called for his Horse. He was not so soon mounted on his back, but the Horse fell presently, cast the Rider over and over with his head forward, and there lay *Flaminius* the Consul under foot. As they all, that attended about him, were affrighted and troubled in mind, at this unlucky presage and fore-token, in the very beginning of his enterprise: word moreover was brought unto him, that one of the port-ensigns was not able to pull up his ensign, do what he could, and putting his whole strength unto it. The Consul turning to the messenger, What? hast thou any letters besides (quoth he) from the Senat, to prohibit me for giving battail? go thy wayes, and bid them dig up the ensign, with help of spade and mattock, if their hands be so benumbed for fear, that they can not pluck it up: and with that began the army to march. The principal Leaders and Captains, besides that they agreed not, but gained said this course, were much dismayed and terrified with this twofold prodigious sign: but the common souldiers rejoyced and took great pleasure, to see this forwardness and animosity of their General: having an eye rather to the end of their hope, than to the cause which they had to hope for. Now *Annibal* wasted in all manner of hostility that he could devise, the territories between the Town *Cortona*, and the lake *Thrasymenus*, and all to whet the edge of the Consuls stomach, to chafe his hot blood, and to provoke him for to be revenged, for the harms and wrongs done to his good friends and allies. And come already they were to certain places, naturally made as if were for an ambush, whereas the lake *Thrasymenus* lieth hard at the foot of the Hills of *Cortona*: for there is between, but a very straight and narrow passage, as if there had been left so much space of ground, only for that purpose, and nothing else. For if a man go but a little further, the plain lieth more open, and groweth larger, and from thence the hills begin to arise aloft. *Annibal* in the open ground pitched his camp, for himself with his Africans only and the Spaniards to lodge in, and made abode. The Balearians, and the other light armed souldiers, he led about behind the Mountains: the Horsemen he placed at the very gullet of the streight passage, where the little hills handsomely covered and hid them close: to the end that so soon as the Romans were entred in, when he had put forth his horsemen against the gullet of the streight, all might be enclosed within the lake and the Mountains. *Flaminius* being come to the lake the day before at the Sun setting; the morrow after, before it was full day light, without discovering and clearing the coasts by any scouts and espials sent out before, passed through the streights. After that his army began to be spread and displayed more at large, as the plain opened wider, he espied and perceived those enemies only which he had before his face: for the ambushes lay close hidden, both behind his back, and over his head. *Annibal* having once got the enemy (as he would) enclosed thus within the lake and the Mountains, and environed with his forces, gave the signal to them all for to charge: who came down every man the neereft way he could: and so much the more were the Romans affrighted and troubled with this sudden occurrent, by reason that the mist which arose out of the lake, was settled thicker in the plain, than upon the hills: whereby the Companies and Squadrons of their enemies coming out of many Vallies, were seen well enough one of another, and therefore more joyntly gave the charge all at once together. The Romans hearing the cry and shout which arose from all parts, before they could well discern and see, perceived themselves compassed all about and surprised, and were assailed both affront, and on their flanks, ere they could put themselves in battail-ray, as they ought, make their

The battail at
Thrasymenus.

A their armour and weapons ready, and draw their swords. When all the rest were thus amazed, and at their wits end, the Consul alone, for all this imminent danger, shewed himself nothing daunted or afraid; but set in order the ranks and files which were shuffled and blended together, according as time and place would give him leave; and marshalled his souldiers; (who turned every way as they heard the sundry and divers noises) and in the best manner he could devise, he comforted and encouraged them; willing them to stand to it, and fight like men; for that there was now no means else to escape. "All the vows and invocations upon the Gods for their help," would not serve, but only it was mere force and mere manhood must do the deed: and they were "to make way by dint of sword, through the midst of their enemies battailons: and the less men" feared, the less danger commonly beided them. Howbeit, by reason of the noise and hurlyburly, neither counsel nor command could be heard: and so far off were the souldiers from knowing their own Ensigns, their ranks and places, that scarcely their heart would serve them to take arms, and so buckle them, as they should, fitly for fight: in such sort, as some of them were surprisid and born down laden rather with their harness, then covered and defended therewith. And in so great a mist and darkness, more use they had of ears than eyes; for at the groans of their wounded fellows, at the blows and strokes upon the bodies and armour resounding again, at the confused shouts and shrieks of hardy and fearful men one with another, they turned their faces, and cast their eyes every way. Some as they would have fled, light into the pless of those that were fighting, and there were set fast: some again as they returned for to fight, were born backward by companies that ran away. Afterwards, when they had assayed in vain every way to get forth, C and saw well, that on both sides and flanks the mountains and the lake; that afront and behind, the enemies battailons hemmed them in, then they knew evidently there was no hope of life but in their right hand and force of arms. Then every man became a Captain, and encouraged himself to fight manfully: so as the battail began afresh, not in order by the *Principes, Hastati, and Triarii*, nor according to the accustomed manner, whereby the vanguard should fight before the main battail, and the standards; and behind them the rereguard; and that the souldier should keep his own legion, his own cohort, band, and company: but at a venture, even as it hapned, so they went to it and buckled, pell-mell: and as every mans heart served him, so he marshalled himself to fight, either before or behind. Their courage and animosity was so ardent, their spirits and minds so intentive to the battel, that being as there was, a terrible earthquake at the very instant, D which overthrew and turned upside down, a great part of many Cities in *Italy*, turned aside the courses of great Rivers out of their channels, and drove their streams against the current, forced the Sea into fresh Rivers, yea, and overturned Mountains with mighty falls, and laid them flat; yet there was not a man who fought in that battail, that once heard or perceived it. The conflict lasted almost three hours: Sharp it was in every place, but about the Consul most cruel: and look in what part soever he saw his men distressed and in hazard, there courageously he aided them. By reason that the flower and bravest gallants followed him, and was himself for his own person goodly beseen in his rich armour, he both assailed the enemy most furiously, and also defended his own citizens as valiantly: so long, until a certain *Insubrian*, a man of arms (*Ducarius* was his name) one that knew his visage well enough, This is (quoth he) to his country-men, the Consul that defeated our army, put to the sword our Legions, wasted our territories, and he that destroyed and sacked our City. Now will I offer him as a sacrifice out of hand to the ghosts and spirits of those our fellow citizens, who by his means have been pitcously slain: and therewith setting spurs to his Horse, he rode through the thickest troop and presse of his enemies: and when he had first slain his Esquier outright (who opposed his body between, and set himself against him, seeing him coming so furiously) he ran the Consul quice through the body with his lance. And when he would rather than his life have disarmed and rised him, the Triarii kept with their targuets over his corps, and so kept him off. Hereupon from hence first many began to flie: but anon, neither deep lake nor high mountain, could impeach and stop their fearful flight: like blind men they ran and sought means to make escapes, were the lane never so narrow, were the hills never so steep and craggy, horse and man, man and armour, fell headlong one upon another. A number of them seeing no way else to escape, entered into the Lake by the first edges and shallow brims thereof, waded so far, and went up so high, that they left their heads and shoulders only above the water. Some there were, who unadvisedly (such was their fear) sought to save themselves by swimming. Which being an endless piece of work, and beyond all hope, their wind and breath failing them, they were either stifled and swallowed up of the gulfe, or after that with too much hast, they had over-laboured and coiled on themselves, they did what they could to swim back again, and with much ado to recover the Land: and there, by the enemies Horsemen who had taken the water, were they killed every where, and cut in pieces. Six thousand or thereabout, of the vanguard, who lustily brake through the mist, mangle the heads of their enemies, unwitting of all that was done behind, escaped safe out of the gulfe, and having seized the top of a little hill, there they stood, and might hear only the outcries of men, the rattling and rustling sound of their armor, but how the battel went or sped, neither could they know, nor yet discern for the thickness of the dark mist. But now, when they were come to some odds, and one side went down and had the worst, by which time the heat of the sun had broken, and dispatched the mist, and the bright day appeared: then through the clear light, the hills and dales shewed evidently, the havoc and overthrow that was made, and how

the Roman army was foully discomfited and defeated. For fear therefore, that the enemy (having despised and seen them a far off) should send out against them the Cavalry, up they went with their Ensigns in all haste, and got them away with all speed possibly they could. The morrow after, when over and besides all other calamities, they were in danger of extreame famine; and that *Maharbal* (who with all his power of Horie pursued them by night, and overtook them) had given his faithful word and promise, that if they delivered up their armour, he would suffer them to depart in their single garments, they yielded themselves. Which promise *Annibal* saw performed as truly, as all Carthaginians use to do, and false Carthaginians as he was, he chapt them all into prison, and hung irons upon them. This is that noble and famous battel fought at the Lake *Thrasymenus*, and of those few overthrowes that the Romans had, the most memorable of all others. 15000 Romans were there slain in fight: 10000 were scattered: and flying through sundry parts of Tuscany, gat to *Rome*. 1500 of the enemies lost their lives in the field. But many more of both sides afterwards died of their wounds. Others there be that report much murder and slaughter on both sides. For mine own part (besides that, I love not to write vain untruths, nor any thing without good warrant, and yet the humour of writers for the most part is too much given that way) I have followed for mine Author *Fabius* especially, who lived about the time of this war. *Annibal* having enlarged without ranfome as many of his prisoners as were Latins, and put the Romans in streight ward, culled out from among the heaps of his enemies that lay one upon another, the dead bodies of his own men, and commanded they should be buried: and having with great care and diligence made search also, for the dead corps of *Flaminius* to inter it, he could never find it.

At the first news in *Rome* of this overthrow, the people ran together in exceeding fear and trouble into the common place of Assemblies. The Wives and Dames of the City, went up and down to and fro in the streets, and enquired of whomsoever they met, what suddain calamity this was, whereof the bruit went; and what was become of the army? And when as the multitude assembled thick (as it were) to a publick audience, turning to the Comitium and the Senat-House, and called upon the Magistrates: at length somewhat before the sun-set, *Marcus Pomponius* the Pretor came forth and said, A great battel hath been fought, and we have lost the field. And albeit they heard of him no more than this of certainty, yet they filled one anothers ears with rumors, and caried home with them these news, to wit, that the Consul was killed, and a great part of his army with him slain: that there were but a few left alive, and those either fled and scattered up and down in Tuscany, or else taken prisoners by the enemy. And looke how many casualties & misfortunes follow the overthrow of an army, into so many cares and perplexities were the spirits and minds of all those plunged, who had any kinsfolk that served under *Flaminius* the Col. all the whiles they were ignorant what was the fortune of their friends. And no man knew for certain, what he was to hope for, or to fear. The morrow and certain dayes following, there flocked at the gates a sort of people, and those were women more than men, waiting to see their friends themselves, or those that could tell tidings of them: and ever as they met with any, they would flock about them, and be very inquisitive: neither could they be plucked away from them of their acquaintance and knowledge, before they had questioned every particular circumstance, from point to point in order. There might a man have seen an alphabet of faces, in those that departed from the messengers, according as the tidings was joyfull or wofull: there might a man have seen a number coming about them to accompany them as they returned to their houses, either rejoicing for their good hap, or comforting them for their misfortune and calamity. The women especially, as well in joy, as also in sorrow, were in their extremities. One above the rest (as it is reported) standing as she was upon the suddain sight of her son alive & safe, fell down dead at his very feet. Another, who had received an untrue report of her sons death, as she sat mourning at home within her house in great sorrow of heart, so soon as ever she saw him coming into the house, for exceeding joy yielded her last breath, and died. And for certain dayes the Pretors kept the Senat together in Council, from the sun rising to the setting, consulting under whose conduct, and with what forces they might be able to withstand the puissance of these victorious Carthaginians. But before they were thoroughly resolved of any determinate purpose and course to be taken, suddainly there arrived other news of a second loss, namely, that good horsemen under the leading of *C. Centurius* the Propretor, four from *C. Servilius* the Consul, and his Collegues, were enclosed by *Annibal* in *Lucania*. For further they had taken their way, upon the news they heard of the battel at *Thrasymenus*. The brute and rumor hereof hammered diversly in mens heads. Some, whose minds were possessed already with grief of a greater calamity, thought the loss of that Cavalry but small, in comparison of the former defeat: Others esteemed this which happened, not according to the importance of the thing it self, but likewise it falleth out in the natural body of man, that if it be chafe and weak every occasion, be it never so small and light, it is more offensive unto it and more felt, than a greater cause and object in a sound and strong constitution: even so, when any cross or adversity happeneth unto the polittick body of a City or C^{ty}, if it be diseased (as it were) and feeble, we are not to measure & weigh the same by the greatness of the accident, but according to the feeble and decayed estate thereof, able to endure and abide in no manner, that may surcharge and grieve it, whatsoever. And therefore, the City of *Rome* took her self to be the sovereign salue and approved remedy, which she had long desired, and yet not applied and used of late, namely, to the nomination of a Dictator. And because the Consul himself was absent, by whom alone it was thought he might

A might be named; and by reason that Italy was so overspread and forlaid with the Punick forces, there might no courier be well dispatched; nor letters safely sent unto him; and for that the people had not authority of themselves to create a Dictator, they therefore elected a Pro-dictator (a thing that was never seen and practised before that day) namely, *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and for his General of the Cavalry, *M. Minucius Rufus*. These had commission from the Senat, to fortify the walls and Towers of the City, to plant and bestow guards thereon, where they thought meet, and to cut up and break down the bridges upon the great rivers: shewing hereby, that since they were not able to keep and defend Italy, they were now to fight for house and home, and to guard the very City.

Annibal in this mean time was come directly by the way of Umbria, as far as to *Spoleum*. And after he had grievously wasted and spoiled the territory, he assaid to give assault to that City: but from thence he had the repulse with the loss of many of his men. And guessing by the strength of that one Colony (where he spied but badly in the attempt of it) how great and difficult the enterprise might be of assailing the City of *Rome*: he turned another way into the * *Picene* country, not only abounding in plenty of all kind of corn and grain, but also affording rich spoil and pillage: which the hungry and needy souldiers foraged and caried away as greedily, beyond all measure. And therefore certain dayes he kept a standing camp, and refreshed his souldiers, toiled as well with winter journeyes and boggy wayes, as also in the late battel, which was more joyous and fortunate in the loose and passing, than light and easy in the conflict and fighting. After he had rested and refreshed his souldiers sufficiently, who took more pleasure in booties and prizes, than in eate and repose, he dislodged, and journeyed forward: wasting and spoiling first the * *Pretutian* and *Adrian* territories, and then the *Maritians*, *Marrutins* and * *Pelignians*: and all about *Arpi* and *Luceria*, being a region next adjoyning unto * *Apulia*.

* *Marca Ancona*.

* *Aburzor*.
* *Valuentis*.
* *Puglia*.

Cn. Servilius, the other Consul, having had some light skirmishes with the Gauls, and won from them one mean Town of small importance, after he was advertised once of the death of his Colleague and the defeat of the army, fearing even then what danger might betide the walls of his native country, lest peradventure he should be absent in the hazard of the main chance, put himself in his journey toward the City of *Rome*. *Q. Fabius Maximus*, the Pro-dictator afore said the same day that he entered his office, assembled the Senat, and began first with matters of religion, and concerning the Gods: and after he had laid open unto the LL. of the Senat, that the Consul *Flaminius* had faulted more in the neglect and contempt of Divine ceremonies, and the Auspices, than

other wise in his shew and for want of skill in sears of war: and that the Gods themselves were to be consulted about the passing and expiation of sins and offences, and what might appeare their wrath: gained and obtained this one point, That the *Dei Penales* were commanded to repair unto the books of *Sibylla* (a thing not usually decreed: but when strange signs and prodigious wonders are reported) who having perused the books of definitions, made relation and informed the Senators, first, That the vow made unto *Mars*, for the good success of that war, was not performed with due complements, and therefore ought to be accomplished anew, and in more ample manner: also, that the great Games and *Plaes* should be vowed unto *Jupiter*, with Temples likewise to *Venus Erycina*, and to * *Mons*. Moreover, that a solemn supplication and a *Ledstern* should be celebrated, and a sacred Spring vowed, if the Gods granted them an happy end of war, and

* The goddess of Understanding.

E the Common-wealth to remain in the same state, wherein it stood before the war began. The Senat gave order, that forasmuch as *Fabius* was to be employed in the wars, *M. Aemilius* the Pretor, should have in charge to see all the promises performed with all good speed, according to the will and mind of the Colledge of the Bishops or Prelats. These Ordinances of the Senat being considered, *Lucius Cornelius Lentulus* the Arch-prelate, with the advice of the whole Colledge of the Prelates, thought good and gave advice, that first above all other things the opinion and pleasure of the people (as touching the sacred Spring) should be known, for that without the voyce and consent of the people it could not be vowed: And in this form of words was the bill propounded unto the people, *Please it you, that this place may pass, and the thing done with your assent in this manner: if the state of the people of Rome and the Quirites for five years next ensuing, continue safely prospered in close wars, as I desire it should, then shall the people of Rome, and Quirites perform an oblation and gift unto and promise, namely, in the war between the people of Rome and the*

Carthaginians, and in the war with the Gauls in this side the Alps: so wit, that the increase which the Spring shall yield and afford by the seed and fruit, grain and live, and all things that shall be prophane, be sacrificed unto *Jupiter*, according to the law that the Senat and people shall so ordain. Item, that in which shall sacrifice, no price shall be sold, and in what manner he will: and in what sort so ever he shall sacrifice, that is may stand for good and profitable. If haply die, that should be sacrificed, let it be covered privately, and no man shall if any will take or move it, till the same shall be let it not be exposed or shewen: and if any person conceal away the same or hide it one of the way, let it not be impared for us: but let it be given to him from whom it shall be so taken or hidden. If one chance by

G igne and sacrifice upon an altar, & if shall die, let it be accounted good and lawful, whether by night or day, what time so ever, if it shall sacrifice, let it be taken and hold good. If before the Senat and people shall ordain, before sacrifice, shall be done, or shall sacrifice, let the people be assailed and discharged freely therefrom. And for the same purpose, were the great games (before vowed) performed with the expense of thirty in a day, and the third part of an Ase besides the sacrifice of 300 Oxen to *Jupiter*, & of white Oxen and other sacrifices, and many other things. After these vows pronounced and made accordingly, the supplication was proclaimed & in procession there went with their wives & children,

* *1048 B. 14.*
th. 4 d. sterl.

* The goddess
of Understan-
ding.

children, not only the multitude of the City, but also of the country, so many as had their private estate, any way depending upon the publick. The Lectistern likewise was prepared and trimmed, and continued for three dayes: and the Decemviri deputed for holy ceremonies had the ordering thereof. The sacred beds were openly to be seen: one for *Jupiter* and *Juno*, another for *Neptune* and *Minerva*: a third for *Mars* and *Venus*: a fourth for *Apollo* and *Diana*: a fifth for *Vulcan* and *Vesta*: and a sixth for *Mercury* and *Ceres*. Then were the Temples vowed: unto *Venus Erycinā*, *Q. Fabius Max.* the Dictator, vowed one Temple. For so it was delivered from out of the books of destinies, that he should vow it, who had the sovereign rule in the City, and unto * *Mens*, *Attilius* the Pretor vowed another. Thus when Church matters touching Religion were finished the Dictator propounded concerning war and the State: namely, with what Legions and how many the Senat thought good to withstand the victorious enemy. And a decree passed, that he should receive the army at the hands of *Cn. Servilius* the Cos. and enrol besides of the citizens and allies, as many horsemen & footmen as he thought convenient: and that he should do and order all things at his own discretion, for the good of the Common-weal. *Fabius* said, That he would adjoin unto the army of *Servilius*, two Legions more: which being levied by the General of the horsemen, he proclaimed that they should meet together upon a certain day at *Tybur*: and when he had published a proclamation, That whosoever inhabited within any Towns or Castles untenced, should depart into places of safety: and that all should remove out of the villages of that country, through which *Annibal* was to go (but first to set on fire their houses, and spoil their corn, that he might find nothing there when he came) he went himself forward by the high way or causey *Flaminia*, to meet with the Consul and the army. And when he discovered them marching about *Orriculum* by the river *Tiberis*, and saw the Consul with his horsemen coming forward to him, he sent a Sergeant, to give warning to the Consul, for to come without his Lictors to the Dictator, who obeyed his commandment. And as their meeting together, represented an exceeding great shew of the Dictatorship unto citizens and allies both, who by reason of discontinuance so long time, had wellnere forgotten that government: behold, there came letters from the City importing news, that certain ships of burden transporting victuals from *Hestia* into *Spain* for the army there, were by the navy of the Carthaginians boorded and taken about the sound or haven of *Cosia*. Whereupon immediately the Consul was commanded to go to *Hestia*, to take up all shipping at *Rome* or at *Hestia*, to furnish them with saylers, and man them with souldiers, and so to pursue the Armado of the enemies, and to keep the coasts of *Italy*. A mighty number of men was levied at *Rome*. The *Libertines* also, who had children, and were of lawfull age to serve, swore allegiance unto him, to be his true souldiers. Out of this army of citizens, as many as were under 35. years of age, were shipped: the rest were left behind to guard the City. The Dictator having received the Consuls army at the hands of *Fulvius Flaccus* his Lieutenant, went through the *Sabins* Country, and arrived at *Tybur*, whither he had commanded the new souldiers to repair at a day. From thence by cross wayes he returned into the high way or causey *Latina*, even to *Preneste*: from whence (having searched diligently by his espials, all the wayes) he led forward toward the enemy, purposing in no place to hazard the fortune of battail, but upon necessity. The very first day that he encamped not far from *Anpi*, within the sight of his enemies, there was no ho with *Annibal*, but without further delay, he came forth into the field in battail array, bad him battail, and offered fight. But seeing his enemies quiet, and no stirring in the camp, he fell to taunting and reviling them: saying, That now at length yet the martial hearts of the Romans were daunted and ramed: and seeing they refused fight, they confessed plainly, and granted themselves inferior unto him in valor, prowels, and glory: which said, he retired into his camp. Howbeit, chafing and fretting secretly in his mind for anger that he had to deal hereafter with a Captain, far unlike to *Flaminius* and *Sempronius*: and that the Romans now at last, being schooled and taught by their own harms, and to their great cost, had fought out and got a Captain, far unlike to *Annibal*: Wreith-wayes he began to fear the wisdom of the Dictator, and not his force: but having had as yet no tryal of his constant resolution, he fell to disquiet his mind, and to tempt him with often removing his own tents, and wasting the fields of his allies even under his nose: one while he seemed to march away apace out of all fight, another while he would of a suddain stay, and lie close in some by-place and corner, out of the way, to spie when he could take him in some plain and even ground. But *Fabius* led his army, and marched above on the higher grounds, a pretty distance off from the enemy, so as neither he would let him go clean and abandon him, nor yet encounter with him. He kept his souldiers for the most part within the camp, save only when necessity otherwise constrained. For purveyance of forage and fowel, they went neither few in number, nor straggling asunder. The wards of Horsemen and those that were lightly armed, standing alwayes in order of battail, and ready prepared and furnished for suddain impressions and tumults, yielded both security to his own souldiers, and also danger to his enemies, as they ranged all abroad and foraged the Country. In this manner never was the main chance put to the venture all at once of fortune: and the small tryals of light scuffling and skirmishes (begun in safety and security, by reason of the recourse of refuge so neer) injured and heartned the souldiers, frightened with former foils, and made them at length to distrust lest either their own valour, or fortune. But *Annibal* was not more discontented and displeased, nor more ready to cross and thwart these so wholesome policies and counsels of his, as his own General of horsemen, who wanted nothing else but sovereign command, to overturn headlong the Common-weal: a man in all his designs,

A ments violent and hasty, and of tongue intemperate. And first secretly among some few, but afterwards openly in the hearing of all men, he termed *Fabius*, in stead of a stayed and sober man, slow and dull: in stead of wary and heedful, timorous and fearful: attributing unto vertues the names of vices of neer semblance: and having a singular dexterity to debase his betters and superiours, exalted himself thereby: a cunning cast, of all others the worst, and yet hath mightily prevailed and sped too well in many that have used it. *Annibal* from *Arpi* passeth into *Sannium*, wasteth the country of *Beneventum*, winneth the City *Telefia*, and still provoketh (of set purpose) the Roman Captain, if haply he could incense him by to many indignities and losses of his allies, and so draw him to fight on even hand.

B Amongst a great number of Italian confederats and allies, whom *Annibal* had taken prisoners at *Thrasymenus* and dismissed, there were three Campanian horsemen, whom *Annibal* even then had tolled on, and allured with gifts and fair promises to win unto him the hearts of their country-men. These brought word unto him, that in case he would lead and bring his army into *Campania*, he should soon be Lord of *Capua*. And albeit the thing in it self seemed greater than the quality of the persons, that counselled him thereto: and therefore stood in hammering, one while in good hope and assurance, another while in fear and distrust: yet they perswaded him at last to remove out of *Sannium* into *Campania*. After he had admonished them very often, to see that they made their word and promises good by deed, and commanded them withal to return unto him with some of their principal Citizens and Country-men; he sent them away.

C Himself gave commandment to his guide, to conduct him into the territory of *Casinum*: being advised by those that were skillful and acquainted with the coasts of those parts, that if he could gain beforehand that safe and forest, he might exclude the Romans from coming to rescue and succour their confederats. But the ambiguity of the name, and the Carthaginian language far differing from the Latine, caused the guide to mistake *Casilinum* for *Casinum*: and so missing of his intended journey, he came down, through the *Alifane*, *Calatine*, and *Calene* Counties, into the plain champion region of *Stella*. Where seeing all the coasts environed round about with Mountains and Rivers, he called the guide unto him, and demanded where he was: and when he answered, that he should that day lodge in *Casilinum*, then and not before, the error was found; and he knew that he was far out of his way: for that *Casinum* was distant in another

* *S. Germano*.

D Country far off. And after he had beaten the guide with rods, and hanged him up by the head, for an example to terrifie all others, he fortified himself within camp, and sent out *Maharbal* with the Horsemen into the Falern Country, to fetch in booties. So they wasted and spoiled as far as the waters of *Sinuessæ*. Much harm did these Numidians, but the flight and fright of the people was far greater. And yet notwithstanding that great fear, when all was on a light fire as it were, and nothing but war, the Roman allies continued still firm in their faithful allegiance: and the reason was, because they were ruled under a just and moderate government, and neither refused, nor thought much to be subject unto their betters, the only bond of loyal fidelity. But so soon as he had pitched his camp by the River *Vulturnus*, and that the most goodly and pleasant

* *Vulturno*.

E *Fabius* led his power over the ridge of the Mountain *Massicus*, the sedition was like to have broken out again, and certain Captains of the mutiny began to be enkindled afresh. For there had been great quietness, and all was still for some few dayes: because seeing the army march faster than their usual manner was, they supposed verily, that they made more speed and hastened, to save *Campania* from being spoiled and wasted. But when they were come to the foremost edge and point of the Mountain *Massicus*, and that the enemies were within sight, burning the dwelling Houses of the Coloners and inhabitants of *Sinuessæ*, and likewise of the Falern Country, and all this while not one word of battail; And are we come hither indeed, quoth *Minutius*, "to behold only and to see, and feed our eyes with looking on our allies, consumed and wasted with fire and sword? and if we bask at nothing else, can we for shame abide to see the Calamity

F "of these Citizens here, whom our fore-fathers planted in *Sinuessæ* as coloners there to inhabit, to the end that all this tract and coast should be safe from the invasion of the Samnites? But behold, it is not a neighbour enemy (the Samnite) that fireth it, but a forreign and alien, even the "Carthaginian, who from the farthest and most remote parts of the world, (whiles we stand at a "bay, trifle off still and for laziness do nothing) is come forward even hither unto us. And are we "so far degenerat (with sorrow of heart I speak it) from our progenitors and fathers, that along "which coast they thought it dishonorable unto their empire, for the Carthaginian Armadoes "and ships to flote, sail, and ride, we should see the same now pestered full of enemies, the Nu- "midians and Moors? We, who ere while taking soul scorn and great disdain to see *Saguntum* "besieged, called not only upon men, but also upon the faith of alliances and the Gods to wit- "ness, stand still gazing upon *Annibal* marching against the walls of a Roman Colony, and ready to assault it. The smoke of the villages and the fields now on fire, is ready to put out our "eyes, and to choke us up our ears resound and ring again with the piteous cries of our allies that "weep and lament, and cal ofner unto us than unto the Gods for help. And we here lead our army "as if they were a flock of sheep, over the shadowy forests, and hills out of the way, hid among "the clouds and thick woods to keep them from the heat of Sun. If *Furius Camillus* had been of "mind, by ranging and wandering over hills and forests in this manner, to win again the City out of "the hands of the Gauls, as this our new *Camillus* forsooth (sought out of purpose to be our only

The mutinies
Oration of
Minutius.

" Dictator

"Dictator in this our distress and hard estate) goeth about to recover Italy from Annibal, Rome
 "had been French at this day: which I fear me, if we go thus coldly to work, our ancestors have
 "saved and reserved so often, for Annibal and the Carthaginians. But he, a brave man, and a
 "Roman indeed, that very day when word was brought to *Vulturnum*, that he was chosen Dictator by
 "the suffrages of the people, and approbation of the Senators, although *Janiculum* was high e-
 "nough, where he might have set him down and beheld the enemy at ease, defended into the
 "plain and even ground, and the same day in the very mids and heart of the City, where now
 "Gaulbury or *Buffa Gallica* standeth, and the morrow after, between Rome and *Gaber*, slew the
 "Legions of the Gauls. And what should I say of that, which hapned many years after, when at
 "the streights of *Caudium* we were put under the yoke by the Samnites our enemies? Whether I
 "pray you, did *L. Papyrius Cursor* seek out the mountains of *Samnium*, or rather lie hard upon
 "Luceria and besiege it, provoking and challenging the victorious enemy, and thereby shook off
 "the yoke from the Romans neck, and laid it upon the proud Samnites? And what other thing
 "else of late dayes but expedition, gave the victory to Consul *Lutullus*? Who the morrow after
 "that he discovered the enemy, set upon his fleet heavily fraught with victuals: and overcharged
 "as it was with her own munition, furniture and provision, sunk, and destroyed the same. It is
 "meer folly to believe and think by sitting still, by bare prayers and vows, to vanquish and subdue
 "the enemy. Our forces must be put into arms, and brought down into the plain that man to man
 "may cope and buckle together. By adventuring boldly, by action and execution, hath the Roman
 "Empire grown to this height: and not by these conceits and devices, which fearful cowards
 "term the wary policies of war. As *Minutius* spake these words in preaching wile, a number of
 "Roman Colonels and Horsemen came flocking about him. Yea, and these lusty and rash speeches
 "of his, came even unto the ears of the footmen's Sons, if it had been in the voyces and election of
 "the souldiers, out of all question they seemed willing to prefer *Minutius* before their General *Fa-
 blius*. But *Fabius* again, regarding alwayes with good eye his own men, no less than his enemies,
 "carrying a resolute mind, invincible ever before of any other, albeit he was well ware, that not
 "only within his own camp, but also now at Rome, he heard ill for his temporizing and slow pro-
 "ceedings: yet drew he out the rest of the summer, and held on still the same course and purpose, he
 "never altered his former manner: until that *Annibal* being clean disappointed of long desired bat-
 "tall bethought himself anon, and looked about for some places of winter abode, considering, That
 "the country where now he was, rather yeelded plenty for the present, than store for long conti-
 "nuance: as standing upon Hortyards and Vineyards, and all things planted rather for fruits of plea-
 "sure and delight, than for necessity and profit. Intelligence hereof being given to *Fabius*, by his es-
 "pials, for that he knew well enough, that *Annibal* was to return through the same streights, by
 "which he had entered the Falern country, he holdeth and keepeth the hill *Calicula*, with suffi-
 "cient garrisons and likewise *Castellum*, a City divided by the river *Vulturnum*, and parteth the Falern
 "and Campanie countries asunder. Himself bringeth back his power through the same hills, having
 "sent out to discover and espie 400 Horsemen of confederates, under the conduct of *L. Hostilius
 Mancinus*, who being one of the ruer of those lusty youths, that oftentimes heard the General of
 "the Horsemen giving out abroad brave words and stout speeches, at first went forward in manner
 "of an espial, to discover and espie the enemy from a place of safety and security: and when as he
 "law the Numidians ranging all about the villages, and slew some of them also whom he took at a
 "vantage, straight-ways his mind wholly possessed and set upon fight, and so forgot the charge and
 "direction of the Dictator, who had commanded him to go forward as warily and as closely as he
 "possibly could, and to retire himself again before he came within sight of the enemies. The Numi-
 "dians charging and recharging him afront one while, and flying from him another while drew him
 "almost unto their very camp when as both horse and man were out wearied. From whence *Car-
 nio*, who then had the conduct and command of the Cavalry, set out against him lustily upon the
 "spur and before they came within dart-shot put the enemies to flight, and followed them conti-
 "nually in chase almost five miles. *Mancinus* seeing neither the enemy to give over pursue, nor any
 "hope to escape away, exhorted his men, and turned head upon them, overmatched as he was every
 "way: where he himself and his choicest Horsemen were beset round and slain: the other taking
 "themselves again to flie for life, first came to *Cales*, and after through by-lanes and difficult wayes,
 "to the Dictator. That day, as hap was, *Minutius* had joynd himself to *Fabius* having been afore
 "sent to keep with a strong guard, the forrest or pale, which above *Tarracina*, groweth into a nar-
 "row guller, and reacheth to the sea: for fear lest if the advenue of the way *Appia*, were without
 "defence, *Annibal* might enter and invade the country of Rome. When the Dictator and the Gene-
 "ral of Horsemen had joynd their forces together, they encamped upon the very high way, that
 "*Annibal* was to passe with his army. Now were the enemies two miles off. The morrow after,
 "the Carthaginians took up with their army all the way between the one camp and the other.
 "When as the Romans were quartered even under their very trench and rampier, in a place no
 "doubt of great advantage, yet for all that approached *Annibal* with his light Horsemen: and to
 "provoke his enemies, fought by starts and fits, charging upon them, and retiring back again with
 "great nimbleness. The Romans kept still their standing, embattailed as they were. The fight
 "was cold and lingering to the mind and liking of the Dictator, rather than of *Annibal*: and where
 "there were of the Romans part 200 slain, there dyed 800 of the enemies. Then seemed *Annibal*
 "after, to be enclo'd and shut up as it were and besieged within *Castellum*, seeing that *Capua*,
 "

* Castellum.

A *Samnium*, and many rich and mighty Nations confederate with the Romans, were on their backs to furnish them with store of victuals. And *Annibal* contrary-wise was like to take up his wintering place, within the crags and rocks of *Fornil*, amid the sands of *Limerum*, and the mossy standing pools. Well wilt *Annibal* now that he was laid unto hardly, by the same cunning sleights, that he had used himself. And therefore when as he could not cleave away by *Castellum*, and seeing that he must needs to the Mountains, and pass over the top of *Callicula*: for fear lest that the Romans should set upon his army enclosed in the vallies between the Mountains, he devised a stratagem, by way of a ridiculous illusion, to beguile the eye-sight of his enemies, and to frustrate and deceive them of their expectations: by means whereof, he purposed in the beginning of the night, B closely and by stealth to gain the Mountains. The manner of his crafty device was this. He caused to be gathered out of all the villages thereby many fire-brands: then took he certain baving or small fagots of brush-wood, dry sticks, and such like trash, and eyed them fast to the horns of the Oxen, whereof he had tame and wild, a great number that he drove before him amongst other prizes gotten out of the country: so as he might make wel-neer two thousand head. To *Asdrubal* he gave in charge, that so soon as it grew to be dark night, he should drive those Oxen with their horns set a fire toward the Mountains, and especially if he possible could, to the very streights and gullet which the enemy kept. It began no sooner to be dark, but *Annibal* with great silence dislodged and removed his camp, and the Oxen aforesaid were driven a good way before the ensigns and the army. When they were come to the foot of the Mountains, and to the C streight passages, immediately the signal or watch-word was given to fire the Oxen horns, and to chase them up against the Hill. The beasts, what with fear to see a light fire blazing over their heads, and what with pain to feel the heat now come to the quick flesh and the roots of their horns, fell running up and down, as if they had been mad. By this their gadding thus all at once every way, all the coppises and springs thereabout were set on a light fire, and seemed as if the whole woods and hills had burnt withal: the shaking of their heads also to and fro without stay, made the blaze greater, and gave shew and semblance of men running from one place to another. They who were appointed and set to keep the passages of the streights, so soon as they saw certain fires upon the tops of the Hills, and over their heads, supposing themselves to be entrapped and enclosed with fire on every side, abandoned their hold, and kept their standing no longer: D and whereas the flame shone most out, thinking that to be the safest way, they sped them thither, even to the top and ridge of the Mountains. Then and there, they light upon certain of the Oxen wandring astray from their company, and at first seeing them a far off, but not well discerning them, they imagined that they spit fire, and breathed their blazing flames out of their mouths: and wondering at the strange sight, stood still amazed and astonished. But when as afterwards they discovered the device, and found it out to be a fabril and deceitful invention, proceeding from mans brain, they mistrusted withal some secret trains and ambush, and with an exceeding noise fled away as fast as ever they could, and stumbled upon the van-guard of their enemies, that were lightly armed. But they were afraid as well of the one side as the other, to begin any skirmish in the night season, and stayed until day light. In the mean while, *Annibal* E having conducted his whole army through the streights, and killed some of his enemies in the very pass, encamped himself in the territory of *Alifan*. *Fabius* delayed this tumult well enough, but doubting some privy ambush, and abhorring utterly all night battails, kept his men within the strength of their rampiers. At the break of day there began a skirmish on the side of the hills in which the Romans as being far more in number, had environed on every side the light-armed soldiers of the enemies, and soon defeated them, but that a band of Spaniards, sent back of purpose from *Annibal*, came to rescue them: who being better acquainted with the Mountains, and more light and nimble in running among the craggs and cliffs, by reason of well of the agility of body, as the fashion of their light harness: easily in that kind of skirmish, avoided and shifted from their enemy, heavily armed at all pieces, and used to fight upon the F plain, and to stand firmly and keep their ground. Whereupon in the end they parted asunder one from the other, but nothing near on even hand: for the Spaniards in a manner all, went cleer away unhurt, the Romans lost some of their men: and so on both parts they returned to their camps. *Fabius* likewise removed, and having passed over the streights of the forest, encamped in an high ground, and strongly situate even over *Alifan*. Then *Annibal* making as though he would march through *Samnium* toward *Rome*, returned back, wasting and spoiling the country as far as to the *Peligni*. And *Fabius* hovered still upon the Hill tops between the Army of his enemies and the City of *Rome*: leading his host so, as neither he departed far, nor yet encountered and affronted his enemy. Then *Annibal* turned his way, and departed from the *Peligni*, and retired himself into *Apulia*, until he was come as far as *Gorion*, a City G abandoned and forlorn of the inhabitants, by reason that a part of their wall was fallen down, decayed and rained. The Dictator fortified his camp in the territory of *Larinum*. Now was he sent for home from thence to *Rome*, by occasion of certain solemn sacrifices: whereupon, he conferred and dealt with the General of the Cavalry, not only by way of absolute commandment, but also with advice and persuasions, yes, and as one would say, by prayer and intreaty, "That he would trust more upon confederate counsel, than doubtful fortune, and be directed and guided rather by him, than follow the steps of *Sempronius* and *Flaminius*, and not think there was nothing done and effected, and make no reckning of this, That the enemy had been

been dallied withal, and trifled out, moched and debauched almost all the summer long. Why even
 "Puff-bloated" (quoth they many times do more good to the sick body of the patient, by giving rest
 "and repose, than by stirring and disquieting the humors therein. And so small matter is it, that
 "we are vanquished and overcome no more; as an officers hand, often used to victory. And
 "after continual foils and overthrowes, to have industry and a time of resting. *Scipio* in this
 "while admonished the General of Horse ashoreward (but all in vain) he took his way for *Spain*.
 "In the beginning of this summer, wherein these exploits were performed, *Asdrubal*, also in
 "Spain born by Sea and Land: *Asdrubal* so that numbers of ships which he had received ready rig-
 "ged and well appointed of his brother, joynted other men. To *Hamilcar* he gave the charge of a fleet
 "offorty sail: and so, loosing from *Carthage*, while his ships kept near to Land, he conducted his
 "army along the River upon the strand; ready to give battail to the enemy, howsoever he should
 "hap to encounter him either by Land or Sea. *Ca. Scipio* after he had intelligence that the enemy
 "was removed out of his wintering harbour, at the last had likewise the same intention and pur-
 "pose, but afterwards doubting to encounter by Land, upon the exceeding great report that went
 "of new aids, he embarked his best and most choise soldiers, and with a fleet of 35 sail, look-
 "ward to meet the enemy. And the second day after that he had loosed from *Tarraco*, he came
 "to the rode distant ten miles from the mouth of the River *Thorus*. From whence, two Sennaces
 "of the Massilians were sent out afore, and brought word, that the Carthaginian Armada rode in
 "the mouth of the River, and that the boats were pitched upon the banks. And therefore so the
 "end that he might surprize them at unawares, and unlooking for them, with all the fleet, he came
 "once, that he could possibly, be weighed anchor, and let sail toward the enemy. In *Spain* there
 "are many Towers standing upon high grounds, which serve the inhabitants of the country in good
 "stead, both as watch Towers to discover, and also as beacons to withstand Theevs and Rovers.
 "From whence the enemies ships were descryed first, and a signal given to *Asdrubal*: in such sort,
 "as the tumult and trouble arose upon the Land, and in the camp; before any was seen on the Sea
 "and amongst the ships: for as yet neither noise of oars, nor any ordinary stir, else of warren,
 "was heard; nor yet the signals and promatories between suffered the fleet to be seen. But then,
 "albeit suddenly, certain Horsemen sent from *Asdrubal* one after another, commanded the sol-
 "diers (who either wandred along the strand, or late quiet within their pavilions, looking for
 "nothing lesse than fight that day) presently in all haste to go aboard, and to arme for that the Ro-
 "man fleet was not far from the haven. This commandment the Horsemen that were sent, gave
 "every where. And within a while *Asdrubal* came in person with the whole army. All was
 "on a hurry, and full of sundry alarms; while both mothers and soldiers, made haste to be shipped,
 "rather like men that fled from Land, than went to fight. Scarcely were they all embarked, when
 "some of them loosed from the shoar, and plucked up Anchors; others on the Anchor Cable,
 "for that nothing should stay them: and all that they did, was with such haste, that while the
 "soldiers were occupied in making themselves ready to fight, the mariners were hindered in
 "their business: and while the mariners made speed, the soldiers were kept from taking their
 "armour, and fitting themselves therewith. By which time *Scipio* was not only approached near,
 "but also had marshalled and ordered his ships ready to fight. So as the Carthaginians were trou-
 "bled as well with the busy busly and tumult of their own people, as with the assault and bat-
 "tel of their enemies. And having (to say a truth) made an assay and proffer of fight, rather than
 "began any indeed, they turned away their fleet, and fled. And seeing, when they were once put
 "to flight (by reason they were parted asunder all abroad, and lay open to so many of their ene-
 "mies, following them upon the poop all at once) that they were ready and easy to be bouged and
 "pierced, they rowed on all hands to the shore. Some were faine to wade to Land, others leapt on
 "drye ground; one fort armed, another fort unarmed; and so escaped to their companies, emburied
 "along the strand. Howbeit, in the very first encounter and onset, two Carthaginian ships
 "were taken, and four sunk. The Romans, albeit they saw the enemies, masters of the land, and
 "might behold them stand in battail array all along the River side upon the banks, yet made they no
 "stay, but chased the fearful fleet of their enemies: and so as many ships, as either had not cradled,
 "splintered, and broken their stems, with dashing upon the shore, or were not run a ground, and
 "sunk full by their keels in the shelves, those they drew up, and warped into the deep; with
 "ropes fastned to their poops; and so of thirty they took five and twenty. And yet, the taking of
 "these vessels was not the best and goodliest work of their victory: but this passed all, that with one
 "light skirmish they became L.L. of all the Sea along those coasts. And therefore arriving with
 "their whole navy before *Honofa*, they landed their men, won the City by forcible assault, took
 "it, and from thence went forward toward *Carthage*. And after they had toraged and waited all
 "the territory about, at the last, they fired the very houses that joynted to the walls and gates of the
 "City. From thence the Armada laden now and charged with rich pillage, sailed as far as *Drugum*.
 "Where they found great store of *Spain* [to make Cables] provided and laid up there by *As-*
 "*drubal* to serve the navy: and when they had taken thereof as much as they needed, they made a
 "light fire of all the rest. Neither coasted the Roman fleet along the continent and main only and
 "scoured those parts which lay out into the Sea, but passed also unto the *Isle of Ebusus*: where they
 "assailed fortly for two dayes space, the head City of the Island, with much ado, and small
 "effect. And when they perceived, that they spent time in vain, and were past all hope to win
 "it, they fell to rob and spoil the country: and after they had rifled and burned certain villages,
 "and

* *Vila Ioyosa*.

* *Gundamar*,
or the cape of
Helchi.

* *Voica*, or *I-*
figa.

A and got a greater booty & pillage than they had out of the main, they retired themselves to their ships: and thither came Embassadors from the Islands *Baleares* unto *Scipio*, craving peace. From thence he came back with the fleet, and returned into the hither part of the Province, whither resorted unto him the Embassadors of all the Nations that inhabit about *Iberus*, yea, and of many also, from the farthest part of all *Spain*. But of States, that absolutely came under the obedience of the people of *Rome*, doing fealty and homage unto them, and giving hostages for assurance of their allegiance, there were above 120. *Scipio* therefore, taking himself strong enough in land forces, went on as far as to the chase of *Cassula*. And *Asdrubal* retired himself into *Lusitania*, near the Ocean sea. Hereupon the rest of the summer was like to be quiet: and quiet had it been, for

* *Cassula* la-
veia.
* *Portugal*.

B any thing that the Carthaginians did to the contrary. But, (over and besides the naturall disposition of all Spaniards, unconstant, busie, and evermore desirous of novelties and alterations, *Mardonius* a Nobleman, who before time had been the Lord and Prince of the *Ilergetes*, seeing the Romans retired back from the Forrest, toward the sea-coast, stirred up the the people of his country, and invaded the peaceable Territories of the Romans associates, for to spoil and waste the same. Against whom there were sent from *Scipio* three thousand Romans, besides certain auxiliary souldiers also, lightly armed; who in a light skirmish discomfited his forces, (as being a power gathered in haste, and disordered) slew many, took some prisoners, and disarmed the greater part of them. Nevertheless, the rumour of this alarm caused *Asdrubal*, as he departed to the Ocean, to cross the river *Iberus* back again, for the rescue and defence of his friends and Allies. The Carthaginians were encamped in the territory of the *Ilercaonians*, and the Romans near the new Armada, when sudden news diverted the war another way. The Princes of the Celtiberians, who had sent the Embassadors of their country, and hostages unto the Romans, upon a messenger dispatched unto them from *Scipio*, arose up in arms, and entered the Province of the Carthaginians with a strong and puissant army, won three towns by assault, and afterwards, in two battels which they fought with *Asdrubal* right valiantly slew 15000 enemies, and took 4000 prisoners, and many military ensignes they bare away.

C Whiles *Spain* stood in these terms, *P. Scipio* came as *L. Deputy* into that Province, continuing still his government after his Consulship expired; and was sent from the Senat with thirty ships of war, eight thousand souldiers, and great store of victuals. This great fleet, in regard of many hulks and ships of burden which accompanied it, was kenned and discovered afar off, to the great joy both of Romans, and also of their friends and associates, and arrived within the port and haven of *Tarracon*. Where the souldiers were disembarked, and *Scipio* joyned with his brother: and from that time forward they agreed together, and with one accord managed the war. And whiles the Carthaginians were amused with the Celtiberian war they made no stay, but passed over *Iberus*, & seeing no enemy they marched on toward *Saguntum*; for that the bruit went, that the hostages of all *Spain*, delivered unto the custody of *Annibal*, were kept there in hold within the Castle, but with a small guard about them. That was the only pledge which staid all the Cities of *Spain*, whose minds were well affected and enclined to entertain league and society with the Romans, but they feared lest if they should revolt, it would cost the lives of their children. This bond which held *Spain* in awe, one man eased them of, by means of a device and practise more witty and subtil than honest and loyal. There was at *Saguntum*, one *Acedux* a Nobleman of *Spain*, trusty and faithful aforetime unto the Carthaginians: but then (as the nature is for the most part of these Barbarians) as fortune altered her countenance, so changed he his allegiance. And supposing, that if he should lie unto the enemies, without performing some notable treason, and delivering into their hands one thing or other of great importance, he should be counted no better than a vile, base, and infamous creature, he cast about how he might wind himself into these new Allies, and win them by some good service, unto their best and greatest behoof. And considering all the means that Fortune might bring within his compass to effect, he employed himself especially at the length, to set free and deliver those hostages; thinking that the only way to win and procure unto the Romans the amity of all the Princes and great men of *Spain*. But knowing assuredly, that without warrant from *Bostar* the Constable of the Castle, the keepers of those hostages would do nothing, he setteth in hand and cunningly goeth to work with *Bostar* himself. Now lay *Bostar* in Camp without the City by the water side, to impeach the Romans for entering the haven. Thither came *Acedux* to him, withdrew him apart into a secret place, and declared unto him as a man ignorant, in what state things stood. Namely,

E "That it was fear and nothing else, that kept the Spaniards unto that day in obedience, because the Romans were so far off: but now the Romans were encamped on this side *Iberus*, as a sure fortress and place of refuge unto them, if they minded any innovation and change of State: and therefore seeing they could not long be kept by fear, they were to be obliged and bound unto *Annibal* by some favour and good turn. When *Bostar* marvelled and demanded, what sudden demerit this might be, and of so great consequence, *Acedux* (quoth he) send back the hostages into their own Cities. An acceptable present that will be, both particularly to their parents, who are of greatest calling and reputation in their own countries, and also generally to all the Cities and Nations. Every man (you know) is desirous to be trusted: and for the most part, credit given frankly unto one, bindeth him surely to be most faithfull. The ministry and charge of conducting the hostages home to their own houses, I will require to have mine own self, that I may father a plot and device of my own, with mine own proper service

"service and employment: and the thing which of it self in nature is acceptable, I will in what I H
 "can grace and commend the same, and make it more meritorious. Having thus perswaded the
 man, being not altogether so wily as other Carthaginians naturally are, he went by night secretly
 as far as the *Corps de guard* of the enemies, and after he had met and talked with some Spaniards
 that were auxiliary souldiers in the Camp, and by them was brought before *Scipio*, he declared un-
 to him his whole intent and designment, and the cause of his coming. And after they had given
 and received faithful promise mutually between them, and agreed of time and place for the deli-
 very of the hostages unto *Scipio*, he returned again to *Saguntum*. The day following, he spent
 with *Bostar*, in receiving Commission from him, for the execution of this matter. And thus being
 dismissed and having his dispatch, he purposed to go in the night, to the end that he might (for I
 sooth) avoid the watch and wards of the enemies, the Romans: and at the hour appointed he
 raised those who had the guard and custody of the children, and put himself on his way; and (sim-
 ple man he) as if he had been altogether ignorant of that which hapned, brought them within
 the compass of an Ambushment, forelaid beforehand by his own wily and crafty device: and so
 were they brought into the Roman Camp. All other points besides, concerning the rendring of
 the hostages, according to the agreement and appointment with *Bostar*, were performed in the
 same order, as they should have passed, in case all had been done in the name of the Carthagini-
 ans, and to their behoof. But the Romans won much more thank, and gained greater favour
 thereby, than the Carthaginians could have attained in the like curtesie. For the Carthaginians
 (whom, in their prosperous success the Spaniards had found by experience to be rigorous unto
 them, and proud) might have been supposed if they had done it now, to have been mollified and
 made more benign and gracious through adverse fortune and fear: but *Scipio* the Roman General,
 at his first coming, and unknown before time, began with a notable example and testimony of
 clemency and liberality. And *Acedix* besides, reputed a wise and prudent man seemed not with-
 out great reason to have made exchange of his Allies and Friends. Whereupon they all desired
 with one accord to revolt, and presently they had taken arms indeed and rebelled, but for the ap-
 proach of winter which forced as well Romans as Carthaginians to betake themselves to their
 winter harbors.

These were the occurrents that fell out also in *Spain*, in the second summer of the Punick war:
 while in *Italy* the wile and wary delaies, the industrious temporizing of *Fabius* in the manner of
 his warfare gave the Romans some respite and intermission of their souls and overthrows. Which
 as it wrought in *Annibal* no small trouble of mind and perplexity, to see that the Romans at the
 last had chosen for their General a man who managed war by discourse and guidance of sound
 reason & not by adventure or fickle fortune; so it was despised of his own Citizens, as well those
 that were armed abroad, as gowned at home; & namely, when during the absence of the Dictator,
 there hapned to be a field fought through the rashness of the General of the Cavalry, with
 more joyfull success (to speak truly) than happy and fortunate. Two other things there were be-
 sides, that caused the Dictator to be worse thought of, and in great disgrace and obloquy. The
 one through the deceitful and wily policy of *Annibal*: who being enformed by certain fugi-
 tive Traitors (that fled from *Rome* unto him) which were the lands and possessions of the Dicta-
 tor: gave expresse commandment, when he had destroyed the country about, and made all even
 with the ground, to forbear all kind of hostility there only, and to touch nothing of his, either
 by fire or sword: to the end it might be thought there had been some packing between him and
Annibal; and that this was the hire and consideration agreed upon between them two. The o-
 ther arose from an action of his own: namely, about the exchange and coursing of certain priso-
 ners or captives: which peradventure at the first appearance might have seemed doubtful and sus-
 picious (because therein he staid not for to have the Commission and approbation of the Senat)
 but in the end and up-shot it turned, no doubt, to his singular praise and commendation. In that
 entercchange abovesaid, it was capitulate between both Generals, of Romans and Carthaginians,
 (like as it had been afore in the first Punick war) That whether side received more Captives
 than they gave again, should yield for every one souldier two pound and a halfe of silver. When
 it fell out therefore that the Roman Dictator *Fabius* had received more prisoners by 247 than
Annibal, and the payment of the silver for them due; after much debate in the Senat house, (be-
 cause he had not direction therein from the LL.) was delaied, and no order taken therefore: he
 sent his son to *Rome* of purpose, to make sale of his lands, which had not been endamaged by
Annibal: and so to his own cost, and out of his private purse discharged a publike debt.

Annibal now lay in leaguer before the walls of *Gerion*, a City which he had won and set on
 fire, and reserved a few houses standing, to serve him instead of barns and garners for his grain.
 From thence he sent out two third parts of his forces to purvey corn: and remained himself in
 guard with one third part, ready in arms, (but lightly appointed and without any bag and bag-
 gage) in a meet and convenient place; both for defence of the Camp, and also for discovery of
 all the coasts about that no assault were made upon the purveyors. The Roman Army lay then
 in the Territory of *Lavinum*, and the Captain General was *Mimnius*. Commander of the horse-
 men, because the Dictator (as is abovesaid) was gone to the City of *Rome*. But whereas they
 had usually encamped before, upon some high hill and strong place of security: now they be-
 gan to draw down into the vale and the plain ground, and to devise crafty means and strat-
 agems beyond the natural reach of the Commander himself: namely, how they might assail
 either

* 7. lib. 16. sh.
 3d. Berl. ac-
 counting 100
 drachmes or
 Roman dena-
 rii to a lib.

A either the purveyors as they stragled about in the country, or set upon the Camp of their enemies, left with a small power and guard to defend it. *Annibal* was not ignorant, that together with the General, the whole manner and conduct of their warfare was changed: and that the enemy would fight rather more rashly and hastily, than wisely and warily. And himself (who would have thought it, considering the enemy was approached nearer) sent out a third part only of his soldiers to provide corn and forrage, and kept the other twain with him in the Camp: he removed also his tents nearer to the Romans, almost two miles off from *Gerion*; to a little hill within the sight of the enemies, to the end they might know he was minded and ready to rescue and defend the purveyors, if haply they should be charged upon. Then espied *Annibal* at another hill nearer, and standing even over the very Camp of the Romans. For the gaining whereof, (seeing that if he should have gone by day time openly, he had been no doubt prevented by the enemies, who would have seized it first, by reason it was nearer unto them) he sent certain Numidians by night, who surprised it and kept it. But the Romans making little or no account of their small number, drave them the morrow after from thence, and thither removed their own tents: so as then, there was but a little distance between one Camp and the other, and the same, in a manner wholly taken up and replenished with Romans: and withall, at the same time, the horsemen of the Romans with certain footmen lightly armed were sent out at a postern gate of the Camp, (which opened not upon the Carthaginians) against the forragers, whom they discomfited, put to flight, and slew a great number of them. Neither durst *Annibal* issue forth to skirmish: for, having so few about him, he was hardly able to defend his Camp, in case it had been assaulted. So he was driven now to use the policy and shifts of *Fabius*, (for part of his forces were away) and managed his war, sitting still as it were, and keeping the enemy at a bay and at staves end; and so retired with his soldiers to the former Camp, under the walls of *Gerion*. Some write, that there was a field pitched, and a set battle fought with banners displayed, wherein *Annibal* at the first encounter was discomfited and chased to his Camp: but from thence they issued forth who were within and so the fear turned upon the Romans, who on a sudden were put to the worst: but by the coming of *Numerius Decimus* (a Samnite) with succour, the fight was reinforced and renewed. This man, not only nobly descended, but also of great power and wealth, as well in *Boianum* his native Country, where he was born, as throughout all *Samnium* (by order and commandment from the Dictator) came with a power of 8000 foot and 200 horse, toward the Camp: and being espied by *Annibal* on the backside, gave both parties good hope of fresh and new aid. But when the voice went, that *Fabius* at the same time was coming also from *Rome*, *Annibal* for fear of being entrapped within some Ambush, retired back with his own men, and the Romans made pursuit after him: and with the help of *Numerius* the Samnite, won in one day by force two fortresses. So there were 6000 enemies slain and 5000 Romans. And yet as equal in a manner as the loss was of both parts, the rumour ran to *Rome* of a brave victory, with letters also in post from the General of horsemen, full of folly and vanity. Much arguing there was and debate about these matters both in Senate, and before the people sundry times. And when all the City besides was joyous, and the Dictator (alone) gave no credit either to the bruit that was blazed, or the letters: saying withall, That if all were true, yet he feared more the fawning than frowning of fortune: then *M. Metellus* a Tribune of the Commons stepped forth and said, "That this above all was not to be suffered: that the Dictator, not only while he lay in Camp, opposed himself against all goodnels, and stained all valorous services; but also being absent from thence, crossed and disgraced that which was well done and worthily achieved: and that he, of purpose, drew the war in length and prolonged the time to the end he might continue the longer in government, and be the man alone to command all both in the City and abroad in the Army: for one of the Consuls was slain in battle, the other under a pretence & colour of pursuing the Carthaginian fleet was sent out of the way, far enough off from *Italy*: as for the two Prætors, they were employed both in *Sicily* and *Sardinia*: and yet neither of those two Provinces had any need of a L. Deputy there. And *M. Metellus* General of the horsemen, was kept prisoner as it were, and might neither see enemy, nor do any martial exploit. And hereupon it is (quoth he) that not only *Samnium* (whereof the possession was surrendered unto the Carthaginians, as if it were a territory lying beyond *Iberus*) but the Campane, Calene, and Falern territories were utterly overrun and wasted, whiles the Dictator abode still at *Capitulum*, and with the legions of the people of *Rome* defended his own lands & possessions only. And when the Army and General of the Cavalry were desirous of battle, they were kept back enclosed in a manner within the compass of the Camp & their weapons taken from them, as if they had been captive enemies. & at length when the Dictator was once departed from them, they issued forth of the Camp like men delivered from siege, & so discomfited & put to flight their enemies. In consideration of all these things (he said) if the Commons of *Rome* were of that courage, as sometimes they had been, he would boldly have put up a bill, for to deprive *C. Fabius* of his government. But now for this time, he would propound a more indifferent & reasonable law, by virtue whereof the Commander of horsemen may be made equal with the Dictator in authority and power. Yet so, as that *Q. Fabius* might not be sent unto the Army before that he had substituted & ordained another Col. in the room of *Flaminius*. The Dictator forbore altogether to come into any of these assemblies of the people, as a man in action and pleading nothing popular, and who framed not himself to the humor of the common people: Neither was he in the Senate house heard with patience, at what time as he either magnified

The speech of
Metellus a-
gainst Fabius.

Fabius his
words in the
Senate.

and extolled the valour of the enemy; or rehearsed & reckoned up the losses and loots received for two years space, through the rashness and unskilfulness of the Commanders: and said withall, that the General of the horsemen was to answer and give account for fighting against his edict and express commandment. Moreover, (quoth he) if I were in place of sovereign rule and government, & to do all according as I thought good, I would effect and bring to pass, within few daies, that men should know, that a good warrior was to make small reckning of fortune but wisdom, wit, and counsel were to guide and direct all. And for mine own part, I deem it a great honor & glory to have preserved an army in a time of trouble and danger from shame and ignominy, than to have slain many thousands of enemies. After he had made these and such like speeches & reasons in vain, and created for Col. *M. Attilius Regulus*: for that he would not be present to debate the question concerning the right and authority of his own government, he departed by night season toward the army; even the very day before that the fore said law should be propounded. The morning came, and the commons were assembled to an audience: wherein men seemed rather secretly in their hearts to malice the Dictator, & to affect and favour the General of the horsemen, than durst come forth and be seen to perswade and set forward that which pleased them all in common. And notwithstanding the bill was exceedingly well liked of, yet there wanted one to give some credit and authority thereunto. At length, one stepped forth to let it on foot, namely, *C. Terentius Varro*, who the year before had been Praetor, a man not only of obscure degree by calling, but also of vile & base parentage descended. His father was (as they say) a Butcher, who kept shop and sold meat himself, and trained up his son as his apprentice in the same mechanical and servile occupation. This *Varro* being a young man, and well left by his father (who was grown rich, and gained greatly by his trade) gave his mind and conceived some hope to live more gentlemanlike: and took a great liking to the common place, and pleading at the bar: exercising himself in entertaining causes of base persons, against the estate and name of honest Citizens and of good reputation: by means whereof he grew to be known among the people, and afterwards was advanced to place of worship and honour. And having been Treasurer of the City, and born both Adileships, as well that of the Chair, as the other of the Commons: and at length gone through one Praetorship, he aspired now higher, in hope to be Consul: and full craftily waited his time, and fought to wind himself within the favor of the people, by means of the ill opinion and hard conceits they had of the Dictator: & thus he alone went away with all the affectionate love of the Commons. All men that were either at Rome, or in the Army, both good and bad, in general (excepting the Dictator himself) received and admitted that bill, as made to his disgrace and shameful reproach. But he with the very same gravity and constancy of heart, endured these injurious counsels & dealing of the people raging against him, wherewith he had born his adversaries flandering & charging him before the multitude: and having received in the way as he journeyed, letters importing the decree of the Senat. for dividing his authority equally with the General of the horsemen, and being assured that notwithstanding his commission were parted and communicated with another, yet his skill and sufficiency of conduct and command, remained still with himself, with a mind invincible as well against Citizens as enemies, he returned to the army. But *Minutius*, who before that time was hardly to be endured, both for his fortunate success, and also for the favour of the common sort: now verily beyond all measure and bounds of modesty, vaunted and gloried, in that had conquered & got the mastery over *Fabius* as well as over *Annibal*. That *Fabius* (I say) who in time of distress and calamity, was the only warrior and Captain that could be found out to match *Annibal*: that the superior Magistrate was by the consent & approbation of the people, (a thing never to be found in any record of Chronicles) made but even equal with the inferior: to wit, the Dictator with the General of horsemen: and in that City, wherein the Commanders of the Cavalry were wont to quake and tremble at the rods and axes of the Dictator. So conspicuous and evident in the eyes of the world, was his felicity and prowess above all others. And therefore minded was he to follow his own fortune, and to take his time: in case the Dictator still continued lingering in sloth and idleness, condemned in the judgment both of God and man. Whereupon, the very first day that he & *Fabius* were met together, he said that they were above all things to determine & set down in what sort they might order this their equal authority of government. He for his part thought it best, that each other day (or if longer time between were supposed better) they should one after the other alternatively have the full and whole command of all for the time in their several turns: that if any occasion of fighting a battle were presented, they might be able to contravail the enemy, not only in counsel, but also in power and strength. *Q. Fabius* liked not of this: supposing that whatsoever lay in the hands and disposition of his rash colleague, must needs be subject unto the arbitrement of Fortune. Saying moreover unto him, That he was indeed to impart unto him government and rule, but not wholly to depart therefrom, and shut himself out. And therefore he would never willingly fall, but (to his power) manage by counsel and discretion one part or other: neither would he divide with him either time or daies, but the forces and armies: that *Minutius* might have one moiety, and himself another: since he might not preserve all by his own counsel & policy, yet he would endeavour (so far as he could) to save somewhat. And so much he prevailed, that they parted the Legions between them, as the manner of the Consuls was. The first and fourth fell to *Minutius*, the second and third to *Fabius*. In like manner they divided the horsemen number for number, and the auxiliary souldiers of Allies and Latines. The General of the horsemen would needs likewise that they should be encamped asunder.

Annibal

- A. *Annibal* conceived hereupon a two-fold joy, (for he was not ignorant of all that was done among the enemies, partly by intelligence given him from thence by fugitives, and partly by means of his own scouts and spies) for he made this reckoning, both that he should deal well enough with the lavish rashness of *Minutius*, and handle him in his kind; and also that the prudent policy of *Fabius* was abridged and diminished by the one half. Now there was a little hill between the Camp of *Minutius* and the Carthaginians: and no doubt there was, but that he who could gain it aforehand should have the vantage of the enemy, in regard of the ground. That hill *Annibal* was not so desirous to get without skirmish, (& yet it had been a matter of good importance) as willing thereby to give some occasion of fighting and scuffling with *Minutius*, by whom he wist very well to be alwaies forwarde enough to encounter him and make resistance. The plain all between, seemed at the first fight nothing commodious nor good for men that would lay an ambushment, because it was neither over-grown with any woods, nor yet in any part roughly over-spread and covered, so much as with briars and brambles. But in very deed the ground was naturally made for to cover and hide an Ambuscado: and the rather, because in so naked and bare a valley, none would have imagined and suspected any deceitful trains, and forelaying of wait. And yet there were in divers nooks and corners thereof certain hollow rocks and caves, and some of them of sufficient capacity to receive 200 armed men. In these lurking holes there were bestowed 5000 of horsemen and footmen one with another, some in one place, some in another, according as they might commodiously lie there closely hidden. And yet, lest that the stirring of any one that might chance to go forth unadvisedly, or the glittering of armour, should bewray the trains in so open a valley, *Annibal* by sending out at the break of day some few for to seize the aforesaid hill, withdrew the eyes of his enemies another way. These at the first view were despised of the Romans for their small number, and every man was desirous to be doing with them, and their fingers itched for to set the enemies back, and drive them from thence. The General himself *Minutius*, as fool-hardy and forward as he that was most, sounded the alarm, and commanded to go to the winning of the place, braving and threatening of the enemies full vainly. First, he sent forth his light armed men to skirmish, but afterwards, the Cornets of horsemen, set close and jointly together in array: and at the last, seeing the enemies seconded with new succours and supplies, he advanced forward himself with his Legions in order of battel.
- D. And *Annibal*, wheresoever he perceived his men to be distressed, made out continual fresh aides one after another, both of horse and foot, ever as the fight encreased and grew hotter: so as now he had his full army in field, and they maintained battel on both sides with all their power and main forces. First, the light armed Romans, notwithstanding the disadvantage of the ground, desirous to get up against the hill, (possessed aforehand of the enemy) were put back, and beaten down again: insomuch, as in their retire, they put the horsemen in fear that followed hard upon them, and fled for refuge to the Ensigns of the Infantry. The main battell of the Legionary footmen, among all the rest that were affrighted, only remained without fear, undaunted; and seemed in a plain, set, and downright field without ambush, likely enough to have held their own, and in no respect to have been over-matched; so courageous they were, and had taken such heart upon their late victory, some few daies before. But the enemies starting suddenly out of their Ambuscadoes, so troubled, disordered, and terrified them, flanking them on both sides and charging withall behind, that neither their heart served any of them to fight, nor their hope remained to fly and escape away. Then *Fabius* hearing the first cry, and knowing thereby, that they were in great fear, and seeing besides a far off their battell disordered and in disarray, "I thought even as much (quoth he) and no sooner than I feared, it is fallen out: Fortune I see well, hath over-raught fool-hardiness, and taken it tardy. The man, forsooth, that must needs be made e-quall with *Fabius* in government, seeth by this time; that *Annibal* is his good Master, & his better by ods in prowess and fortune: but we shall find out some other time to chide and to be angry. Come on now, forth with your standards and ensigns, let us wrest from our enemies hands the victory, and wring from our Citizens mouths confession of their error and trespass. Now when some of them were slain, and others looked about which way to make escape and flee: *Fabius* with his forces shewed himself, as sent down from heaven to rescue them. And before he came to lance one javelin, or began to joyn battell and fight one stroke, he not only staid his fellows from running away, but also his enemies from further heat of fight. As many of the Romans as were disbanded and scattered asunder all abroad, repaired again speedily from all parts; and rallied themselves to the entire battell: the rest who by whole troops had turned their backs, made head again upon the enemy: and one while giving ground and retiring by little and little, another while standing in a ring and round together stedfast, kept this order by turns: so as now, both they that were discomfited, and those that were unfoiled became reduced into one body of a battell, and advanced their ensigns against the enemy. By which time *Annibal* sounded the retreat, and openly confessed and said, that as he had vanquished *Minutius*, so he was foiled and overcome of *Fabius*. Thus when the more part of the day was spent with variable fortune, and all retired again to their Camps, *Minutius* called together his souldiers, and spake unto them after this manner: "I have oftentimes heard it spoken (my good souldiers) that he is the best man, and most sufficient, who knoweth himself what is best to do: next to him is he esteemed, that will be ruled and directed by sage advice & counsel: but he that neither hath the skill to advise another, nor the grace to be advised by another, is simply of the worst nature, & good for nothing.

His speech to
the Dictator.

"Since that we therefore are not so happy as to attain unto the highest degree of wit, and perfection of nature, let us content our selves with the second place, and keep a mean between: and whiles we learn to rule, let us settle our selves and resolve to obey him that is wiser than our selves. Let us joyn in Camp with *Fabius*, and when we have presented our selves and our ensigns before his pavilion and tribunal, see that when I salute him by the name of Father (as is befitting his excellent majesty, and the benefit by us of him received) that ye also call those souldiers your Patrons, whose valiant hands and trusty arms ere while protected you: that this day may give us yet, if nothing else, the honour and name of thankful persons. Having thus said, he gave commandment to pack up bag and baggage, and to dislodge: and as they marched in good array toward the Camp of the Dictator, they struck both him and also all about him into a wonder and admiration. And having pitched their ensigns before the Tribunal: then *Minutius* the General of the horse went forth before the rest: and after he had greeted *Fabius* himself as his Father, and the whole Army likewise saluted those about *Fabius*, by the name of Patrons: "To my parents (quoth he) O Dictator, unto whom I have made you equall in name only (as much as my tongue will give me leave) I am bound and beholden for my own life only and no more: but to you I am indebted for saving both my life, and all these here. The Act therefore and ordinance of the Commons which hath been a clog and burden to me rather than an honour, here of my self I renounce, revoke, and abolish: and (that which I pray God may prove to the good both of you and me, of mine army and yours, as well that which is preserved, as that which is the preserver) lo I submit and surrender again my self under your command and government, together with these ensigns and legions thereto belonging: beseeching you to pardon me, and to entertain me in the room of the General of the Cavalry, and thole here with me, everyman in his former place. Then interchangeably they gave their hands one to another: and the souldiers (after the assembly dismissed) were courteously invited, and friendly entertained, as well by them that were unknown unto them, as of their acquaintance, and so the day, dolorous, heavy, and almost dismal and accursed, turned to be joyful and festival.

So soon as tidings came to *Rome* of these occurrents, and the same confirmed as well by the letters of the Generals themselves, as also by the common voice of souldiers from both Armies, every man, the best he could, praised and extolled *Maximus* up to the sky: whose honour and reputation was as great in the opinion of *Annibal* and the Carthaginians, for then and never before, they found, that they had to deal and war in *Italy*, and with Romans. As for the two years space before, they set so light both by Roman Captains and souldiers, that they could be hardly perwaded, that they warred with that Nation, whereof there went so great a fame, and of whom their forefathers had reported such wonders and terrible things. They say also, that *Annibal* as he returned out of the field, gave out these words, "That the cloud which sated on the hill tops, hovered so long in the wind, that it proved a tempestuous storm in the end.

While these things were doing in *Italy*, *Cn. Servilius Geminus* the Consul, having sailed about the coasts of *Sardinia* and *Corfica* with his fleet, and received hostages both of the one Isle and the other, passed over into *Affrick*: and before that he landed in the continent, and firm land, he wasted the Island * *Meninx*, and having received * ten talents of silver of the inhabitants thereabout, for fear lest their Territory also should be consumed with fire, and spoiled as well as the rest: he came to *Affrick*, and there set his forces ashore. From thence he led his souldiers and mariners likewise, one with another disbanded and out of order, as if they were to rob and spoil some desert Islands, unpeopled and void of Inhabitants. Whereupon they fell unadvisedly into an ambush, and being unskilfull of the country, and therewith but few and scattered, they were soon enclosed among many, and with much slaughter and shameful flight were driven and beaten back to their ships. The fleet thus having lost a thousand men, and one Treasures of the Army among them, called *Sempronius Blasus*, loosed in great haste from the shore (which now was overspread by enemies) and held their course for *Sicily*, and at * *Lilybaeum* was set over and delivered to *T. Oracilius* the Praetor, for to be brought back again to *Rome*, by *P. Sura* his Lieutenant. *Cn. Servilius* himself journeyed through *Sicily* by land, and crossed the narrow seas into *Italy*: for both he and his Colleague *M. Atilius* were sent for by the letters of *Fabius*, to receive the Army at his hands, now that his six-months-sovereign government was well near expired. All the Annals in a manner do record, that *Fabius* was the man, who during his Dictatorship, fought and waged war with *Annibal*. *Caelius* writeth also, that he was created Dictator by the people. But both *Caelius* and the rest, either knew not, or else forgot, that the Consul *Servilius*, who then was far from *Rome*, and in the Province of *France*, had the lawful right and authority only to nominate a Dictator: and because the City so affrighted, by reason of that notable overthrow could not stay so long, they were driven to this shift, That there should be created by the people a Pro-Dictator or Dictator his Deputy. But the noble acts and glorious renown of that General, together with the title of his Image, which might recommend his house more honourable to posterity, gained easily this point, and caused the Pro-Dictator to be reputed Dictator, and so called.

The Consuls, *M. Atilius Regulus*, and *Cn. Servilius Geminus*, having received the army (as is before said) fortified in good time the places for wintering harbour (for it was then the Autumn season) conducted and managed the wars together in great concord, and followed the same polirick course that *Fabius* had done before them. For as *Annibal* made rodes at any time to purvey corn, they would meet him just at every turn, in sundry places, and either cut off the tail of his

men,

* Gerbi, or
Zerbi.

* 1875 li. ster.
according to
the lesser Ar-
tick talent.

* *Marsala*.

A men, or intercept and catch them as they went scattering, but never hazard all in one set field: the only thing that the enemy shot at, by all the means he could devise. And so near driven was *Annibal*, and to those terms of want and scarcity, that but for very shame (left by his dislodging and departure he might be thought to flee) he would have retired back into *Gallia*, as being out of all hope to maintain and sustain his Army with victuals in those parts, in case the new Consuls who next succeeded, should hold on still the same policy and manner of warfare. Winter now approached, and all the war that was continued and settled about *Gerion*: at what time there arrived at *Rome* Embassadors from *Naples*, who brought with them, and presented into the Council-House, forty masse boles of beaten gold: and withall delivered this speech, and said,

B "That they knew full well, how the Treasure of the people of *Rome* was wasted and consumed by long wars, And forasmuch as the said wars were maintained, as well for the defence of the Cities and Lands of allies, as for *Rome*, the very head, mother City, and principall Citadel (as it were) of all *Italy*, and for the soveraign dominion and Empire thereof: the Neapolitans thought it meet and reason, that what store of gold their ancestors had left unto them, were it for to adorn and deck themselves, or to relieve them in time of need and necessity, with it they were to aid and help the people of *Rome* in their adversity. And if they could have bethought themselves of any other means besides, wherein they might stand and befriend them they would as willingly and frankly have made presentment thereof: saying, moreover, that the Senators of *Rome* should do them an high pleasure, if they would make account of all that the men of *Naples* had, as their own; and judge them worthy, at whose hands they would vouchsafe to accept a present, much greater, and more precious in regard of the mind and affection of the givers than the substance and value of the thing. The Embassadors were highly thanked, as well for their liberality and munificence, as for the care they had of them: and that boll was only received which weighed least.

* *Cirignola*.
The Embassadors of *Naples* in the Senate of *Rome*.

About the same time, a Carthaginian spy, who for two years space had walked unknown and unsuspected, was detected and apprehended now at *Rome*: and after his hands were cut off, was suffered to depart. Five and twenty slaves were crucified for a conspiracy contrived in *Campus Martius*. The informer was made free, and had 20000 pound of brasse bullion given him for a reward. There were also sent Embassadors to *Philip* King of the Macedonians, to demand again *Demetrius Pharius*, who having been vanquished in plain field, was fled unto him. Others likewise were dispatched to the Ligurians, as well to expostulate with them and complain, that they had succoured *Annibal* with men, money, and other munition: as also to hearken and learn (seeing they were so near) what the Boians and insubrians did or went about. Besides, a third Embassage was addressed as far as to *Illyricum*, unto King *Pinus*, to enquire and call for the Tribute, whereof the term was expired and past: and if he were minded to take a longer day, than to receive hostages and pledges of him for security. See how carefull the Romans were, and what a provident eye they had, notwithstanding the great war which lay heavily upon their necks and shoulders, to their other affairs: insomuch as no one thing in the world, how distant and remote soever, was by them neglected. But as concerning religion, and Church matters, they made some scruple of conscience, that the Temple of *Concord* (which *L. Manlius*, L. Deputy in *Gallia*, had vowed two years before in time of a sedition and mutiny of souldiers) was not as yet set out to workmen for to be built or edified accordingly. And therefore two Duumvirs were for that purpose created by *Æmylius* the Prætor, or L. Governour of the City, namely, *Cn. Pupius*, and *Casus Quintius Flaminius*: who gave order, that the Temple should be built upon the Capitoll hill. The same Prætor, by vertue of a decree of the Senate, sent his letters unto the Consuls, importing thus much, That if they thought good, one of them should repair to *Rome* for the creation of new Consuls: and that himself would summon the Parliament against that day which it should please them to appoint. The Consuls wrote back again according to the premises, That they might not depart far from the enemy without damage of State: advising them to hold an assembly for the Election aforesaid, by authority of an interregent, rather than that one of the Consuls should be called away from the wars. But the LL. of the Senate thought it better to have a Dictator chosen by one of the Consuls, for the holding of that high Court of Parliament. So *L. Veturius Philo*, was nominated Dictator, and he chose for Generall of the Horsemen *M. Pomponius Mætho*. But these men being not duly and lawfully created, were commanded at the fortnights end to give over their places, and then the matter grew to an Interregent. The Consuls had their Commission, for government and conduct of the Army, continued and confirmed for one year longer. The Senators named for Interregents, first *Cn. Claudius Cento*, the son of *Appius*; and after him, *P. Cornelius Asina*. During whose Interreign, the Parliament was holden, with much contention and debate between the Nobles and the Commons. The

* 60 pound 7.
lb. 6. d. sterl.

* *Sclavonia*.

Vulgar people endeavoured to advance unto the Consulship *C. Terentius Varro*, a man of their own coat and condition, one crept into good liking and favour with the common sort by opposing himself and contesting against great personages, and by other popular practises and courtes that he used to win grace among the people; as namely, by abasing the greatness of *Fabius*, and the Majesty of the Dictatorship: for nothing was there else in him, to commend him to the world, but a malicious mind to bring others into disgrace. The Nobles withstood the Commons all they could, to prevent this mischief: That men should not take a custome to be their equals, by means of inveighing and making head against them. *Bibius Herennius* a Tribune of the Commons,

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The Oration
of Bibius He-
renius a Tri-
bune.

mons, and kinsman to C. Terentius, blamed and accused much not only the Senate, but also the Augurs, in that they forbad the Dictator to finish and go through with the election: and so by drawing them into hatred, sought to purchase favour and credit unto Terentius his Candidate, who stood to be Consul. "First, quoth he) whereas the Noblemen for many years together, sought occasions of war, and trained Annibal into Italy, the same persons craftily have made a long war of it, when it might have been brought to a final end before now. Also, when it was well seen that they might have fought a battel with the compleat power of four legions all together, seeing that M. Minutius in the absence of Fabius had a lucky day: two legions only and no more, were offered and exposed as it were to the enemy to be hewn in peeces: and then afterwards, they were rescued and saved from massacre, and the very edge of the sword: to the end that Fabius might be called Father and Patron: even he, who to say a truth, first impeached the Romans for vanquishing the enemies, before that he saved them from being vanquished. Moreover, the Consuls that succeeded, following the same course and artificiall fetches that Fabius praesided before them, drew out the war still on length, when they had good means of victory, and might have fully finished it. A complot (no doubt) contrived and concluded among all the Nobles. And never will they see to make an end of war, before there be a Consul chosen, a meer Commoner indeed, to wit, a man never seen afore, and of the first head. For those who are of Commoners now made noble, are all alike and of the same profession; they draw all in one line, and have learned one lesson; and ever since that they have left to be contemned of the Nobility, are faine to despise and disdain the Commonalty. For who seeth not, that in seeking to have an Interreign, their only purpose and reach was, that the Election might be full and wholly in the power and ordering of the Nobles? That was the thing which the Consuls aimed at, in staying behind in Camp with the Army: & afterwards when there was a Dictator created against their wills for to hold the great assembly for the Election, their drift was, and they wrought for, and brought it about in the end, that the Augurs should give it out and pronounce, that there was an error committed in creation of the Dictator. And therefore, saith he, the Commons cannot of all things away with these Interreigns: and verily, one of the Consulships (at least) appertain of right to the Commons of Rome: and no doubt, the people in their free election would more willingly make choice of one to be Consul, and confer the dignity upon him, that loved rather to win the victory at once, than to continue commander in the Army a long time. When the Commons were once enkindled and set on fire with these speeches and remonstrances, albeit three of the Patritii were competitors, namely, Pub. Cornelius Merenda, L. Manlius Volsus, and M. Emilius Lepidus, and two new Noblemen, who were already familiar and acquainted with the Commons, to wit, C. Attilius Serranus, and Q. Elius Papius, of whom the one had been High Priest, and the other Augur: yet at length was C. Terentius only created Consul, to the end that the election should be in his power, that he might choose unto him a Colleague at his pleasure. Then the Patritians having a sufficient tryall, that their Candidates and Competitors were of small force and not able to prevail, urged and put forward L. Emilius Papius, who sometimes had been Consul with M. Lalius, in the condemnation as well of himself as of his companion, escaped the peril of being burnt, and was well singed and scorched, as it were in the fire: a man of all others most mischievously bent against the Commons: him they urged, I say, to stand for a Consulship notwithstanding he refused a long while, and alledged many reasons against it. And so the next Comitiall or Parliament day, by occasion that all the concurrents and competitors aforesaid that stood with Varro, gave place and left off their suit, he was chosen to match with the Consul elect, for to thwart and cross him, rather than to be assistant unto him in the government. This done, they proceeded to the election of Pretors, wherein M. Pomponius Matho, and P. Furius Philus were created. Unto Pomponius fell by lot the jurisdiction within the City of Rome: and unto P. Furius Philus, between the Citizens of Rome and forreiners. Two other Pretors besides were chosen, M. Claudius Marcellus, to be sent L. Deputy into Sicily, and L. Posthumius Albinus into Gallia. All were created in their absence, and excepting Terentius the Consul only, there was no Magistracy conferred upon any, who had not aforetime borne and exercised the same: for divers valorous and hardy men were passed over and left out, because in such a time of trouble, it was not thought good to prefer any man to a government, wherein he was raw and unexperienced. The Armies also were augmented; but to what proportion they arose, either in Cavalry, or Infantry, I dare not set down any thing for certainty; so greatly do authors vary both in the number and quality of the forces. Some say, there was a new supply of 10000 souldiers enrolled. Others affirm, that to the five legions there were were adjoynd four new besides, to the end they might employ nine legions in the wars. Also, that the legions were increased in number both of foot and horle: to wit, with the addition of one thousand footmen, and three hundred horsemen in every Legion: [for sometime before, a Legion contained 4000 foot, and 300 horse, called *Quadrata legio*: whereas at first Romulus ordained it to be 3000 of the one, and 300 of the other] so as a Legion consisted now of five thousand foot, and three hundred horse: and that the associates should double the number of horsemen, and find even proportion of footmen with the Romans.

Some Historians have written, that at what time as the battell of Cannæ was fought, the Romans were in Camp 87200 strong. But in this they all agree, that the Romans warred with greater preparation, and more force and fury than in years past, because the Dictator had put them

in

* [Such as by descent and birth were pure Commoners, but by place, become of the Nobility.]

All within these marks [] read as a marginal note.

A In good hope, that the enemy might be vanquished and subdued at once. But before that these new Legions advanced under their ensigns and banners out of the City, the Decemvirs were commanded to go and peruse the books of *Sibylla*; by reason that men were commonly put in fear, and terrified with news of strange sights and prodigious tokens. For the rumour went, that both at *Rome*, in the *Aventine*, and also at *Ardea*, it rained stones much about one time; and that in the *Sabine* Country (which no doubt portended a great massacre and slaughter) there issued out of a certain fountain, waters hot, with much blood: and men were more terrified therewith, because it did so many times together. Besides, in the street called *Fornicata* toward *Campus Martius*, divers persons were blasted and smitten to death with lightning from heaven. These prodigious signs were expiate and purged with due remedies out of the foresaid books. Embassadors also from the City of *Pestum*, brought unto *Rome* a present of massie boles of beaten gold. Thanked they were like as the *Neapolitans* before them, but the gold was not received.

At the same time there arrived at *Osia* from *K. Hiero* a fleet of ships, ready rigged, and furnished with store of victuals. The *Syracusan* Embassadors were brought into the Senate house, where they declared, That *K. Hiero* in soon as he heard of the death of *C. Flaminius* the Consul, and the defeat of the Army, took it so heavily, that no proper calamity of his own, or loss incident unto his kingdom, could have troubled him more, and touched him nearer: and therefore albeit he knew full well, that the grandeur and courage of the people of *Rome*, was ordinarily more admirable in their adversity, than in prosperity and welfare, yet he had sent all those things, where-

C with good friends and faithfull Allies are wont to furnish their associates in time of war: praying the LL. of the Senate in any case not to refuse the same, but to take all in good worth. And first & foremost for good luck sake and fortunate presage, they have brought with them the Image of *Victory* in gold, weighing 320 pound; requesting that it would please them to accept the same, to have and so hold it, as their own for ever. Moreover, they had transported with them 300000 Modios of wheat, and 200000 of barley, to the end they should be at no fault for victuals, and were ready moreover to bring in more, according as they should need, and to what place they would appoint. As for footmen heavily armed and horsemen, he knew well the people of *Rome* would use none but naturall Romans, or at leastwise Latines. But forasmuch as he had seen and observed in the Roman Camp, forsooth aids consisting of light armed souldiers, therefore he had

D sent 1000 Archers and Slingers, a meet and competent power to match with the *Baleares* and *Morians*; and other nations that use shot, and to teach their enemies afar off. Over and besides these gifts and reall presents they counselled and advised them, that the Lord Deputy of *Sicily* should pass with his fleet into *Affrick*, to find the enemy work, and give him his hands full of war at home: and also to afford him less respite, and worse opportunity, to send aid and succour to *Amibul*. The Senate returned this answer again unto the King: That King *Hiero* had done the part of a right good man, and a singular friend and ally: who ever since that he was entered into amity with the people of *Rome*, hath held on the same course still, in keeping his faithfull allegiance, and never failed, but at all times, and in all places succoured and advanced the State and Empire of *Rome*, with all bounty and princely munificence: which the people of

E *Rome* took most thankfully, as in right they ought. As for gold, some other Cities likewise had brought and offered unto them, but accepting only in good worth their kindness received it not. But the Image of *Victory*, and the happy presage and foretoken thereof they gladly accepted: and for that blessed Saint, they appointed and dedicated even the Capitol, and Temple of *Jap. Op. Max.* to be the seat and shrine thereof: that being consecrated in that Castle and highest fortress of the City of *Rome*, it might be propice and gracious, and remain firm and fast to the people of *Rome*. As for the slingers and archers, together with the corn they were delivered to the Cos. Five and twenty galleys, with five ranks of oars to a side, were joined to the Navy which was under the conduct of *T. Otacilius* the Pro-prætor in *Sicily*: who had commission, if he thought it good and expedient for the commonweal, to pass over into *Affrick*. The Consuls having finished

F the musters and levied souldiers, staid a few daies, untill their allies were come with aid from the Latines. Then were the Souldiers particularly (a thing never done before) by their Colonels, put to their corporal oath, and sworn to make their repair at the Consuls commandment, and without their leave not to depart: for untill that day there passed nothing but a sacramentall parole & simple promise in general. For whensoever the horsemen resorted to their Decuries, and footmen to their Centuries: both they of the Cavalry in their Decuries, and also of the Infantry in their Centuries, swart (after a sort) voluntarily among themselves, That they would not abandon their ensigns by way of flight, or upon any fear, nor go out of their ranks, unless it were to fetch either some offensive armour, or to smite an enemy, or to save the life of a Citizen. Which having been sometime a voluntary covenant & accord between themselves, was now by the martial Tribunes

G or Colonels reduced to a formal and solemn oath, and bound the souldiers to observe them same, of necessity. Yet before the ensigns set forward and marched out of *Rome*, the Consul *Papirius* dealt many hot words and brave orations in the assembly of the people, intimating & porporting thus much in effect: That the Nobles had called for war in *Italy*, where it was like to remain long enough, and to stick close to the ribs of the commonweal, if she were served with many such Generall as *Papirius* was. As for my self (quoth he) I shall (I trow) vanquish the enemy, the first day that I set eye upon him, yea, and finish the war at once for ever. But his Colleague *Pandus* made but one only speech, even the day before they were to take their leave of the City, which was not so

The Embassadors of *K. Hiero*, in the Senate of *Rome*.

* 11520 lib. sterl.

* 9375 quarters, reckoning six modii to *Medimnus*, which is supposed to be much about a bushel and a half of London measure.

The Oration
of Q. Fabius
Max. to L. E.
mylius the
Consul.

so well taken of the people for the present: as it is proved true in the end. wherein he gave them no hard words, nor girded at him otherwise than thus: "That he marvelled much, how any Captain, before he had experience either of his own army, or of his enemies, and knew the situation of the place and ground, and the nature of the country, sitting as yet within the City in his gown, could perfectly tell what he was to do in the field, and in arms: and be able also to foretell and let down the very day, wherein he was to encounter and joyn in ranged battel with the enemy. For his own part, he would not cast thus aforehand, nor plot his designs and counsels before due time & season, which present occurrences are wont much more to minister unto men, than men to fit them to the occurrences that shall happen. This would he with all his heart, That the enterprises taken in hand warily and with discretion, might prove as lucky and fortunate. As for inconsiderat rashness, besides that it implieth folly, hath ever to that day sped but ill. Thus it was well seen, that this man of himself inclined to prefer safe proceeding & advised counsel, before doubtful waies & fool-hardy courses: & to the end that he might persevere in that resolution more constantly, Q. Fabius Maximus at his departure (by report) bad him farewell in this or such like manner. "If either you, O L. Emilius, had a Colleague like unto your self, (which I could rather wish) or that your self were suitable to your Colleague, these my words to you were altogether needless and superfluous. For you twain, being two good Consuls, would even without my speech do all things faithfully to the good of the Commonweal: and contrariwise, if both of you were bad, ye neither would vouchsafe to give ear to my sayings, nor ponder in mind my counsels. But now, when I consider your companion what he is, and your self, to be a man of that quality & worth, you are he to whom alone I am addressed to direct my whole speech: to you, I say, whom me thinks I foresee already, like to be in vain and without effect, an honest man and a good Citizen. For if the Commonweal be hale and lame but of one side, as great sway and authority will bad projects & leud courses carry, as the good sage, and wholsom counsels. For you are far out of the way and much deceived, O L. Emilius, if you think to be less troubled with Annibal than with C. Terentius. And I wot not well, but I greatly fear, that you shall have a more dangerous adversary of the one, than a dangerous enemy of the other. For with Annibal you are to fight in the field, and in time of battel only: but with Terentius you shall have to do in every place, and at all hours. Against Annibal and his Legions you shall make head, and have the help of your own Cavalry and Infantry: but General Terentius will assail you even with your own soldiers. For he be from you in any illense the late remembrance of C. Flaminius, for I love no such humbly prefacing. Howbeit, he began his mad fits when he was once Consul, and never before: when he was in his Province with command, to join the Camp with his Army, and never else. But this Terentius, even before he stood for the Consulship, and all the while he was a suitor therefore, and now likewise, that he is Consul, before that he seeth camp or enemy in field, is horn-mad, and talketh like a man besides himself. What foul work then (think you) will he make, when he shall see himself with armed youths about him in the Camp, who now amongst peaceable Citizens in their gowns and long robes within the City, through so great storms and tempests, drinking and vaunting at every second word, of nothing but of light skirmish, and battel? What a roil, I say, will he keep there, where no sooner a word spoken, but a blow given: and when upon direct command presently ensueth execution? But in case this man (as he saith starkly he will) fall immediately to strike a battel, either I know not what belongeth to Art military, and have neither skill how to conduct this kind of warfare, nor any experience of the quality and nature of this enemy, or else there will be another place more noble and memorable by our defeat and overthrow, than was the Lake Thrasimeneus. But it is no time now to stand upon these terms, and to glorify my self in comparison of this one person who have loved (as it is well known) to exceed a ridge beyond all measure in despising glory & honour, rather than in desiring and coveting the same. But the truth is this & so it will be found in the end, that the only way to war against Annibal, is that which I took and alwaies used. Neither is it the issue and event alone (for that is master and teacher of fools) which sheweth & proveth this unto us, but even reason it self which hath, and will be still the same and immutable, as long as things in the world hold on as they do. We war, (you see) in Italy, at home, in our own ground and place of residence: all quarters round about us, full of our own Citizens or friendly Allies: who daily help us, and will be ready still to furnish us with armour, men, horse, and victuals. Sufficient proof and testimony of their faithfulness have they given us already in our hard distress and adversity. Space and process of time maketh us better stronger, wiser every day than other, and more constant and resolute. Contrariwise, Annibal is in a strange and forein land, in his enemies country, in the midst of all things that are cross and adverse unto him, far from his house and home, far from his native soil, having peace no where, neither by sea nor land. No Cities receive him and give him entertainment, no wals he hath, within which he can retire himself in safety. Nothing seeth he, where so ever he goeth, that he can say is his own. From day to day, from hand to mouth, he liveth of rapine and spoil. Scarce a third part hath he of those forces, which he transported over the river Tiber. Hunger and famine hath wasted more of them, than the edge of the sword: and for this small remainder that is left, he is hard and scant provided of food and sustenance. Make you any doubt then, but we shall vanquish him, whiles we sit still and take our ease, who day by day decayeth sensibly, and waxeth old and feeble, who neither hath store of victuals to maintain his army, nor supply of men to make up his broken bands, nor mass of money to entertain them.

How

A "How long was he fain to fight for *Gerion*, a poor little Castle in *Apulia*, as if it had been for the
 "wals of *Carthage* it self? Neither will I boast and magnifie my self at all before you, O *Æmylius*.
 "Do you but only consider, how *Cn. Servilius* and *Attilius*, the last Consuls, plaied mock-holiday
 "with him, and deluded him. This is the only way of safety, O *L. Paulus*, which I fear me, our own
 "Citizens will make difficult and dangerous unto themselves, more than the enemies can. For
 "you shall have your own souldier, and your enemies both of one and the same mind. *Varro*
 "the Roman Consul, and *Annibal* the Carthaginian General will aim and reach at one and the
 "self-same thing. And you, being but one man must make account to resist two Captains: and re-
 "sist them you shall well enough, if you will stand firm and hold your own against all bruits and
 B "speeches of the people; if neither the vain-glory of your fellow that shall be blazed, nor the in-
 "famous rumours that shall be failly blown abroad to your disgrace, shall once stir you from your
 "constant resolution and maintenance of the truth. O d sayings these be, and common proverbs,
 "That right and true-dealing may well be sick, but it shall not die: it may lie a bleeding, but shall
 "not miscarry. And he that will despise vain-glory shall attain in the end to true glory. Let them
 "call you and spare not, fearful for careful, cold and slow for wise and confiderate, an ill souldier
 "and ignorant for a skilful warrior and experienced. But be not you dimaied: I had rather hear
 "a wise and sober enemy to fear you, than see foolish and brain-ick Citizens to praise you. Ad-
 "venture all things holdly, *Annibal* will contemn you: enterprise nothing rashly, he shall dread
 "you. And yet my purpose is not, neither speak I this, that you should enter into no action at all:
 C "but my meaning and advice is, that in all your doings you be guided and directed by sage rea-
 "son, not haled and carried away with blind fortune. Order the matter so, that all things lye
 "within your compass, and at your disposition. Stand ever armed and upon your guard. Have
 "your eye about you still, and keep good watch, that neither you lose any opportunity that shal
 "present itself unto you, nor yield unto the enemy any occasion for his advantage. Take time and
 "leisure, your shall find all things clear, plain easie, and certain. Contrariwise, hast maketh waste
 "it is ever to seek it foreseeth nought, but is stark blind.

The Consul answered to these speeches, with no light soun cheer and glad some countenance,
 as confessing. That all he spake was rather true in substance, than easie in execution. "For (said
 "he) if the General of horsemen were so violent, and not to be endured of you, who were his
 D "Dictator and sovereign Commander; what course shall I take, what shift may I make, what
 "power and authority sufficient, am I like to have, to sway against my seditious, quarrellsome, and
 "heady Collegue? For mine own part, in my former Consulship, I hardly escaped a scouring,
 "and much ado I had to pass through the light fire of the flaming peoples doom and heavy
 "censure wherein I was well scorched and half-burnt. I wish all may be well in the end. Howbeit,
 "if any thing shall fall out other wise than well, I had rather hazard the pikes and darts of the ene-
 "mies, and leave my life behind me, among them, than put my self to be tried again by the voices
 "and suffrages of angry and testy Citizens. *Paulus* had no sooner delivered this speech, but (as the
 report goeth) he went forth on his journey, and the chief LL. of the Senat accompanied him. The
 ther Commoner Consul was likewise attended of his favourites the Commons, more looked on &
 E gazed at for their multitude and number, than regarded for the worth & quality of their persons.

So soon as they were arrived at the Camp, and that the new army was intermingled with the
 old, they divided the whole army into two camps, & ordered the matter so, that the new which
 was the lesser should be nearer to *Annibal*; and in the old, the greater number and the whole strength
 and flower of the main forces should be quartered. Then they sent away to *Rome* *M. Attilius*, the
 Consul of the former year, who excused himself by reason of his old age, and desired to be
 gone. But they gave unto *Cn. Servilius* the charge and conduct of one Roman Legion, and be-
 sides of two thousand horsemen and footmen of their allies in the lesser Camp. *Annibal*, not-
 withstanding he well perceived that the power of his enemies was re-enforced by one half more
 than before, yet wondrous joyfull he was at the coming of these new Consuls. For not only
 F he had nothing left him of victuals, which from day to day he purveyed for, to serve his present
 need and no more; but also there was no more to be had, and nothing remained for to fill his
 hands with: by reason that after the territory was not safe to travel in, the corn from all parts
 was conveyed unto the strong walled Towns, and there laid up: so that (as afterwards it
 was known for certain) he had scarce corn enough for to serve ten daies: and the Spaniards, by
 occasion of the dearth and want, were at the point to revolt unto the Romans, if they might
 but espy a good and commodious time therefore. Over and besides, to the inbred rashness and
 over-hasty nature of the Consul, Fortune also ministred matter to confirm him therein. For in
 a certain tumultuary skitish (to stop and impeach the forragers and Plunderers of *Annibal*,
 and which began rather by chance, as the souldiers hapned to encounter one another, than
 G upon any confederate counsel aforehand, or by direction and commandment from the Generals)
 the Carthaginians had the foil, and went by the worst: for of them there were 1700 slain:
 but of Romans and Confederates, not passing 100. And when in the train of victory they hor-
 ly followed the chace in disarray, the Consul *Paulus*, who that day had the absolute command
 (for they governed by turn each once in day) restrained and staid them. *Varro* thereat chased
 and pressed crying out aloud. That he had let the enemy escape out of his hands: and if he
 had not thus given over the pursuit, the war might have been ended at once. *Annibal* took this
 loss and damage nothing near the heart, but rather made full reckoning, that he had caught

The answer of
 Æmylius to
 Fabius.

(as it were) with a bait & fleshed the audaciousness of the fool-hasty Consul and of the new soldiers especially. For he knew as well all that was done amongst the enemies, as in his own Camp: namely, that the Generals were not suitable nor forcing one unto the other: and that of three parts of the army, two in a manner were but raw, fresh, and untrained soldiers. And therefore supposing he had now got place and time favourable unto him, to contrive and compass some stratagem, the night following he led forth his soldiers, carrying nothing about them but their armour; and abandoned the Camp full of all things, as well private goods and furniture, as public provision: and beyond the next hills, he bestowed secretly in ambush his footmen well appointed and in ordinance of battel on the left hand; and the horsemen on the right: and conveyed all his carriages into the midst between two flanks: to the end, that whiles the enemy was busied in rising and ransacking the tents, forlorn (as it were) and forsaken by the flight of the owners and masters, he might surprize him laden and encumbered with bag and baggage. He left behind him in the Camp many fires burning, to the end that the enemies should verily think and believe, that under a pretended shew of an army in Camp, his purpose was to hold and keep the Consuls amazed still where they were, whiles himself in the mean time might gain more ground and escape further away: like as he had plaid by *Fabius* the year before. When day-light was come, and the Consul saw, first that the standing guards were gone, and perceived (as they approached nearer) an unwonted silence, they marvelled much. But after they discovered certainly that the Camp was abandoned, and no person remaining behind: there was running of all hands who could run fastest to the pavilions of the Consul, with news that the enemies were fled, in such fear, as they left their tents standing entire, and had quit the Camp wholly: and to the end their flight should be more secret and not descried, they had left light fires burning in every place. Then began they all to cry and call upon the Consul, for to command the standards and ensignes to be brought abroad, and to lead forth in pursuit of the enemies: and without any stay to make spoil and havock of their Camp. And in truth, one of the Consul was no wiser than the common soldiers. But *Paulus* replied, and told them ever and anon, that they were to be circumspect and wary, and to look about them what they did, for fear of an ambush. Yet seeing in the end no remedy, and that otherwise he could neither stay the mutiny, nor rule the Captain thereof: he sent out *M. Stalilius* (the Provost marshal) with a troop of Lucan horsemen in especial, to discover the coasts and see all were clear: who having ridden hard to the gates, and given order to all the rest for to stay without the fortifications, himself with two horsemen besides entered within the rampire, and having looked and searched every corner advisedly, he retired and made relation. That past all peradventure there were knives abroad, and a piece of treachery was in hand: for why, there are fires made (quoth he) on that side only of the Camp, that looked toward the enemy: the pavilions stand open, and all things of price and value which they set more store by, are left at random even to their hands: and we have seen besides in divers places, silver plate and coin scattered along the way here and there, as it were a bait laid to train us to a booty. These circumstances reported, of purpose to withdraw their minds from covetous and greedy desire of pillage: set them on and kindled them the more. And the soldiers had no sooner cried aloud, that unless the signal were given, they would set forwards without Commanders: but they had a captain straight at hand to lead them the way: for immediately *V. Varro* sounded the march. *Paulus* who of himself made slow haste, and perceived besides that the birds in taking the Auspice, approved not this enterprise nor gave good tokens of happy speed, gave order straightwaies that his Colleague should be advertized of the unlucky Auspice, who was ready now to set out of the gate with his standard & that in any wise he should stay. Wherewith albeit *Varro* was not well content, yet the late misfortune of *Flaminius*, and the memorable overthrow at sea of *Claudius* [* *Pulcher*] Consul in the Punic war, wrought some scruple of conscience and fear in his heart. But it was even the fair grace of the gods (if a man may so say) and nothing else, which put by and deferred rather than impeached and inhibited the danger and destruction that hung over the Romans heads. For, as good hap was, it chanced at the very instant, when the Consul commanded the ensignes to be brought into the Camp, & the soldiers would not obey him, that two slaves (who served sometime two horsemen, the one a Formian, and the other a Sidicin, and who in the year when *Servilius* & *Attilius* were Consuls, among other forragers were taken prisoners by the Numidians) made an escape and fled that day to their old masters again. Who being brought before the Consul, advertized them constantly, that the whole army of *Annibal* lay close in ambush, ado on the farther side of the mountains. The coming of these bondslaves to right and jump as they did, caused the soldiers to obey their Consul. Whereas the one of them by his ambitious courting and seeking unto them at the first for a Consulship, and afterwards by his unseemly indulgence and pleasing of them, had lost all his majesty and reputation among them.

Annibal, when he saw that the Romans rather began to stir without advice, than still to run rashly on head to the full, and that his crafty device was disclosed and took no effect, returned again into his Camp. Where, he could not for want of corn make abode many daies: and besides, not only soldiers (who were not all one mans children, but a confused mixture of all Nations) began dayly to plot and enter into new designments, but also their Captain himself was of many minds. For whereas they began with muttering and grumbling, and afterwards with open mouth, to demand and call for their due wages, complaining first of the dearth of victuals, and in the end, of meer hunger and famine: and withall a rumour ran, that the mercenary soldiers,

* Read the
Breviary of
the nineteenth
book.

A and the Spaniards especially, were minded and intended to give him the slip, and to turn to the enemy: *Annibal* likewise bethought himself otherwhiles as it was said, how he might flee into *Gallia*, but so, as he would leave his Infantry behind him at six and seven, and so be gone with his Cavalry alone. As men, I say, were thus plotting and devising in the camp, he resolved at length to dislodge from thence, and to remove into the hotter countries of *Aphria*, where the harvest was more timely: considering withal, that the farther he went from the enemies, his souldiers who were by nature light-headed and inconstant, would not so easily revolt and flee from him. So he took his way by night, and made fires likewise, and let a few tents standing in sight, that the Romans, fearing the like trains and ambush, as before, might keep in, and not stir abroad. But when
 B as the same *Statilins* the Lucan, having scoured all the coasts, both beyond the camp, and the other side of the hills, and brought word, that he had discovered the enemies afar off dimarching, then began they the morrow after to think and consult of making after him with hot pursuit. But albeit both Consuls continued, as ever before, the same men still, that is to say, diversly minded, and persisting in their several resolutions: but so, as all in a manner accorded with *Varro*, and none agreed unto *Paulus*, but only *Servilius* the Consul of the former year: yet according to the opinion and counsel of the major parts, they went both together (for what might hold that which fatal necessity driveth) to make *Canna* much renowned and famous for the notable overthrow and defeat of the Romans. Near this village *Annibal* had encamped under the wind *Vulturnus*, and had it on his back: which wind, when the fields are scorched and burnt with drought, is wont
 C to bring with it clouds (as it were) of dust. Which as it was good and commodious for the very camp it self, so it was like to serve in special stead, when they should range their battel in order, and fight, with the wind blowing on their back, against the enemy, whose eyes the dust was ready to put out, flying with the wind full in their faces so abundantly.

The Consuls having diligently searched the wayes and tried the passages ever before them, followed *Annibal* hard, and so soon as they were come to *Canna*, had him in sight: where they fortified two camps, of like distance almost asunder, as at *Gerion*; and divided their forces like as before. The river *Aufidus* ran close by both these camps, and yielded watering places according as either of them had occasion and need, but not without some scuffling and skirmish. But from the lesser camp, which lay on the farther side of *Aufidus* the Romans had more liberty to water: because upon the farther bank there was planted no sconce nor guard of the enemy. *Annibal* having
 D possessed himself of a good plot of ground to his mind, commodious and meet for the service of horsemen (in which kind of forces he was invincible) ordered his battailons in array, & by putting out certain Numidian light horse, made a bravado, and bade the Consuls battel. And even then it fell out, that both the Roman camps were disquieted and troubled anew, what with the mutiny of the souldiers, and what with the disagreement and jarring of the Consuls: whiles *Paulus* laid hard unto *Varro*, and set before his eyes the rashness of *Sempronius* and *Flaminius*: and *Varro* again hit him home, and twit him with the example of *Fabius*, which made so goodly a shew in the eyes of fearful, idle, and cowardly Captains: both of them fell to protesting and calling God and man to witness, the one giving out, that the fault was not in him that *Annibal* was
 E now Lord well-near of all *Italy* already, and why? because himself was kept short and tied fast enough by his Colleague, and the souldiers whose hot blood was up, and who were eager of fight, had their weapons even plucked out of their hands: *Emylius* on the other side complaining, that if ought should hap amiss unto the Legions thus betrayed, and offered wilfully and unconsiderately to the danger of doubtful battel, notwithstanding he were not blame-worthy but innocent altogether, yet should he be the first that smarted, and be partaker of the mischief and misfortune: and yet he would gladly see, whether they who were so ready and hasty of their tongue to speak, would be as nimble & active of their hands to fight, when the time came. Thus whiles they spend time in chopping of Logick, & quarrelling one with another, rather than in good & sober consultations, *Annibal* who had stood arranged a good part of the day ready to fight, minding to retire his
 F other forces into his camp, sent forth certain Numidians out of the battel to charge upon the Romans on the other side of the river, who from the lesser camp went for water. These being a disordered & confused multitude, were not fully landed on the bank, but with the shout only & tumult of the Numidians, they were discomfited and put to flight: whereupon the enemy rode farther, even to the standing *Corps de guard*, quartered before the rampart, and hard at the very gates of the Roman camp. This was such an indignity offered to the Romans, to see themselves now thus braved and bearded even in the very camp by the auxiliary souldiers, and the rascal sort of the enemies, that there was no other thing stayed the Romans from passing the river presently, and embattelling themselves, but only this, that it was *Paulus* his turn that day to have the sovereign command of all. And therefore the morrow after, when it came to *Varro* his course for to rule,
 G without any advice of his companion, he put forth the signal of battel, and with all his forces put in order of battel, went over the river. *Paulus* also followed after him, as one who might well enough mislike and disallow the purpose of his Colleague, but otherwise could neither will nor chuse, but second him, and take part in the execution. Being once over the river, they join also the forces which they had in the smaller camp, unto the other: and in this manner they ordered the battel. In the right point which was neerer to the river, was arranged the Roman Cavalry, and after them the footmen. The left point on the outside, was flanked with the horsemen of the allies: within stood their Infantry: but in the middle part were bestowed the Arthers
 and

* That is a scarlet cassock out of the General his pavilion. The memorable battel of *Canna*.

and loose shot, close to the main battel of the Roman Legions : and of all the rest of light armed auxiliary souldiers, consisted the van-guard. The Consuls led both the points, *Terentius* the left, *Emilius* the right, *Cn. Servilius* had the conduct of the main battel. Now *Annibal* by the break of day, having sent before the Balear slingers, and his other light armor, passed over the river, and marshalled them in battel array, ever as they came to land. The horse as well Gauls as Spaniards, he opposed in the left point, neer to the bank, even against the horsemen of the Romans: the right consisted of the Numidian light horse: and the main battel was strengthened and fortified with his Infantry: but in such manner as the Africans flanked both, in manner of wings: and between them were bestowed the Gauls and the Spaniards in the midtt. A man that had seen the Africans, would have taken most of them for Romans, so armed were they with Roman armor, gotten much of it at *Trebia*, but most of all at *Thrasymenus*. The Frenchmen and Spaniards had targets neer of one fashion, but their swords were unlike and far differing. Those of the Gauls were very long and not pointed. But the Spaniard, whose manner is rather to fight with the thrust and to foyn, then to slash and strike edglong, had handsome short curtillasses, and sharp at the point. And after this sort stood these two nations armed before the rest (terrible to behold, both for the bigness of their persons, and also for their habit and attire.) The Gauls all from the navel upward naked: the Spaniards with linnen waistcoats or jackets, glittering wondrous bright, bordered and embroidered with purple and scarlet. The compleat number of all, as well horse as footmen, that stood embattelled, amounted (as they report) unto forty thousand foot, and ten thousand men of arms. These Captains had the leading of the two points, to wit, *Asdrubal* commanded the left, *Maharbal* the right. *Annibal* himself in person with his brother *Mago*, conducted the middle battel. The Sun shone sidewise upon the flanks both of the one and also of the other army, very indifferent and commodious to both parts: were it that they were so placed and marshalled of set purpose, or chanced at adventure so to stand: the Romans with their faces full south, the Carthaginians into the north. But the wind which the inhabitants of that country call *Vulturnus*, arose and blew full upon the faces of the Romans, and raised such store of dust, and drave it so upon their eyes, that it took away their sight and prospect. The cry and shout began on both sides, and the Auxiliary souldiers put themselves forth first to skirmish, and charged one another with their light shot. Then the left point of the Gauls and Spanish men of arms encountered and ran full upon the right hand of the Romans Cavalry, nothing at all after the order of horse-service, for they were of necessity to affront one another straight forward, as having no room left about them to sling out and ride at large, being flanked on the one hand with the river, and enclosed on the other with the battaillon of footmen. Whereupon I say, they were forced to charge full butt from both parts, directly before them so long as their horses stood close and thrust together: but at length when they began to stir and wince, the riders, man to man, fell to take hold and claspe one another, and every man to pluck his enemy besides his horse, so as now they were driven much what to fight on foot. This conflict was rather sharp then long: and to be short, the Roman Cavalry was discomfited and put to flight. And anon, as the horse made an end of their fight, began the skirmish of the foot also. At the first the Gauls and Spaniards equal to their enemies both in force and courage maintained the conflict right hardily, and kept their order and arraias. At length the Romans cast about and devised on what side, and with what form of a close battaillon, to force back that pointed squadron of the enemies, ranged very thin, and by so much the weaker, and bearing out withal, from the rest of the battel. Now when they had once driven them to retreat, and give ground, the Romans pressed on still at one instant, and with the same violence pierced through them as they fled for fear headlong, until they were entred as far as to the very midtt of the vanguard and main battel: and finding none able to stand in their way and make resistance, they gained in the end the very rereward of the Africans: who having drawn in from both sides their skirts and wings, stood together strong, and firmly kept their ground. The Gauls and Spaniards continued still in the midtt, somewhat advanced without the rest of the battel. Now when this pointed squadron was driven in by the Romans, and made even and equal first with the front of the battel, and afterwards upon farther enforcement, gave way for them to pass in a lane through the midtt thereof: by that time the Africans charged upon their flanks: and while the Romans unwarily were engaged over far within them, they came about them on the skirts, and within a while having stretched out and spread their wings, enclosed the enemies round on their backs also. Hereupon the Romans who had performed one battel and conflict in vain, were forced to give over the Gauls and Spaniards, whom they had disarried and put to flight, and were to begin a fresh fight with the Africans: and that to their own great disadvantage: not only because they being enclosed and pent up in a straight room, were to deal with them that had compassed them all about and were at liberty: but also because they being wearied, were to maintain a new skirmish with those that were fresh in heart, and lusty. And now by this time, in the left point of the Romans battel, where the horsemen of their associates were marshalled to affront the Numidians they were faine to close fight: which at the first these Numidians began but coldly and faintly, after the deceitful manner of Carthaginians, unto whom they were fast and neer neighbours. For 500. of them or thereabout, having besides their usual javelins and darts which they commonly carry, short daggers or skeins hidden under their cuirass and harness, made semblance of riding away from their own companies, and siding to the Romans, with their bucklers at their backs, all of a sudden dismounted from their horses, and throwing their bucklers, targets,

And spears at their enemies' feet; were mov'd within the main battle; and from thence con-
fled to the hindmost in the rereward, were commanded there to abide behind at their back. And
until such time as the skirmish joyned on all sides, they continued quiet. But when they saw e-
very mans eye and mind busied and occupied in the conflict, then they caught up those buckles
that lay strowed and scattered among the dead bodies in the field, and played upon the battell
of the Romans from behind; and what with wounding their backs, scouring their hind parts, they
made for mirth and laughter among them; and more therein they raised a greater fear and tumult
by far. Now when the Romans in one place were lighted and run away, and in another flung for
life, armed only with the pain of all means to escape. *Asdrubal* who had the charge of that side,
Beaught the Numidian horsemen, who fought but coldly with those that stood still to them; to be
withdrawn from the middle of the battell, and sent them to pursue the enemies in the chase. And to
the Africans over every now with execution and killing, rather then with any other fight, he
joyned the Gauls and Spanish footmen to assist them. On the other side of the battell, *Panfilus*, al-
beit at the very first shock and encounter, he was sore wounded with a bullet from one of a sling, yet
sometimes he made head against *Annibal* and kept his battall close and thick together, yea, and
in divers places suited the conflict, and evermore the Roman horsemen guarded and protected
him. But at the last they left their horses, because the Consul's strength failed him to rule his
town, and so to him. Where upon there was one brought word unto *Annibal*; that the Consul had
commanded his men of arms to light foot. Then (saith *Annibal* as the report goeth) Yea, mir-

Cry: But how much gladder would I be, if he delivered them into my hands bound hand and foot? And surely the foremen fought to after they wereighted, as if there had been no doubt but that he enemy had the victory. Howbeit, although they had the worse, yet they chose rather to die in the place, then to fly: and the victors ragged at the heart with them for thus staying the accomplishment of the victory, went down with them, and killed outright all those whom they could not make to give ground and yield. And yet a few such as were wearied with much toil and overcharged with many woundes they enforced to retreat. Among they were all disbandd and scattered: and as many as could, recovered their horses and fled away. *On Lemmings Col.*
Jonelicing (as he rode by) his Confultring all agore blood upon a stone. *An Lxxviii.* *Emylus* (as he) whom the gods ought of right to regard and save, as being the only golden man, and in-

D "nocent of this days work and unhappy overthrow, take here this horn of mine, while some
 "vigor and strength remaineth in you. Able I am to mount you upon him, to accompany and
 "protect you also. Come I say, and make not this battel more curfed and sorrowful by the death
 "of a Gentle. Without it I wot, we have taule enough already, and too much, of dolorous tears
 "and woeful lamentation. Whereunto the Consul made this answer: I give thee thanks, O *L. Com-
 "mellus* gra-mency for thy kindness, and God bleis thee in this thy vertue and providen. But take
 "thou heed to thy self, lest by thy foolish pity of me, thou lose that little aide which thou hast to
 "escape out of the hands of the enemies. Save thy self, and go thy ways to the LL of the Senat,
 "and wille them all from me in general to forfike the City of *Armen*, and men it well with strong
 "guards, before the enemy follow the train of victory, and come againe in. But more particular

ly, let *Q. Felix* understand, that *L. Emilius*, was mindful of his whole duty precepts; all the while he lived, and now also forgas them not at the hour of his death. And suffer thou me to yeeld unto nature, and let go my last breath, even here amongst the heaps of mine own slain. I die, that I may end my days, and die neither an accused and guilty person, nor in my God's faith. (Thi) stand up to accuse my Colleague, and to defend mine own innocency, and justifie my selfe, by the blaming of another. As the Consul uttered these words, first the multitude of his own citizens in the rout, and then the enemies in pursuit, ran oyer him; and not knowing who he was, overwhelmed him with javelins and darts good store. As for *Levulus*, his horse carried him away to a little hill. Then they fled all swim as fast as they could, 7000. recovered the lesser camp, and ten thousand the greater; and upon two thousand, put themselves into the village in seek of

¶ Came. But because it was an unparallel and fencible town, they were immediately environed by Caracalla and the horsemen, and in perished every one. The other Consul made no semblance, either he was offended or displeased with the companies that thus fled, went in of purpose, or as it chanced: and accompanied with fifty men of arms, or thereabouts, escaped to *Kanisa*. In this battle were slain of Romans (by report) 30000 footmen, and 2700 horsemen; and in a manner, (as) many besides of Allies, as of natural Citizens. Amongst whom there was one Consul, two Treasurers, *L. Aulus*, and *Ennius Sabinus*; 21 Colonels: some also who had been Consuls, Praetors, and Ediles. Of which number was *C. Serranus*, and *C. Minutius Numeius*, who the year before had been Commander of the Cavalry for some certain days. Besides 80 Senators, or such as were almost as noble fellows, and had borne those dignities, in regard whereof, they might be chosen Senators. ¶ These served as volunteering, and were enrolled among the Legions. There were taken prisoners at this field, as the general speech went, 20000 footmen, and 2000 men of Arms, besides aid and help to 7000

This is that noble battle, in former times overthrow to *Cannae*, and comparable to that defeat at the river *Alia*. For like as this was of less importance, then the other, in respect of that which ensued after the conflict, because the enemy flayed his hand, and purchased not his victory: so if we consider the loss of men and defeat of the army, it was the greater, and for the shameful flight more dishonorable. For the running away that was at *Alia*, as it betrayed the City, so it saved the Army: but at *Cannae*, when the one Consul fled, there were scarce 30. of his army that accompanied

The speech of
P. Sempronius
Tuditanus, to
his fellow
soldiers.

him, and with the other Consul, while he lay bleeding and dying, all his force to spoil of,
hook their heads by his sides, and so they both died. Now then being a number in both camps, half disarmed, and wholly without their chief
Commanders: the Captains of the greater Camp sent a messenger unto the other, willing them to
come over to them, that they might march in one entire company together, and depart to
in the night season, while their enemies were fast asleep, as partly wearied with long fight
and partly charged with wine & good cheer after their joyful victory. This advice there were
that misliked together and rejected. For why (say they) might we then change our enemies?
as well as well as we may as soon join together. Because I will not be weary, be-
sween are full of enemies, and they these rather to hazard the bodies of others, than their own
either own persons into great danger. Others were not so much displeased for any dislike of the
sion, as their hearts failed them to make a hard the enterprise thereof. Then said P. Sempronius
and a Colonel. And will ye rather chuse (quoth he) to be taken captive by a more
sons and our enemy? And to have your heads valued at a price? And that Chapmen coming
to buy you in the market, should as ever use of you this question, Whether art thou a Ro-
man Citizen, or a Latin Confederate? And so by thy disgrace, reach, and misery, another man
shall get his head, and thy self none. Ye are not (I see well) like to Lucius Decius, who made
his choice to die valiantly, than to live in shame and obloquy. But to many other to brave and
hardy men, who die about him dead on the ground by heaps. But before day light, surprise
thousand great troops of enemies before the passages, let us break through these, that in disorder and
out of array, make so soon noise about gates. The point of sword and edge of courage, is able to
pass through enemies, stand they never so thick and close together. We will make a pointed bar-
raillon in wedgedown, and piece through their loose and thin squadrons, as easily as if nothing
stood in our way. Go with me therefore as many of you, as are willing to save your lives and
make Common-weal. The word was no sooner out of his mouth, but his sword was out of sheath,
and with a pointed battailon took his way through the midst of the enemy, and when the
Numidians flanked them, and shot hard at their right side that lay open to them, they shifted their
targets to their right arm, and so escaped, to the number of 600, unto the bigger camp, and forth-
with from thence, joining to the other greater company, they retired themselves safe to *Cala Fiume*.
These exploits were performed by men vanquished; more upon present fit of courage, as each
man's natural instinct guided; or chance led him, than either any sage advice of their words, or com-
mand of either word or deed. Now when all the rest came about, immediately upon this noble victory, to congratulate
and rejoice with him, yea, and to advise him, that after so great a battle performed, he should the
rest of that day, and the whole night following, both refresh himself, and also give rest and repose
to his wearied soldiers. *Mitridates* General of the Cavalry, was of mind that it was no giving o-
ccasion: Nay (quoth he) that you may know of what consequence this battle is, you shall break
your fast and eat your dinner five days hence in the Capitol. Follow hardy with your horsemen,
that they may see you and come, before they hear that you are coming. No faith, said he again,
but cherish on Gods mine go afore, and spare not to carry news thereof. Your words are good,
and it is a gay matter and plausible you speak of: but the way thereto is long, and more than I
can presently conceive and comprehend. I give you thanks *Mitridates*, and commend your good
mind and forwardness, but we had need to deliberate and pause further upon this point. *Mitridates*
said, I see well, that God hath rendered one man with all gifts. Then said he
way *Mitridates* to win a victory, but not the grace to use a victory. And surely, in this one day
delay, as it was commonly believed, stood the safety and preservation of the City & Empire of Rome.
Thenceforward, as soon as ever the day began to appear, they minded only and intended the
plundering of spoils, and to view that great butchery and slaughter: a painful and lamentable sight
even to the very enemies to behold. So many thousand Romans lay there along in every place,
horrid and so broken with mail, one with another, according as their hap was to meet together,
and either to join in fight, or die in flight. Some were seen to arise up all bloody from out of the
midst of the slaughtered bodies, such, as the bitter morning cold had nipped their wounds, and
made them to start up by reason of their smart, and were by the enemy knocked down again and
killed. Other some they found lying along all alive, but shorter by the thighs & hands, who offered
their bare necks & throats to be cut, and said unto them to let forth the rest of their blood. Others
were found with their heads covered within the earth, who as it appeared had made themselves
holes to get into the ground for this purpose, to inter themselves whereinto they thrust their
mouths & faces, & being buried with mud & dirt over them, were so filled & choaked. But above
all the rest there was one that drew every mans eye upon him, & made them all to wonder. *Mitridates*
said, with his nose and ears piteously tingled & chafe, but yet alive, lying under a Roman dead.
For when his hands so wounded as they were, would not serve him to handle a weapon, for very
anger he set his hand to lay (so long as he had any breath within him) bidding his enemy with his teeth.
After they had spent a good part of the day in gathering spoils, *Mitridates* marched forward to
assault the lesser camp, and first and foremost he turned aside the arm of the river that flanked them,
and so excluded them from the water. But they all within being over wearied with long
watching and bleeding of their wounds, yielded sooner than he looked for, and
covenanted, *Mitridates* to deliver up their armor and horses. *Mitridates* to pay 300, *Mitridates*
peace

A peeces of silver, for every Roman: 100. for every one of the Allies: and every bondman 100 a peece. *Item*, that after this ransom paid, they should depart in their single apparel: Thus they received their enemies into the camp, and were themselves put all in ward: but, Allies and Citizens by themselves, apart one from the other. While they trilled time there, there were about 4000. footmen, and 200 horsemen, even as many as either their strength or hearts would serve, who out of the greater camp fled to *Canusium*, some marching in order, others scattering abroad over the fields, which was not the worse way of the twain, and less safe. And when the camp was surrendered to the enemy, by those that were hurt and heartles, upon the same conditions that the other was. A rich booty was there gotten: and setting aside hories, and men, and silver, which they used much in trappings and caparions of their hories, (for souldiers, be yefire, occupied very little silver, either in their own apparel, or at their board) all the pillage was given to be rifled and ransacked amongst them. Then he gave commandment, that the dead bodies of his own men should be gathered together for to be buried. And as men say, they were to the number of eight thousand, all right valiant and hardy men. Some Authors report, that the Roman Consul also was fought up and interred. As for those, which escaped to *Canusium*, were by the *Canosins* entertained only within the walls, and lodged in their houses: but a noble Lady and a wealthy, named *Busa*, relieved them with some victual, a apparel, yea, and money also in their purses for their journey. In regard of which bountifull liberality of hers, after the war was finished, she was highly honored by the Senat of *Rome*.

C Now, there were amongst them four Colonels, namely, *Fabius Max.* of the first Legion, whose father had been Dictator the year before: and *L. Publicius Bibulus*, of the second Legion, together with *P. Cornel.* *Scipio*, and *Appius Claudius Pulcher* of the third Legion, who had been *Aedile* but lately afore: and by general consent of them all, *P. Scipio*, a very young man, and *Ap. Claudius* were chosen to bear the sovereign rule, and to have the absolute command and conduct of the army. But as they sat with some few others, in counsel together about the manning of their main affairs, behold *P. Furin Philus*, whose father had been a Consul, gave them to understand, that all their consultations were in vain, and that they did but foster and cherish a foolish hope of an overthrown state: for the Common-weal was in a desperate case, past all cure, and remediless. Also that certain noble young Gentlemen, of whom *L. Cecilius Metellus* was the principal, minded nothing else but to take sea, and were ready to embark, to abandon *Italy*, and to fly for succor to some King or other. This evil tidings as it was most grievous and heavy in it self: so falling out as it did, presently upon other misfortunes so suddenly and unlooked for, put them into their dumps, and wonderfully amazed and astonished them all. And when they that were present in place laid their heads together, and thought good to call others to counsel upon this point, *Scipio* a young man, even then predestined to be the fatal Captain of this war, answered: What do we here? (quoth he) it is no time now to sit consulting in so great extremity, but leaving all discourses, presently to proceed to action, and to do some exploit. As many therefore as are willing to save the Common-weal, take arms and go with me forthwith: for no where are our enemies (to say a truth) encamped against us more, then where such designments are plotting and contriving. Forth he went with a few following after him, unto the lodging of *Metellus*: and finding there the young Gentlemen afore said, close together in counsel thereabout: he drew his sword, and brandisht it naked over their heads, as they sat in consultation. "I swear before you all (quoth he) and I swear from my very heart, and no man urgeth me thereto, that I for my part will neither forsake the Common-weal, nor suffer any Citizen else of *Rome* to abandon her. And if I fail witting and willing, then confound me O *Jup. Opt. Max.* and bring a most shameful end upon my house, my family, and all that I have. Swear thou O *L. Cecilius* after me, as I have done, I advise thee: and ye all that are here present take the same oath: for whosoever shall refuse, know he assuredly, that upon him I have drawn this sword. Hereat they being no less terrified, then if they had seen the Conqueror himself *Annibal* in person, took the oath every one, and yielded themselves unto *Scipio*, for to be kept in ward to serve against *Annibal*.

At the same time, whiles these things were working at *Canusium*, there arrived at *Venusia*, upon four thousand foot and horsemen together, such as in their flight had been separated asunder all over the fields, and repaired unto the Consul there. The *Venusins* took order for them all, that they should be gently entertained, and carefully tended, and divided into several houses: and they bestowed upon the horsemen, a side cassock, a coat, and 25. *Quadrigates* a peece: and gave ten *Quadrigates* to every footman: and armor besides, to as many as wanted. And in all other courtesies of hospitality, both publick and privat, they strove and endeavoured that the people of *Venusia* should not in any kind of friendly offices, come behind one woman of *Canusium*. Howbeit in regard of the great multitude, the burden and charge lay more heavy upon dame *Busa*. G *Scipio* now their number was risen to be ten thousand. Then *Appius* and *Scipio* having intelligence that the other Consul was alive and well, dispatched a messenger presently, to advertise him how many footmen and horsemen there were in all with them: and to know his pleasure withal, whether he would command the army to be brought unto *Venusia*, or abide still at *Canusium*. But *Parro* (the Consul) of his own accord brought his forces to *Canusium*. So as by this time, they made a pretty good shew of a Consular army, and seemed sufficient to defend themselves, if not by force of arms in the field, yet at leastwise, with the strength of walls within the town. But the news came to *Rome*, that there was not so much as this small remnant left of Citizens and

* 15 s. 7 d. ob. ser. A Quadrige, which is a peece of silver coyn among the Romans, the same that *Denarius*: called so of *Quadrige*, i. a chariot drawn with four horses, represented on the one side of the peece.

Confederates together: but that the two Consuls and both the armies were put all to the sword, and hewn in pieces to the last man: Never was there known so great a rout and tumult within the walls of *Rome* (and the City still remaining in safety.) I will therefore even at first, sink under my load and saying nothing at all: and never will I go about to recount those things by discourse of words, which in reporting, I should make less then they were indeed. For there went not now, a flying rumor first of one foil, and then of another: to day of this loss, and to morrow of that: as the year before, when the Consul and his army were defeated at *Thrasymenus*, but manifold overthrowes together were multiplied and altogether at once, to wit, how both the Consuls were slain, and two Consular armies lost: no camp, not a pavilion of the Romans left standing: neither Leader nor Souldier remaining alive: and now *Annibal* was now become Lord of *Apulia*, of *Samnium*, and well neer of all *Italy* full and whole. And verily, there is not (*I suppose*) a nation under the scope of heaven besides, but would have been overwhelmed and crushed utterly under the huge heap and heavy weight of so great a ruin & overthrow. Should I compare therefore the defeat and foil that the Carthaginians received at the Island *Egates*, in a conflict at sea, wherewith they were so quelled, and their backs so broken, that at one clap they lost *Sicilia* and *Sardinia* both, and that which more is, yielded themselves tributaries and subjects to the people of *Rome*. Or should I make comparison of their unfortunate and unhappy battel in *Africk* afterwards? wherein this very same *Annibal* gave over play, yielded the bucklers, and confessed himself vanquished. Nay, they are not any way comparable with this, but only that they were born and supported with less courage, and valour of mind.

Well, to proceed, *P. Furius Philus*, and *M. Pomponius* the Pretors, assembled the Senat in the Court *Hosilia*, for to consult about the defence and guard of the City: for they made no doubt, but now that the armies were both defeated, the enemy would speedily come to assault *Rome*, the only piece of work, and warlike service that remained behind undone. But being to seek what counsel to take, and what remedy to devise for redress of these calamities, so exceeding great and grievous, and yet not known to the full, and interrupted and shrewly troubled besides with the clamorous noises and plaints of women: while that in every house almost, they ceased not to mourn, weep, and wail confusedly, as well for the quick as the dead (because as yet it was not openly and for certain known who were alive, and who were slain.) Then *Fabius Max.* gave his opinion, that certain light horsemen should be made out and sent forth by the highways *Arpia* and *Latina*, and to ride along, and enquire of them whom they hapned to meet with, (such I mean as fled, and were scattered here and there asunder) if happily some of them could report upon his knowledge, what was become of the Consuls, and the armies: and in case the immortal gods had of their mercy and compassion spared some poor remnant still of this miserable and woful Empire, for the Roman name: where that residue of small forces was: what way *Annibal* took: and whither he was gone after the battel was fought: what preparation he maketh, what presently he is doing, or intendeth for to do. His advice was, I say, that to espy, hearken and learn certainly, these premises, certain lusty young men, active and industrious, should be employed. But for the LL. of the Senat thus much, that considering there were few Magistrates at home, and those not able to rid the City of this tumultuous and fearful hurlyburly, therefore they should take upon themselves, to debar the dames and women, for coming abroad, and force them every one to keep home, and tarry within doors: to restrain the plaints and outcries of households and families: to cause silence throughout the City: to take order that all Rods, and messengers of news, should be brought before the Pretors: and that every man should attend at home the tidings, good or bad, that concerned himself, or his own state. Over and besides, that they should set warders at the gates, to see that no person went out of the City, and compel every man to hope for no other earthly safety for themselves, but in the preservation of the City, and walls thereof. And when the tumult and hurry is once hushed, then (quoth he) may the Senators well be called again into the Councel-House, and consult for the defence and safeguard of the City. When all the assembly liked well, and approved of this opinion, and went every man on *Fabius* his side without contradiction, so as the market place, by authority of the Magistrates, was cleared and voided of the multitude, and the Senators were divided and gone sundry ways to appease the uproars: then at last, came letters from *Terentius* the Consul, importing, that *L. Emilius* the Consul was slain together with the army: that himself was at *Cannas*, busie in rallying the reliques of so great an overthrow, as it were after a shipwrack upon the sea: and there were ten thousand souldiers of them, or very nere, and those much out of frame and good order. As for *Annibal*, he sat still now at *Canna*, busily occupied about the ransoming of prisoners, and intensive to the rest of the spoil and pillage: nor measuring the victory with the mind and courage of a conqueror, nor yet after the guise and manner of a noble warrior and great commander. Then were the privat and particular losses also divulged and spread abroad through every man his house and family, and the whole City was so filled with sorrow and lamentation, that the Anniversary solemnity of sacrifices to *Ceres* was forelet, because it was not lawful for those that mourned to celebrate the same: and there was not a marzon throughout the City, but was in heaviness and sorrow for the time. Left therefore other sacrifices likewise, as well publick as privat, upon the same occasion, should be neglected and discontinued, there passed an Act of the Senat, by vertue whereof a term was prefixed, to make an end of mourning within thirty days. Now was the trouble of the City no sooner allayed, and the Senators called again

into the Councel-House: but to mend the matter, there were other letters brought out of Sicily from T. Octavius the Vice-pretor, notifying thus much, That the realm of Hiero was much wasted by the Carthaginian navy: and when he would have succoured him at his earnest suit and petition, there was another Armado ready rigged, decked and furnished, riding by the Islands Egates, waiting the opportunity of the time, that when the Carthaginians perceived once that he had turned and bent his forces, to the defence of the coast and river Syracuse, they might immediately set upon Lilybaeum, and the rest of the Roman province. And therefore in case they were minded to aid and maintain a confederate King, and defend the Realm of Sicily, they must of necessity rig and man another fleet out of hand. When the letters both of the Consul and also of the Vice-Pretor were read, agreed it was, and thought meet, that M. Claudius, Admiral of the fleet which rid in the harbour of Ostia, should be sent unto the army at Cannusum, and letters be dispatched withal unto the Consul, willing him upon the delivery of the army unto the Pretor, to repair unto Rome with all speed possible, and not fail, so far forth as he might, without any detriment and hindrance of the Common-weal. Besides these so great losses and adversities, men were put in fear with sundry prodigious tokens: and among others, in that one year, two Vestal Virgins, Opimia, and Floronia, were detected and attainted of manifest whoredom: the one of them was buried quick, as the manner was, under the ground at the gate Collina, the other killed her self. L. Caninius (a Secretary or Scribe unto the Bishops, whom now they call * *Minores Pontifices*) the party who had committed fornication with Floronia, was by the chief or high Priest so beaten with rods in the Comitium, that he died under his hand. This heinous last, and enormous offence falling out among so many misfortunes and calamities, was reckoned, I say, (as usually it is) for a portentous sign: and therefore the Decemvirs were commanded to search and peruse the Books of Sibylla. And Q. Fabius Pictor was sent to Delphos, to consult with the Oracle there of Apollo, and to learn, by what prayers and supplications they might pacify the gods, and what would be the end of so great and fearful miseries. In the mean while, out of the learning contained in those books of destinies, there were performed certain extraordinary Sacrifices: among which, a Frenchman together with a French woman: likewise a Grecian man and woman, were let down alive in the beast market into a vault under the ground stoned all about: a place aforetime embred and polluted with the blood of mankind sacrificed, but not according to the ceremonies and religion of the Romans. When they had sufficiently (as they thought) pacified the gods, M. Claudius Marcellus sent from the haven of Ostia for the defence and guard of the City, 1500. souldiers: whom he had levied and enrolled for the service at sea. Himself having sent afore the legion belonging to the Armado (which was the third) with Theanus Sidicinus a Colonel, and delivered the fleet unto P. Furius companion with him in commission: within few days after made haste, and with great journeys arrived at Cannusum. At Rome, by vertue of the Authority of the Senators, M. Junius was created Dictator, and T. Sempronius General of the horse, who proclaimed a muster, and enrolled all the younger sort above 17. years old, yea, and some also under that age, that yet were in their * *Prætexta*, and were not come to * *Toga virilis*. Of these were made up four legions full, and a thousand horsemen. Likewise they sent unto their Allies, and namely, to the Latine nation, to receive souldiers from thence according to the form of the league: giving commandment, that harness, weapons, and all other habiliments of war, should be in readines. Also to furnish out the army, they plucked from the Temples, and publick Galleries and walking Places, the ancient spoils and armor of their enemies. And for very need and want of free men, they were compelled to devise a new kind of mustering never used before: for they bought up in open market, with the City money, 8000. lusty strong young men, meer bond-slaves: but they demanded first of every one by himself, whether they were willing to serve in the wars, and so they put them in armor. And they thought it better to take up and levy souldiers thus; then to redeem and buy again their own who were captives, albeit they might have been ransomed for smaller sums of money. For Annibal, after this so fortunate field fought at Canna, setting his mind wholly upon the affairs belonging to an absolute conquest, rather then any more wars: caused his captives to be brought forth, and severed the Roman confederates apart from the rest: and unto them (as he had done aforetime at Trebia, and the Lake Trasymenus) he spake graciously, and sent them home untansomed. The Romans also he called unto him, and gave them kind and loving words, more then ever he had done before. "What? we and the Romans (quoth he) war not mortally and deadly one with the other to the utmost: nay, our quarrel is rather for honour and sovereignty. And as my father and progenitors afore me, were subdued of the Romans, and yielded at length to their valor and prowess: so the only thing that I seek for, and endeavor unto is this, That they likewise in their alternative turn, may give place unto my felicity and vertue together. And therefore I grant the Romans this favor and liberty, to redeem their prisoners: and this shall be the ransom, for every man of arms I demand * 500. *Quadrigari*, 300 for a foot-man, and 100. for a bond-man. And albeit the horsemans ransom was somewhat enhanced, above that sum which they capitulated for, when they yielded, yet glad they were to accept of any condition and covenant whatsoever. So it was agreed, that ten out of them should be chosen by voices, to go to Rome unto the Senat: and he took no other pledge for assurance of them but their oath, that they would return again. With them was sent Carthalo, a Noble man of Carthage with commission (if he could perceive haply the Romans encline to peace) to offer unto them conditions, and to capitulate with them. They were not so soon gone out of the camp, but one

* The Pery
or Minor Pre-
lates.

* It was the
upper garment
that the Ro-
mans children
used until they
were fully 16.
years of age,
embroidered
with purple.
* Otherwise
called *Pura*, &
ἀνδρῶν, &
because it was
all white, and
without any
purple, which
they put on at
17.

of them (a man of no Roman nature and disposition) made semblance, as if he had forgotten himself behind him, and so to discharge himself (forsooth) of his oath, returned into the camp, and before night overtook his company again. When word was brought, that they were coming to Rome, there was a Licor sent out to meet *Carthago* upon the way, and to warn him in the name of the Dictator, before night to depart out of the confines of the territory of Rome. But the Committees of the Captives had audience granted them in the Senat-house by the Dictator. And the principal man among them, *Marcus Junius*, spake in this manner.

The Oration
of M. Junius to
the Senat.

"Right honourable, and my very good LL. of the Senat, There is not one of you all ignorant, that never any City whatsoever, hath been at lets charge for redeeming of prisoners taken in wars, and made so small regard of them, then ours. But if we be not blinded in our own conceits, and think better of our cause, then there is reason: never were there any souldiers that fell into the hands of our enemies, more to be accounted of by you then we are. And why? We yielded not our weapons in battel for cowardize and fear, but after that we had stood well neer until night fighting over the dead bodies of our fellows slain, and so maintained the fight to the very last, then we retired our selves into the camp. The rest of the day and night following, notwithstanding we were weary with travel, and faint of our hurts, yet we manfully defended our rampart. The morrow after, when we were beset and invested round about by the conquerors army, yea, and excluded from water; and saw no other hope at all to break through our enemies, ranged so strong and close together, and thinking it not a matter of reproof, and against the law of arms, that when 50000. of our Citizens were slain in field, some Roman souldiers should remain alive after the battel of *Canna*: then and not afore, we agreed upon a sum of money, that being ransomed, we might be set at large, and so we yielded unto the enemies our weapons, wherein now we saw no help at all. We have heard likewise, that our ancestors redeemed themselves from the Gauls with a sum of gold: and our fathers also, notwithstanding they were most straight laced, and hardly brought to capitulate and compound for peace, yet sent Embassadors to *Tarentum*, for to redeem their captives: and both those battels, first in Italy with the Gauls; and then before *Heraclea* with *Pyrrhus*, were not so ignominious and shameful for the losse it self, as for the fright and beastly running away. But the plains of *Canna* are covered all over with heaps of Roman bodies; and we that be here had not remained alive after them, but that the enemies strength held out no longer, nor their sword would serve to kill any more. And yet there be some of our men also who fled not back in battel: but being left behind to guard the camp, were taken prisoners by the enemy as well as we, at what time as it was surrendered into their hands. Certainly, I envy not the fortune, nor repine at the welfare and good estate of any Citizen or fellow souldier, neither would I be thought the man, who by debasing another, would seem to advance my self. But even they verily (unless peradventure good footmanhip and swift running deserve reward) who for the most part fled out of the field unarmed, and never stinted before they gat *Venusia* or *Canusium* over their heads, cannot justly prefer themselves before us, nor boast and glory, that they stand the Common-weal in better stead, then we. Find them you shall (I doubt not) good men and valorous souldiers: so shall you us too, yea, and more ready to do true service to our country, in that by your bounty and good means we have been ransomed and restored again into our country. Ye have levied souldiers of all ages and degrees, and I hear say, there be 8000. bondmen in arms. We are no fewer in number our selves, and redeemed we may be with as small moneys as they are bought. I say no more but so, for if I should make farther comparisons between us and them, I must do wrong to the Roman name and nation. This is a special thing moreover (my LL.) which in mine advice ye are duely to consider in this deliberation, in case ye be so hard-hearted, as to have no regard of us, or of our desert, namely, in what enemies hand ye leave us. It is with *Pyrrhus* peradventure, who used us being his prisoners, like friends and guests. Nay, is he not a Barbarian and Carthaginian? who whether he be more covetous or cruel, can hardly be imagined. O that ye saw the irons and chains, the nasty filthiness and foul usage of your Citizens. I am assured, you would be no less moved and affected to compassion at the sight thereof, then if ye beheld on the other side your Legions lying slain all over the plains and fields of *Canna*. Ye may observe and behold the sorrowful cheer, and salt tears of our kinsfolk standing here in the porch and entry of this Court, and waiting for your answer. And if they so fare, and are so pensive for us, and for them that are absent, what heavy hearts have they themselves (think ye) whose liberty and whose life lieth now a bleeding? And in good faith, if so be *Annibal* himself would, contrary to his nature, be respective and merciful to us, yet should we think our lives did us small good, so long as we are reputed of you unworthy to be ransomed and redeemed. There returned in times past to Rome certain captives, sent home by *Pyrrhus* without any ransom paid; but the returned accompanied with Embassadors, right honorable personages of this City, who had been sent for their redemption. And shall I return unto my country again not esteemed a Citizen worth 300. Deniers. Every man hath a mind by himself, and a fanie of his own my LL. And I wot well, that my body and life is in jeopardy. But I fear more the hazard of honor and good name, lest we should be thought condemned and rejected by you. For the world will never believe, that you did it to spare your purse, and to save money.

When he had made an end of his speech, immediately the multitude who were gathered together in the common place, set up a lamentable and piteous cry, and held out their hands unto the

Counsel.

The Oration
of T. Manlius
Torquatus in
the Senate.

A Council-house, breaching the LL. of the State to let them have and enjoy their children, their brethren, and kinsfolk again. The very women also, for fear and necessity, thrust themselves among this peck of men in the market place. But when all others before the Senators were ended, they began to debate and confute about the matter in hand. Great variance there was in opinion. Some thought it reason that their ransoms were to be paid out of their own pockets; others were of mind, that the City should bear no charge at all for their redemption: many they would not be against it, but that they might be enticed and deluded at their own cost and expence; and in such case were any that had not ready coin enough for present payment, the chamber of the City should lend them money, so as the people might have good security, as well by bonds bound, as by their good and lands, mortgaged for the satisfaction of that debt. And when T. Manlius Torquatus, a man of the old world for precise severity, and as most folk thought too hard and austere in this point, was demanded his opinion, he spake, by report, to the chief lords his wisest of Rome, for his opinion, notwithstanding that he was a young man, and of a low degree.

"If the Committee (quoth he) had treated and made suit, for the redemption of them only that are captive in the hands of the enemies, and there liked it: if they had not touched the person of any other besides, I would in few words have knit up my verdict and judgement of them. For what need I to have done else; but put you in mind, and exhort you, to observe the custom delivered among you from your ancestors, and to maintain the example so good and necessary for the service of war. Borne now, seeing they have not only justified, but also (as it were) glorified themselves, in that they yielded unto the enemies, and thought it good reason to be punished, not only before them, that were taken prisoners by the enemies in the field, but also that which they did themselves, and straped to *Vaisa* and *Canasum*; yea, and before C. Terentius himself the Consul, as I will not hide any thing from you my LL. but acquaint you with every thing that was done there. And would to God, that the words which I will utter here in your presence, I might deliver at *Canasum*, even before the body of the army, the best witness of every mans cowardice or valour, or at least will, that P. Sulpicius were present here alone, whom, if these fellows would have followed as their leader, they had been souldiers at this day in the Roman camp, and not captives at the devotion of the enemies. For while the enemies were wasted with fight, joyous and jocund of their fresh victory, and most of them retired into their own camp: they might have had the whole night to save themselves at their pleasure, and yet were not, yet being seven thousand strong, they had been able to have made a lane through them, were they never so thick, and to have broken away in despite of their hearts. But neither attempted they so much of themselves; nor yet would follow the leading of another. As *Sulpicius* as *Tullius* ceased not all night long almost, to exhort, to admonish, and encourage them, for to follow his conduct, to take the time when but a few of their enemies were about their camp, while they were at repose and rest, and while the night lasted favourable unto them, for to hide and cover their enterprise, persuading with them, that before day light they might easily reach unto places of security, and arrive safely at the Cities of their Allies. Like as in the days of our Grandfathers, P. Decius a Tribune Colobel in *Sutrium*, like as of late time when T. was a young man my self, in the first punick war, *Caius Flaminius* laid unto three hundred his voluntary souldiers, at what time as he minded to lead them to the gaining of a little hill standing in the midst of his enemies: Ier us die hardily my souldiers, and by our death save our selves, live our Legions, beset and besieged round about. If P. Sulpicius had said so much to you, he would never have esteemed you men of valour nor yet Romans, if no man among you would have borne him company, or seconded him in that singular vertue. But he shewed you a plain and easie way, leading as well to life and safety, as to honour and glory. He offered himself to be your guide, to bring you to your native country, to your parents, your wives and children: yet would not your hearts serve you to escape and save your selves. Where had your hearts been then, if he would have had you to die for your country? Good, of our Christian our Confessors, namely that very day, stand at your feet. If so many examples of manhood and vertue could not move you, nothing in the world will ever move you: it is to great a foil and overthrow was not able to make you despaire and set aside by this life: none will ever do it. Desire home a Gods name, and long after your native country, while ye are free and in safety: may, desire to be in your country, while it is your country, and while ye are Christians the good. Now your desire and longing cometh too late, being disfranchised, having lost your former state and right of Citizens, and made by your selves bondslaves to the Carthaginians. Think ye for a piece of money to recover your liberty again, and to return to your former degree, from which through sinne, heartedness and cowardice ye are fallen? You would not hearken nor give ear to P. Sulpicius, your Citizen, willing you to take weapon in hand, and to follow after him: but now after ye doth listen after *Annus*, commanding you to betray and render the ramp, and deliver up your armour. Borne by blame their licentious and dastardly feat, when I may reprove and chide them for willful and lewd wickedness: For they not only refused to be ruled by his good counsel and exhortations, but also attempted to hinder and stay him in his intended enterprise, had not mightily and valiant men with their swords drawn, set these dastardly beasts further off. P. Sulpicius truly so, had somewhat ado, to pass the ranks and traditions of his own countrymen, before he could break through the battalion of his enemies. Longeth our country to have them for her Children: who if the rest had been like them, should by this day, have had never

a one of them that fought at Cannæ, for the Citizens: Of seven thousand armed soldiers, there
 were found none that had the heart to break away, manage the business, to escape and return with
 liberty, and with their arms, home into their country, but withstanding there were forty thousand
 and enemies to resist them, how easily then and safely, did you, might a power almost of two
 Legions have passed through them and gone their way? He had had this day my doubt twenty
 thousand at Cannæ, of eight brave hardy and loyal soldiers. But now which way can these
 fit, or would possibly be reputed true and faithful Citizens, for valiant soldiers, I am sure they will
 think themselves, not take up on them to be, unless a man could be persuaded and be-
 lieve they were such, who would have impeached and withstood the rest for getting away, even
 when they were at the point to open a passage, or that they rather do not envy now, I hear the
 safety, and also the honor of others, which they have won by prowess, knowing in their own
 conscience, that their timorousness and cowardliness, was the cause of most ignominious and
 shameful servitude. They loved better to close within their pavilions, and to look for the day
 light, and the enemy together, when as in the still dead time of the night, they had the oppor-
 tunity to escape. But how then? Although their hearts failed them, to break away out of the
 camp, yet to defend the same manfully, they had courage and valor enough. Besieged they were,
 almost beleaguered; in which they were day and night for a good time, and in their armor forced
 to stand upon their guard, and manfully they quit themselves within their camp, abiding
 (God wot) when they had assayed and endured all extremities, when all succors failed them for
 sustentation of this life: so pinched with hunger and so enfeebled, that they were not able to
 bear their own armor and lift up their weapons: overcome at the last, rather with the necessity
 of mans frail nature, then by the violence of the enemies, the good men gave over and yield-
 ed themselves. Nay forsooth, it is neither so nor so. The morrow morning when the sun rose,
 the enemies advanced and approached toward their camp, and within two hours after, with-
 out any trial and hazard of skirmish, they delivered up their weapons, and themselves. Thus ye
 see what their good service was, for two days together. When they should have stood so in
 field, and fought, then they fled back to their tents, when they were to guard and defend their
 camp and rampart, they surrendered them to the enemy, good no where, neither in battle nor
 in camp. I agree to ransom you, you (I say) when you ought to have sallied forth of the camp,
 linger behind and stay still: and when need was, to abide by it and to defend it like valiant men,
 surrender camp, give up your weapons, and yield your own bodies to the enemy. Nay, but to
 speak what I think, my sentence is (my LL.) that these fellows desert no more to be ransomed,
 then those to be delivered unto *Annibal*, who issued out of the camp, pierced through the midst
 of the enemies, and most valiantly saved themselves, for to do service another day in their coun-
 try. When *Manlius* had said, all the prisoners were allied men in kindred: to most of the
 Senators, yet over and besides the precedent of the City itself, which never from the first begin-
 ning favoured the redemption of such soldiers, as suffered themselves to be taken prisoners, the
 ransom itself, which amounted to a good round sum, made them pause, because they were un-
 willing both to empty the public treasury: (having already disbursed great sums, in buying up
 horse, slaves, and arming them for the wars) and also that *Annibal* (who is the voice went, was
 as a very great hand for money) should be enriched thereby. When this their answer was returned, it
 was with no redemption of captives, there was a new fit of weeping and wailing, a fresh added to
 the former sorrow of the people, namely for the loss of so many Citizens: and so with many a
 tear that they shed, with sundry plaints and moans which they made, they accompanied the Com-
 mittees above said, as far as the gate. One of the ten went home to his house the same time, who
 upon a fraudulent and cautelous return made into the enemies camp, as is aforesaid, supposed he
 had acquitted himself, and disburdened his conscience of his oath. Which being known and recom-
 mended to the Senat, they were all of mind that he should be apprehended, and attended with a good
 and sufficient guard at the charge of the City, and so carried back to *Annibal*. There goeth no
 other report of these Captives, that first there came rep of them as Committees: and when it was
 debated in the Senat, and doubt made, whether they should be admitted into the City or no:
 they were at length received, but so, as that they had no audience in the Senat: and upon longer
 stay made then they looked for, three others followed after them, to wit, *L. Scribonius*, *G. Galpar-
 nius*, and *L. Marcius*. Then by mediation of one Tribune of the Com, *Minimian* of *Scribonius*, the
 matter was propounded in the Senat concerning the ransom of the captives: but granted it would
 not be: whereupon the three latter Committees returned to *Annibal*, and another ten that first
 came, remained still behind: who upon a colourable occasion, had made an errand back to *Anni-
 bal*, when they were well onward on their way, to take a note, forsooth, of the names of the pri-
 soners, and thereby seemed to have discharged their conscience of the oath. Also, that in the Se-
 nat there was hard hold, much question and variance, about the delivering of them again into the
 hands of *Annibal*, and how at last, they who were of opinion to have them rendered and sent back,
 failed of their purpose, by reason they came short by some voices and opinions, and that the o-
 ther side carried it clean away. But by the next Censors that came in place, they were so marked
 and branded with all notes of disgrace and shame, that some of them immediately made themselves
 away with their own hands: and the rest forbore, not only the common place and market all their
 life time after, but also came not abroad, in manner, to be seen in the very streets, and were shun-
 ned out of their doors. Thus a man may rather marvel, that authors should so differ among them-
 selves,

A selves, than from any of them pick out and discern the truth. But how much greater this overthrow and losse at *Canna* was, than any other before time, appeareth by this evident argument, in that those Allies, which ever to that day stood fast and true unto them, now fell to shrink and fail: and surely for no earthly thing else, but because they began to despair of the main chance of the whole State and Empire. For hereupon there revolted unto the Carthaginians, the Attellians, the Calatins, the Hirpines, a part of the Apulians, all the Samnites, except the Petellians, all the Brutii in general, and the Lucans. And more then these, the Surrentines and the whole tract well-neer, of the Greeks along the sea coast. The Tarentines, Metapontines, the Crotonians, the Locrians, and all the Gauls within the Alps. And yet for all these defections, and rebellions of their Allies
B and Subjects, were not the Romans one whit enclined to make any mention of peace, neither before the coming of the Consul, nor yet after that he was returned, and renewed again the dolorous remembrance of that woful overthrow received. And even at that very instant, so high minded was the City, and so far from drooping and being cast down, that as the Consul returned homeward from so great a defeat, whereof himself only was a principal cause, he was not only met upon the way by all the States and companies of the City in great numbers, but also highly thanked, in that he despaired not of the state of the Common-weal: who, if he had been the General and Leader of the Carthaginians, should have been sure to have smoked for it, and endured all extremity for content and punishment.

The three and twentieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the three and twentieth Book.

THe Campanians revolted unto Annibal. Mago was sent to Carthage, with news of the victory at *Canna*: and in the entry of the Council-House, he poured out (on the floor) the golden rings which had been plucked from the fingers of the Romans there slain, which by report exceeded the measure of a *Molodius*. Upon these tidings, Hanno the noblest personage among all the Carthaginians, persuaded with the Senat of Carthage, to sue unto the people of Rome for peace, but he prevailed not, by reason of the Barchin side, and faction, that gain-said him. Cl. Marcellus the Pretor fought fortunately before *Nola*, in a sally which he made out of the town against Annibal. The Army of Annibal fell to riot at *Capua*,
E and gave themselves to such sensuality, while they wintered there, that both in bodily strength, and also in courage of mind they became much enfeebled. *Castellum* was besieged by the Carthaginians, and the inhabitants within were driven by extreme famine, to eat thongs and leatherings, plucked from off their shields and targets, yea, and to feed upon Mice and Rats. They lived with Nuts which the Romans sent unto them down the river *Vulturus*. The body of the Senat was replenished by receiving unto them a new supply from out of the order of Knights or Gentlemen to the number of 197. L. Posthumius the Pretor, was together with his army defeated by the Gauls, and put to the sword. Cneus and Publius Scipios, vanquished *Aldrubal* in Spain, and had the conquest thereof. The remnant of the army defeated at *Canna* was sent away and confined into Sicily, and commanded not to depart from thence, before the war was fully finished. A league and society was concluded between Philip the King of the Macedonians and
F Annibal. Sempronius Gracchus the Consul, discomfited and slew the Campanians. Moreover, this book containeth the fortunate exploits achieved by T. Manlius the Lord Rapin in *Sardinia*, against the Carthaginians and the Sardi: who took the General himself *Aldrubal*, together with Mago and Hannibal, prisoners. Claudius Marcellus the Pretor vanquished and defeated in a set battel before *Nola*, the army of Annibal: and was the first that put the Romans in some good hope of better success, after they had been toiled out with so many foils and losses.

The three and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

Annibal after the battel fought at *Canna*, and the winning and ransacking of both the Roman camps, dislodged anon, and was removed out of *Apulia* into *Samnium*, being sent unto, for to come unto the Hirpines country, by *Statius*, who promised to betray and deliver the City of *Consa* into his hands. Now there was a Citizen of *Consa* named *Trebinus*, a noble personage and of great name in his country. But the bend and faction of the *Cossines* (a family of great power, by favour of the Romans) kept him down and over-weighed him: but
after

after the fame of the battel of *Canna* and the coming of *Annibal*, divulged and blown abroad by the speeches of *Trebinus* those *Cossanes* abandoned the City: and so was it without any confli& rendered unto the Carthaginians, and received a garrison. *Annibal* leaving behind him there, all the pillage and baggage that he had, divided his army into two parts: giving *Mago* in charge, to possess himself of the towns of that country, which would revolt of themselves from the Romans: or else to force them thereunto, in case they denied and refused so to do. Himself took his journey through the land of *Campane*, toward the nether sea, intending to assault *Naples*, that he might be Lord of a Port Town also, and have it at his devotion. When he was entred the confines of the Neapolitans, he placed some of the Numidians in Ambush, as cunningly as he could, (and there for the most part, the wayes are hollow, and full of close and secret nooks and holes) others he commanded to make a shew of driving away a booty out of the fields, and to ride out braving before the gates of the City. Against whom (seeming to be not many, and those disordered) a troop of horsemen issued forth, but the enemies of purpose giving back and retiring from them, led and trained them on, to the place of ambush: and so they were environed on every side, and there had not one of them escaped alive, but that the sea was neer, where they espied many fisher boats along the shore on the bank side, and as many of them as were skilful in swimming, gat unto them, and saved themselves: but in that shirnish nevertheless certain young gentlemen were slain. Among whom, *Hegeas* also, the Captain of that Corner of horsemen died in the place, who followed too hotly upon them that retreated & seemed to flie. But *Annibal* after he had viewed the walls, and saw they were not easie to be won, was discouraged and scared from giving assault to that City. From thence he turned his journey, and took his way to *Capua*, a City flowing in wealth and superfluity of all pleasures, by reason of long felicity, and the favourable aspect of gracious fortune. But among all corruptions that there reigned, it was infected most with the licentious looseness of the Commons, who exceeded beyond all measure, and abused their liberty. *Pacuvius Calavius*, a man of noble race there, and popular withal, but one that by lewd and indirect courses became rich and mighty, by means thereof, had both Senat & Com. under his girdle, and might do what he would. This man chanced to be head Magistrate the same year that the Romans were defeated and overthrowen at the Lake *Thrasymenus*: and supposing that the Commonalty (who had been a long time maliciously affected to the Senat and Nobility) would by occasion of alteration in the State, enterprise some notable act, to wit, (in case *Annibal* should come with his victorious army into those parts) the murdering of the Senat, and delivering of *Capua* into the Carthaginians hands. This man I say, lewd and bad enough otherwise, but yet not stark naught and wicked in the highest degree: and desirous to lord it, and domineer with the safety of the Common-wealth, rather then with the utter destruction of the same: as knowing full well that no State could remain safe, spoiled and bereft once of a publick counsel: cast about and plotted, how he might both save the Senate, and also oblige the same to be at his and the Commons devotion. He assembled therefore the Senat one day together, and after he had protested with a solemn preamble, "That in no case he would like & allow of the designment and intent of revolting from the Romans, unless it were upon necessity and constraint: for as much as himself had married the daughter of *Appius Claudius*, and had fair issue by her: and besides, affianced a daughter of his own in marriage unto *Livius* in Rome: but yet (quoth he) there is a matter of greater consequence toward, and a danger like to burst out more to be feared then that. For the Commons intend not by way of revolt and rebellion to rid the City of the Senators authority, but are purposed to massacre all the Senators, and so to deliver unto *Annibal* and the Carthaginians, the Common-wealth, clearly void of a Senat. Of which imminent peril (quoth he) I know how to free you, in case you will wholly trust and rely upon me, and forget all former jars, and old debates, which have fallen out in governance and managing of the Senat. Now when all of them in place, for fear were forced to put themselves into his hands: I will, quoth he) shut you up within the Councel-Chamber, and pretend unto them, as though I were one of their complices, both privy and party to this intended practise of theirs: and so by soothing them up, under a colourable approbation and allowance of their designments, which I should in vain cross and gain-say, I shall find out a ready way to save all your lives. And for assurance hereof, ask and have of me what bond and security ye will your selves. Thus having made his faithful promise to be fast and true unto them, he went forth, and commanded the Councel-House dores to be shut sure, and left warders to keep the gate and entry thereof, that no man without his license and commandment, should either enter in, or come forth. Then after he had called all the people together to an audience, in a solemn and frequent assembly, thus he spake unto them. "That which ye have often wished for (O ye Campans, my good neighbors and friends) namely, to have the power and mean to revenge your selves thoroughly of this wicked and cursed Senat, now lieth in your hands to perform with safety at your pleasure. And ye need not by way of an uproar to assault their houses one after another, to the great danger and hazzard of your persons, considering how they are defended with strong guards of their vassals, favorites, and bond-slaves: ye have them all fast and close mued up within the Councel-Chamber: themselves alone, without company, without armor and weapon: there you may take them. But see that ye do nothing hastily upon head without pause, nor rashly without advisement. I will so compass and bring about, that ye shall give your doom of life and death upon every one of them, to the end that each one may have his desert, and suffer due punishment accordingly.

The Oration
of *Pacuvius
Calavius* to the
Commons of
Capua.

A "But above all things ye must have an eye and look to this: that ye proceed not too much in
 "heat and choler: but that ye have more regard of your own safety and profit, than of ire and re-
 "venge. For (I take it) they be these Senators only whose persons ye hate and detest: and your
 "meaning is not wholly to put down and overthrow the Senate quite: for either ye must accept
 "of a King, (O government abominable) or else admit a Senat, the only Council indeed of a free
 "City and State: and therefore with one blush (as they say) ye are to go stop two gaps, and to do
 "both at once, namely to abolish and depose the old Senat, and to elect a new. I will command,
 "that the Senators shall be cited by name one after another: and concerning their life and death,
 "I will demand your opinion and resolute sentence: and look what judgement ye give, shall iust-
 "ly stand and be put in execution. But before the condemned guilty person be done to death, ye
 "shall substitute in his room a new Senator, some good man of valour and courage, and worthy
 "to succeed in his place. With that he late him down. And after all their names were thrown in-
 "to a lottery pitcher and shuffled together, he caused him to be cited and called aloud by name,
 "and the man himself to be brought forth of the council-House whose name chanced to be drawn
 "out first. He was no sooner named, but every man cried out, that he was a lewd and wicked per-
 "son, and worthy to be hanged. Then *Pacuvius* said, I see (quoth he) what destiny ye presage this
 "man. Rejected he is, and cast out for naught and unjust: choose now a good Senator, and a right-
 "eous in his room. As the first all was silent, and as still as midnight, for default of finding a better
 "to place in his stead. Afterwards, when some odde groom past all shame and reverence, seemed
 "to nominate one: by and by they grew to much louder words, and greater clamor: while some laid
 "flatly they knew not the man, others laid to his charge sundry lewd and naughty vices, and objec-
 "ted against him either abject baseness, poverty and beggary, or else some dishonest kind of trade
 "and occupation, whereby he lived. Thus fared they, and much worse a great deal, when a second
 "or third Senator was named: so as it was well seen, that the men bethought themselves and re-
 "pent of that they had done already, considering how they failed still and were to seek, when
 "they should substitute another in his place: forasmuch as it booteth not, but was absurd to nomi-
 "nate the same again, since that their nomination gained them nothing but either to hear their vi-
 "ces deciphered, or to hear reproachful terms: and as for all the rest, they were far more vile and
 "obscure persons, than those that came first into their remembrance and were soonest thought up-
 "on. So the people fell at length, and gently came down to this point, and confessed, that Much
 "better was bad they knew, than bad they knew not: and Seldom came the better: willing the
 "old Senators to be let out of ward and enlarged. By this policy *Pacuvius* having bound the
 "Senate to himself, more than to the Commons, and even as much as their life was worth: with-
 "out force of arms ruled the rest, and was at his devotion and command. Hereupon the Senators
 "laid aside the remembrance of their own dignity, port, and liberty, became affable to the Com-
 "mons, and would salute them kindly: inviting them courteously, and entertaining them liberally
 "at their boards, with exquisite and delicate fare: undertaking and maintaining all their suits and
 "causes: ready at all times to assist them and stand by them: and in one word, emp-
 "nelling Juries (to go upon all causes and matters in law) of those whom they knew to be gracious and popular,
 "and fitter to win and procure the favour and affection of the common sort. Thus at the Council-
 "Table all matters were decided, as if the Commons had there sat, and not otherwise.

This *Capua* was a City ever given to dissolute life and excess in pleasure, as well by reason of
 the natural corruption and infer disposition of the Inhabitants, as also for the plentiful & flow-
 ing abundance of all delights, and the alluring inticements of all dainties, that either sea or land
 might afford. But at that time (such was the obsequious fawning and flattery of the Nobles, such
 was the licentious living of the Commons) they were so lavish, that they exceeded in lust and su-
 perfluity beyond measure, and laid it on in expense without stay. Besides their contempt of Laws,
 Magistrates, and Senate, they grew to this pass after the overthrow at *Canusium*, that whereas be-
 fore, they had some awfull and reverend regard of the Romans, now they despised and set naught
 by the government and Empire of *Rome*. And nothing else stood in the way, but that presently
 they would have rejected their rule, and shaken off the yoke of obedience and allegiance, saving
 only this, That by reason of ancient entercourse of crosses and mutuell marriages, many noble hou-
 ses and mighty families were linked and allied to the Romans: and again, which was the greatest
 bond of all, whereas there had served in the Roman wars, certain of them: there were three
 hundred men of arms, and those of noblest birth of all the *Campans*, chosen out of them and sent
 by the Romans to be resident in sundry garrisons of the Cities of *Sicily*: whose fathers and kinsfolk
 (with much ado) obtained, that Embassadors should be sent unto the Consul of *Rome*. They
 found the Consul at *Venusia* with a few souldiers and those armed by the halves (for as yet he was
 not gone to *Canusium*) being in that poor taking and hard plight, as he could not be in worse: ei-
 ther to move pity in the hearts of true and well affected allies, or to breed contempt in proud and
 hollow-hearted friends, such as these *Campans* were. Contemprible was their case, but the Cos.
 made himself and his condition more despised, by bewraying too much his present distresses, and
 laying open to the world the nakedness of his calamity. For when the Embassadors delivered un-
 to him, That the Senate and people of *Capua* took it to the heart, and greatly grieved at the ad-
 verse overthrow of the Romans, and promised therewith, to furnish him with all things fit and
 meet for war: "Ye have (quoth he) O *Campans*, observed an order and custome, and for form and
 fashion visited us your confederats, in willing us to require at your hands all supplements of war:
 "rather

The Oration
 of *Varro* to the
 Embassadors
 of *Capua*.

"rather than said any thing directly besetting the present estate of our fortune. For what have we
 "left us at all, after this discomfiture of *Canne*, that we should be willing to have that supplied
 "by our allies which is wanting? As who would say, we had somewhat already. Should we de-
 "mand of you footmen, as though we were furnished with horse? Should we say that we lack-
 "ed money, as if money only were wanting, and nothing else? No, no; Fortune hath dealt so
 "hardly with us, that she hath left us just nothing, nor so much as that, which might be made
 "up and supplied by others. Our Legions of footmen, our Corners of horse, our armor and mun-
 "ition, our Standards and Ensigns, horse and man, money and victuals, all is gone, lost, and per-
 "ished; either in the battell, or the morrow after in the ruin of our Camp, when we were turned
 "out of our tents and pavilions. And therefore ye are not, O Campans, to aid and help up in this
 "war; but in our behalf, and for us, ye ought to take the whole charge of the war upon your
 "own selves, against the Carthaginians. Call to remembrance how in time past, when your an-
 "cestors and forefathers were fearfully driven to keep within your walls, standing in dread and
 "bodily fear, not of the Samnits only your enemies, but also of the Sidicins: we took them into
 "our protection, and defended them before *Sarricula*: and how for your sakes we began war
 "with the Samnits, and maintained the same for the space of an hundred years, and in great
 "variety of fortune, giving and taking sundry foils all the whiles. Over and besides, call to mind,
 "how we concluded an indifferent and equall league with you, to the disadvantage of neither
 "parts: how we granted unto you the liberty of living under our own laws: and how at the
 "last (a matter, I wot, of right great importance and consequence, before this our late over-
 "throw at *Canne*) we granted unto a great part of you, the freedom and priviledge of Burges-
 "sie, and parted with you the franchises of our own City. And therefore ye ought of right (my
 "Masters of *Capua*) to repute this loss and misfortune now received, to be as well yours as ours:
 "and to make reckoning to defend the common state and country of both. It is neither Samnit
 "nor Tuscan that we have to deal with, to whom, if we lost and parted with our Empire, yet it
 "remained still within the compass of *Italy*: but the enemy that pursueth us, is a Carthaginian,
 "drawing after him a train of souldiers, who are not so much as born in *Affrick*, but coming
 "from the farthest and most remote parts and bounds of the world, from as far as the streights
 "of the Ocean sea, even from *Hercules* his pillars: void of the knowledge of all law, right, and dis-
 "ference of condition, without reason and discretion, and (in manner) without commerce of
 "mans language. These souldiers so fierce and fell by nature, so cruell and merciless by use and cu-
 "stome, their captain hath withall made more wild and savage, by making bridges, causeys, and
 "high-waies, over heaps of dead mens bodies: and (which I abhor to speak, by teaching them
 "to eat men flesh. To see and endure these men to be their LL. whom feeding as they do upon
 "such execrable meats and viands, which even to touch and handle without great horror we
 "may not: to resort for justice as far as into *Affrick* and *Carthage*, and to suffer *Italy* to be re-
 "duced into a Province under the Numidians and Moors, what is he that would not detest and
 "abhor, were he but born only within *Italy*? A worthy honour and immortall glory it will be
 "for you, O ye Campans; if the Roman Empire and dominion, thus growing to ruin and falling
 "down prostrate under the weight of this late overthrow, might by your fidelity and forcible
 "power be staide and upheld, and set upright again, I suppose ye have levied and enrolled alrea-
 "dy thirty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, out of Campain: for coin, for corn, ye have
 "store and plenty: Now if your faith and truth be answerable to your wealth and fortune, nei-
 "ther shall *Annibal* find that he hath won the victory, nor the Romans feel that they have lost
 "a journey. With this Oration thus ended, the Consul gave the Embassadors their discharge,
 "and dismissed them. As they returned homeward, one of them, *Sabius Virius* by name, said
 "thus unto his fellows. "Now is the day come (quoth he) wherein the Campans may be able,
 "not only to recover again the lands which in times past the Romans have wrongfully taken
 "from them, but also obtain & enjoy the sovereign rule & Empire of *Italy*. As for *Annibal*, we
 "may conclude, covenant, and capitulat with him what articles and conditions we list our selves,
 "to our best behoof and benefit: And it is all to nothing, that *Annibal*, having now dispatched
 "and finished the war, will of his own accord depart like a Conquerour into *Affrick*, and with-
 "draw his forces out of these parts: so as the dominion of *Italy* shall be left wholly to the peo-
 "ple of *Capua*. *Virius* had no sooner delivered these speeches, but they all applauded him and
 "accorded thereto. And in such terms they related their Embassage, as all men thought no less
 "but the Roman Empire and name was utterly perished and extinct for ever. Incontinently the
 "Commons and the greatest part of the Nobility of *Capua* enclined to revolt and rebell: Yet
 "by the countenance and authority of the Ancients and Elders the matter was staide and defer-
 "red for some few daies. At length, the greater part prevailed, whose opinion was, That the same
 "Embassadors which were sent to the Roman Consul, should be addressed in embassie unto *Annibal*.
 "But I find in some Annal-records, that before they went, and before their resolute determi-
 "nation to revolt, there was an Embassage sent from the *Capuans* to the City of *Rome*, demanding
 "thus much, That if they meant to have any help and aid from them, one of their Consuls might
 "be a Capuan. Whereat the Senat of *Rome* took such snuff and indignation, that the said Embas-
 "sadors were commanded to void the Council-House, and a Serjeant sent after them at their heels,
 "to set them out of the City: charging them at their perill, to take up their lodging that night
 "without the territories of *Rome*. But because this demand jumpeth too near to the like that the
 "Latines

* Gibraltar:

A Latines made long before: and both *Cassius* and other Historians have (not without good reason) passed it over and said nothing thereof; I dare not avow it for a truth. Well, Embassadors there came unto *Annibal*, and concluded peace with him under these conditions; and covenants: *Imprimis*, That no General, Captain, or Magistrate of the Carthaginians should have any jurisdiction or power over a Citizen of *Capua*: *Item*, That no Citizen of *Capua* should be compelled against his will to serve in any wars, or execute the charge and office of a souldier: *Item*, That the Campans still enjoy their old Laws and Magistrates of their own: *Item*, That *Annibal* deliver unto the Campans three hundred Roman Captives, such as they themselves shall choose: whom they might course and exchange for these three hundred horsemen of the Campans that were in garrison, and served for pay in *Sicily*. These were the Articles of the accord. But the Campans stuck not to do more than so, and to go farther than their capitulations: committing divers and sundry outrages. For the Commons suddenly at once apprehended all the Roman Captives over the confederate souldiers, yea, and attached other Citizens of *Rome*, that were either employed in any military charge, or otherwise occupied in their private affairs: and caused them to be clapt up within the stoves and hot houses, as in ward and late custody, where their breath being stifled and stopped up with exceeding heat, and steaming vapours, they were stifled, and died miserably. But there was one *Decius Magnus*, a man who wanted no means of sovereign authority, but only the sobriety, discretion, and wisdom of the Citizens with whom he lived: who withstood all that ever he could such enormous and audacious courses, and endeavoured to hinder the Embassage sent to *Annibal*. And so soon as he heard that *Annibal* was sending a garrison, he recounted unto his fellow Citizens the proud and lordly rule of *Pyrrhus*, the miserable and wretched thralldom of the Tarentines, as precedents sufficient to give them warning. He ceased not to cry aloud in open place and audience, first, that they should not receive the garrison into the City: then, that being admitted, they should either be thrust out again: or rather if they would expiate and make amends by some valiant and memorable act for that shamefull lend part of theirs, in revolting so from their most ancient Allies, yea, and kinsmen by blood, they should fall upon the Carthaginian garrison, and kill them every one, and so reconcile themselves again to the Romans. *Annibal* al having intelligence of these plots (for they were not a forging and contriving in a corner) first sent certain messengers to summon *Magnus* to repair unto his presence within his Camp. After that, seeing he stoutly denied to go, (for he pleaded that *Annibal* had no authority nor right to command a Citizen of *Capua*) he waxed wroth, and commanded the man to be apprehended, and to be haled perforce bound unto him. But fearing, upon better advice, lest by offering such violence some tumult might arise, and in the heat of blood break forth into an inconsiderate fray, he dispatched beforehand a messenger of purpose unto *Marinus Blossius*, the Prætor or L. Governor of *Capua*: signifying, that the morrow next following he would be personally in *Capua*: and so with a small guard about him, he set forth of his Camp, and put himself on his journey. *Marinus* assembled the people together, making proclamation, and warning them to be ready in all frequent solemnity, with their wives and children, to meet *Annibal* upon the way. They of the adverse side unto *Magnus* and the Romans performed this not only obediently, but also most effectually, and with great diligence and endeavour. Yea, the common sort likewise were very forward in this action, as desirous especially to see this great General and brave warrior, so noble and renowned for his many victories. *Decius Magnus* neither went forth to meet him, nor yet kept his house, because he would not seem to fear and carry a guilty conscience: but walked up and down idly for his pleasure in the Market place with one of his sons, and a few of his vassals and followers, whiles the whole City besides was busily occupied, and much troubled in the entertaining and beholding of this great Captain and Commander of the Carthaginians. *Annibal* being entred the City, incontinently required to have audience in their Council-House. Whereupon, the Nobles and principall Citizens of *Capua* requested him that he would not that day intend any weighty matters of importance, but himself in person solemnize it with joy and mirth, as an high and feastivall holiday for his welcome thither. And albeit he was by nature hasty, and ready to fall into fits of anger, yet because he would not seem at his first coming to deny them any thing, he employed a good part of that day in seeing and viewing the City. Entertained and lodged he was and his whole train with the *Manii*, *Celeres*, *Strenius*, and *Pacuvius*, the most noble and honourable personages, and the wealthiest of all others. Thither unto him, *Pacuvius Calpurnius* (concerning whom I spake before, the principal man of that bend and faction, which reduced the City to the obedience and devotion of *Annibal*) brought his own son a young Gentleman, and said withall, that the youth kept continually with *Decius*, and that he was faine to pluck him away from his company and train, whose part he took; and stuck most stiffly to him, in maintaining the old society and amity of the Romans, against the new League with the Carthaginians; and neither the bending and inclination of the whole City to the contrary side, nor yet the reverent majesty of a father, had yet driven him from his obstinate resolution. And for that time the father laboured with *Annibal* rather by way of prayer and intreaty, than by excusing and clearing his son, that he would not be discontented nor displeased with the young man. So he was overcome with the importunate request and plentiful teares of the father, and gave commandment, that he together with his father should be bidden to supper, at which feast he purposed to have the company of no other guests of all *Capua*, but only of his hostess that have him entertainment, and one *Jubellius Taurus*,

a famous and brave warrior. To supper they went long before day-light went down, and sat at the table, not after the guise of Carthaginians nor according to the discipline of souldiers but after the order of a City and house, which had been used a long time to have the board furnished with sundry sorts of dainty dishes, and with all delicate junkets to please the palate and taste. *Perolla* only the son of *Calavius*, could not be brought to change his mind, and shew himself cheerful and merry at meat, notwithstanding the Masters of the feast; and *Annibal* himself otherwhiles invited him to bear them company, and sit with them; but he ever made his excuse to his father, that he was ill at ease and sickly whensoever he seemed to examine him, and to know the cause of such wonderful trouble of mind, and vexation of spirit. So a little afore sun-setting, when his father arose, and was gone out from supper, he followed hard after him; and when they were come into a secret place apart, (a garden it was on the back side of the house) "I will tell you a thing father, I have in my head a policy, and a ready mean, how we shall not only obtain pardon at the Romans hands for our trespass committed, in falling away from them, and turning to *Annibal*; but also how we Campanians may be in far greater estimation and favour among them than ever we were. The father marvelling hereat, was desirous to know what device that might be; and wish that the youth cast his gown from off his shoulders; and shewed him a good blade girded to his side. "I will, quoth he, out of hand, establish and seal sure the Roman League with the bloud of *Annibal*. I was desirous (father) to let you know of it aforehand, if peradventure you would be willing to be out of the way when the deed is a doing. The old man seeing and hearing this, in a great fearfull agony, as if he had been present to see the execution of that which he heard him to speak of. "Now I beseech thee, my son (quoth he) and pray thee of all loves and bonds that bind children and parents together, that thou wilt not before thy fathers face either commit or suffer this so horrible a part, full of all abominable wickedness, whatsoever, and not to be named. There are not many hours since that we swore by all the gods and holy hallows in heaven, and by joyning hand in hand, made faithful promise, and obliged our selves to communicate together with him, and to eat at the holy table of sacred viands. And are we no sooner departed asunder from our familiar conference and parley, but we arm our selves against him? Arise thou indeed from thy friends guest-board, to which thou wert thy self a third man bid-den of all the Campanians, and even by *Annibal*, and wilt thou stain and pollute that board with the bloud of the principal guest? Is thy father, erewhile was able to reconcile *Annibal* to my son; and can I not pacifie my son likewise, and appeale his fierce stomack against *Annibal*? But if their be nothing sacred and inviolable, nothing to be trusted in the world, neither faithful promise, nor religious oath, nor any piety at all, and good nature, things so honest and just: then adventure hardly, and spare not to put in execution all actions detestable and not to be spoken, so that besides the note and infamous mark of wickedness, they bring not upon our own heads present mischief, and utter confusion. Darest thou alone assail the person of *Annibal*? What will that multitude about him do, the while, so many freemen and bondmen both? All their guard and regard all their eyes upon him alone, what serve they for? What will become of so many hands of theirs? Thinkest thou that they will be benumbed and dead at the time of that frantick enterprise of thine? The grim visage of *Annibal* himself, whom whole armies of souldiers tremble to behold: who the people of *Rome* dread, and for fear of whom they quake again, wilt thou alone abide to see? And if all other means of help should fail him, wilt thou endure to strike and wound me thy father, putting my body between for the safeguard and defence of *Annibal*? And stab me thou must through the very heart, before thou canst hurt him, or run him through. Suffer therefore thy self here to be frightened from this thy intended mischief, before thou have the foil there, and miss of thy purpose. Let my prayers take place with thee, as once this day they prevailed for thee. With that, he marked his son to weep and shed tears, and embracing him about the middle, and kissing him ever and anon, he left him not, nor gave over to pray & entreat him instantly, untill he got at his hands to lay off his sword, and promise him faithfully, that he would not attempt any such enterprise. Then the youth, seeing how the case stood, "I will (quoth he) pay unto my naturall father that kindness and love, in which I am bound as a debtor to my native Country. But alas for you, good father, I am right sorry for your hard hap; who are to answer before God and the world, for the betraying of your country no fewer times than thrice already. Once, when you gave counsell and perswaded to forsake the Romans, and to revolt from them: again, when you were the principall agent, and advised to make peace with *Annibal*; and now this day the third time, when you are the only obstacle and hinderance that *Capua* is not restored again into the hands of the Romans. O sweet country and native soil of mine, take here at my hands this sword, wherewith erewhile I was girt and armed for dear love of thee, and was fully minded to defend this thy chief Castle and Fortreis, and not to spare, but embroe it in the bloud of thy mortall enemy: take it I say, since my own father is ready to wrest it from me. This said, he hung his sword over the garden wall into the high way and open street; and therewith, because he would not grow into any suspicion, he shewed himself again to the guests within the house, and took part of the banquet. The morrow after, the Senate in favour of *Annibal* solemnly met together in great number: in which frequent assembly, the beginning of his speech was very pleasant and gracious: wherein he gave the Capuans thanks, for preferring his amity before the alliance of the people of *Rome*; and among other fair and magnificall behests to them made, he promised that within a while,

Capua

A *Capua* should be the head City and chief State of all *Italy*, whereunto the people of *Rome*, together with other nations, should resort for law and justice. *Mary*, quoth he, there is one that hath no part or fellowship in the society and league made between the *Carthaginians* and you, namely, *Magius Decius*, who neither was a *Campan* nor ought of right to be so called and reputed: him I demand to be delivered into my hands, and that in my presence the Senate should be asked their opinion concerning his trespass, and an Act presently entered thereof. All of them there assembled allowed of the motion, and gave their assent in the end: albeit a great sort of them thought both the man unworthy of that hard fortune and calamity, and that this was but an ill beginning and a very overture to the infringing of the right of their freedom. The chief Magistrate then went forth of the Council-Chamber, and late in the Judicall Hall or Temple, and commanded *Decius* to be attached, and to stand before him at his feet, and there to answer for himself and make his defence. Who persisted still in the same stoutness and boldness of spirit, alledging that by virtue of the covenants in the League comprised, he might not lawfully be pressed and forced thus far. Whereupon he had irons clapt upon him, and commandment was given that he should have a Lictor attend upon him, and to be conveyed into the Camp of *Annibal*. All the way as he was led, so long as he was bare-headed and open-faced, he went preaching to the multitude that flocked about him, and with a loud voice spake and said: "Now *Capuans*, ye have the liberty that ye sought and longed for. In the open market place, at noon-day, and in your sight, lo how I, a man inferior to none in all *Capua*, am led away bound in chains to die. What greater violence could be offered if *Capua* were won by assault of the enemy? Go forth, go and meet *Annibal* adorn and hang the City with rich cloath of tapistry, Register in your Kalender, among other holidais, this day of his Entry, that in the end ye may behold this goodly triumph over one of your own Citizens. Upon the utterance of these words, the multitude seemed discontented at the indignity of this sight. Whereupon he was hoodwinked, and his head covered, and the Serjeant was charged to have him away quickly, and make haste out of the gates. So, he was brought into the Camp, and immediately shipped and sent to *Carthage*, for fear lest some commotion might arise in *Capua*, upon so unworthy and shamefull a deed: and lest the Senat also should repent themselves, that they had delivered and yielded out of their hands a principal personage among them: also to prevent that no Embassage might be sent unto him for his redelivery, whereby he should either offend his new Allies, in case he denied them their first request, or suffer *Capua* to have alwaies a busie and seditious Citizen ready ever to stir up new troubles, if he granted their suit. The ship wherein he was embarked, was by a tempest cast upon *Cyrene*, a port town in the dominion at that time of the *KK*. There, *Magius* fled for refuge as to a Sanctuary, unto the Image of King *Protopaus*, and was brought by his guard and keepers unto *Alexandria* to the Kings presence, and enformed the King, how contrary to the tenor and priviledge of the covenant he was in bonds by *Annibal*. Whereupon he was loosed from his chains, and put to the choice, whether he would return to *Capua*, or go to *Rome*. *Magius* answered, that he could not in *Capua* remain in safety, and if he went to *Rome*, at that time especially when there was war between the Romans and the *Capuans*, he should be sooner lodged there in a prison like a fugitive runnagate, than entertained in house for a friend and loving guest: and concluded in the end, that he would make abode and live the rest of his daies more willingly in no place of the world, than in his highness Realm, whom he found already to be the saviour of his life, and the redeemer of his liberty and enlargement.

While these occurrents fell out abroad, *Q. Fabius Pictor*, sent (as is above said) Ambassador to *Delphos*, returned to *Rome*, and out of a writing he read openly, the answer of the Oracle in these words (now ye must understand, that in this Script were certain gods and saints named, unto whom they should make solemn supplication, and the manner also with all ceremonies and complements thereto belonging): "Then (O Romans) if ye shall so do, your state shall prosper and be more happy: your Common-weal shall go forward better to your mind, yea, and victory in the wars shall happen unto the people of *Rome*. But remember that when all things shall go well on your side, and your State shall be saved and preserved, ye send unto *Pythius Apollo* a present, according to the merit of a due recompence; and of the silver raised of the pillage, prizes, and spoils taken from the enemies, do him honour accordingly. After he had rehearsed these words, truly translated out of the Greek Original then he said moreover, That so soon as he was departed from the Oracle, he presently sacrificed unto all those gods with frankincense and wine. Also, that he was commanded by the Priest of *Apollo*, that like as he both came to the Oracle, and also celebrated sacrifices, crowned with a garland and chaplet of Laurel, so he should in the same manner adorned take ship and be embarked, and not lay off the said garland before he was arrived to *Rome*. Finally, that all ceremonies performed most precisely and diligently, which he was commanded to observe, he had laid and bestowed the said chaplet upon the altar, before the Shrine of *Apollo* at *Rome*. Then the Senate made a decree, That those sacrifices and supplications should with all speed and carefull regard be celebrated.

While these things passed at *Rome* and in *Italy*, *Mago* the son of *Amilcar*, arrived at *Carthage*, and brought the first tidings of the victory at *Capua*. This *Mago* was not immediately and directly sent from his brother, out of the field where the battel was fought, but staid certain daies about receiving the homage and subjection of certain Cities of the *Bruttii*, which revolted from the Romans. Who having audience given him in the Senat of *Carthage*, related what acts

and exploits his brother *Annibal* had achieved in *Italy*: namely, That he had given battell to six Generals, whereof four were Consuls, and two were the Dictator and Commander of horsemen: That he had fought against six entire Consular armies, in which battels he had slain above 20000 enemies, taken prisoners more than 50000. That of those four Consuls, he had killed twain outright: as for the other two, one of them was deadly hurt, the other having lost his whole army, was fled, accompanied scarcely with fifty men: that the General of the Cavalry created with full Consular authority, was discomfited and put to flight: and the Dictator (forsooth) because he never would hazard the fortune of a field, was counted the only warrior and worthy Captain: That the *Bruttii* and *Apulians*, part of the *Samnites*, and *Lucans*, were revolted to the *Carthaginians*: That *Capua*, the head City not of *Campania* only, but (after the Romans defeat and overthrow in the battell at *Canna*) of all *Italy* also, was surrendered to *Annibal*. For these so many and so worthy victories, he required (meet and requisite it was) that there should be a solemn festivall day holden and sacrifices solemnized to the honour of the immortal gods. And for the better assurance of these lucky and fortunate achievements, and to verifie his words, he caused the gold rings of the Romans, slain at *Canna*, to be poured forth in the porch and entry of the Council-House. The heap of them was so great, that as some authors affirm, when they measured the same, they filled three *Modii* and an half. But the constant report went, and sounding nearer to a truth, that they were not above one *Modius*. He added moreover, and said, (and all to prove their overthrow the greater) that none but knights and men of arms, and those of the better sort, who served on horses found at the Cities charges, used to wear that ornament. The drift and conclusion of his speech was this, "That the sooner that *Annibal* hoped to make an end of the wars, the more he ought to be aided and helped with all provision and furniture accordingly. And why? The service was far from home, in the midst of the enemies land, a huge deal of corn was consumed, a great mass of money was spent; and as so many battels had utterly swoopt up the enemies armies, so reckning was to be made, that they had in some measure lessened and impaired the forces of the conquerour. Therefore, a new supply of men was to be sent over, and money for soldiers pay, yea, and corn also was to be transported to so brave souldiers, that had done so singular good service, and deserved so well of the *Carthaginian* nation. Upon these reports of *Mago*, when all men else were wondrous glad, and took great contentment, *Himilco*, a man of the *Brachin* bend, supposing he had now good occasion and opportunity offered to carp and check *Hanno*. How now *Hanno* quoth he, what say you to this gear? Repent you still and mislike the war undertaken against the Romans? Let us see now, give your voice and opinion that *Annibal* be yielded: forbid now thanksgiving to be performed to the immortal gods, for this prosperous speed and fortunate success. Let us hear a Roman Senator now to speak in the Council-House of the *Carthaginians*. Then *Hanno*; "I would have held my peace this day, my LL. quoth he, for feare to speak ought that in this common and generall joy might not be altogether pleasant unto you. But now, seeing a Senator blundly spurth me the question, whether I mislike still of the enterprise of war against the Romans? if I should keep silence and say nothing, I might seem either proud and insolent, or else faulty and culpable. Whereof the one is the part of a man that hath forgot the liberty of other men; the other a property of him, that thinketh not of his own. Well may I therefore answer to *Himilco*, that I cease not yet to mislike this war, nor never will give over to blame and challenge this invincible Captain and warrior of ours, before I see the war ended and determined, upon some indifferent hand, and tollerable condition: and nothing else shall stint the mils I have, and quench the longing desire of the old peace, but the making of a new. And therefore these particulars, which *Mago* erewhile so magnified and vaunted of, are for the present joyfull news to *Himilco*, and other of that crew, and the supporters of *Annibals* and to me likewise in some measure, they may be acceptable tidings, in this regard, that good success and lucky speed in war, if we will make the right use and benefit of our fortune, will be a mean to procure us a more easie and honourable peace. For if we let slip this advantage and opportunity of the time, when as we may seem rather to give than take conditions of peace, I fear me, that even this present so goodly a shew of rankness as it maketh now, will run up all to straw, and bear no head to yield corn in the end. And yet let us consider now, what a special matter this is. Slain I have whole armies of enemies: Therefore send me fresh and new souldiers. What could you (Sir) demand more, if you had been overthrowen? Won I have by force two strong holds where the enemies were encamped, full and fraught (we wust needs think) of prizes and victuals; Allow me more corn and money. What would you have required and craved more, a say, in case you had been riddled, and turned perforce out of your own Camp and pavilions? But that I may not marvel alone at these strange Enthymemes and conclusions (for it is as free and lawfull for me to ask some questions, seeing I have already answered to *Himilco*) I would fain have *Himilco* or *Mago*, I care not whether, to make answer likewise to me. Say, that in the battell before *Canna*, the Roman Empire was wholly defeated and soiled. Say also, that certain it is, how all *Italy* is at point ready to revolt. tell me first and foremost, whether any one Nation of the Latine people is faine from them to us? Secondly, whether any one person of the five and thirty wards in *Rome*, is run away, and fled to *Annibal*? When *Mago* said nay, and denied both. Why then (quoth he) there be great numbers of our enemy still behind. But I would gladly know what courage, what heart, what hopes, that multitude hath. When *Mago* answered, he could not tell. And nothing (quoth *Hanno*) is more ripe & easie to be known.

A " Say man, sent the Romans any Embassadors to *Annibal* to treat for peace? Nay, had ye any intelligent brought unto you, that there was so much as one word slipt, or mention made at Rome of peace? When *Mago* said hardly nay, to that too. Why then (quoth *Hanno*) by this account this war will find us work, and keep us occupied as much as it did the very first day that *Annibal* set foot in Italy. How variable fortune was in the former Punick war, how victory went and came reciprocally, we are most of us yet alive that well remember. We never siped better nor had a luckier hand, both by land and sea, than before *Caius Laetanius*, and *Aulus Posthumus* were Consuls. And whiles *Lucius* and *Posthumus* were Consuls, were we vanquished and utterly overthrowen before the Islands *Ægates*. And in case now (which God forbid) fortune should change, to change and turn her wheel, hope ye to have peace then, being overcome, which now when we are conquerors, no man offreth nor seeketh after. For mine own part, if any man should ask mine opinion of peace, either to present and tender it to the enemies, or to accept it at their hands, I wot well what to say: but if ye would know what I think concerning those demands of *Mago*, my advice is, that there is no sence nor reason to send aid and supplies to conquerors: now if they bear us in hand, delude, and abuse us with a vain and false persuasion of conquest and victory, much les a great deal. These remonstrances of *Hanno* took small effect with many of them: for, both the secret grudge and ran, or which he bare to the *Barthin* House, much impeached his credit and authority, and also by reason that their minds were to fully possessed of the present joy, they could admit and abide to hear of nothing, that might sound otherwise to daunt their glad hearts: thinking verily that the war would soon be at an end, if they now would strain a little and help it forward. And therefore with great consent, there passed an Act of the Senat, That there should be a supply sent unto *Annibal* of forty thousand Numidians, forty Elephants, and many talents of silver. Also the Dictator was sent before with *Mago* into Spain, to leavy and hire twenty thousand footmen, and four thousand horsemen for to make up those broken armies which were in Italy and in Spain. But these matters (as usually it hapneth in time of prosperity) were performed but slackly and at leisure. The Romans contrariwise made more speed, as being by nature more industrious: and besides, such was their adverse fortune and extremity, that they might not neglect their affairs and go slowly about their business. For neither the Consul was wanting in any affairs that were by him to be managed: and the Dictator *M. Jun. Brutus*, so soon as he had performed all the complements concerning sacrifices and religious ceremonies, proposed unto the people, That (as the usuall manner was) he might mount on horseback. Which done, over and besides the two legions of Citizens, which in the beginning of the year had been levied and enrolled by the Consuls, and the bondslaves that were before mustred, and certain squadrons gathered together out of the Picene and Gauls country, he proceeded to the last remedy and succour of a distressed and well near desperate state, when as honest and direct courses must give place unto commodious and profitable policies, and alight from his horse, and made proclamation, That whosoever were guilty and condemned of any capital crime, or whosoever were imprisoned for debt, and would willingly serve under him, he would take order that they should be exempt from all punishment, and discharged from their creditors. And of such he armed six thousand with the spoils of the Gauls, which in the triumph of *Flaminius* were carried in shew. Thus he departed from Rome five and twenty thousand strong.

Annibal having possessed himself of *Capua*, and solicited the Neapolitans once again, and founded their minds, proposing before their eyes fear and hope, and all in vain, led his forces into the Country of *Nola*, with this mind, not at first to go roughly with them to work, and by way of open hostility, because he was not out of all hope, that they would willingly come off and yield themselves: but in case they wavered and answered not his hope and expectation in some good time, he would surely proceed against them in all extremity, and put them to whatsoever they could endure or fear. The Senate, and especially the principall of them, continued fast and sure in their alliance with the people of Rome: But the commons (as their manner is, desirous of alteration and to see a new world) inclined wholly to the side of *Annibal*, casting many doubts, and fears, that their lands and possessions should be wasted and spoiled with sundry calamities and indignities that follow upon siege: neither wanted there heads and ring-leaders of a rebellion. Whereupon the Senate (for fear lest if they should seem to thwart and cross them, they had not been able to withstand the violence of the multitude once up and drawn to an head) closely dissembled their intent and purpose, and so by temporizing, prevented a present mischief. For they made semblance that they liked well, and were resolved of revoluing unto *Annibal*: but upon what conditions and capitulations they should enter into new league and amity, they knew not certainly. So having taken a farther time they dispatched in haste certain Embassadors unto the Roman Praetor *Marcellus Claudius*, who remained with the army at *Cannus*, advertising him in how great jeopardy the state of *Nola* stood, to wit, That *Annibal* was already Lord of their lands, and the Carthaginians would soon be masters of the City, unless they were succoured and relieved: that their Senat were driven to this shift, for to yield unto the Commons, and grant to revolt whensoever they would have them, and by that means staid them that they rebelled not over hastily. *Marcellus* after he had commended the Nolans, willed them with the same dissimulation to protract time and hold off untill his coming: and in the mean while to conceal and keep secret to themselves, the dealings and treaties with him, and in no case to be known

known of any hope they had of aid from the Romans. Himself went from *Canusium*, to *Calatia*, and from thence passed over the river *Vulturnus*, and by the way of *Saricula* and *Trebia*, journeyed over *Stessula* through the mountains and arrived at *Nola*. A little before the coming of the Roman Prætor, *Annibal* was departed and gone out of the Territory of *Nola*, and drew downwards to the sea-side near unto *Neapolis*: his teeth watered at the Port-town, and that out of *Africk* his ships might arrive thither, as to a safe and sure harbour. But after that he heard that *N. ples* was held by a Roman Provost, *M. Junius Syllanus* (sent for thither by the Neapolitans themselves) and had received a garrison: seeing he could not be admitted into *Neapolis*, no more than into *Nola* he went to *Nuceria*. Having beleaguered it round a long time, and often assaulted it forcibly, and assailed to solicit as well the Commons as the Nobility, but without effect: at the length by famine he forced them to yield, and so became master of the Town upon composition, That they should depart every man disarmed in their single garments. Then, as one that would seem ever from the beginning, to use clemency to all Italians, but only the Romans: he made fair promises of great rewards and advancement to honour, unto all those that would tarry behind and serve under him. But no man upon those hopes would remain with him. For they all gave him the slip, and went sundry waies, some to their friends and acquaintance, others at a venture as their mind stood to divers Cities of Campain, but most to *Nola* and *Naples*. Amongst the rest, there were almost thirty Senators, and those (as it fell out) of the best sort, that came to *Capua*: but being kept out there, because they had shut their gates against *Annibal*, they went to *Cumes*. The pillage of *Nuceria* was bestowed upon the souldiers, the City sacked and burnt. Now kept *Marcellus* *Nola*, not presuming more upon the strength of his own garrison, than upon the confidence he had in the great men and chief of the City. But he had the Commons in jealousy, and above all, one *L. Banius*, who for that he had conspired to rebell, and therefore stood in fear of the Roman Deputy: one while was pricked and incited to attempt treason, and to betray his Country: another while, in case he should fail of that opportunity, and miss his purpose, to make an escape and run away to the enemy. A courageous and lusty young man he was, and the bravest Cavaleer in those daies of all the Roman Confederats. His hap was to be found lying half dead among the heaps of slain bodies before *Canna*: *Annibal* took order for the curing of his hurts, and when he was thoroughly healed, right courteously sent him home well and bountifully rewarded. In remembrance of which favour and good turn, and in token of thankfulness, he was willing to deliver and yield *Nola* into the hands of *Annibal*, to be at his devotion. But the Prætor had an eye unto him, and observed how his head wrought, and was busily occupied to bring an alteration. And seeing there were but two waies to deal with him, either by punishment to keep him short, and cut him off; or by some benefit to win his heart: he thinking it a better course, to gain unto himself so hardy and valiant a friend, than only to bereave his enemy of him: he sent for him, and in this manner spake friendly unto him: "You have (quoth he) amongst your countrymen and fellow-Citizens, I see well, many that envy you, as it appears well by this, that there is never a neighbour you have at *Nola* that hath told me of you, and how many noble exploits and good services in war you have performed. But yet your valour cannot be unknown and hidden, ever since you served in the Roman army. For many there must be which were souldiers then with you, which have made report unto me of your prowess, and what perils you have entred into, and how often you have put your life in hazard, for the safety and honour of the people of *Rome*: and namely, how in the battell before *Canna* you gave not over fight, untill at length having bled well near to death, you were born to the ground and lay under foot, overwhelmed with men, horse and armour, falling upon you, and so kept down that you could not rise up again. But be of good chear man, and go on still in this thy vertue and well-doing: you shall have at my hands all honour and reward that may be possible: and the oftner you come to me and keep me company, you shall find it will be more for your reputation and commodity both. The young man was glad at heart for these gracious words and large promises: and so *Marcellus* gave unto him freely, a good brave courser, and commanded the Treasurer to tell him out in money * 500 * Bigats of silver, charging his officers and Lictors to let him have access unto him at his pleasure, whensoever he came. By this courteous usage and humanity of *Marcellus*, the young mans stout heart was so dulced, mollified and easie to be wrought, that of all Confederats and Allies there was not one, who bare himself more valiantly, nor maintained more faithfully the State of *Rome*. When *Annibal* was approached to the gates of *Nola* (for he was returned from *Nuceria*, and came thither again) and the Commons within the town practised a-fresh to rebell, *Marcellus* had a little before the coming of the enemies, retired and put himself within the wals: not for fear that he should not be able to keep the field and his hold: but lest he should give advantage and opportunity to betray the City, seeing too many of them within disposed and forward thereunto. After this, they began on both sides to arrange their battels in array the Romans under the wals of *Nola*, the Carthaginians before their own fort. Small skirmishes there were between the City and the Camp of *Annibal* (with variable event of fortune) because the Generals were not willing either to deny and debar some few that were so eager and forward to call for fight, or yet to give forth the signall of a generall battell. Whiles these two armies temporized thus, and held their *Corps de guard*, continually, and in manner of a solemn set Assembly, the chief Nobles of the *Nolans* advertised *Marcellus*, that there used to be night-meetings and conferences between their own Commons and the Carthaginians: and

* 19 li. 1 s. 6 d.

* Bigatus was a piece of Roman silver coin, so called of *Bigia*, a chariot drawn with two horses, stricken or stamped upon the one side, and it was the same that *Denarius*.

A and that it was plotted and set down, That when the Roman Host was issued in battell-array out of their gates, the Commons in the mean while should fall to rising their carriages, packs, and trusses within, and then shut the gates upon them, and keep the walls: and so having the City and all their goods and baggage under their hands, should from thenceforth receive *Annibal* into the City instead of *Marcellus*. Upon these advertisements, *Marcellus* after he had thanked and commended the Senators of *Nola*, determined before any commotion and tumult arose within the walls to try the fortune of a battell. At those three gates that stood toward the enemy, he ranged his forces divided into three battallions, & gave order that all the carriages should follow after: and that the lackies, landers, and other Camp followers, together with the feeble and sickly persons, should carry stakes and pales for the rampier. At the middle gate he placed the flower and strength of the legions, together with the Roman Cavalry: at the two gates at either hand he bestowed the new souldiers the light armed, and the auxiliary horsemen of allies. The *Nolans* were by straight commandment forbidden to approach the gates or the walls. As for the baggage and carriages, the ordinary guard was appointed to attend thereupon, for fear, lest while the Legions were busied in fight, there should be some assault made upon them. In this order and array marshalled they were within the gates. *Annibal*, who likewise ready arranged, stood with banner displayed (as he had done for certain daies together) untill it was well toward noon first wondered at it, that neither the Roman army issued out of the gates nor any souldier appeared upon the walls: and supposing afterwards, that their usuall complots and conventicles were discovered and revealed, and that for very fear they kept within and sat still, sent back part of their souldiers into the Camp, with commandment, in all speed to bring abroad into the open field before the vanguard, all the Ordnance and Artillery for to batter the City walls: with assured confidence, that if he came hotly upon them, and gave an assault, while they thus ingred and issued not forth, the Commons would make some tumult and stir within the City. But anon as every man was busily occupied, running to and fro in haste about his own charge, before the vanguard and forefront of his battell, even at the point when he advanced forward to the walls: all upon a sudden a gate was set open, and *Marcellus* caused the trumpets to sound the alarms, and the souldiers to set up a shout, commanding the footmen first, and then the horse to falli out, and with all the might and force they could, to charge upon the enemy. Soon had they terrified their main battell sufficiently, and made disorder there, when at the two gates of each side, *P. Valerius Flaccus* and *Caius Aurelius*, two Lieutenants generall, issued forth upon their flanks and wings. The horse-boies, scullions, and the other multitude above said, which was set to guard the carriages, arose up and made a new outcry, and shouted, so as to the Carthaginians (who contemned them before for their small number especially) they represented all at once a shew of a mighty army. I dare not avouch that which some Authors stick not to write, that of enemies were slain in this conflict, 2300 and that the Romans lost but one only man. But what victory soever it was, either so great, or smaller, surely a doughty piece of service was that day atchieved & I wot not whether I may truly say, of the greatest consequence that any ever was, during the time of that war. For as the time was then, it was a greater matter for the Romans (albeit they were the Conquerors) not to be vanquished of *Annibal*, than it was afterwards to vanquish him. *Annibal* disappointed of his hope to win *Nola* retired to *Acerre*. And *Marcellus* immediately having shut the gates, and placed the guards and warders to keep the same, that no man might go forth, sat judicially in the marketplace to examine those that had used secret conference and purling with the enemies: and finding above seventy guilty of this action, pronounced sentence of death upon them, as in case of treason. Those he cut shorter by the head, and commanded their goods to be confiscat. And thus leaving the government of the City to the Senat thereof, he departed with all his forces, and above *Suessula* encamped himself, and there abode.

Annibal being come before *Acerre*, first summoned the City, to surrender voluntarily & without constraint: but seeing them obstinate, and willing to relent, he made preparation to lay siege unto the town and to assault it. But the *Acerrians* had better heart and courage, than might and strength to resist him. Therefore, when they saw themselves like to be intrenched all about, and were past hope to defend and keep the town: before the enemies had brought all ends of their trenches and sconces together, they got between the trenches and rampiers (where they were not finished, and stood not close together) in the dead time of the night, and escaped through the sentinels and watches that were slendely looked unto, and as well as they could making shift through by-waies and blind lanes, over hedge and ditch (as either their wits guided them, or their fear carried them) recovered those Cities of *Campania*, which they knew for certain were not revolted, but persisted true and fast unto the Romans. *Annibal* after he had put *Acerre* to the sack, and set it on fire, having intelligence, that the Roman Dictator and the Legions were received at *Casilinum*: and fearing, lest while the enemy lay so near encamped, some should have recourse also into *Capua*, led his army to *Casilinum*.

At the same time *Preneſte* was held by 500 *Preneſtins*, with a few Romans and Latines, who upon the news of the overthrow at *Canna*, were retired thither. These *Preneſtins*, by occasion that they were not levied and mustered at *Preneſte* by the day appointed, set out from thence somewhat too late: and were come as far as *Casilinum*, before the rumour was bruited of the defeat before *Canna*: where they joyned themselves with other Romans and Confederats, set forward from *Casilinum*, and marched together with a good great company: but meeting by the way with

Casilinum be-
sieged.

with the tidings of that unfortunate field, turned back again to *Casilinum*. And after they had spent certain daies there, as well fearing the Campani as suspected of them again, (for they devised on both sides how to entrap one another, and how to avoid each others trains) and having received also certain intelligence, That in *Capua* there was treating about a revolt, and that *Annibal* was there received: they in one night let upon the Townsmen of *Casilinum*, and killed them, and got that part of the City which is on this side *Fulturnus*, (a river that runneth through it, and divideth it into two parts) and kept it still. Their number was well increased by the coming of a cohort of four hundred and sixty Perusini, who likewise were driven to *Casilinum*, by the same report and news, which a few daies before had turned the Prenestini thither. And surely there was sufficient almost of armed souldiers to man and defend the walls of that part, being of so small a circuit as they were, considering the town was flanked on the one side with the river. And again, for the proportion of corn (whereof they had small store) they were men but too many. *Annibal* being now not far from thence, sent before him the Getulians, under the conduct of a Captain named *Isulca*: with direction, that first if he could come to a parley, he should perswade with the Inhabitants within, and by fair words induce them to open their gates, and receive a garrison; but in case they continued still in their obstinacy, then to assail them by force, and give the attempt to enter into the City one way or other. When they were come under the walls, the barbarous Captain *Isulca*, supposing (because he heard no noise, and saw no stirring) that they had quit and abandoned the town and were fled, began to assail the gates, break open the locks, & burst the bars. But all at once on a sudden the gates were set open, and two cohorts well appointed and provided for that purpose within, sallied forth with an exceeding great noise and tumult, overthrew a number of the enemies and beat them down. Thus when the first had the repulse and were set back, *Makarba* was sent with a greater power to second them, but was not able to make his party good with these squadrons that sallied forth and charged upon him. At last *Annibal* himself encamped even before the wall, and with all his power and forces put together, made preparation to give assault to this little town & small garrison. And while he pressed hard upon them with fresh and hot assaults, investing it round about, the enemies from off their walls, curtains, and turrets, let flie their shot so lustily upon the assailants, that he lost some of his best & most forward men there. Once they issued forth of themselves upon a bravery, and minded to bid them battell, but by a course of Elephants, set between them and home, they had like to have been shut forth and kept out, and so they made haste in great fear to recover the gates and put themselves within the town again: having lost, considering so small a number, a great sort: and more had died for it, but that the night parted the fray, and made an end of the skirmish. The morrow after, the assailants were all of them sharp set to give a fresh and hot charge, but not before there was a mural Coronet of gold shewed, and promised unto him that first could scale the walls. And the General himself cast in their teeth and reproved them for being so long about the assaulting of a small and weak sconce, to speak of, seated also upon a plain: whereas before they had won the strong town of *Saguntum*. He put them in mind both all and some, of *Canna*, *Thrasymenus*, and *Trebia*. Then began they to set mantlets and pavises to, and to undermine. Many and sundry enterprises were attempted, and nothing left undone, that either by meer force could be performed, or by art and cunning devised. The Roman associates against these their engines and fabricks raised mounts, and platforms: yea, and with countermines and cross trenches, met with the mines of the enemies; so as both above ground, and underneath, they impeached all their attempts: so long, untill *Annibal* for very shame was faine to give over his design for the present. And when he had fortified his standing Camp, and placed there a mean guard for the defence of it, because he would not seem to have relinquished altogether the enterprize, he withdrew himself into *Capua*, there to winter. There he lodged his souldiers within house for the better part of winter: those souldiers, I say, who many a time and often had endured long, and held out against all travels and hardness that can possibly happen to the body of man: and never had been used to any good keeping, nor acquainted with delights and pleasures of the world. But even these men, whom no calamity, no misery could tame and overcome, were spoiled and undone with too much wealth and excessive dainties: and so much the rather, as they more greedily fell thereto: and having not tasted thereof before, gave themselves wholly that way, and were deeply plunged and drowned therein. For sleeping on soft beds, wine and delicate fare, wenching and bathing, stews and hot-houses, idleness and taking ease, which by use and custome grew pleasant and delightful unto them every day more than other: had in such sort weakened their bodies, and made their hearts so effeminate, that from that time forward the reputation and name only of their victories past defended them more than any present strength and vigor they had: insomuch, as expert and skillfull warriors judged their Captain *Annibal* in more fault, and farther overseen in this action, than in not leading his Army straight forward to *Rome*, after the battell before *Canna*. For, that stay might have been thought to have deferred only the entire and final victory for a time, but this error and oversight seemed to disable him for achieving the victory for ever. So little retained he of his former old discipline that I assure you, he went out of *Capua* again as if he had led some other Army and none of his own. For, not only they returned from thence most of them intrangled and snared in the love of harlots, but so soon as they came again to lie abroad on the bare earth under tents and pavilions covered with beasts hides, to march long journeys, and to taste of other military toil and labour: their bodies so tired, their hearts so fainted, as if they had been

raw

Araw souldiers, new come into the field: in such wise, as all the time of their summer abode in Camp, many of them without license and passport, would slip out of the way, and depart from their colours: and these start-backs had no other place of haunt to lurk in, but *Capua*. Now when the winter season began to be more mild, and draw towards the Spring, *Annibal* brought forth his souldiers out of his wintering harbours, and returned to *Caslinum*: where, albeit the assault ceased, yet the siege had continued so freight, that the townsmen and the garrison within the Fort, were driven to extreme necessity and want of victuals. Now the Captain over the Roman Camp was *T. Sempronius [Gracchus]* by reason that the Dictator was gone to *Rome* to take new Auspices. And as for *Marcellus*, who was desirous for his part to relieve and succour the besieged, was impeached for coming to them, partly by the rising and swelling of the river *Vulturnus*, and partly, by the intreaty of the Citizens of *Nola* and *Acerre*, who greatly feared the Campains, in case the garrison were once departed from them. And *Gracchus*, lying and keeping near unto *Caslinum*, stirred not one foot, by reason of the express commandment of the Dictator. That he should attempt nothing in his absence: albeit there came daily from *Caslinum* into the Camp such news, as would have moved and provoked the most patient man that was. For it was constantly reported, and for certain known, that some of them within the town, no longer able to endure the famine, threw themselves down headlong, and brake their necks: others stood unarmed upon the walls, offering their bare and naked bodies as a Butt and mark to the shot of arrows, and others darts. *Gracchus* grieved much to hear these pitious tidings, yet durst he not for his life, skirmish and fight without the warrant of the Dictator: & he saw full well, that if he would convey corn and victuals unto them openly, fight he must; there was no remedy. Having therefore no hope at all to send any, but it should be spied, he devised to fill many tuns and pipes with corn, that he had gotten together out of the country all about: and withall, to dispatch a messenger to the chief Magistrate of *Caslinum*, advising him, that he should in the night season take up all those vessels that came down the river. The night next following, every man watched at the river side, according to the hope they conceived by the foresaid Roman messenger, and so received those tuns, hulling down the midst of the stream: and the corn was equally divided among them all. Thus did they the morrow after, and the third day also. For, ever by night these vessels were let down into the water, and the same night they might easily come unto them: by reason whereof the sentinels and guards of the enemies were nothing ware of that which was done. But afterwards, the current growing more swift and rough, by occasion of continuall rain that fell, the said tuns were some of them driven cross the channel to the bank side, even where the enemies warded: and were espied waving and sticking among the willows and osiers that grew along close unto the banks: whereof *Annibal* was advertised. And so from thenceforward they tended the watch more straightly, that nothing sent down the river *Vulturnus* could escape them, and pass to the City. Afterwards, there was powred into the water great store of nuts from the Camp of the Romans: which floated down the channel unto *Caslinum*, and with grated skimmers of wicker were taken up. But at the last, they within the town were driven to this poor shift and extremity, for to take their thongs and bridle reins, to pluck of the leather from their shields & bucklers, and make them soft in scalding water, and prove how they could eat them. Nay, they spared not so much as mice, and rats, nor any other like vermin. Nor there was not a weed nor a root that they could come by, upon the banks and terraces under the walls, but they gathered and digged up. And when the enemies had turned up with a plough all the green-sord of the counter-scarp without the walls, they within cast turnip-seed upon the mould. Whereupon *Annibal* made a hout at it, and cried aloud: What? shall we sit here about *Caslinum* so long, untill these rapes be come up and grown. And whereas before that time, he would never vouchsafe to hear of any composition and agreement now at last, he was contented to take reason, and be conferred withall about the ransom of as many as were freemen within the Town. And it was covenanted between him and them, that they should pay for their redemption * seven ounces of gold a peece. So upon faithfull promise made, and security given,

* 21. lib. ster.

Fthey yielded themselves: and were kept bound in prison untill they had made full payment of the gold aforesaid. After which, they were sent back under safe conduct to *Cumes*. For this is more like to be true, than the report which goeth, That there were sent out after them certain horsemens, who fell upon them and slew them in the way. Most of them were *Preneftins*. And whereas, there were of them in all five hundred and seventy in garrison the one half well near, were either by sword or hunger consumed: All the rest, together with their Prætor *Manitius*, (one who a foretime had been a Scribe or Notary) returned safe unto *Prenefte*. In memorial and testimony of this his Statue was erected in the market place of *Prenefte*, armed in his cuirasse, clad in a long robe, with his head covered: and three other images, with a title or inscription engraven in a plate of Brasse, with this tenor: That *Manitius* had made a vow for the souldiers who lay in garrison with him at *Caslinum*. And the same title also was engraven under three other images, set up in the Temple of *Fortuna*. The Town of *Caslinum* was restored again to the Campains, with a strong garrison of 700 souldiers, deducted out of the army of *Annibal*: for fear lest when he was departed once from thence, the Romans should assail them.

The Senat of *Rome* by vertue of a decree, granted unto those souldiers of *Prenefte* double wages, with five years vacation & rest from warfare. And when to gratifie them farther for their valiant service, they made offer unto them of the Burgesie and freedom of *Rome*, they chose rather to remain still at home, and would not change their own Country. But what befell unto the *Preneftins*,

roins, is not recorded so plainly: for neither appeareth evidence by any publique monument and memoriall of their own, nor yet decreed extant of the Romans. At the same time the Petellins (who alone of all the Brutii remained in friendship and amity with the Romans) were assaulted not only by the Carthaginians, (that were possessed of a great part of the Country about them) but also by the other Brutii with whom they would not joyn in the complot of their rebellion. The Petellins not able of themselves to hold out and endure these dangers, sent their Embassadors to Rome, for to crave their aid and assistance: whose humble prayers and piteous tears (for after an answer received, That they should provide and shift for themselves; they fell into lamentable moans and complaints, and lay prostrate upon the earth, before the porch of the Council-House) wrought exceeding compassion and pity in the hearts of the Senators, and also of the people: whereupon the LL. were moved again the second time, by M. Aemilius the Prator, to deliver their opinion. And when they had cast all about, and well weighed and considered their present state, and what they were able to do: being forced to confess, that it lay not in their power to help their Allies, so far distant and remote from them: they willed them to repair home again; and since they had performed their fidelity to the full, according to covenant, they gave them leave in this calamity of theirs to take that course that they thought best for themselves. When they were returned with this answer unto the Petellins, their Senat all on a sudden was stricken into such sorrows, dumps, and fearfull maze; that some of them were of mind, and gave advice, to abandon the City, and fly every man wheresoever he could: others were of opinion and perswaded, that seeing they were forsaken of their old friends, they should joyn with the other Brutii, and by their means, turn to Annibal, and come under his protection. Howbeit, a third side prevailed, who would in no wise that anything should be done over hastily and rashly: but that they might meet again, and sit in counsell about the matter. And so it was put off, and respite given untill the next day. Then, after more mature deliberation, and their former fear somewhat asswaged, the principall personages there assembled grew to this resolution, namely, To convey all things out of the Territory about them into the City, and to fortifie both it and the walls.

Near about one and the same time, there came Posts with Packets of Letters to Rome, from out of Sicily and Sardinia. Those out of Sicily from Octavius the Vice-Prator, were read first in the Senat-House importing these news: That L. Furius the Prator was come out of Affrick, and with his fleet arrived at Lilybeum: himself sore hurt, and lying at point of death: that neither the souldiers, nor sailors, and mariners, had their money or corn duly paid at the day; neither indeed was there any to be had, for to keep touch and make payment: moving and advising them earnestly, to send supply thereof with all convenient speed: and if they thought so good, one also of the new chosen Prators to succeed after him. To the same effect in manner wrote Cornel. Mamurra the Pro-Prator, out of Sardinia, as touching that point of money and corn. Answer was returned to the one and the other. That they had it not, and therefore they were to look themselves both to their Armados and Armies, and to provide for them. Octavius, who addrest Embassadors unto K. Hiero (the only refuge and stay of succour that the people of Rome had) received for souldiers pay, as much silver as was needfull, and corn to serve six months. The confederat Cities likewise in Sardinia contributed liberally unto Cornelius, and served his turn. At Rome also for want of silver, there were (by a law published by Minutius, Tribune of the Commons) created three Bankers, called *Triumviri Mensarii*, to wit, L. Aemilius, who had been Consul and Censor; M. Atilius Regulus, twice Consul afore time: and L. Scribonius Libo, a Tribune of the Commons for the time being. Two Duumvirs also were chosen, M. and C. Atilii, who dedicated the Temple of Concord which L. Manlius Prator had vowed before. Three High Priests also were consecrated Q. Cecilius Metellus, Q. Fabius Max., and Q. Fulvius Flaccus all to supply the rooms of P. Scaminius late deceased: of L. Aemilius Paulus the Consul, and Q. Aelius Paetus, slain both in the journey of Cannæ.

Now when as the LL. of the Senat had fulfilled other wants, and made up all decays and breaches, which fortune by continuall calamities and losses had wrought and brought upon them, so far forth, as by any wisdom and policy of man, they could provide for: at length they had respect and regard unto themselves also, even to the desolate estate of the Council-House, and the infrequent number of Senators, assembling to the publique Council of the City. For since that L. Aemilius and C. Flaminius were Censors, there had been chosen no new Senators, notwithstanding that in five years space, what with unortunate battels, and what with other particular chances, so many of them had miscarried. And when M. Aemilius the Prator, in the absence of the Dictator (who after the loss of Castellum was now gone again to the host) had at the request of them all, propounded this matter: then Sp. Carvilius, after he had in a long oration complained, not only of the penury, but also of the small choice of those Citizens, who were capable of Senators dignity, spake unto the point, and said, "That he held it a matter of good importance both for the repairing and restoring of the decayed body of the Senat, as also for to bind the Latine Nation in a more fast bond of amity, that two Senators out of every State of the Latines (if the LL. of the Senat of Rome would agree unto it) should be enfranchised Citizens of Rome, and taken into the Senat in place of those that were deceased. This opinion of his the LL. of the Senat could abide to hear with no better ear than in times past they accepted the motion and demand of the Latines themselves in that behalf. And there being throughout the whole House a great muttering

A muttering, for very indignation and disdain of those his words, *Manlius* above the rest brake out into this speech, and said; "That they were not all dead, but one man yet was left alive of that house and line, out of which a Consul (when time was) threatened in the Capitol, that he would kill with his own hand, that Latine whomsoever he saw sitting in the Councel-House of *Rome*. With that, *Q. Fabius*: "Never was there a thing, quoth he, propounded and mentioned in the Senat-house, in a worse and more unseasonable time, than at this present, when as the hearts and affections of our Allies being so wavering, their faith and alleageance so doubtful, the very breaking and breaching of such a matter as this, were enough to set them farther out. And therefore this inconsiderat speech of one foolish vain person, is to be suppressed and buried presently with the silence of all men, and never once to be spoken of again. And if ever there were uttered at Councel Table, any secret and mystery, which were to be concealed, this of all other ought most to be kept close, hidden and smothered in oblivion, and reputed as never spoken at all. So this matter was dashed, and dyed there in the very birth. Then they proceeded and agreed, to create Dictator for the choosing of Senators, one that had been Censor aforetime, and of all those who had been Censors, and were then living, the most ancient: and thereto they gave order, that *C. Terentius Varro* the Consul should be sent for, to the nomination of that Dictator. Who being returned out of *Apulia*, leaving the camp there with a good guard, and taking long journeys, until he was come to *Rome*: the night next following (as the manner was) created by authority of an act of Senat, *M. Fabius Buteo*, Dict. for six moneths, without a General of Horse. When he was mounted up with his Serjeants to the *Rostra*, [which is the place of publike audience] for to make a speech unto the people, he said: "That he neither allowed of two Dictators at one time, (a precedent never seen and known afore) nor yet could take himself for a Dictator, so long as he was without his General of Cavalry. I mislike also (quoth he) that the entire authority and power of Censors, should be put into the hands of one and the self-same man, twice: and that a Dictator should have the rule and government for six moneths, unless he were created for the managing of wars. And therefore (said he) I will my self limit and gage those things, which fortune, occasion of the times, and necessity have made excessive and beyond all measure powerful. Neither am I minded to depose or displace any of those from his Senators dignity, whom *C. Flaminius*, and *L. Amylius* late Censors, have admitted into the Senat: but only, that a transcript and rehearsal be made of their names, for that I would not have it lie in the power of one man alone, to censure and give judgement of the fame and behavior of a Senator: but this course will I take in substituting new Senators in the room of the dead, that it may appear, and be said; That this Order and degree is preferred before that, and not one person before another. So after that the names of the old Senators were copied out and read, then he chose first into the place of them that were deceased, those who after the time of *L. Amylius* and *C. Flaminius* Censors, had borne any Magistracy of State, and of the chair, and yet were not elected Senators. And according as they had exercised their office one before another in order of time, so were they chosen first Senators in their course. This done, he made a second election, of those who had been Ediles, Tribuns, Pretors, or Questors: and last of all, such as could shew the spoils taken from the Enemies of *Rome* hanging in their houses: or had been honoured and rewarded with a Civick garland. Thus after he had with right great approbation and contentment of all men, taken into the Senat 177. forthwith he resigned up his office, descended from the pulpit a private man again, discharged and put from him the Serjeants, and came and stood beneath among the other multitude that attended their own private business: trifling out the time for the nonce and of purpose, because he would not have the people to leave the common place for to wait upon him. Howbeit, for all that lingering and stay which he made, the peoples affection cooled never the more, and so with a goodly train of men he was accompanied, and conducted home to his house.

The next night following, the Consul returned toward the army, without making the Senate privy and acquainted with his departure, for fear he should have been detained still in the City for the solemn election of new Magistrats. The morrow after the Senate decreed, upon a motion propounded by *M. Pomponius* the Pretor, to write unto the Dictator, that if he thought it were for the good of the common-weal, he would together with his General of the Cavalry, and *M. Marcellus* the Pretor, repair to *Rome* to subrogate and choose new Consuls, to the end that when they were all together in place, the LL. of the Senate might by them take knowledge in what state the Common-wealth stood, and consult how to provide for every thing. They all came that were sent for accordingly, leaving behind them their Lieutenants for the government and conduct of the Legions. The Dictator spake of himself but little, and with much modesty, ascribing the greatest part of the honor unto *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, and then summoned the general assembly for the Election: in which were chosen Coss. *L. Posthumus* the third time (who then was absent, and as *L.* Deputy ruled the Province of *Gallia*) and *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, who at that time commanded the Cavalry, and repaired to *Rome* with speed. Then were elected Pretors *M. Valerius Levinus*, *Ap. Claudius Pulcher*, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, and *Q. Mutius Scævola*. The Dictator after the choosing of these Magistrats, returned to *Theannum*, where the army wintered: leaving the General of the Horse behind at *Rome*, to the end that he being to enter into his government, within few dayes after, might consult with the LL. of the Senat as touching the levy and enrolling new armies against the year ensuing.

The defeature
of L. Posthumus
and his ar-
my.

Whiles they were in their busiest and deepest conferences about these matters, news came of a fresh overthrow: such was the fortune of that year to heap one calamity in the neck of another: to wit, that L. Posthumus the Consul elect, was himself slain, and the army together with him in Gallia, utterly defeated and destroyed. The manner of which misfortune was this. There was in those parts a wide and huge Forrest (which the Gauls call *Litana*) through which Posthumus was to lead his army. The trees there growing on either hand of the pae, the Gauls had so cut, that they might stand upright of themselves so long as they were not stirred, so being forced never so little, they must needs fall down. Now had Posthumus the conduct of two Roman legions; and of associates besides, from the high coasts of the upper Sea, he had enrolled so many souldiers, as that he came into the enemies countrey 25000 strong. The Gauls who had bestowed themselves in ambush round about the skirts of the wood, so soon as the army was all engaged within the streights of the pae, shoved from them the trees (so guilded) which stood next unto them, and they fell one upon another (standing as they did, so ticklish of themselves, and ready to totter and come down on both sides of the way) and in the fall overthrow withal and covered over and over both horse and man, with their armour and munition, so as scarce ten of them escaped alive. For as most of them were felled and stricken stark dead, either with the bodies of the trees, or the broken arms and boughs; so the rest of the multitude, affrighted with this unexpected and unhappy accident, were killed by the Gauls that beset all the streights and passages of the wood: and of that great number, they took few prisoners, who making towards a bridge standing over the River, were intercepted by the way, and stopped by the enemies that kept the advenue of the bridge: in which place Posthumus was slain, for he strived all that ever he could, not to be taken alive. The spoils of this General Captain, together with the head cut off from the rest of his body, the Boians with great joy and solemnity brought into the Temple that amongst them was reputed most holy and sacred. And after they had censed the head, as their manner is, they enchaced and garnished the skull with gold, and that served as well for an holy vessel to sacrifice and Divine withal, upon high and festival dayes, as also for an ordinary drinking mazar for the high Priest, and other Prelats of that Temple. The booty also which the Gauls gained of their enemies, was of no less importance than the victory: for although a great part of the beasts and living creatures was crushed and squealed to death with the fall of the wood, yet all other things, by reason that nothing was scattered and lost by flight, were found wholly on the ground, as the souldiers lay along in that order as they marched.

These woful tidings being reported, the City was for many dayes in such fear and perplexity, that all shop windows were shut up, and no stirring at all in the streets throughour, from one end to the other, as if it had been night continually. Then the Senat gave the Aediles in charge to walk all about, and command the shops to be set open, and to make no more shew in the City of publick sorrow and heaviness. Then T. Sempronius assembled a Senate, spake comfortably to the L.L. of the Councel, and exhorted them, that "as they were not dismayed with the overthrow and discomfiture at *Cannæ*, so they would not be cast down and daunted with lighter and smaller losses and calamities. For if it might please the Gods to blesse them, and give them good speed (as they hoped no less) against the Carthaginian enemies and *Annibal*, the war with the Gauls might without danger and inconvenience either be laid aside clean, or put off and deferred. As for the revenge of this deceitful practise, it should rest still in the power either of the immortal Gods, or of the people of *Rome*, to be performed one time or other. But for the present, they were to consult and resolve concerning *Annibal* their grand enemy, and to grow to some point and conclusion of such forces as were meet for that war. And first himself discoursed and laid down what companies of foot and Horse, what number of citizens, and how many confederats were in the army of the Dictator. After him, *Marcellus* shewed and recounted the proportion of his own power and their strength. Also, what forces, and of what quality, were with C. Terentius the Consul in *Apulia*, they were required to declare, who might speak upon their knowledge. Then they proceeded to cast and examine, whether two Consular armies well appointed and furnished, were sufficient to go through so great a war. Thus for that year they let *Fraunce* alone, albeit they had good cause to be angry, and were provoked that way to follow revenge. The Dictator his army, was appointed unto the Consul. As for the forces under the leading of *Marcellus*, consisting of them that fled out of the field at *Cannæ*, those they ordained to be sent over into *Sicily*, there to remain in service so long as the war continued in *Italy*: and that thither also should be posted over out of the Dictator his Legions, all those souldiers who were able to do least service, there to abide in souldiery, without any other limitation of time than that, which the Laws in that case provide for. For the other Consul, who should be substituted in stead of L. Posthumus, there were assigned two Legions of Roman Citizens: and order was given, so soon as the Auspices would permit, he should be elected with speed. Likewise it was agreed upon and ordained, to send for two legions besides out of *Sicily*: out of which, the Cons. unto whom those Legions aforesaid of the City were allotted, should take what souldiers he thought needful. Finally, C. Terentius the Consul, had his commission of command continued for another year, without empairing one jot of the army, which he had in his conduct for the guard and defence of *Apulia*.

* i. The term
of ten years.

Amids these affairs and preparations in *Italy*, the war went forward nevertheless in *Spain*, and ever to that day prospered on the Romans side. P. and Cn. Scipios divided their forces so,

As *Ce.* should serve by Land, and *Publius* at Sea with the navy. *Asdrubal* the chief Colonel and Commander there of the Carthaginians, distrusting his own strength both by Sea and Land, kept himself aloof, and far from the enemy, in sure places of safety: unto whom, after long suit and instant prayers, were sent 4000 foot, and 500 horse out of Affrick for supply. Having thus at length, with new helps gathered, with hope, he encamped neerer to his enemy, and gave order and direction withal, that the *Alimo* should be rigged and decked for the defence of the Islands, and the Sea-coasts. And while he was thus beginning hotly to make war again, he was suddenly distempered and disquieted with the revolt of the Admirals and great Captains of the navy: who for their fearful abandoning of the fleet upon *Iberus*, having been sharply checked and rebuked, were never after trusty and sure, either to the Colonel himself, or to the State of *Carthage*. These fugitive renegats had first practised to raise troubles and insurrections in the Land of the *Carpesii*, and by their soliciting and instigation, certain Cities were procured to rebel, and one of them they had forced by assault. Whereupon, *Asdrubal* turned his forces from the Romans, and bent them wholly against that Nation: and with a cruel army entering the frontiers of the enemies, determined to give the charge upon *Galbus*, a Nobleman, and renowned chieftain of the *Carpesians*, even before the City, that some few dayes before was lost, where the said *Galbus* with a puissant power kept himself strongly encamped. Having therefore sent out before, certain vancurriers lightly armed, to train forth and draw the enemies to skirmish, he made out withal certain Companies of his Infantry sundry wayes to over-run and spoil the country, and likewise to catch up and meet with all straglers, dispersed in the fields. Whereupon, at one time there was a skirmish before the camp: and likewise in the fields, they were either slain, or put to flight. But afterwards, having by divers wayes from all parts recovered again the camp, suddenly they shaked off all fear, plucked up their hearts, and thought themselves good enough, not only to defend their fort and hold, but also to bid the enemy battail. They sallied out therefore of the camp in good array, shouting, dancing, and hopping after their manner, so as this unexpected boldness and courage of theirs, terrified the enemies, who a little before had challenged them to fight. Whereupon *Asdrubal* himself withdrew and retired his power for more security to an hill of good height, and situat for his advantage, with a River likewise between him and his enemies. The light armed vancurriers also, and the forlorn hope, together with the Horsemen that rode scattering abroad, he caused thither to repair for their better safety. And because he trusted neither hill nor river, he fortified himself with a trench and rampier besides. In this alternat and interchangeable fear on both sides, there passed some bickerments; and blows were dealt between. In which, neither the Numidian Horsemen were able to match the Spaniards in that kind, nor the Moores archers could make their part good with the light *Carpesians* targetiers, who in nimbleness and swiftness were as good as they; and for courage and bodily strength, far better. These *Carpesians* seeing they neither could provoke *Asdrubal* to a battail, with all their braving hard under his camp, nor yet easily by assault win it, they took by force the City *Asena*, into which *Asdrubal* when he first invaded the Frontiers of his enemies, had conveyed store of corn and other victuals: yea, and became LL. of all the country thereabout. And they grew so lusty and audacious, that neither in their march and array, nor within their camp they would be ruled and ordered by any mans command. This secure and careless negligence of theirs, when *Asdrubal* perceived to arise (as usually it doth) upon good success and prosperity; after an exhortation made to his souldiers, to charge upon the enemies, roving abroad without their colours, he descended from the hill, and marched in battail array against the camp. So soon as the Spaniards were advertised by those who came in great hast, and fled from the Sentinels and corps de guard, that he was coming, and neer at hand, with a great outcry they gave the alarm. And as every man could get weapon in hand they ran upon the head to battail, without direction and commandment of Captain, without signal, ensign, and order, confusedly. When the formost in the vanguard were joyned in conflict and come to hand-fight, some of their fellows were seen running on heaps and by ftroups, and others were not well come forth of the camp: At the first the enemy was terrified with their bold adventure. Afterwards, as they encountred, thin and loosely railed, with the enemies thick and closely ranged together, seeing themselves too weak, and not sufficient, so few in number to defend themselves, they looked back one upon another for succour: and being on every side put back, and forced to retreat and lose ground, they cast themselves into a ring, and thus thrust (as they were) close together, body to body, and armour to armour, they were so pent and pestered in so narrow a ground, that they had scarce room enough to wield their weapons: so they were compassed and environed round with the enemy, and for a good part of the day hewen, in peeces, and massacred. Some few of them that brake through by dint of sword, escaped to the woods and mountains. With like fear the camp was abandoned: and the day following, the whole nation yielded, and came under the subjection of the Carthaginians.

Long they continued not quiet. For within a while news came from *Carthage*, that *Asdrubal* should make what speed he could with his army into *Italy*. Which rumour being blown abroad through *Spain*, turned in manner all their hearts away unto the Romans. Whereupon *Asdrubal* addressed his Letters immediately to *Carthage*, shewing what hurt the fame of his departure had done already: and in case he should set forward on his journey, and go out of those parts, all *Spain* would turn to the Romans, before he were passed the river *Iberus*. For over and besides, that he had not strength enough to leave behind for a garrison, nor a sufficient commander

mander in stead of himself, the Generals of the Roman armies, who had set foot in *Spain*, were of such, as he might hardly make head against them with equal puissance. And therefore, if they had any regard of *Spain*, he advised them to send one to succed him with a strong power: For he should have his hands full, and enough to do in the Province, till out things as fortunately as they could. These letters, albeit at the first sight they greatly troubled the Senat, yet because the Italian affairs seemed of more moment and greater importance, they wrought no alteration in their intended course, either for *Asdrubal* himself, or his forces. Howbeit *Himilco* was sent with a complete and competent army, and a greater Armado, both for the holding of *Spain* in their allegiance, and also for their defence by Sea and Land. Who having passed over with all his power, as well for Land-service as the Sea, fortified his camp, drawn his ships ashore, laid them up in drie Land, and empaled them strongly all about: himself in person with his elect and most choice men of arms, made what hast possibly he could, through nations partly enemies, partly doubtful and untrusty, and staid not either in one place or other (but evermore standing upon his guard) until he was come to *Asdrubal*. After he had declared unto him the order decreed by the Senat, and what he had in commission, and taken himself direction likewise from him, in what manner the war in *Spain* was to be managed, he returned back again to his own camp. In which voyage to and fro, he travailed safely by no one thing more than by speedy expedition. For he was ever gone from a place, before the people could agree together, and make head against him. Now *Asdrubal*, before that he dislodged and set his army on foot out of those parts, levied sums of money of all the Cities and states under his jurisdiction: for well he knew, that *Annibal* had paid sweetly before him, for his passage through certain countries: and as well he wist besides, that the Gauls he was fain to wage: for amongst them no money, no men. And if he undertook and entered upon that great expedition, poor and bare of silver, he had never reached so far as the Alps. Thus having in great hast raised and collected his monies, he came down to the river *Iberus*.

When the Romans heard of the proceedings and designments of the Carthaginians, and likewise of the journey of *Asdrubal*: both the Generals (laying all other matters apart) prepared to joyn their whole forces together, to oppose themselves, and to withstand such intended attempts: supposing and considering, that if *Annibal* (who by himself alone was an enemy to *Italy* hardly supportable) were once seconded by Colonel *Asdrubal* and the Spanish army, the Empire of *Rome* would soon be at an end. Upon these careful cogitations being grieved and perplexed, they assembled all their power neer to *Iberus*: and after they had passed over the river, and long consulted whether they should encamp themselves and abide the coming of the enemies to bid them battail; or by invading and assailing the associates and subjects of the Carthaginians, to stay the enemy and hinder his intended journey: they resolved at length and made preparation to assault *Ibera* (so named of the river neer by) the richest and most wealthy City at that time, of all others in those parts. Whereof when *Asdrubal* was advertised, he for to help his friends, advanced himself likewise to set upon another City lately yielded to the Romans, and reduced under their subjection. And so the Romans after they had begun to lay siege to *Ibera*, gave over that enterprise, and made head against *Asdrubal* himself. And for some few dayes they lay incamped five miles asunder one from the other, not without somelicht skirmishes: but never came to pitch a fair field. At length upon one and the same day (as if they had been so agreed afore) they happened on both sides to set out the signal of battail, and to come forth with all their power into the plain ground. The Romans stood arranged in three battailons: one part of the Infantry was placed before the standards in the vanguard, another Regiment belowed behind in the rereguard: the men of arms flanked the sides like wings. On the other part, *Asdrubal* strengthened his main batrel with Spaniards: in the right point he marshalled the Carthaginians, in the left, the Africans. As for the auxiliar and mercenary Horsemen, whom he waged and hired: such as were Numidians, he ordained affront the Carthaginians footmen to guard them: the rest that were Africans, he distributed and disposed about the skirts and edges of the battailons. Neither were all the Numidians placed in the right flank, but such as after the guise and manner of Vaulters, led two Horses apeece: and used often times in the mids of the hottest conflict, to leap armed as they were from their wearied horse, to another fresh one. So nimble are they themselves, and so tractable and well taught to their hands are their Horses. Thus stood they arranged on both sides in order of battail. The Captains of either part for hopes in manner nothing unequal: for neither in number or quality of souldiers, was there any great odde between them: Many, for courage and heart, there was great difference and inequality in the souldiers themselves. For the Romans (notwithstanding they fought far from home) were so perswaded by their leaders, that they fought for *Italy* and the City of *Rome*: and therefore as if the whole hope of their safe return into their country, were to be tried and decided in this one battail, they resolved either to win the day or to dye for it. On the other side, the souldiers were not so resolute, for most of them being Spaniards, would have chosen rather to be conquered and overcome in *Spain*, than with conquest and victory to be drawn into *Italy*. And therefore at the first shock, when scarcely the darts and javelins were lanced and let flye, their main battail retreated: and so soon as the Romans with great violence redoubled the charge, they turned their backs and fled. Howbeit in both flanks the fight was hot enough. The Carthaginians of the one side, the Africans on the other, charged the Romans very hard, and fought sore against them, as if they had them invironed round about within their battailons. But when as the whole power of the Romans were once rallied and gathered

Ared together in the mids, they were strong enough to remove and set back the wings of the enemies. So they maintained fight in two divers places at once. But both in the one and the other, the Romans (after they had discomfited the main battail in the mids) were no doubt, much better, as well in number, and also in strength and vigour of men. Many a tall fellow was there slain. And had not the Spaniards at the first when the battail was scarce begun, fled again by heaps, very few of the whole battail had escaped and remained alive. The Horsemen fought little or not at all. For the Moors and Numidians, so soon as they espied the battail to shrink and lose ground, presently all on a sudden fled as fast as they could, and left the sides and flanks of the said battail naked, driving afore them the Elephants withal. And even *Asdrubal* himself, who maintained the skirmish to the very last, escaped with some few out of the thickest massacre and execution. The Romans took their camp and rifled it. This battail was of such import and consequence, that it caused all the Spaniards, who were before but wavering, to turn wholly to the Romans: and left *Asdrubal* no hope at all, to pals with his forces into *Italy*, nor so much as to make abode with safety in *Spain*. The news hereof being broited abroad and sent to *Rome*, by the letters of the two *Scipio's*, great joy there was, not so much for the victory, as because *Asdrubal* was tied by the foot, and staid for coming into *Italy*.

Amids these exploits in *Spain*, * *Petelia* (a City of the Brutii, having endured the siege and many assault for certain moneths) was finally won by *Himico*, one of *Annibal's* Captains. But that victory cost the Carthaginians much blood, and many a sore wound. No force nor violence overcame the besieged *Petelians* more, than very famine. For having consumed and eaten up all food of corn, all flesh of four footed beasts whatsoever: they were driven at length to feed and live upon shoemakers lether, weeds, and roots, tender barks of trees, and the crops of briars and brambles: and they gave not over so long as they were able to stand on their legs upon the walls, and bear their armour.

* *Belicastro*.

Annibal after the winning of *Petelia*, conducted his army against * *Consentia*, which being not so valiantly defended, was within few dayes surrendered up into his hands. Neer about the same time, a power of the Brutians also, laid siege unto *Gercon*, a City built and inhabited by the Greeks, and in times past, mighty in men and munition: but now at this time so distressed with manifold and grievous calamities, that of all ages one with another, they were not able to make twenty thousand men. And therefore no marvel, if the enemies were soon masters of the City, being so destitute as it was of Citizens to defend it. Only the Castle they kept still, into which there were some that escaped in that tumult when the City was taken, out of the mids of the massacre. The Locrians likewise revolted unto the Brutii and the Carthaginians, by reason that the common multitude were fraudulently betrayed by the chief and principal Citizens. The Rhegines only of all that country, continued both true unto the Romans, and also at their own liberty to the very last. The same disposition to revolt, was to be seen even in *Sicily*, in so much as the very house of *Hiero* was not cleer and free in all parts from rebellion. For *Gelo* his eldest son, having in contempt both the olde age of his father, and also (after the overthrow at *Canna*,) the society and friendship of the Romans, turned unto the Carthaginians. And he had, no doubt, made a general alteration in *Sicily*, but that his death came between and cut him off: which hapned so jump, even when he was arming the multitude, and soliciting his friends to rebellion, that his very father himself was drawn into deep suspicion that he took his life away. These were the occurrents that fell out that year with variable event, in *Italy*, *Affrick*, *Sicily*, and *Spain*.

* *Consenza*.

In the end of the same year, *Q. Fabius Maximus* moved the Senat, and made request, that the Temple of *Venus Erycina*, which he had vowed being Dictator, might now be dedicated. And the Senat made a decree. That *Titus Sempronius*, Consul elect, should so soon as he was entered into his office, propose unto the people, that they would creat two Duumvirs for the dedication of Temples. And in honour of *Emilius Lepidus*, who had been Consul twice, and Augur, his three sons, *Lucius*, *Marcus*, and *Quinius*, exhibited certain funeral games for three dayes space; and a shew in the Common place likewise for three dayes together, of two and twenty pair of sword-sensers, to fight at sharp to the death. The Curule Edils, *C. Lelivius*, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, now Consulelect, who in his Edileship had been General of the Horsemen, set out the Roman games, which were renewed and continued still for three dayes. Likewise, the Playes of the Commons, were thrice exhibited by *M. Aurelius Cotta*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*. Now after three years expired of the Punick war, *T. Sempronius* the Consul, began his government upon the * *Ides of March*. As for the Prætors, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, who had afore-time been Consul and Censor, obtained by lot the jurisdiction of the Citizens: and *M. Valerius Corvinus*, of the strangers and aliens. To *Appius Claudius Pulcher* was allotted the government of *Sicily*: and to *Q. Mutius Scævola* of *Sardinia*. *M. Marcellus* was by the people allowed to have the authority of a Vice Consul, in regard that he above all the Roman Captains, after the defeat of *Canna*, managed his affairs and warred prosperously in *Italy*.

* 15 of March.

Now the very first day, that the Senat was assembled in the Capitol, they decreed upon the first motion, that within the compasse of that year, there should be levied a double tax or tribute: and that one single tribute should be forthwith gathered, for present pay to all the soldiers, saving those that served at *Canna*. Then concerning the armies this order was set down: *Imprimis*, that *T. Sempronius* the Consul, should appoint the two legions of Citizens a certain day.

day to meet at *Calas*. Item, that six legions should be conducted to the camp of *Claudius* above *Suessula*. Item, that the legions which there were (and those consisted for the most part of the residue of the Cannian army). *Ap. Claudius Pulcher* the Pretor, should put over Sea into *Sicily*, and as for those that were in *Sicily*, they should be transported to *Rome*. Item, unto that army which was appointed to meet by a day, at *Calas*, *M. Claudius Marcellus* was sent: and he was commanded to conduct the legions of the Citizens to the camp of *Claudius*. Last of all, to receive the charge of the old army, and to lead it into *Sicily*, *T. Manlius Cressus* Lieutenant was sent by *Ap. Claudius*. Men looked at first, and yet they said nothing, that the Consul should call an assembly for the creating of a Colleague unto him. But after that they saw that *M. Marcellus* was sent out of the way (as it were of purpose) whom above all others they were desirous to be the Consul for that year, in regard of his notable good service while he was Pretor; there arose much muttering in the Senat house. Which the Consul perceiving: "My L.L. quoth he, it was for the good of the Common-wealth, that both *M. Claudius* should go into *Campaign* to exchange the armies: and also that the Election of Consuls, should not be proclaimed, until that he were returned again from thence, with dispatch of that business which he had in charge: that ye might have a Consul, such a one as the present condition of the State required, and your selves most desired." So there was no more speech of the election, until *Marcellus* was come back again. In this mean time were two Duumvirs created, *Q. Fabius Maximus* for the dedication of one Chapel to *Penus Erycina*, and *T. Otacilius Crassus*, of another to the Goddess *Men*. Both stand upon the Capitol hill, divided asunder no more than with one only conduct of water passing between. And as concerning the three hundred *Campaign* Horsemen, who had served out their full time of warfare faithfully, and were come to *Rome*, a motion was propounded to the people, that they should be enfranchised Citizens of *Rome*: and in like manner, that they should be reputed as free Denizens of *Cumes*, from the day afore that the *Capuans* revolted from the people of *Rome* and rebelled. The chiefest cause of proposing this act, was this, because themselves denied hardly that they knew, to whom they did appertain, seeing they had abandoned their old native country: and as yet were not enrolled and incorporat into that state, unto which they had retired. After that *Marcellus* was come again from the army, the solemn day of election of a Consul in place of *L. Posthumus*, was published. And with exceeding great content of all men, *Marcellus* was chosen: and forthwith he was to begin his Magistracy. At whose nupt entrance, it hapned to that day: and the Augurs being called to give their opinion of it, pronounced that they thought he was not rightfully created. And the Senators gave it out commonly and bruited abroad, that the Gods were nor well pleased therewith, because (forsooth) two Consuls were elected of the commonalty (a thing never seen before.) Whereupon *Marcellus* resigned up his place, and in his room was substituted *Fabius Max.* the third time.

That year the Sea burned. At *Suessula* a cow brought forth a hoise foal. And at *Enathum* in the Temple of *Iuno Hospita*, certain statues or images dropped with blood: and about that Temple it rained stones. For which shew, there was solemnised, according to the custonable manner, a Novendial sacrifice. The other prodigious signs likewise were expiat with great care and beneficial regard. The Consuls then, parted their armies between them: *Fabius* took charge of both forces which had been commanded by *M. Junius* the Dictator. *Scipio* had the conduct of all the voluntary souldiers, and besides of 25000 of Auxiliaries sent from the confederats. *M. Valerius* the Pretor had the legions appointed for him, that were returned out of *Sicily*. *M. Claudius* the Vice-consul, was sent unto that army, which lay in garrison at *Nola*, above *Suessula*. And the Pretors took their journey into *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. The Consuls, whensoever they would assemble the Senat, proclaimed that the Senators, and all others that had lawful authority to speak their mind and deliver their opinion in the Council-House, should meet at the gate *Capena*. The Pretors, those that were Judges in the Court, and to whom the civil jurisdiction appertained, erected their Tribunal seats and places of Assizes at the publick Fish-pond: and thither they commanded all writs to be returned, and apparence there to be made. And for that year all pleas and judgements of causes passed there.

In this mean time news came to *Carthage* (from whence *Mago* the brother of *Annibal* was minded to transport and set over into *Italy* 12000 footmen, and 1500 horsemen, 30 Elephants, and 1000 talents of silver, together with a guard and supply of 60 gallies) That in *Spain* things went untowardly: and that all the Cities of *Spain* (in a manner) were revoked unto the Romans. Some there were of opinion, to withdraw *Mago* with that fleet and power of his, from the enterprise of *Italy* into *Spain*. Considering there was good hope shewed of a suddain, recover again *Sardinia*, for that there was but a small power of Romans there: and *Cornelius* the old Lord Deputy, well acquainted with the State of the Province, was now upon his departure from thence, and a new expected in his turn. Over and besides, that the *Sardinians* were weary already of the Romans government, which they had so long endured, as when the year that past was, had tyrannised over them cruelly, and exercised their authority with oppression, covetously imposing upon them hard exactions and tributs, and levying of them a most unjust taxation and contribution of corn: and finally they wanted nothing but an head, upon whom they might relie themselves. To this effect there was an Embassage sent secretly from the Lords and Princes of the Island. And the principal actor and procurer hereof, was *Heracleus*, a man in those dayes of greatest authority and power among them. Upon these tidings aforesaid, hapning so just at one time, they were both dis-

A disquieted, and also refreshed. So they sent *Adage* with his fleet, and other forces into Spain: and they chose for the expedition into *Sardinia*, *Asdrubal* (surnamed *Calvus*), for the L. General, furnished and appointed with as great a power almost, as *Mago* had.

At *Rome* likewise, the Consuls having dispatched the affairs of the City, addressed themselves to the war. *T. Sempronius* appointed *Stimacius* to be the *Rendevous*, where the soldiers should meet at a certain day. And *Q. Fabius*, by an order and direction from the Senat, made an Edict, That all men should before the first day of *July*, next ensuing, gather all their corn out of the countries, and convey the same into the principal walled strong Towns: proclaiming that whosoever did not accordingly, their fields he would lay waste: tell their servants in port sale at the spear, and bid their farms and villages a fire. Not so much as the Pretors themselves (created for civil jurisdiction and to decide law matters) were freed and exempted from the conduct of war. As for *Valerius*, the Pretor, he was appointed to go into *Apulia*, for to receive the army of *Terentius*: and when the legions were returned out of *Sicily*, to employ them especially for the guard and defence of that country: and that the army of *Terentius* should be sent with some one of the *Licinius* *Legions*. And *M. Calpurnius* having sail allowed him, to keep and defend all the Sea coasts between *Brundisium* and *Tarentum*. The like number of ships was assigned to *Q. Fulvius* the City Pretor, for to guard the River side, near adjoining to the City of *Rome*. *C. Terentius* the Proconsul had in charge to take up by commission soldiers in the Picene country, and to guard those quarters. And *T. Quinctius Crassus*, after that he had dedicated the Temple of *Mars* in the Capitol, was sent into *Sicily*, as Lord Admiral of the Armado there.

Upon this war between two of the mightiest Cities, and most puissant states of the World, there was not a King and Prince, no, nor a Nation under Heaven, but was smoked. Among whom *Philip* King of the *Macedonians*, had an eye thereto, and was more intensive, in that he was secret unto *Italy*, and only divided from thence by the *Jonian Sea*. He at the first, when the bruit came to his ears, That *Annibal* was passed beyond the Alps: as he joyed much, that there was war kindled between the Romans and the Carthaginians; so, as long as it was uncertain, whether that on was the stronger, he wavered in mind and was in suspense, whether of the twain he should wish to have the victory. But after that he heard once, that in three several battails one after another, *Annibal* and the Carthaginians had gotten the better hand, he inclined to the fortunate side, and

sent Embassadors unto *Annibal*: who falling off, and desirous to avoid the Havens of *Brundisium* and *Tarentum*, which were guarded and kept by the Romans fleet, arrived and landed at the Temple of *Juno Lucina*: and so through *Apulia*, travelling toward *Capua*, chanced to light upon the midst of the Romans corps de guard, and were brought before *M. Valerius Levidus* the Lord Deputy, being then encamped before *Nucerina*. Where *Xenophanes*, the principal of the Embassadors, bethought not to say, That he was sent from King *Philip*, to treat and conclude a league and amity with the people of *Rome*, and had commission and direction to the Consuls, to the Senat likewise and people of *Rome*, to that effect. *Valerius* taking great contentment to hear of this new society and friendship with so noble a King, especially upon the rebellion of so many old allies, courteously inquired and friendly entertained this false hearted enemy, in stead of a trusty friend:

and appointed divers to accompany him forward, to guide him carefully in the wayes, and to shew him what places, what passages and freights were held and kept, either by the Romans, or the enemies. *Xenophanes* with these instructions passed through the midst of the Roman guards into *Campania*, and so the next way arrived at the camp of *Annibal*, and made a league and amity with him, under these conditions and expulations. *Imprimis*, That King *Philip* should with a right puissant Armado (for that he was supposed able to set out 200 sail) pass over into *Italy*, wait and spoil all the Sea coasts, and to his power maintain war by Sea and Land. *Item*, That when the war was finished, all *Italy*, together with the very City of *Rome* should be possessed by the Carthaginians and *Annibal*, and unto him all the pillage and booty like wise should belong. *Item*, When *Italy* was thus subdued, that they should sail into *Greece*, and wage war with what Princes

there they pleased, and that all the Cities of the main, and the Islands which lay to *Macedony*, should fall unto *Philip*, and be annexed to his Kingdome. In these terms, and upon these Articles, in manner, was the league concluded and confirmed between the General *Annibal*, and the Embassadors of the *Macedonians*: and with them were sent back unto the King for the better ratifying of the said covenants, certain Legats, to wit, *Gisgo*, *Bostar*, and *Mago*, who arrived together at the same Temple aforesaid, of *Juno Lucina*, where there rid closely a ship at anchor, expecting their return. From whence being departed, they were not so soon lanchd out into the deep, and had taken the open Sea, but they were desiered by the Roman fleet that guarded the coasts of *Calabria*. *Q. Fulvius Placcus* made out certain *Corsyreans*, to pursue and fetch in that ship. Whereupon, the *Macedonians* began to flee, but seeing themselves overmatched in swiftness of sail, and

not able to make way with them, they yielded themselves unto the Romans, and were presented unto the Admiral: Who demanded what they were, from whence they came, and whether they were bound. *Xenophanes* who had already spied so well by making of a lye, began to cog again, and say, That he was sent from *Philip* unto the Romans: that he came unto *M. Valerius*, because to him only he was able to pass in safety, but could not possibly get beyond *Campania*, being so strongly kept with garisons of the enemies. But afterwards, upon the sight of the Carthaginian habit and apparel, they began to suspect the Embassadors of *Annibal*: and they being questioned withal, their speech and language bewrayed them. Then was their retinue taken apart, and threatened to

con-

* Brindis.

* Tarento.

confels. Letters also were found upon them, sent from *Annibal* unto *Philip*, concerning the peace between the King of the Macedonians and *Annibal*. Upon these matters thus detected and certainly known, it was thought good to convey the Embassadors and their Company with all speed prisoners to *Rome*, unto the Senat there, or unto the Consuls whersoever they were. To this purpose were chosen five Pinnacles that were most swift, under the conduct of *L. Fulvius Anius*, who had his direction and charge to part these Embassadors in several ships, and keep them sure alunder: and to take good heed, that they neither talked nor conferred together.

About the same time it hapned at *Rome*, that *An. Cornelius Mammula*, upon his departure out of the Province *Sardinia*, made report in what state the Island stood; namely, that they all inclined to rebellion and war: that *Mutius* who succeeded after him, presently upon his first coming, by reason of the ill air and unwholish water, was fallen into a sickness, not so quick and dangerous, as chronick and tedious, and would not be able long to endure the service of war: that the army there, as it was sufficient to guard and keep in good order a quiet and peaceable Province, so it could not hold out with the war that was like to ensue. Whereupon the LL. of the Senat gave order, that *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, should levy and enrol 3000 foot, and 400 horse, and provide that this legion should pass over with all speed into *Sardinia*: and send therewith whom it pleased him to conduct and manage the war until *Mutius* were recovered of his disease. For this intent was *T. Manlius Torquatus* sent Governour; one, who had been twice Consul and Censor, and in this Consulship and subdued the Sardinians.

Neer about the same time, there was an Armado sent out from *Carthage* unto *Sardinia*, under the leading of *Asdrubal* surnamed *Calvus*, and being sore tossed and beaten with tempests, was cast upon the *Balear Islands*: where (so far out of order was not only the ship-tackling, but also the very keels and bodies of the ships so shaken) they drew up the ships to shore, and whiles they stayed there about calking and trimming them again, they spent much time.

In *Italy* whiles the wars began to flake and wax cold, by reason that after the battail of *Canna*, the strength of the one part was much abated, and their force decayed, and the courage of the other, well allayed and made effeminate: the Campains upon their own heads began to contrive, how to reduce the State of *Cumes* under their obedience, first soliciting them to revolt from the Romans: and seeing that course would not speed and take effect, they devised by a fraudulent practise to compass and entrap them. The Campains use yearly to solemnise a set feast and sacrifice in a certain place called *Hama*: and they gave notice unto the Cumans, that the whole Senat of *Capua* would resort thither: requesting the Senat of *Cumes*, likewise to meet them there, for to confer and consult together in common, how both Cities, the one and the other, might have the same friends and the same enemies, and no other: giving them withal to understand, that they minded there to have a good guard about them of armed men, for fear of some sodain and dangerous attempt from the Romans. The Cumans, albeit they suspected some treachery, denied nothing, supposing thereby to colour and cover their own crafty intended designment. Now all this while, *T. Sempronius* the Roman Consul, having surveyed and purged his army at *Sinuessæ*, at which place he had made proclamation, that his forces should meet together: passed over the river *Fulturnus*, and encamped neer unto *Linternum*: where because the Souldiers in the standing camp had nothing else to do, he exercised them to run often the race and skirmish in array, to the end that the raw Souldiers (for such were the voluntaries for the most part) might by use and practise learn how to follow their colours in good order, and in the time of battail know their own ranks and ensigns. In these kinds of training, the special care that the General had, and the only thing that he aimed at, was their concord and good agreement. And for this purpose, he charged the Lieutenants, and the Colonels and Captains, that they should not cast in any mans teeth one or other, their fortune and condition aforetime, thereby to breed any discord and heartburning among the companies: and that the old experienced souldiers should suffer themselves to be but equal in estate to the new learners: and those that were born free unto the voluntaries, who had been slaves: reputed them all of birth good enough, and of gentle blood descended, unto whom the people of *Rome* had vouchsafed to commit their armor and ensigns: saying, that the same fortune which had driven them so to do, forced them likewise to maintain the same, and make the best of it, now it was done. The Captains were not more careful in giving these good lessons and instructions, but the souldiers were as diligent to observe the same: and within a while their hearts and affections grew to be so linked and united together, that they forgot generally, in what degree and of what condition each souldier entred into service. Whiles *Gracchus* was busied hereabout, the Embassadors of *Cumes* certified him, what kind of Embassy came unto them from the Campains, a few dayes before, and what answer they had returned: advertising him that their festival day was to be holden three dayes after: that not only the whole Senat would be present, but also the camp and army of the Campains. *Gracchus* having commanded the Cumans to convey all that they had out of the fields and territories about, into their City, and themselves to keep within their walls: himself the day before the solemnity aforesaid of the Campains, removed his power to *Cumes*, and there incamped. Now *Hama* is three miles off from thence. The Campains by this time were assembled there in great number, according to appointment: and not far from the place, *Marcius Alpinus* the chief head Magistrat of *Capua*, was incamped closely with fourteen thousand souldiers. He, what with preparation of the sacrifice,

A and contriving withal, the deceitful train of treachery, was more busy and careful therewith, than either in fortifying his camp, or in any other military action. Thus for three dayes continued this festival sacrifice at *Hama*. And ever in the night season it was performed: so, as before midnight all was done and finished. *Gracchus* supposing that a good time for his ambush to be employed, having set certain warders before the gates, that no man might go forth to give intelligence, caused the souldiers betwixt the first and tenth hour of the day, [from noon until four of the clock] to refresh themselves and take their sleep: that in the beginning of the dark night, they might assemble together at the watch-word or signal given them. And about the first watch he commanded to display their Ensigns and advance forward: and thus with a still march, he arrived at *Hama* by midnight: surprised the hold of the Campans, and entred all the gates at once, being negligently guarded, by reason of their overwatching. Some he killed lying along fast asleep: others, as they returned unarmed from the sacrifice. In this night-tumult there were slain more than two thousand, with *Marinus Alfius* himself their leader: and 43 Ensigns taken and carried away. *Gracchus* with the losse of fewer than one hundred of his souldiers, having won the camp, retired speedily to *Cumes*, for fear of *Annibal*, who lay in fort encamped upon *Tifata* over *Capua*. And (as he was a provident man and of great forecast) nothing was he deceived in his opinion. For so soon as this defeat was reported at *Capua*, *Annibal* (supposing that he should at *Hama* find the army of the Romans (consisting for the most part of raw souldiers, and those, bondslaves) jocund and lusty above measure, and insolent upon their fresh victory, busie in rifling their dead enemies thus conquered, driving away booties, and charged with pillage: removed his forces in haste, and marched apace beneath *Capua*: and encountered with some of the Campans that were fled, whom he caused between two guards to be conducted safe to *Capua*, and such as were hurt and wounded, to be set in waggons and carried thither. Himself found at *Hama* the camp empty and void of enemies, and nothing there but the tokens of a fresh massacre, and the dead bodies of his friends and allies lying here and there scattered. Some there were that advised him presently to advance forward to *Cumes*, and to assault the Town. And albeit *Annibal* was willing enough thereto, and passing desirous (seeing he could not come by *Naples*) to have *Cumes* at least, a maritime port-Town, as well as the other: yet because his souldiers had brought nothing with them but their weapons, as being led forth to march in such haste, he retired back again to his fort and camp upon *Tifata*. From whence, at the importunate prayers of the Campans, the day following he furnished himself with all the Ordinance and Ensigns need for the assault of a City, and returned toward *Cumes*: and having waited the territory thereof, he encamped himself a mile from the Town. Then *Gracchus*, more for shame, that he might not seem to leave his associates in such necessity, (who craved protection and recommended themselves to him, and to the people of *Rome*) than for any confidence and trust that he reposed in the strength of his army, stayed in *Cumes*. Neither *Fabius* the other Consul, who was encamped at *Cales*, durst set his army over the River *Volturnus*: as having been busied first at *Rome* in renewing the Auspices and bird-sights: and after that, troubled also about the fearful prodigious signs which were reported one after another. And when he sought expiation thereof by sacrifices, the Sooth-sayers made answer and said, That they could not perceive that the Gods were appeased and pacified for all that he did. Thus whiles *Fabius* upon these occasions was kept back, *Sempronius* was besieged, yea, and by this time assaulted, with fabrics and engines of battery. One mighty great Towre of wood there was erected against the Town. Against which, the Roman Consul raised another from the very wall somewhat higher than it: for that he used the wall (which of it self was of good height) in stead of a ground-work, and planted thereon strong posts and piles of timber to bear up the foresaid frame. From thence, at first the souldiers within, defended the Town and Walls with stones, with long poles and perches and other instruments to lance against the assailants. But at length seeing the other turret coming forward even close to the Town wall, they flung thereon at once much firework, and burning matter: at which fires the multitude of armed men for fear leapt headlong down the turret: and withal, they of the Town issued out at two gates at once, discomfited the guards of the enemies, and drave them into their camp: so as that day *Annibal* was more like one besieged himself, than laying siege unto others. There were of Carthaginians slain about fourteen hundred, forty wanting one were taken prisoners alive, such as about the walls and their Corps de guard stood careless and negligent, fearing nothing leise than a sally out of the Town, and were suddenly at unwares taken and surprised. *Gracchus* sounded the retreat, and caused his men to retire within the Walls, before the enemies after their suddain high could be rallied together. The morrow after, *Annibal* (supposing that the Consul in his ruff for this happy hand, would come into the field to fight a set battail) arranged himself in array between his Camp and *Cumes*. But after that, he saw no stirring at all from the usual guard and defence of the City, and nothing put to the rash hazard of doubtful hope, he retired to *Tifata*, without any good at all done.

At the very same time that the siege was raised before *Cumes*, *Titus Sempronius* surnamed *Longus*, fought fortunately in *Lucania* before *Grumentum*, with *Hanno* the Carthaginian: slew more than two thousand of his enemies, lost himself two hundred and eighty men, and went away with 41 ensigns. *Hanno* thus driven out of the confines of *Lucania*, retired himself back into the country of the *Brutii*: And *M. Falerius* the Pretor, recovered by force from the *Hirpini*.

pins, three Towns that had revolted from the Romans. *Vercellius* and *Sicilius* the movers and Captains of that Rebellion were cut shorter by the head. More than one thousand captives were sold at the spear in port-sale, to who that would bid most. All the pillage besides was given to the soldiers, and the army brought back to *Cumes*.

Whiles these things hapned in the Countreies of the *Lucans* and *Thripins*, those ships above-said (wherein were embarked the Embassadors of the *Macedonians* and *Carthaginians* as prisoners) having sea compass from the upper *Adriatick* Sea unto the nether Sea of *Tuscan*, round about (in a manner) all the Sea coast of *Italy*, hapned to sail along neer the City of *Cumes*: and being not certainly known whether they were friends or enemies, *Gracchus* put forth out of his fleet two *Pinates* to encounter them. When as by demanding and questioning one with another, it was once certified unto them, that the Consul was within *Cumes*, and the ships there arrived in the haven, the prisoners were brought to the presence of the Consul, and all the letters delivered. The Consul after he had read over the letters, both of *Philip* and *Annibal*, sealed them up again sure, and sent them by Land unto the Senat of *Rome*, but commanded the Embassadors themselves to be conducted thither by Sea. When as both letters, and also the Embassadors were arrived at *Rome*, in a manner, all in one day, and that (after due examination) words and writings agreed together in one: at the first the LL. of the Senat were pensive and plunged deeply into cares, considering in how great danger they stood of a new *Macedonian* war, who were hardly able to endure the *Carthaginian*. But in conclusion, so far were they off from being utterly dismayed hereat, and sinking under the water, that forthwith they began to treat and debate, how they might begin themselves to war with these enemies first, and to stop them from their entrance into *Italy*. The captive Embassadors they laid up fast in irons: their train and retinue were sold in open market: and besides the five and twenty ships, whereof *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* was Admiral, they took order for twenty more to be rigged and decked: which being provided, furnished and shot into the pool afloat, together with those five barks wherein the prisoners were conducted: there were 50 sail in all, that loosed from *Ofsin* and arrived at *Tarentum*. *Quintus Fulvius* had commission to embark the soldiers of *Varro*, who had been under the leading of *L. Apustius* the Lieutenant at *Tarentum*, with his fleet of fifty sail, not only to defend the Sea-coast of *Italy*, but also to hearken and have an eye after the *Macedonian* war: and in case he could learn, that the designment and intent of *Philip* was suitable to those letters and informations of the Embassadors, then he should by his letters certifie *M. Valerius* the Pretor so much, and that leaving with *L. Apustius* his Lieutenant the charge of the army, he should go to the Armado at *Tarentum*, and with all speed possible set over into *Macedony*, and there endeavour to keep *Philip* play at home within his own realm. As for that money which was sent unto *Appius Claudius* into *Sicily* for to be repayed unto King *Hiero*, it was appointed unto him, for the maintenance of his Armado, and managing of the *Macedonian* war. This money was by *L. Apustius* the Lieutenant brought to *Tarentum*, and with it, there were sent from *Hiero* * 200000 Modij of wheat, and 100000 of barley.

Whiles these preparations and doings passed at *Rome*, one ship of those prisoners which were sent to *Rome*, chanced to single it self from the other, and to escape away to *Philip*: whereby M he was advertised, that the Embassadors or Commissioners were taken, and the letters intercepted. But he not knowing what covenants had passed between *Annibal* and his legats, and what answer they should have brought unto him, sent forth another embassy with the same commission. The Embassadors sent unto *Annibal*, were *Heracitus* surnamed *Scotinus*, *Cicero* of *Beveda*, and *Sesichemus* of *Magnesia*. These went to and fro between in safety, these carried and recalled their errands fortunately. But the summer was come and gone, before the King could enter into action, or execute any enterprise. Of so great moment and importance was the boording of that one ship at the first with the Embassadors, for the deferring of that imminent war intended against the Romans.

When *Fabius* had passed over the River *Vulturinus*, after the expiation at length of the prodigious tokens aforesaid, both Consuls together made war about *Capua*. *Fabius* by assault won these Cities, *Combulteria*, *Trebula*, and *Austicula*, which had revolted unto the *Carthaginians*: and within them he surprised the garison soldiers of *Annibal*. Many of the Campans likewise were taken prisoners. At *Nola* (like as in the year before) the Senat held with the Romans, but the Commonalty took part with *Annibal*, and plotted secretly, how to murder the Nobility, and to betray the City. But to stop the proceedings of these mischievous designments, *Fabius* led his army between *Capua*, and the camp of *Annibal* upon the hill * *Tifata*, and fortified himself upon the mountain * *Vesuvius*, in that fort where *Claudius* had encamped before. From thence he sent *M. Marcellus* the Vice-Consul with those forces which he had, into *Nola*, there to lie in garison.

Likewise in *Sardinia*, *T. Manlius* the L. Deputy, began to administer those affairs, which had been forelet, by occasion that *Q. Mutius* the Pretor was fallen sick, and lay of a long and lingering disease. *Manlius* after he had drawn the Gallies ashore at *Caraleis*, and put the mariners and rowers in arms for Land-service, and received of the Pretor his army, was able to make 22000 foot, and 1200 horse. With this power of men of arms and footmen together, he entred into the enemies countrey, and not far from the camp of *Hersicora*, pitched his tents. *Hersicora* himself was by chance gone then, into the countrey of the *Pellidians* (a people of *Sardinia*) to

Much about
5000 quarter
of London
measure.

* Monte di
Capua.
* Monte di
Somma.

A arm the youth there, for the mending of his strength; and left his son named *Hioftus*, Ruler over the camp in the mean time. He a luty hot youth, rashly joynd battail, and quickly was difcomfited and put to flight: thirty thousand Sardinians in that field were flain, and upon 1030 taken prifoners alive. The reft of the army first fled ftragling afunder over the fields, and through the woods: but afterwards, hearing by the voyce that went, how their captain was fled to * *Cornelio*. the head City of that region, they retired thither alfo. And furely they had in that one battail, made an end of all war in *Sardinia*, but that the Armado of *Carthage*, under the leading of *Asdrubal* (which by tempeft had been caft upon the *Baleare* Iflands) came in time to entertain the Iflanders, in hope to rebel. *Manlius*, after it was noifed abroad, that the Carthaginian fleet was arrived, retired himfelf to *Caraleis*: which gave *Herficora* good opportunity and overture to joyn with *Asdrubal*. Who having landed his fouldiers, and lent the fhips back again unto *Carthage*, went forward by the guidance of *Herficora*, robbing and fpoiling the Lands of the Roman confederats: and had come as far as *Caraleis*, but that *Manlius* with an army encountred him upon the way, and reftained him from fo lavifh over-running and robbing the cuntry. At the first they encamped one againft the other not far afunder: afterwards, they began to put out certain bands and companies, and to maintain light skirmifhes with variable event, until at laft they pitched a fet field, and in full battail fought for the fpace of 4 hours. The Carthaginians held out conflict a good while, and the victory ftill remained doubtful (for the Sardinians were ever ufed to have the foil) but at laft, feeing every quarter full of the Sardinians either lying along dead, or running away, they alfo were difcomfited: and as they turned their backs and were about to flie, the Romans wheeled about with that wing, wherewith they had defeated the Sardinians, and enclosed them round, and fo they fell rather to killing than fighting any longer; 12000 enemies were there flain of Sardinians and Carthaginians together, about 3700 were taken prifoners, and 27 military enfigns won. This was a noble and famous battail, memorable efpecially above all, for taking of thefe prifoners: namely, *Asdrubal* the L. General, *Hanno* and *Mago*, two noble men of *Carthage*. *Mago* was of the *Barchine* houfe, neer of kin and in bloud to *Annibal*. *Hanno* was the follicitor of the Sardinians to rebellion, and no doubt, the principal Author of that war. Neither, was this field lefs famous for the overthrow of the chief commanders of the Sardinians: for both *Hioftus* the fon of *Herficora* was flain in fight: and alfo *Herficora* himfelf, as he fled with a few Horfemen, hearing befides other calamities and loffes, of the death of his fon, in the night feafon, becaufe he would have no man come between to fave his purpofed intent, killed himfelf. All the reft efaped to the City * *Cornelio*, as they had done afore, and there as in a place of refuge fought to fave themfelves. But *Manlius* following the train of his victory, came againft it, and within few dayes was mafter of it. After this, other Cities alfo which had revolted, and turned to *Herficora* and the Carthaginians, gave hostages, and yeelded by compofition. And when *Manlius* had levied of them certain money for the fouldiers pay and corn likewife, according to the power and ability or trespafs of each of them, he led his army back to *Caraleis*: and there having put the Gallies on the water, and embarked the fouldiers that he had brought with him, he failed to *Rome*, and recounted unto the LL. of the Senat the utter fubduing of *Sardinia*. The money he delivered to the Treafurers, the corn to the *Ediles*, and the prifoners unto *Fulvius* the Pretor.

Much about that time, *T. Otacilius* the Pretor, having failed from *Lilybaum* into *Affrick*, and wafted the territory of the Carthaginians, as he was bound from thence and fet fail for *Sardinia*, whither *Asdrubal* as the news went had lately croffed over from the *Baleare* Iflands, he met with the Armado returning back into *Affrick*: and after a skirmifh made upon the Sea by his fouldiers lightly armed, he took therewith seven Gallies with their oars and mariners: the reft for fear were fattered, as it had been with a tempeft, all over the Sea. And it hapned about the fame time, that *Bomilcar* with certain companies of fouldiers fent from *Carthage* for a fupply, and forty Elephants, and good ftore of victuals came to *Locri*. For the fuprizing and fetting upon him on a fudden, *Ap. Claudius* leading his army in haft, and marching to *Meffara* under a colour of vifiting the Province, put over to *Locris* with the tide. Now was *Bomilcar* paffed already from thence into the Brutians country to *Hanno*, and the men of *Locris* shut the gates againft the Romans. So *Appius*, after much ado and preparation, having effected nothing, returned back to *Meffara*. In the fame fummer, *Marcellus* made many rodes from *Nola* (which he held with a garrifon) into the Hirpins country, and the Samnits, about *Caudium*, and made fuch waft there, with fire and fword: that they in *Samnium* called into their fresh remembrance the old loffes and overthrows which they had received: whereupon there were fent immediately from both nations Embaffadors together, unto *Annibal*, who in this wife delivered their fpeech unto him. "We have been enemies, O *Annibal* to the people of *Rome*, firft of our own felves, and in our own quarrels, fo long as our armor & forces were able to defend us: but after that our hope therein began to fail us, we drew to a fide, and took part with King *Pyrrhus*. And when he forfook us once, we accepted of peace for very neceffary: wherein we continued for fifty years almoft, even until the time that you entred into *Italy*. Neither was it your prowess, vertue and fortune, rather than your fingular courtefy and benignity extended toward our country-men and fellow Citizens (whom being taken prifoners, you releafed and fent unto us back again) which hath caufed us to entertain your amity: in fo much, that fo long as you remain our friend, alive and fafe, we would not ftand in dread of the people of *Rome*, nor of the very Gods themfelves. If

The Oration of the Embaffadors of the Hirpins and Samnites unto *Annibal*.

"it

“ it be lawful (so to say) were they never to anger against us. Howbeit assuredly, for this summer
“ season, we have been divers and sundry times spoiled and wasted, not only whiles you are a-
“ live and safe, but also (which is more) present in place, where you might both hear, in manner,
“ the wailing and weeping of our wives and children, and also see our houses on a light fire: So it
“ seemeth it was *M. Marcellus* and not *Annibal* that had the victory at *Canna*. And the Romans
“ boast and say, That you are good at the first push only, and when you have once let fly and lan-
“ ced the Javelin (as it were) out of your hands, you are clean done, and can abide no longer. We
“ warred almost an hundred years with the people of *Rome*, without help either of foreign Cap-
“ tain, or army of strangers: save that for two years only, *Pyrrhus* with the aid of our souldiers,
“ rather increased his own strength, than by any power of his defended us. But we list not to make
“ vaunt and boast of fortunat success and brave victories, namely, how we subdued and put under
“ the yoke two Consuls, and two consular armies: nor of other noble exploits which hapned to
“ our joy and honor. And as for the crosses and adversities that befell us during that time, we may
“ report them with lesse grief and indignation, than those that this day light upon us. Then in
“ those dayes, mighty great Dictators with their Generals of Horsemen, two Consuls at once,
“ with their two royal hosts, entred our territories, having sent out before hand their espials and
“ scouts, and led forth their souldiers to make spoil, under their colours and ensigns, arranged in
“ good order of battail, and seconded strongly behind. Now are we exposed as it were to be a
“ prey of one only garrison, and that but a small one, left for the guard and defence of *Nola*. For,
“ now they overrun all our confines and borders, not by bands and companies in warlike wise, but
“ like Theeves and Robbers, more carelesly and negligently, than if they ranged about for their
“ pleasure in the Roman territory. The only cause is this, because your self make no reckoning to
“ protect us: and all our own youth (which if they were at home were able to defend us) serveth
“ under your banner and standard. But I know neither you, nor your army at all: if I should not be
“ perswaded and believe that he whom I wot well to have discomfited and put to flight so many
“ Roman armies, were soon able to defeat and suppress these robbers that wander about our coun-
“ try, stragling without leaders, and without their colours disordredly whither they list, according
“ to the vain hope of pillage that haleth them here and there, and, as every one gapeth for prizes,
“ which they shall never get. No doubt but if you put forth a few of your Numidians, they will
“ soon fall into their hands: Send but unto us a garrison to succour us, you shall quickly displace
“ that other at *Nola*; in case you judge not us (whom you have thought worthy to be your con-
“ federats) now, unworthy to be defended after you have received us into your protection. Here-
“ to *Annibal* made this answer again, and said; That the Hirpines and Samnites hudled up all at
“ once together: they declared their calamities and losses, they craved aid and succour, and they
“ made complaint that they were neither guarded by him, nor regarded of him. Whereas they
“ should have first made declaration of their harms: after, sued for help: and last of all, if they
“ might not obtain, then and not afore they should have complained, that they had besought his
“ helping hand in vain. Howbeit he promised, that he would not bring his army into the territory,
“ either of the Hirpines or the Samnites, lest himself also should be chargeable and troublesome unto
“ them, but into the next quarters belonging to the allies of the Romans: by spoiling and wasting
“ whereof, both he would fill his souldiers hands, and also with the terror thereof, set their ene-
“ mies far enough off from them. And as for the managing of the Roman war, like as the battel
“ of *Thrasymenus*, was more noble than that of *Trebia*; and the field of *Canna* more memorable,
“ than that of *Thrasymenus*: even so would he make the memorial of *Canna* dim and obscure, in
“ regard of one greater victory yet, and more renowned than the other. With this answer, and
“ with honourable rewards besides, he dismissed the Embassadors, and gave them their dispatch.
“ And leaving a small guard to keep the Hill *Tifara*, he marched in person with the rest of his ar-
“ my against *Nola*. Thither also was *Hanno* come, out of the country of the Brutii, with the sup-
“ ply that he brought from *Carthage*, and the Elephants. Where, after *Annibal* had pitched his
“ Tents not far from the Town, and made diligent enquiry, he found, that the case was far other-
“ wise, than it was reported by the Embassadors of his associates. For *Marcellus* bare not him-
“ self in any of his actions: so as it might be truly said, that he blindly committed ought to the haz-
“ ard of fortune, or rashly adventured upon the enemy. For he never went a plundering without
“ his scouts and espials, without setting strong guards in due places, whereunto he might retire
“ himself in safety: but had a good eye afore him, and a wary regard and heedful forecast, as if he
“ were to encounter with *Annibal* in person. And even then at that time, when he perceived,
“ that the enemy approached and was coming, he kept his forces within the City: commanding
“ the Senators of *Nola*, to walk up and down upon the walls, and to survey all over, and espie
“ what the enemies did, or were about. Amongst whom, it hapned, that *Hanno* being come under
“ the very wall, espied *Herennius Bassus*, and *Herius Peirius*, whom he called out to a parle. And
“ when they were gone forth unto him by the permission & leave of *Marcellus*, thus he spake unto
“ them by his interpreter. First, he highly extolled the vertue and fortune of *Annibal*, debasing and
“ treading under foot the dignity and Majesty of the people of *Rome*, growing now old in time, and
“ decaying in force and strength. “ Which if they were (quoth he) on both sides equal, as some-
“ times they were, yet seeing they had good experience, how heavy and grievous the government
“ of the Romans was to all their Allies, and again, how indulgent & gracious *Annibal* is, even to all
“ the captives of the Italian nation and name, they should wish rather to be in league & amity with
“ the

The answer of
Annibal to the
Embassadors.

The speech of
Hanno to He-
rennius and
Herius Nolans.

A "the Carthaginians, than with the Romans. If both Coss. were with their armies at *Nola*, they
 "were no more able to match with *Annibal*, than they were at *Canna*: much less might one Pra-
 "tor with a few raw and new souldiers hold out and keep *Nola* against him. And as for the No-
 "lans themselves, it concerned them much more than it did *Annibal*, to consider, whether he
 "should win *Nola* by force, or enter upon it by surrender and composition. For to be Lord thereof
 "he made no doubt, like as he was Master already of *Capua* and *Nuceria*: but what odds and diffe-
 "rence there is between the state of *Capua* and of *Nuceria*, the Nolans know best themselves, who
 "are seated as it were in the mid way between both. Loath he was to prognosticate so much un-
 "to *Nola*, what calamities might befall the City, if it were conquered by assault: rather yet would
 B "he give his word and promise, That if they would deliver *Marcellus* with his garrison, and yield
 "up *Nola* into *Annibal*'s hand, they should themselves, and none but they set down and capit-
 "late under what conditions they would entertain alliance & friendship with *Annibal*. To this
 motion *Herennius Bassus* framed his answer in this sort. "For many years already there hath been
 "continuall amity between the people of *Rome* and *Nola*, and neither of both to this day hath
 "repented thereof. As for the Nolans themselves, if they had been disposed to turn with the wind,
 "and to change their faith and allegiance, together with their fortune, they would have done it
 "long before this: for now it was too late to start & alter. If they had minded to yield themselves
 "unto *Annibal*, they would never have sent for a garrison of Romans: but since they were now
 "come to protect and defend them, they had imparted & communicated all their state with them
 C "already, and would take such part as they, so long as they had an hour to live. This emparl put
Annibal clean besides all hope of gaining *Nola* by treason. Therefore he beleaguered the town on
 every side, and invested it round about like a garland, to the end, that in one instant he might give
 the assault on every part of the walls. When *Marcellus* saw him under the walls he set his people
 first in battel array within the gate, and then with a great noise and tumult he suddenly sallied out.
 At their first shock and onset divers of the enemies were beaten down and slain: but after that,
 they ran from all parts to battel, and were come together with equal forces, the fight began to be
 hot and sharp, and a memorable conflict it had been and few like it, but that it rained and poured
 down so fast, and with so many storms and tempests, that it parted both the battels, and staid the
 fight. So for that day, having with that smal skirmish kindled their courages, and set their blood in
 D heat, they retired back, the Romans within the City, and the Carthaginians to their Camp. How-
 beit, of the Carthaginians there were slain, upon the first sally and charge given, not above thirty,
 and of the Romans not one man. This tempestuous shower of rain lasted all night long, and con-
 tinued still, and never gave over untill nine of the clock before noon the next day. And therefore,
 albeit they were sharp set, and their fingers itched on both sides to be a fighting, yet for that day
 they kept within their hold and strength. So the third day *Annibal* sent out certain companies in-
 to the territory about *Nola*, for to forrage and fetch in booties: which, so soon as *Marcellus* un-
 derstood, he presently set his men in array, and entered the field, neither was *Annibal* for his part
 behind. Now there was a mile distance, or very near between the City and the enemies Camp. In
 this space between (for all about *Nola* is plain and champian) they encountred and joyned battel.
 E The shout that they set up on both sides, reclaimed and caused to return unto the fight already be-
 gun the nearest of those cohorts and bands which were gone a forraging into the country. The
 men of *Nola* likewise came unto the Romans, and merded their battel: whom *Marcellus* com-
 mended for their forwardness, and gave them in charge to abide in the reeward, to help as occa-
 sion served, and to carry forth of the skirmish those that were hurt and wounded, and to forbear
 fight in any case, unless they had a signall and token given them by him. The fight was doubtfull,
 for both the Generals gave encouragement effectually, and also the souldiers did their best, and
 fought right manfully. *Marcellus* was earnest with his men to press hard and charge still upon
 their enemies, whom they had defeated not three daies ago, who not many daies past were put
 to flight, and driven from *Cumes*, and who the year before were beaten from *Nola* under his con-
 duct, by other souldiers, saying, "That they were not all there in the field, but many of them gone
 F "ranging abroad in the country, for to hale booties, and get prizes. As for them that fought, they
 "were such as were decayed with rioting and following their delights in *Capua*, such as with
 "wine-bibbing in every tavern, whore-hunting in every Stews and Brothel-house, all the whole
 "winter, were become enfeebled in body, spent and wasted utterly. As for that lively strength and
 "vigour of theirs, it was clean gone: those able and lusty bodies were detaired, those couragi-
 "ous hearts abated, wherewith they passed over the Pyrenean mountains, and the high cliffs of
 "the *Alps*. There remained now nothing but the reliques and shadow of those men to fight, who
 "are scarce able to bear their very armour, to lift up their arms, and carry their own bodies.
 "Adding withall, that *Capua* was another *Canna* unto *Annibal*: there died his warlike prowess,
 G "there, lost he his military discipline: there was the glorious fame of former daies buried, there
 "the hope of future time for ever suppressed and stifled. As *Marcellus* by reproving these and such
 like things in his enemies, animated his own souldiers: so *Annibal* rebuked his men with more
 sharp words and bitter checks. "I know these to be (quoth he) the same arms and weapons,
 "the very same ensigns and standards which I saw and had at *Trebia*, at *Thrasymenus*, and late
 "of all at *Canna*. But surely, me thinks, when I went to *Capua* there to winter, I carried with me
 "thicker, other manner of souldiers than I have brought again from thence. Have ye indeed so
 "much ado to maintain fight with a Roman Lieutenant, Leader of one only Legion and cornet:
 N n "whom

The answer of
Herennius to
Hanno.

The speech of
Marcellus to
his souldiers.

The words of
Annibal to his
souldiers.

"whom heretofore two full Consular armies were never able to abide in the field? Shall *Marcellus* with young and raw souldiers of his own, seconded only with the aid of the *Nolans*, challenge and bid us battle the second time? Where is that souldier of mine that unhorsed *C. Flaminius* the Consul, and stroke off his head? What is become of him that at *Canna* slew *L. Paulus*? What? is the edge of the sword dull, and the point blunt? Or are your right hands asleep and benumbed? Or what strange and wonderfull accident is befallen you? Ye that were wont, being few in number, to vanquish many, are ye now, being many in number, hardly able to withstand and abide the violence of a few? Ye spake big, and gave out great brags and proud words, that if any man would lead you, you would win *Rome*, that you would. Behold, now, a smaller piece of service. Here I would have you prove your strength, and make trial of your valour. Let us see now, win me *Nola*, a City situate in the Champian, on a plain, defended neither with sea nor river. O out of this so wealthy a City, will I be ready to lead you, laden with rich pillage and spoil, whither soever ye will, or follow you, wheresoever ye would have me. But nothing availed either his chearfull words, or his checking rebukes, to encourage and confirm their hearts. For the Carthaginians being forced on every side to retreat, (whiles the Romans grew more and more animated, not only through the comfortable speeches of their own Captains, but also the *Nolans* themselves, who with their loud shouting in token of their love and affection, enkindled their courages to hot fight) turned their backs, and were driven into their hold. And when the Romans were desirous to assail the same, *Marcellus* reconducted them to *Nola*, with great joy and congratulation even of the Commons there, who before, were more inclined and affected to the Carthaginians. There were of the enemies slain that day above one thousand, sixteen hundred were taken prisoners, nineteen military ensigns won, two Elephants gotten alive, and foure slain in the conflict. Of Romans there were not killed all out one thousand. The morrow after they spent (upon a truce concluded) in burying the dead that were slain on both sides. Of the spoils of the enemies *Marcellus* made a great swe. upon a vow pronounced unto *Vulcan*. On the third day, 1272 horsemen of Numidians and Spaniards, one with another (upon some spleen and anger I believe, or else for hope of more liberall entertainment and commodious gain) fled from *Annibal* and turned to *Marcellus*: whose valiant and faithfull service stood the Romans in very good stead oftentimes during that war. And after the war was ended, the Spaniards in *Spain*, and the Numidians in *Affrick*, in reward of their vertue and prowess, were endued with fair lands and large possessions. *Annibal* sent *Hanno* back from *Nola* to the *Brutii*, together with the forces that he came with: himself went to the wintring harbours of *Apulia*, and lodged about *Arpi*.

Quintus Fabius so soon as he heard that *Annibal* had taken his way into *Apulia*, conveyed all the corn from *Nola* and *Naples* into his Camp, which he had pitched above *Suessula*: and having well fortified the hold, and left there a sufficient garrison to guard the place for that winter time, removed himself nearer to *Capua*, and there encamped: and so wasted the Campan Territory with fire and sword, that the Campanians little trusting in their own forces, were constrained to issue forth of their gates, and fortifie themselves in Camp before the City, in the open plain. Six thousand they were in all. Their footmen were weak and not for service: their horsemen were far better and more able: so that oftentimes they charged their enemies with their horse, and provoked them to fight. Among many brave men of arms that the Campanians had, one *Jubellus*, surnamed *Taurca*, a Citizen of *Capua*, was the worthiest and best horseman of them all, by many degrees: insomuch, as when he served under the Romans, *Claudius Asellus* only, a Citizen of *Rome*, was able to match him in glory of good horsemanship and horse service. This *Taurca* when he had ridden all about the troops of his enemies, casting his eye every way to see if he could espie *Claudius Asellus*, enquired at length closely, after silence made, where about he was, and made this challenge unto him, That seeing he was wont in words to contend with him for valour and prowess, he should now determine the question by the spear-point and dint of sword, and either be de spoiled of his glorious armour, if he were overcome, or else gain the same with the victory. Which defiance being brought into the Camp to *Asellus* his ears, he made no more to do, but went presently to the Consul, to know whether he might with his good leave and licence, out of his rank fight extraordinarily with his enemy that bad him combat. After leave obtained, he armed himself immediately, mounted on horseback, and rode before the enemies corps de guard, oftentimes calling upon *Taurca* by name, and bidding him come forth to encounter whensoever he durst. Now were the Romans by this time gone forth of the Camp in great number to behold this combat: the men of *Capua* likewise filled not only the rampier of their hold but also the walls of the City to see this fight. When as they had made some goodly flourish afore hand with brave swords and stout speeches, to set out the actions they set spear in rest, and put spurs to horse, and jostled together again. Afterwards, having gotten the liberty of the ground they dallied one with another, trifling out the time, and making along peece of work of it, without giving or taking wound. Then quoth the Campan Knight to the Roman, This will be but a fight of horses, and not of horsemen, unless we ride out of the open plain ground here into this hollow way, where having no such scope to prick out at large, we shall soon come to hand grips, and close together. The word was not so soon spoken, but *Claudius* turned his horse head, and rode into the foresaid way. But *Taurca* a stouter champion

A champion in word than deed: Oh, take heed of all things (quoth he) how you ride a gelding in a ditch: Which grew afterwards to a by-word, used among the country people. *Claudius* after he had rode in and out, up and down, a long time in the lane, and never met with his enemy, returned again into the open plain: and rating the cowardice of his enemy, with great joy and gratulation, rode back as conqueror into the Camp. Some Annals and Chronicles do record and add to this combat of horsemen, a strange and wonderful thing (no doubt) if it be true, as by the common opinion it is reputed no less; namely, that when *Tullius* fled back into the City, *Claudius* followed him and after him in chase, entered with him at one gate standing open, and rode out clear at the other without, to the great wonder and astonishment of the enemies. Upon this, the standing Camps were quiet on both sides: and the City removed backward farther off from the City, that the men of *Capua* might sow their grounds: neither did he any harm unto their fields, before the corn was come up and so well grown, that the blade thereof yielded good forrage and food for the horses, which he gathered and brought into the standing Camp and hold. *Claudius* above *Suessula*, and there he built winter harbors for to make his abode. And he gave order to *M. Claudius* the Vice-Consul to keep still at *Nepes* a competent garrison for defence of the City; and to discharge the rest of the souldiers, and send them to *Rome*, that they should neither be cumbersome to their Allies, nor chargeable to the Common-weal. *Tib. Gracchus* also whiles he led his Legions from *Comes* into *Apulia* to *Luceria*, sent *M. Valerius* the Prætor from thence to *Brundisium*, with that army which he had at *Luceria*, commanding him to keep the sea-coast of the *Salentine* Country, and to provide for all things necessary against *Philip* and the *Macedonian* war.

In the end of this summer, wherein these acts were achieved, whereof I have written, there came a packet of Letters from *R.* and *Cornel. Scipio*, importing how great and how fortunate exploits they had performed in *Spain*: but there wanted money for pay: and apparell and corn to serve both souldiers and mariners. And albeit all these things were away, yet as concerning money, if the City Chamber and common Treasure were not stored, they would make some shift to raise it of the Spaniards: but for all the rest, needs it must be sent from *Rome*, for otherwise neither could they keep the Army together, nor hold the Province in their allegiance. When the letters were read there was no man there but acknowledged that they wrote a truth, and demanded that which was reasonable. But they considered withall, what great armies both on land and at sea they maintained: and what a mighty Armada they must prepare and set out atiew, in case the *Macedonian* war went forward. As for *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, which before the wars began, paid tribute, were scarce able to find and keep the garrisons, that lay there for the guard of the Provinces: and that they were to trust upon their own revenues and tribute for the maintenance of the charge they were at. But as the number of them that paid rent and conferred tribute, was greatly diminished by so great overthrowes of the armies, both at the pool *Thrasymenus*, and also at *Canusio*, so those few that remained if they were burdened with many exactions and payments, should be plagued and undone another way, therefore it was concluded, that unless the Common-weal maintained not herself by her credit and borrowing money, she were not able to be sustained by her own wealth and riches. So it was agreed, That *Fulvius* the Prætor must needs assemble all the people together, and lay abroad and declare unto them the necessity and exigent that the Common-weal was driven unto, and to exhort all them that had enriched themselves and increased their livings, by renting and taking to farm the revenues and commodities of the City, should now do good to the Commonweal for a time, by which they were grown to that wealth, and undertake the provision at a price, and furnish the army in *Spain*, with all necessities thereto belonging, to be contented and paid therefore with the first, out of the common Chest, when it were stored with money. Thus the Prætor made declaration of these matters in the open assembly of the people, and withall determined and set down a certain day, whereupon he minded to put forth the souldiers, liveries and apparell, and corn to be provided for the Spanish Army, and all things else requisite for the mariners. When the day was come, there presented themselves unto him three companies of nineteen men, for to take this bargain. Who made two requests and demands, the one, that for that three years next ensuing, there should be no other Publicans or farmers of the City: the other, that whatsoever they shipped, the Common-weal would make good against all force of enemy, or violence of tempest. Both being granted, they took upon them the matter, and so the Common-weal was served by the money of private persons. This was the demeanor, this was the loving affection to their country, that went through all degrees of men (as it were) after one sort and manner. And like as they undertook with great courage to serve the army, so with singular fidelity they performed every thing, in such sort, as there was nothing at all wanting, no more than if they had been maintained from a rich treasury, as in cities past. At what time as this provision came, the town of *Iliturgi* was assailed by *Asdrubal*, *Mago*, and *Amilcar* the son of *Bomilcar*, because it revolted unto the Ro-

Aldea et rio,
or *Anduar el*
rio.

Amidst these three severall Camps of the enemies, the two *Scipios* passed into the City of their Allies, that made resistance against, and with great loss of men; and brought corn with them, whereof there was great want: and after they had encouraged and exhorted the townsmen, that with the same resolution they would defend the walls as they had seen the Roman army to fight for them and in their quarrell: they led forth their power to give an assault

upon the greatest Camp, whereof *Asdrubal* was the General. Thither also repaired the two Captains and two Armies of the Carthaginians: when they saw that the whole trial of the matter was there to be determined, and so they issued out of their tents and fought. Threescore thousand enemies were that day in field, and above 16000 Romans: and yet the victory went to clear with the Romans, that they slew more of their enemies than they were in number themselves; took prisoners more than three thousand men, and not many under a thousand horses; and withall won 60 military ensigns wanting one, and killed five Elephants in the battell: and to conclude, were Lords that day of three Camps. After that the siege was raised from *Illucurgi*, the Carthaginian armies were led to the assault of the town *Incubili*, having their companies made up and supplied again out of the Province, (as being a nation of all others most desirous and eager of war, so there be hope of pillage or good recompence) and at that time especially full of young and lusty men. Where there was a second field fought with like sort of both sides as before. There were slain above thirteen thousand enemies, and more than 3000 taken prisoners, besides two and forty military ensigns, and nine Elephants. Then in a manner all the Cities of Spain revolted to the Romans. And far greater exploits were that summer performed in Spain, than in Italy.

* *Chelua*.

The four and twentieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the four and twentieth Book.

Herome, King of the Syracusians (whose grandfather Hiero had been a friend unto the people of Rome) revolted unto the Carthaginians, and for his cruelty and pride, was by his own people murdered. Titus Sempronius Gracchus the Praeconsul, had a fortunate battell near Beneventum, against the Carthaginians and Hanno their General, through the help especially of the bondslaves, whom for their good service, he commanded to be made free. Claudius Marcellus the Consul laid siege upon Syracuse in Sicily, which wholly in manner was taken away and turned to the Carthaginians. War was proclaimed against Philip, King of the Macedonians, who in a night-skirmish was surprised, discomfited, and put to flight: and with his army well near disarmed, escaped into Macedonia. To manage that war, Valerius the Praetor was sent. This book containeth also the acts achieved in Spain by P. and Cn. Scipios against the Carthaginians. Syphax King of the Numidians, having entered into amity with the Romans, fought against Masanissa King of the Massilians: who stood for the Carthaginians, and being overcome, passed over into Spain with a most mighty army unto Scipio, lying over against Gades, where the narrow sea runneth between Affrick and Spain. The Celtiberians also were received into friendship, whose aids the Romans sent for: and this was the first time that mercenary soldiers were waged and served in the Roman wars.

The four and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

Hanno was not so soon returned out of Campane, into the country of the Brutii, but by their help and guidance he solicited to rebellion the Greek Cities, which continued the more willing in league and alliance with the Romans, because they saw that the Brutii, whom they both hated and feared, sided with the Carthaginians. And first he assailed and went in hand with Rhegium, where he spent certain daies to little or no purpose. In this mean time, the Inhabitants of Locri were busie in carrying away with great haste the corn, wood and fewel, and all things else, necessary for the use of man, out of the country into the City: because they would leave nothing for the enemy to prey upon. And daily more and more of them went out of the gates by heaps, so as at last there was no more left in the City, than those that were compelled to repair the breaches of the walls and the gates, and to bring into the turrets and bulwarks store of darts and other shot. Against this multitude and confused mixture of all ages, sexes, and degrees, ranging over the fields, whereof most were altogether unarmed, Amilcar the Carthaginian sent out his Cavalry, giving them direction, and charging them to hurt no person. These horsemen opposed their troops between them and home, only to exclude them out of the City, when they were scattered one from another in flight. The General himself in person encamped on a high ground, from whence he might view the country and the City. And gave commandment to a cohort of the Brutii to approach the walls to call forth the principall Citizens of Locri to parley, and by making promise of Annibal his friendship, to perswade and exhort them to yield up the town. At the first they gave no credit at all unto the Brutii: whatsoever they said: But afterwards, when they discovered Hanno and the Carthaginians upon the hills, and heard by some few

A few of their own Citizens that were fled back & escaped, how all the rest of the multitude were fallen within danger of the enemies, they made answer, that they would confer and consult thereupon with the body of the people. So immediately they were assembled together. The most light headed persons were desirous of a change and new alliance: they also, whose kinsfolk and friends were by the enemy intercepted and kept out of the City, had their minds engaged and bound sure enough, as if they had put in hostages: and some few who were well affected inwardly in heart, & liked of constancy and true loyalty, yet durst not be known thereof, and shew themselves to stand to it: so as, they all agreed in outward appearance, to surrender themselves to the Carthaginians. And after they had closely conveyed into the haven, and embarked *L. Atilius* the Captain of the Garrison, and all the Roman souldiers that served under him to the end, that they might be transported to *Rhegium*, they received *Amilcar* and the Carthaginians into the City, with this condition, that presently there should be concluded a league upon equall and indifferent covenants and capitulations between them. But the promise in this behalf (when they had once yielded themselves) was nothing well performed: whiles *Amilcar* charged the Locrians, with fraudulent dismissing and letting go the Romans: and they again alleaged for their excuse, that they fled away, and made an escape. The horsemen also followed hard in chase by land, if haply either the tide might cause the ships to stay in the current within the straight, or drive them a land. But those whom they pursued, they could not overtake: marry, other ships they espied, crossing the streights from *Massana* to *Rhegium*. Roman souldiers they were sent from *Claudius* the Prætor, to lie in garrison there, and to keep the town. Whereupon they presently departed from *Rhegium*.

As for the Citizens of *Locri*, they had peace granted them by express order and direction from *Annibal* upon these conditions: *Imprimis*, That they might live free under their own laws: *Item*, That both the City and the haven should remain still in the hands of the Locrians. The substance of the covenant rested and was established upon these terms. That the Carthaginians and Locrians should aid and assist one another mutually, both in peace and war. So the Carthaginians retired from the streights, notwithstanding the muttering and murmuring of the *Bruttii*, because they had left *Rhegium* and *Locri* untouched, which two Cities they made full account to have sacked and rifled. And therefore they of themselves having levied and put in arms a power of fifteen thousand of their own youth, marched forward to assail *Croton*, a Grecian City likewise, and seated upon the sea. Assuring themselves, much to better their estate, if they could be possessed of a port and sea-town, fenced with strong wals and Bulwarks. This only troubled and perplexed their minds, that they durst not, but send unto the Carthaginians for aid: fearing, lest they might seem to have entred into action and war, without regard of the common good of their confederates, if they called them not: and doubting besides, that if the General of the Carthaginians should prove again, rather an arbitrator of peace, than a coadjutor in war, they should fight in vain against the liberty of *Croton*, as they had done before against the City of *Locri*. Whereupon they thought best to send Embassadors unto *Annibal* for his warrant, and to be secured from him, that if *Croton* were recovered by the Brutians, it should be subject unto them. *Annibal* made answer, that this matter required consultation of men present with them in place, and therefore he put them over to *Hanno*, from whom they received no certain answer to trust unto. For willing they were not, that a noble and rich City, as it was, should be spoiled: and besides, they were in good hope, that in case the Brutians should assail it, and the Carthaginians all the while not seen, either to allow or help them in their enterprize, the Citizens would the more willingly revolt unto them. The Inhabitants within *Croton* were not of one mind, and affected alike. For there was one malady that had infected all the Cities of *Italy*, namely, the dissention between the Commons and the Nobles. The Senators inclined to the Romans, the Commoners on the other side took part with the Carthaginians. This division within the City, the *Bruttii* were by a fugitive runaway advertised of, in these terms: namely, that *Arifomachus*, the ring-leader and head of the Commons, minded to betray the City: that it was a wide, vaste, and desolate town taking a great circuit of ground: and all the walls being decayed and in sundry places broken down, the Senators and the Commons kept their severall guards and watches in sundry quarters far asunder. And look (quoth he) where the Commons ward, there ye may enter at your pleasure. Upon this intelligence and direction given by the fugitive, the *Bruttii* environed the City round about: and being let in by the Commons at the first assault were masters of all places, saving the Castle. The Nobles held that piece foreseeing what might happen, and therefore provided themselves of a sure refuge. Thither fled *Arifomachus* also, pretending that he meant to deliver the City to the Carthaginians, and not to the *Bruttii*. Now this City *Croton* had a wall (before *Pyrrhus* coming into *Italy*) twelve miles in compass: but after it was laid waste by that war, scarce the one half of the town was inhabited. The river that was wont to run through the midst of the town passed now along the wals without those streets where the houses stood thick and well peopled, far from the parts inhabited.

Six miles without the town there stood a noble Temple of *Lacinia Juno*, more renowned than the City it self, as being honoured with great religion and devotion of all the Cities and nations thereabout. A sacred grove there was in that place compassed with a thick wood, of tall fir trees, having in the midst within it divers pleasant and fruitful pastures, wherein were fed beasts consecrated unto the goddess, of all sorts, without any keeper and pastor. And albeit the cattell went forth in the morning by herds and flocks of their own kind, severed by themselves, yet at night they used to return back again to their own pens and stalls, without harm received either by the

wait, laying of wild and ravenous beasts, or by deceitfull fraud of men. Great encrease therefore and much commodity accrued by those cattel, inasmuch as thereof was made a masse Column or pillar of beaten gold, and consecrated in that place, so as the Temple was famous, as well for riches, as holiness and devotion. And many times it falleth out, that to such notable places there are attributed some strange miracles. For the report goeth, that there standeth an altar in the very porch of the Temple, the ashes lying whereupon, no wind was ever known to blow away.

But to return to *Croton*. The Castle thereof on the one side standeth upon the sea, on the other side it bendeth and looketh toward the land. Defended in times past it was only by the naturall situation of the ground, but afterwards fortified also with a wall; on that part whereas *Dionysius* the Tyrant of *Sicily*, having gained the back rocks and cliffs behind, by craft and guile sometime won it. This Castle at that time supposed to be strong and safe enough, the Nobles seized and kept, notwithstanding the *Bruttii* and their own Commons besieged them. At length the *Bruttii* seeing the Castle impregnable, by all the forces and assaults that they could make of themselves, were driven of necessity to crave aid of *Hanno*. Who having assaied to draw and urge the *Crotonians* to yield, upon these conditions, To suffer a Colony of the *Bruttii* thither to be brought, and there planted: and that thereby a City lying so waste and desolate, might be replenished and peopled again, as in ancient time: could not move and perswade any one of them all, but *Aristomachus*. For all besides, protested and said, they would die before they would be intermingled with the *Bruttii*, to change their own rites and manner of life, their customes, their laws, and within a while their language also for others that were strange and forraign. *Aristomachus* alone, seeing that he could not prevail neither by perswasions to induce them to yield, nor find any means to betray the Castle like as he had done the town before, fled away to *Hanno*. Shortly after, certain Embassadors from *Locri*, by the licence and permission of *Hanno*, entred the Castle, and perswaded them to be content for to be translated to *Locri*, rather than to abide and stand out the extremity: saying, that they had sent Embassadors already to that intent unto *Annibal*, and had got a grant at his hands, that they might so do. So they abandoned *Croton*, and the *Crotonians* were brought down to the sea side and embarked, and the whole multitude departed to *Locri*.

In *Apulia*, the very winter season was not quiet between the Romans and *Annibal*. *Sempronius* the Consul wintred at *Luceria*, and *Annibal* not far from him in *Arpi*: and as they could spy opportunity, or take their vantage, of the one side or the other, there passed some light skirmishes between them. But the Romans had alwaies the better, and every day more than other, became more wary and secured from all trains and deceitfull snares of the enemy.

In *Sicily* the Romans found a great change, and all out of order, by reason that King *Hiero* was dead, and the Crown translated to his Nephew, or sons son, *Hieronymus*: being yet a child, not like to use his own liberty with moderation, and much less to sway the Kingdom and Scepter with discretion. His guardians and friends gladly entertained the protection and government of such a nature, and were ready enough to plunge him headlong into all vice and wickedness. Which King *Hiero* foreseeing, was willing (by report) in his latter daies, to have left *Syracusa* free and at liberty, to the end that so noble a kingdom, acquired and established by good means, should not under the Lordly dominion of a child to the great obloquy and shame of the world, be ruinate and come to nought. But his daughters with tooth and nail crossed this his designment, and made full reckoning, that the child should only bear the name of a King, but the government of the whole State should wholly rest in them and their husbands, *Andronodorus* and *Zoilus*: who were the principall guardians, left to oversee the young Prince. And an easie matter it was not, for an aged man, now four score years old and ten, so hardly laid at day and night, by the fair speeches, and feminine flatteries of his daughters, to keep his mind free, and to apply and convert it to intend private regards, and the publike consideration of the State. And therefore he left fifteen tutors to oversee and govern the child, whom he besought upon his death-bed, even when he was going out of this world, to maintain entire and unspotted, the faithfull allegiance to the Romans, which he had kept and observed inviolate for the space of fifty years: and to let to their helping hand willingly, to direct the young Prince above all, to tread in his steps, and to follow that discipline wherein he had been nurtured and taught. After he had given this charge, and yielded up his breath, the guardians came abroad, brought forth the Kings last will and testament, and shewed the young Prince in the open assembly of the people (and well near fifteen years of age he was.) Where some few, such as were bestowed here of purpose within the press of the assembly for to shout and shew testimony of their joy and good liking, approved with open voice, and allowed the Kings will: whereas all the rest fared as Orphans in a City bereaved of their King, and (as it were) become fatherless, and feared all things that might ensue. The King was interred and his funerals solemnized, with the love and kind affection of his people and subjects, more than with any studious care and diligence of his own friends that were nearest to him. After this, *Andronodorus* removed from about the Prince all other guardians but himself, giving out oftentimes that *Hieronymus* was past a child, and able to govern of himself as King. Thus by depositing the Protectorship, which was common to him and many others, he took upon him and usurped the power and authority of them all. Hard it was even for a right good King and well governed, that should succeed after *Hiero*, to find favour and win grace among the *Syracusans*: so heartily they affected and loved King *Hiero*. But *Hieronymus*, as if he had been willing and desirous, that by his vicious and wicked life, they should have a great miss of his grandfather, and wish again for him: at the very first sight, when he shewed himself abroad in open place,

A place, declared unto the world, what difference and great odds there was. For they who so many years together had never seen *Hiero*, nor his son *Calo*, either in habit of apparel, or in any other ornaments and port, differing from all other Citizens, now beheld him in his purple robes, with his regall Crown and Diadem, attended with his guard and train of armed penitents: yea, and otherwhile, after the manner of *Denis* the Tyrant riding forth of his Court and Palace, in a Chariot drawn with four white steeds. This proud pomp and stately array was accompanied and suited with semblable qualities and conditions. He contemned and despised all men: he scorned most proudly to give audience to humble suppliants: and sent them away with reproachful terms and taunts. And not only strangers, but also his very guardians hardly might have access unto him: and to conclude, his lusts and delights whereunto he gave himself, were new and strange: his cruelty that he exercised outrageous and inhumane. So dread and terrible was he to all, that some of his Tutors, either by making themselves away, or by voluntary exile were driven to prevent and avoid the danger of cruell torments. Of whom three on'y, who alone had more familiar recourse into the Court, to wit, *Andromodorus* and *Zellus*, the sons in law of King *Hiero*, that had married his daughters, and one *Thraso*, had little or no care given unto them in other matters; but whilst two of them drew toward the Carthaginians, and *Thraso* to the Roman alliance: with their arguing, debaring, and dispute, they otherwhile turned the mind of the young King to hearken and give audience to their opinions. Now it hapned that there was a conspiracy intended against the life and person of the Tyrant, and the same detected by one *Calo*, the companion and playfellow of *Hieronimus*, and of the same age: one who ever from his childhood had been familiarly acquainted with him, and inward to all his secrets. This revealer of the conspiracy, could appeach and nominate all the conspirators, only *Theodorus*, by whom himself was made privy to the treason, and solicited to be a complice therein. The party was apprehended incontinently, and delivered unto *Andromodorus* to be tortured; Who at the first without delay, confessed himself to be guilty, but concealed all the rest that were accessaries. At the last, when he had been torn, mangled, and dismembred, with most dolorous torments, and intolerable for any man to endure: pretending and making semblance that he could abide no longer pains: disclosed not for all this the guilty persons indeed, but accused the innocent, and laid falsely, that *Thraso* was the first deviser of the whole plot: and unless they had born themselves, and relied upon so mighty an head, to set them on work, they would never have attempted so dangerous an enterprize. He appeached also some other of the Tyrant his guard and household servants and dailly waiters: even such as came into his mind during the time of his dolours and paines, and whom amidst his groans he imagined to be such, as whose lives might be best spared, and deaths least lamented. The naming of *Thraso* especially made the Tyrant to beleieve, that the detection sounded to be a very truth indeed: whereupon the man was immediately led to execution and put to death; and the other innocents, as clear as himself, tasted of the same cup, and suffered with him for company. As for the conspirators themselves, albeit one of their fellows was a long while put to bitter and extream torture, there was not one of them that either hid his head or made an escape: so assured confidence had they in the resolute constancy and faithfull promise of *Theodorus*: and such power and strength had *Theodorus* himself to keep close the secrets committed unto him. Now when *Thraso* was once dispatched out of the way, who only was the means to hold them in and to bind them to their alliance and alleagance to the Romans: then forthwith they began openly to incline to rebellion, and sent as Embassadors for the same purpose, two noble young Gentlemen, *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* unto *Annibal*; From whom also they were sent back again in Embassage. These were both born at *Carthage*, but descended in blood from the *Syracusians* by their grandfather, that was from thence banished: and were themselves by the mothers side meer *Carthaginians*. By intercourse of these two Embassadors, a League was concluded between *Annibal* and the Tyrant of *Syracuse*. And *Annibal* was content that they should abide still as Leigers in the Tyrants Court.

When *Appius Claudius* the Prætor and Lord Deputy of the Province of *Sicily* heard these news, he addressed straight waies Embassadors unto *Hieronimus*: who saying, that they were come to renew the alliance which they had with his grandfather, had scornful audience given them to deliver their message, and were dismissed and sent away by *Hieronimus* with a scump, demanding of them by way of a scoff, "How they had sped at the battel of *Canna*. For I can hardly beleieve" (quoth he) "that all is true which the Embassadors report of that field: and I would gladly know the certain truth & thereupon deliberate and take counsel, which side I were best to take. The Roman Embassadors said, they would repair again unto him when he could begin once to give audience with gravity and in good earnest to their embassage: and so after they had warned & admonished, rather than prayed and entreated him, nor to change, but to stand to the first covenant and promises, they departed. Then *Hieronimus* sent his Legates to *Carthage*, for to confirm the League with the *Carthaginians*, according to the alliance and amity made with *Annibal*. In which it was capitulate and covenanted, that when they had expelled the Romans out of *Sicily* (which would shortly come to pass, in case they sent thither ships and a power of men) the river *Himera*, which (as it were) divided the Island in the midst, should confine and limit, both the *Syracusan* kingdom and the dominion of the *Carthaginians*. After this, being puffed up with the fair flattering speeches of such as were about him, who suggested unto him, to remember and call to mind that not only King *Hiero* was his grandfather, but also King *Pirrhus* by the mothers side: he sent Embassadors unto the *Carthaginians*, to give them from him to understand, That he deemed

med it right and meet, that all *Sicily* wholly should lie unto his dominion: and that the Empire of *Italy* only, belonged properly to the Carthaginian people to acquire and conquer. This levity and vain glorious humour they neither wondered at, as a stranger thing in a giddy-brained young man; nor yet greatly blamed and found fault with, so long as they might estrange him wholly and alienate him altogether from the friendship of the Romans. But all things in him turned to his overthrow and utter confusion. For whiles *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* were sent alone with two thousand souldiers, for to sound and solicit the Cities rebellion, that were held by the garrisons of the Romans: and himself in person entred the country of the *Leontins*, with all the rest of the forces, which amounted to fifteen thousand foot and horse together: certain conspirators, who chanced all to be his own souldiers, and bare arms under him, possessed themselves of a wake house, standing over a narrow lane, through which the King was wont to go down into the market place of the City: there when other stood armed and well appointed, and waiting when the King should pass by, one of the conspirators (whose name was *Indigemines*) had given him in charge, because he was one of the squires of the Kings body, when the King approached near unto the door of the said house, to find some occasion or other, in that straight passage, to stay the troop and train that followed behind. And so he effected indeed, and put in execution, as it was agreed and contrived. For *Indigemines*, lift up his foot, making as though he would loose and slack a straight knot of his sho-latchet, which hindring his going, whereby he staid the company that followed after, so long, that the King passing by alone without his guard of armed men about him, was assaulted mean while, and recieved sundry stabs and wounds, before they could come to rescue and save him. Hereupon arose an outcry and tumult, and divers of the guard let flie at *Indigemines*, who by this time was ready to oppose himself and to award all venues: howbeit he was hurt only in two places, and so escaped. The guard seeing the King there lying dead, fled away as they could. The murderers, some of them betook themselves into the market-place unto the multitude, that rejoiced for the recovery of their freedom: others repaired to *Syracuse*, to intercept and prevent the designments of *Andronodorus*, and other favourits and followers of the late King.

Whiles things flood in these uncertain and doubtful terms, *Appius Claudius* foreseeing war like to ensue, and that very shortly, addressed his letters unto the Senat of *Rome*, certifying them that *Sicily* enclined already, and was at hand to side with the people of *Cartage* and with *Annibal*. Himself in the mean time bent all his forces toward the frontiers of the Province and confines of that Kingdom, to withstand and hinder all the proceedings and enterprises of the *Syracusians*.

In the end of that year, *Q. Fabius*, by order from the Senate, fortified *Puteoli*, a town of merchandise, and which in time of wars began to be much resorted unto and frequented, and there he placed a garrison. From whence as he was in his journey toward *Rome* against the grand Election of Magistrates, he proclaimed the solemn assembly of the people for that purpose to be the next Comitiall day that followed upon his arrivall thither: and so it fell out, that he went along the City side immediatly upon his journey, and came down into *Mars* field before he entred the City. Upon which day, when it hapned that the Century of the younger sort was drawn out by lot, and had the prerogative, and by their voices nominated *T. Otacilius*, and *M. Emilius Regillus* for Consuls, then *Q. Fabius* after silence made, rose up, and delivered this or such like speech. "If either we had peace in *Italy*, or war at leastwise with those enemies, with whom if we dealt neither negligently or unadvisedly, the matter were not much, nor importing great hazard and danger: I would think, that whosoever disturbed and crossed your favours and free affections which ye bring hither with you into this solemn place of assembly, to bestow honours and dignities upon whom ye please had but small and no regard of your liberty and freedom. But since that in this war and with this enemy, never any General of ours faulterd in the managing of his affairs, but it cost us dear, and we had some great foil and overthrow: it behoveth you, that with what mind and carefull regard ye enter the field to combat in your armour, in the same ye should come hither into this *Mars* field in your gowns, and so proceed by your suffrages to elect your Consuls: and that every one of you should thus say to himself, I am to nominate a Consul to match with General *Annibal*. No longer since, than this very year, when as before *Copua*, *Jubellius Taurca*, the bravest horseman and Cavalier of all the Campans defied the Romans, and challenged them to fight man to man, *Asellus Claudius*, the noblest Knight of all the Romans, and best man at arms, was chosen to encounter him. In times past, against a Gaul that offered combat upon the bridge over *Anio*, our ancestors sent our *Manlius*, a courageous, resolute, and puissant Champion. Neither can I deny, but upon such another occasion, not many years after, the like trust was reposed in *M. Valerius*, who took arms likewise against another Gaul that challenged single fight. And even as we are desirous, & wish to have our foot and horiemen both, more valorous and hardy than our enemies, or if that will not be, at leastwise equall unto them, and able to countermatch them: even so let us be carefull to find out a General of our own comparable every way to the chief commander of our enemies. And when we have chosen the best warrior and Captain in the whole City, then presently without any longer delay, being elect and created for one whole year, he shall be sent to match with an old captain, that hath ever continued in the field, one who is not enclosed within compals of time, nor restrained & gaged within the straight bounds of law, but that he may order & manage every thing, according as the occasions and present occurrences of war do require: whereas, by that time

The Oration
of *Q. Fabius* to
the people of
Rome.

A^c that we can make all ready and dispose every thing in order, and set in hand to begin our affairs, the year is come about and cleane gone. Now forasmuch as enough hath been said, what manner of Consuls ye ought to create: It remaineth to speak somewhat of them, whom the prerogative Century so highly favoureth, and is so much affected unto. As for *M. Emilius Regillus*, he is the Flamin of *Quirinus*, whom neither we may take from his ministry of Sacrifice, nor yet retain and keep him still, but we that neglect either the service of the gods, or the due care and regard of the wars. *Octavius* hath married my sisters daughter, and hath fair issue by her. But your favours and good turns shewed both to me, and also to my ancestors, are not of so small account and reckoning, but that I ought to prefer the Common-weal before all private regards and alliances whatsoever. Every mariner, yea, and any passenger is able to steer and rule a Ship in a calm water: but when a blustering tempest is up, and the vessel tossed in a troubled surging sea, and carried away with violent force of the winds, then there had need to be a man indeed, and a skilfull Pilot to sit at the stern, and to guide the helm. We sail not now in a still and quiet sea: but we have been drenched, and in a manner drowned, with some storms already: and therefore we ought to have exceeding great care and be well advised atorehand, whom we have to be the steers-man. In a matter of less consequence and importance, we have made triall, O *T. Octavius*, of your knowledge and service: and you have not given us yet so good proof of your vertue and prowess therein, that we should put you in trust with the managing of greater affairs. A Navy whereof you were Admiral, we rigged and trimmed to your hands this year for three causes: first, to annoy and spoil the sea-coast of *Affrick*: secondly to defend and keep to our behoof the ports and havens of *Italy*: last of all, and above all, to impeach and stay all supplies and new succours, together with money, munition, and victuall, for being transported unto *Annibal* from *Carthage*. If *Octavius* have performed, I say not all these things, but in any one quit himself well, to the good and benefit of the State, Elect him Consul hardly, and good leave have you. But if it appear, that while you had the rule of the Armada, all things (that a man would have) passed out of the country unto *Annibal*, with as great safety and security, as if the seas had been open and void of enemies: If, I say, the sea-coast of *Italy* hath all this year been more in danger, and subject to sustain harm, than that of *Affrick*: what reason can you alledge, wherefore the people of *Rome* should choose you above all others, to oppose as Captain, to confront their enemy *Annibal*. If you were Consul in place already, we would judge it requisite and good to nominate and create a Dictator, according to the example of our forefathers: neither could you take stuff or be offended, that there should be found in the City of *Rome* a better warrior, and more sufficient than your self. And surely it concerneth no man more than you, O *Octavius*, to see that there be not imposed a burden upon your shoulders, under which you should fall and fall down right. Wherefore I advise and exhort you all, as much as possibly I can, in electing of Consuls this day, to carry that mind, and use that careful providence, as ye would, in case ye were standing armed in battel array: and to choose out of hand two Generall Captains under whose conduct and government ye should presently fight a field: and make choice of such Consuls, unto whom our children were to take the oath of allegiance: at whose commandment, they should come and assemble together, and under whose whole charge and protection they might willingly serve as souldiers. The pool *Thrasymenus*, the plain before *Cannae*, are heavy examples for us to remember: but yet they serve for good precedents unto us, to teach us how to avoid the like mischief another time. So the prerogative Century of the younger and puny sort, was called again to a new scrutiny, and to give their voices again. Whereat when *T. Octavius* began to cry out aloud and say very stoutly, that *Fabius* his drift was to continue Consul still, and therewith grew to be clamorous and troublesome to the assembly: the Consul commanded the Lictors to go unto him, and to lay hold upon him. And forasmuch as yet he had not entred into the City, but came down straightwaies into the *Mars* field presently from his journey, he put them in mind, that the knitches of the rods together with the axes within them should be born before him. And in the mean time the prerogative Century began afresh to give their voices: and by it were nominated Consuls *Q. Fabius Maximus* the fourth time, and *M. Marcellus* the third time: and all the Centuries besides without any jarring and variance elected the very same. One of the former Prætors likewise was chosen again, namely *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*. And other new created, that is to say, *T. Octavius Crassus* the second time, *Q. Fabius* the Consul his son, who at that time was Ædile of the chair and *P. Cornelius Lentulus*. After the Election of the Prætors was ended and finished, there passed an Act and decree of the Senate that *Q. Fulvius* should extraordinarily have the charge of the City, and be Prætor there: and that he above all other, when the Consuls were gone forth to the wars should be President and Governour of the City of *Rome*. There fell great rain and much snow that year, whereby the *Tiber* overflowed the fields, overthrew many houses, and overwhelmed much cattel and people, so as they utterly perished.

Thus in the fifth year of the second Punic war, *Q. Fabius Maximus* the fourth time, and *M. Claudius Marcellus* the third time, when they entred their Consulship, set the City on thinking and musing of them more than usually had been known. For in many years there had not been the like couple of Consuls. And old men would talk and say, that even so were *Max. Rullus* and *P. Decius* declared Consuls against the Gauls war: and after them likewise, *Papirius* and *Carvilius* against the Samnites and *Brutii*: against the people also of *Lucania* and *Tarentum*. *Marcellus*

cellus was created Consul in his absence, whilst he was with the Army abroad, and *Fabius* being himself present and president of the Election, was ordained to continue still in his Consulship. The occasion of the time, the necessity and occurrence of the wars, and the perill and hazard of the whole State were such, as no man looked nearly into the example and precedent to find fault with all, nor had the Consul in any jealousie of ambition and desire of rule: but rather every man commended his noble and haughty mind, who seeing that the Common-wealth stood in need of an excellent Captain, and knowing himself without all question to be the man, made less reckoning and account of the envy and ill will of men, that thereby haply might accrue, than of the good and profit of the Common-wealth. The same day that the Consuls began their office, they assembled the Senators in the Capitoll: and the first thing they did, was a decree, that the Consuls should either cast lots, or agree together between themselves, whether of them two should assemble the people for the election of Censors, before he set forward to the army. After this, all they had their authority prolonged and continued still, who were employed abroad with the forces: and their commissions were renewed and sealed again, for to abide in the government of their Provinces: to wit, *T. Gracchus* at *Luceria*, where he abode with the army of the Voluntaries: *C. Terentius Varro* in the Picene country: *M. Pomponius* in the Province of Gaul (on this side the *Alps*.) It was enacted also, that of the Prætors of the former year, *Q. Minus* as Vice-Prætor should govern *Sardinia*: that *M. Valerius* at *Brundisium* should course the river, look to the sea-coasts, and have an eye to all the attempts and enterprises of *Philip* King of the *Macedonians*: *P. Corn. Scipio* the new Prætor, was appointed to rule the Province of *Sicily*: and *T. Octavius* to be admiral of the same Navy, which the year before he had the charge of against the *Carthaginians*.

Many prodigious and strange signs were reported that year and so much the more as they were believed to be true of the simple and superstitious sort of people. Namely that within the hap-pel of *Sabaz* a *Juno* in *Lanuvium*, the Ravens builded their nests. In *Apulia* a green palm tree was on a light fire. At *Mantua* a pool maintained by the overflowing of the river *Adriaticus*, appeared red with blood. At *Caeser* it rained chalk, and at *Rome* in the beasts market it rained blond. In a village, called *Istria*, a spring under the ground, brake out and yielded such abundance of water, that it over-turned, tumbled up and down and carried away (as it had been the stream of a river) divers vessels as pipes, tin barrels and cerces that were in the place. The open and publicke hall within the Capitoll, the Temple of *Vulcan* in *Mars* field, a nut-tree in the *Sabin* country: the high street, the wall, and a gate at *Capitol*, were all blasted with lightning and fire from heaven. And by this time, other miraculous and monstrous signs were commonly blown abroad, to wit, that the spear of *Mars* in *Prænest*, of its own accord stirred and moved forward: that an ox was heard speak in *Sicily*: that the Infant within the mothers womb, in the *Marrucian* country was heard to cry, *Io Triumphe*, at *Spole*, a woman turned to be a man. At *Hercules* there appeared an Altar in the skie, and apparitions or shews of men discovered about the same, arrayed in white. At *Rome* also within the City was seen now the second time, a swarm of Bees in the very market-place: a thing wondrous at, because it was rare and seldom known. Some there were also, that avouched, how they descried armed Legions on the hill *Janiculum*: Whereupon the City rose up in arms and when they were come into the *Janicle*, they said plainly, that there were none there appeared but the ordinary inhabitants of the hill. These prodigious signs by direction from the *Aruspices*, [i.e. the Soothsayers] were expiate, and the gods pacified with greater sacrifices: and a solemn procession and supplication was proclaimed unto all the gods that were shrined at *Rome*, and had their chappels there.

After all complements performed, that belonged to the pacification of the gods, the Consuls proposed unto the Senat concerning State-matters, and especially about the managing of the wars, Namely what forces should be prepared, what numbers of souldiers levied, and where they should be bestowed severally. And agreed it was That there should be eighteen Legions employed in the wars, Whereof the Consuls were to take unto them two apiece: the Provinces likewise of *Gaul*, *Sicily*, and *Sardinia* should be guarded each of them with other twain. *Q. Fabius* the Lord Deputy of *Apulia*, was to have two Legions under his hand, to command the Province: and *T. Gracchus* other two of voluntaries to keep the country about *Luceria*: and *C. Terentius* the Pro-Consul to have the charge of one in the Picene country: and *M. Valerius* another, for the Navy about *Brundisium*: and last of all, twain were left behind for the guard and defence of the City of *Rome*. For to make out this full number of Legions, six of necessity were to be levied new. And the Consuls were appointed with all convenient speed to enroll them: and likewise to provide an Armada that year of 150 Gallies, together with those ships which ride in the river along the coasts of *Calabria* for the defence of that Country. When the muster was done, and the new ships haled and shot into sea, *Q. Fabius* assembled the Centuries for the election of Censors: wherein were created, *M. Atilius Regulus*, and *P. Furius Philus*.

The rumour still encreased, that *Sicily* was out, and up in arms. Whereupon *T. Octavius* was commanded to go thither with his fleet. And because there wanted sailers and mariners the Consuls, by verue of a decree of the Senat published an Edict. That as many as in the time of *L. Aemilius*, and *C. Flaminius* Censors, either themselves or their fathers were assessed in the Subsidy book, from 50000 *As*, unto 100000 in goods, or who afterwards grew to that worth should find one mariner, and six months pay. Item, That whosoever were rated above 100000 unto 300000 should

A should be charged with three mariners, and one years pay. *Item*, That whosoever were valued in the Censors book between 300000 and 1000000 should allow five mariners. *Item*, That those above that proportion should set out seven. And every Senat should provide eight mariners, and furnish them with a whole years pay. According to this Edict, the mariners were set out well armed and appointed by their Masters, and having with them aforehand meat dressed and sodden to serve them thirty daies, they were embarked. This is the first time that ever the Roman Navy was furnished with sailers and mariners, at the proper charges of private Citizens.

This extraordinary preparation more than usuall, terrified the Campanians most of all other, for fear lest the Romans would begin war that year, with laying siege to *Capua*. Therefore they dispatched Embassadors unto *Annibal*, requesting him to come nearer unto *Capua* with his forces. For why? at *Rome* there were new armies levied, for to assaile that City: and the Romans were not discontented more with the revolt of any than of them. And forasmuch as this message was delivered in such haste and fear, *Annibal* thinking it good to make speed, left the Romans prevented him, dislodged and removed from *Arpi*, and encamped upon *Tifolia* over *Capua*, in the fort, where he kept of old. Then, leaving the Numidians and Spaniards behind him both to guard the Camp, and also to defend *Capua*, he went down with the rest of his army to the Lake *Avernus*, pretending in shew there to sacrifice, but in very deed to lound and sollicit *Puteoli* and the garrison there for to rebell. *Maximus* was no sooner advertized, that *Annibal* was departed from *Arpi*, and in his return to *Campania*; but he journeyed night and day, and never staid, untill he was come again, and repaired to his army. And withall, he gave order and direction unto *T. Gracchus*, to remove with his power from *Luceria*, and to draw near to *Beneventum*: likewise unto *Q. Fabius* the Prætor, (who was the Consul his son) to supply the room of *Gracchus* at *Luceria*. At the same time the two Prætors took their journey, and went into *Sicily*, *P. Cornelius* to the army there on land, and *Octavius* to keep the sea-coast, and to be admiral of the Navy: and the rest spred them every one into their severall Provinces. They also who had their authority and government continued, ruled the same countries that they did before.

Whiles *Annibal* abode at the Lake *Avernus*, there came unto him from *Tarentum*, five noble young Gentlemen (Roman associates) which had been taken prisoners, some at the pool *Thrasymenus*, others at *Canna*, whom he had sent home in the same manner of curtesie, as he had shewed ever to all the Allies of the Romans. These Gentlemen, in remembrance of his favours and benefits, made report unto him, "That they had perswaded and induced a great part of the youth of *Tarentum*, to entertain rather the amity and alliance of *Annibal*, than of the people of *Rome*: "and for this intent they were sent Embassadors from them, to request in their name, that it "might please him to come nearer with his forces to *Tarentum*. For say they, if they might but "once see from out of *Tarentum* his standard and ensigns, and himself near encamped, the City "would without delay be surrendered up into his hands. For the younger people had the commons at their beck and commandment, and the commons ruled the whole state of *Tarentum* "at their pleasure. *Annibal* after he had commended and thanked them, and withall loaden them with many fair and great promises, willed them to return home, to hasten and set forward, and effect these intended designments, saying, that he would be there in good and convenient time. With these hopes the Tarentines took their leave, and departed. *Annibal* himself was wonderfully desirous to be Master of *Tarentum*. He saw it was a noble City and a wealthy, seated also by the sea-side, and a very commodious Port, looking and lying toward *Macedonia*: and well he wist that King *Philp* (if he should pass over into *Italy*, seeing the Romans were possessed of *Brundisium*) would arrive at this haven. When he had performed the Sacrifice for which he thither came, and (whiles he made his abode there) foraged all the Territory of *Cumes*, even as far as the Cape of the Promontory *Misenum*: suddenly he turned his army and marched to *Puteoli*, for to surprise and give a camifado to the fort and garrison there. There were six thousand of them within the town: and the place not only by naturall situation strong, but also surely fortified by industry of man. *Annibal* having staid there three daies, and assailed the fort and the garrison on every side, seeing he could not prevail nor effect any thing, went forward from thence, and proceeded to the walling of the Territory of *Naples*, upon anger, rather than any hope of gaining the City. The Commons of *Nola*, who long time were discontented with the Romans, and at deadly feud with their own Senators: upon his coming into the territory and confines so near unto them, began to rise in a commotion. Whereupon there came Embassadors unto *Annibal*, requiring him to advance to *Nola*, upon assured promise, that the town should be delivered into his hands. But *Marcellus*, who was sent unto by the Nobles, prevented this their plot and designment: and in one day he reached to *Suessula* from *Cales*, notwithstanding he made some stay to ferry over the river *Vulturnus*. And to the next night he sent into *Nola* 6000 footmen, and 300 horse, for to aid and defend the Senat. And like as the Consul bestirred himself with all speed and diligence, to make *Nola* sure to him aforehand, so *Annibal* contrariwise temporized, being not so ready now to credit the *Nolans*: as having twice before given the like attempt, and to no purpose in the end, and therefore he trifled out the time, and made small haste.

At the same time also, *Q. Fabius* the Consul came against *Casertum*, which was kept by the garrison of the Carthaginians, to see if he could surprise it. And to *Beneventum* at one time (as if they had been so agreed) came on the one side, *Hannibal* from the *Bruttii*, with a great power of foot and horse; and on another side, *Gracchus* from *Luceria*: who entered the town first. From whence so soon

soon as he heard that *Hanno* lay encamped within three miles of the City, by the river *Calores*, and there waited the Country, he himself issued, and pitched his tents within a mile of the enemy: where he assembled all his souldiers together, purposing to make a speech unto them. He had with him the Legions that consisted most of voluntaries, who already two years before, had been more willing to deserve their freedom in silent manner, than to challenge and demand it with open mouth. Howbeit, he perceived when he departed out of the winter harbors, that they began to murmur and grumble in the army when they marched: and to complain in this wise. What? shall we never serve in the quality and condition of freemen? Whereupon he had written unto the Senat, and shewed unto them not so much what they desired, as what they deserved to have: certifying them, that unto that day they had done him good and valiant service: and wanted nothing save only their freedom, but they might go for true and lawful souldiers. Whereupon the Lords of the Senat had put it unto his discretion for to do by them what he thought was expedient for the Common-weal. Thereupon, before that he should join battell with the enemy, he pronounced these words before them all, and said: "That now the time was come, of obtaining and acquiring that liberty, which so long they hoped after. For the next morrow they were to affront their enemies with banner displayed, and to fight in a plain and open ground, where without fear of any ambush the triall might be made with meer force and true valour: Whosoever therefore can bring me the head of an enemy, him my pleasure & will is, to make free immediately; and who so loseth ground and retreateth, him will I chastise as a bondslave ought to be punished. Now every man hath his state and condition lying in his own hands: and of your freedom, not only myself will assure you, but for further warrant ye have the allowance of *M. Marcellus* the Cos, and generally of all the LL. of the Council, whole advice I sought, and who committed unto my hands the ordering of your liberty. And withall he read the Consuls letters, and the decree of the Senat in that behalf. Whereat they set up a mighty cry, in token of their assent and approbation, and called for battell, and earnestly urged to give the signal out of hand. Then *Gracchus* having pronounced the next day for battell, dismissed the assembly. The souldiers were joyous, especially such as were to have their freedom in reward of one daies service, and bestowed the rest of that day in making their armor and weapons ready. The morrow after, so soon as the trumpets began to sound: they were the first of all other that presented themselves before the General his pavilion, well appointed and ready to fight: and by the sun rising *Gracchus* led forth his men into the field in order of battell. The enemies for their parts were nothing behind, but forward to encounter them. They were in number seventeen thousand of footmen, most of them *Brutii* and *Lucans*: of horsemen, twelve hundred: among whom there were very few Italians, the rest were in manner all *Numidians* and *Moors*. The fight was sharp, and continued long, and for four hours it was not seen which side had the better. No one thing else troubled the Romans more, than their enemies heads, which were the prizes to redeem the souldiers liberty. For as any had killed their enemies lustily, they were fain first, with much ado, to cut off their heads, within the troublesome press and tumult, and so to lose time: and after that, by reason that their right hands were employed and occupied with holding the same heads, it fell out, that the best souldiers gave over fighting, and the feeble dastards and fearfull cowards only were to maintain the conflict. Which when the Marshalls of the field and Colonels reported unto *Gracchus*, and namely, that there was not a souldier of the enemies standing that was wounded and hurt any more: but they that lay along were hacked and hewed as it were by butchers: and that his own souldiers instead of swords, held their enemies heads in their hands: he commanded in all haste, that upon a signal given, they should fling away their heads from them, and charge afresh upon the enemies. For their valour and prowess (saith he) was well enough seen already, and evidently testified, and so long as they were so hardy men, and bare themselves so manfully, they should not need to doubt of their liberty. Then the conflict began to be renewed and withall, the horsemen charged the enemies: whom the *Numidians* received with equall valour: inso much as the fight of the Cavalry was as bravely performed, as the other of the Infantry: whereupon once again the victory seemed doubtful, to which part it would encline: whiles in both hosts the Generals reproached and debated the adverse part. *Gracchus* said that the *Brutii* and *Lucans* were so often vanquished and subdued by the Roman ancestors: and *Hanno* again girded at the Romans, calling them bondslaves, and souldiers let loose out of prison and houses of correction. At the last, *Gracchus* declared aloud, and said, They were not to hope at all for their liberty, unless that day their enemies were discomfited and put to flight. This one word of his at length set their blood in such an heat, that they raised a fresh shout, & as if they had been cast again in a new mould, they charged upon the enemies, so violently, that they could no longer be resisted and withstood. First, they that fought in the vanguard of the *Carthaginians* were put out of order: then they about their standards and ensignes: and last of all, the whole battell was driven back and gave ground. Whereupon they fairly turned their backs, and fled so fast one upon another into their Camp, in such fear and fright, that not so much as at the very gates, nor upon the rampier, they staid once, and turned again to make head: so as the Romans following them hard at the heels into their camp as it were in one train pell-mell made a new skirmish even within the rampier of their enemies. Where the fight was not so lumberome, by reason of the straightness of the room wherein they were pent, but the massacre and execution was as cruell and bloody. The prisoners also that were among the enemies, in this confused conflict and tumult joyhed themselves and stuck close together: and having caught up some weapons, helped

A helped forward the victory: and either charging upon the backs of the Carthaginians slew them, or else hindred them in their flight and running away. So of that great army, there were not all out two thousand (and the most part of them horsemen) that escaped with the Generall himself: all the rest were either slain or taken prisoners: and of military ensignes were carried away forty save twain. Of the Victors, there died fast upon two thousand. All the spoil, but only the prisoners, was granted to the souldiers. The cattell also was reserved, as many as within thirty daies the right owners could justly make claim unto for their own. When they were returned laden with booties and pillage into the Camp there were almost 4000 of the voluntary souldiers, who had fought but faintly, and brake not into the Camp with the rest: who for fear of punishment seized
 B a little hill not far from the Camp, and kept it for their hold. But the morrow after, being set from thence by the Colonels, they repaired again to the camp, at what time as *Gracchus* had summoned his souldiers to an assembly. Where, after that the Pro-Consul first had rewarded his old souldiers with military gifts, according to each one his prowels and good service in that battell: then as concerning the voluntaries, he said thus much, That he had rather they were all commended by him, good and bad, one with another, than that one of them that day should taste of any punishment: and therefore he pronounced them all free in the name of God, to the benefit, happiness, and felicity, both of Common-weal, and also of themselves. At which word, they lifted up their voices aloud with exceeding cheerfulness and alacrity: and one while they clipped and embraced one another in their arms, with gratulation and great joy: another while again, they held their
 C hands toward heaven, wishing and praying at the gods hands, all good blessing for the people of Rome, and for *Gracchus* especially. "Then (quoth *Gracchus*) Before that I had made you all alike, and to have equall part in the right and priviledge of freedom, I would not let upon any of you, either the mark of a stout and hardy souldier, or the note of a faint-hearted and beastly coward. But now that I have discharged my self of the trust committed unto me by the Common-weal, to the end, that all difference between prowels & cowardise, should not be forgotten altogether and perishe; I will take expresse order, that the names of them, whose conscience accused them of faint fighting, and avoiding the hazard of battell, and therefore ere while withdrew themselves apart, be brought unto me. And when they are cited and called forth every one by his name, I will compell them to take a corporall oath (quoth he) that unless it be upon sickness, so
 D long as they shall continue in souldiery, they neither eat nor drink but standing upon their feet. And this punishment (I am sure) you will willingly take in good part: when ye shall consider better of it, and see that you could not have had an easier note of disgrace and shame, for your false hearts and slender service. Then he gave the signall to truss up bag and baggage, and sounded the remove, and so dislodged: and thus the souldiers carrying and driving before them their booties, all the way disporting themselves so merily and jocund, returned to *Beneventum*: as if they had come from some great dinner, upon a solemn and festival day, and not from fighting a bloody battell. All the people of *Beneventum* came forth in great numbers to meet them at the gates, welcomed the souldiers, bad them joy, embraced them, and invited them to their houses, to give them entertainment and lodging. The boords were spread in every mans court-yard, and furnished
 E with store of viands: they willed them to come and make merry with them, and requested *Gracchus* to give his souldiers leave to feast and make good chear. And *Gracchus* was content, but upon this condition, that they should all eat their meals abroad in the open street. Then all things were brought forth, and set upon the tables at every mans door. The voluntaries took their repast and refection either with their caps on their heads, or else covered their crown with white wooll, some sitting, some standing: waiting and serving one another at the table, and eat their meat, and fed with them together. This was such a worthy sight and solemnity, that *Gracchus* after he was returned to Rome, caused the representation and resemblance of the celebration of this day, to be drawn and portraied in colours, and the picture to remain in the Temple of the goddess *Liberty*, which his father caused to build in the mount *Aventine*, of certain fines and forfeits, and
 F afterwards there dedicated it.

Whiles these matters thus passed at *Beneventum*, *Annibal* having spoiled and harried the territory about *Naples*, removed toward *Nola*, and there encamped before the town. Whom when the Consul understood to be coming, he sent for *Pomponius* the Pro-Prætor, together with that army which lay encamped above above *Suessula*, and provided to meet with the enemy, minding presently to bid him battell. He sent out *Claudius Nero* with the strength of his horsemen in the dead time of the night at a back gate, that was farthest from the enemy, giving him in charge to cast about closely, and fetch a compass, and fair and softly to follow the enemy, as he marched: and when he perceived the battell was begun, then to come forward, and set upon him behind on his back. But whether it were that *Nero* missed of the way, or having not time enough, could
 G not put this policy in execution, I know not. In his absence the armies joyned battell, wherein (no doubt) the Romans had the better hand. Howbeit, for default that the horsemen were not there in due time, the order of the direction failed, and took not effect. And notwithstanding that the enemies gave ground and retreated, yet *Marcellus* durst not follow hot upon them, but sounded the retreat to his own men, being in a good way of victory. Yet were there by report above 2000 of the enemies slain that day, but of Romans under 400. And about the sun set, *Nero* who all the day and night past, had tired horse and man, and done no good, and now returned, without so much as a sight of the enemy, was sharply rebuked of the Consul, in so much, that he gave him this

check to choke him, That it was long of him and none else, that they had not cried quittance with the enemy, for the overthrow & loss received at *Canna*. The day following *Marcellus* came down again into the field, ready to give battel. But *Annibal*, as one that secretly confessed himself to be overcome, held himself close within the strength of his Camp: And on the third day, giving over all hope to get *Nola*, (an enterprize that never sped well) he departed in the still time of the night toward *Tarentum*, upon a better and more assured hope to gain it by treason.

The civill affairs at *Rome* were managed with no less courage at home, than the wars in the field abroad. For the Censors, who by reason that the City treasure waxed low, were eased of their care of setting out the publike works of the City by the great: and having nothing else to do, employed themselves in reformation of mens manners and chastising of vices and enormities, which sprung upon war: like as mens bodies, which by long and lingering sickness grown weak, ever and anon breed new diseases. And first they convented before them those Citizens, who after the battel at *Canna*, were (by report) minded and disposed to leave the Common-weal, and to depart out of *Italy*. The ring-leader of them all was *L. Cecilius Metellus*, who hapned then to be Treasurer of the City. He, with the rest of that crew, who were culpable in the same crime, were commanded to make their answer, and plead their causes: but when they were not able to clear and quit themselves, the Censors charged them openly, that they had given out certain words, and made speeches against the State, tending to a sedition and conspiracy, for to abandon *Italy*. Next after them were cited to appear those cunning and crafty companions aforesaid, who with their over-subtill interpretation and construing of words, would seem to avoid their oath: those captives, I mean, who being on their way to *Rome*, came back secretly into the Camp of *Annibal*, and took themselves freed and discharged, because they had sworn to return again. But these and the others aforesaid, as many as served upon the City horses, had their horses taken from them, were displaced out of their Tribe, and condemned all to lose their voices, and to serve without City pay. Neither were the Censors carefull to correct the Senat, and reform the degree of the Knights only, but also they proceeded to rase out of the publike checkroll of the younger Citizens, the names of all those, who for four years space had not served in wars, as many, I say of them, as could not justly plead and alledge, either ordinary immunity by law, or sickness for their excuse. And of these were found guilty above 2000: who were awarded to be *Ærarii*, and all of them to be removed out of their tribe. And besides this shamefull disgrace and note of ignominy awarded by the Censors, there passed a heavy decree of the Senat against them, to wit, That all they whom the Censors had thus scored and noted, should be bound to serve on foot in the wars, and be confined and sent over into *Sicily*, to the residue there of the army that remained at *Canna*. And no other time of service and warfare was limited unto this sort of the souldiers, but untill the enemy were driven clean out of *Italy*.

Whiles the Censors, as is aforesaid, upon occasion that the Cities stock was so decayed, gave over and forbore to bargain for the repairing and maintenance of the Churches and holy Temples, and for the finding and provision of chariot horses for the State, and such like: there resorted unto them a great number of those that were wont at the spear to take these bargains at their hands by the great, and for a gross sum of money: who exhorted the Censors to deal in those matters still, and to set, let, and enter into bargain with them, as if the City Chamber wanted no money: making this offer that none of them all would demand payment out of the common Chest, before the wars were fully ended.

Then repaired unto the Censors the Masters of those bondmen, whom *T. Sempronius* had manumitted and let free at *Beneventum*, saying, that they were sent by the Triumvirs, out of the office of the Bankers, called *Mensarii*, for to receive again their monies, according as they prized and valued their slaves: howbeit, they would not, before the war was finished. And as the hearts of the Commons were thus favourably affected, to sustain and support the poverty of the treasure-house: so the stocks of money also that belonged first to Orphans, and afterwards to widows, began now to be bestowed in the Chamber of the City: and they that presented and brought in those moneys, beleaved assuredly, that they could not lay them up more sure and safe, than in the publike credit and security of the City. And whatsoever out of these stocks was disbursed and defraied, for to buy and provide any thing for the Orphans or widows aforesaid, the treasurers kept a book thereof, and noted it down in a register. This kindness and benevolence of private persons unto their country, extended it self from the City, even as far as to the Camp: insomuch, that neither horseman nor Centurion would take their wages, but rebuke and rate them, that could find in their hearts to receive their pay, terming them no better than mercenaries and hirelings.

Now *Q. Fabius* the Consul lay in Camp before *Caplinum*, which City was kept with a garrison of two thousand Campans, and seven hundred of *Annibal*'s souldiers. They had for their Captain and Commander, one *Statius Metius*, sent thither by *Cn. Magius Arretianus*: who for that year was *Mediftricus* of *Capua*. He put the bondslaves and Commons in arms, intermingled one with another, for to enter upon the Camp of the Romans, whiles the Consul was busie in assaulting *Caplinum*. *Fabius* was nothing ignorant of all these things, and therefore he sent unto *Nola* to his Colleague there, signifying unto him, that there was need of a second army to make head against the Campans, whiles the other was employed about the assault of *Caplinum*: and telling him besides, that either he must himself come in person, leaving a mean garrison behind him at *Nola*: or else if he might not be spared from thence, for fear of danger from

Annibal,

* The head
Magistrat, is
Lord Maior.

A *Annibal*, he would send for *T. Gracchus* the Pro-Consul, from *Beneventum*. Upon this message, *Marcellus* having left in *Nola* a guard of two thousand souldiers, with the rest of his forces, presented himself before *Caslinum*: upon whose coming, the Campans who were ready to set forward, staid themselves and were quiet. So both Consuls together jointly began to assault *Caslinum*: where the Roman souldiers that rashly came under the walls received much hurt: and *Fabius* seeing little good done, judged it best to surcease and give over the enterprise, being a service of small consequence, and nevertheless very dangerous: and to depart from thence, seeing there was business toward of greater importance. But *Marcellus* contrariwise was of opinion and said, that as there were many things which great warriors were not to attempt: so if they were once
B taken in hand, and the adventure given, they were not lightly to be given over and laid aside: forasmuch as in it lay matter of great consequence, for fame and reputation, both waies: and so he prevailed, that the enterprise was not neglected and abandoned. Whereupon, there were mantlers, and all other kinds of fabricks and engines of battery and assault, bent against the City: so as the Campans besought *Fabius*, that they might depart to *Capua* in safety. And when some few were gone forth, *Marcellus* possessed himself of that gate whereout they went: & then they fell to kill and slay one with another, first about the gate: and after they had rushed once in, they put to like execution those also within the City. Fifty there were or thereabout of the Campans that first got out of the town, and fled for mercy to *Fabius*: and they by his guard and safe conduct arrived at *Capua*. But see *Caslinum*, through the lingring slacknets of the Inhabitants that craved
C protection, was (by advantage taken of their long parley, and temporizing) won by the enemies. The captives, so many as were either Campans, or *Annibal* his souldiers, were sent to *Rome*, and there clapt up fast in prisons. But the multitude of the townsmen were distributed into sundry Cities adjoining, and there kept in ward.

At the very same time that the Consuls after their conquest, retired from *Caslinum*, *Gracchus* being in the country of the Lucans, and having gathered and enrolled certain cohorts and companies of souldiers out of those parts, sent them out a foraging, under the conduct of a Captain of Allies, into the territories of the enemies. *Hanno* encountered them as they stragled in scattering wife out of order, and set upon them, and paid his enemies again with the like defeat and loss, or not much less than that which he had received at *Beneventum*: and in great hast withdrew himself into the country of the *Bruttii*, for fear lest *Gracchus* should overtake him.

D The Consul *Marcellus* returned back to *Nola*, from whence he came, and *Fabius* went forward into *Samnium*, to spoil and waste the country, and to recover by force of arms the Cities which had revolted. The Samnites about *Caudium* were pitiously and grievously damnified: their villages in all places set on fire, their fields laid waste and destroyed, and great booties both of cattle and people driven away. Six towns forced by assault, namely, *Completaria*, * *Telefia*, *Cossa*, *Mela*, *Fufula*, and *Orbitanum*. In the Lucans country, the town of * *Blanda*: and in *Apulia*, the City * *Ance* was assaulted. In these towns and Cities, there were taken prisoners and slain 25000 of the enemies: of fugitives and runagate traitors there were recovered 370, whom the Consul sent home again to *Rome*, and being thither come, they were all beaten and scourged with
E rods in the *Comitium*, and then pitched down headlong to the earth, from the rock *Tarpeia*. These exploits were achieved by *Q. Fabius*, within the compass of a few daies. But *Marcellus* by occasion that he lay sick at *Nola*, was hindered from performing any feats of arms. The Praetor likewise *Q. Fabius*, who had the charge and jurisdiction of the province about *Luceria*, won by force about the same time the town *Accus*, and fortified a standing camp planted before *Arundonia*.

* *Telefia*.
* *Belvedere*.
* *Callipoli*.

Whiles the Romans were thus employed about these affairs in divers other places, *Annibal* was come unto *Tarentum*, to the exceeding great damage and detriment of all places where he journeyed: but being once arrived in the territory of *Tarentum*, he began to march and lead his army most peaceably. There he did no harm at all, made no havock, nor once went out of the
F high way. And it was evidently seen, that all this was done not upon any modesty that appeared either in souldier or Captain, but only to win unto him the hearts of the *Tarentins*. But when he approached the walls of the City, and saw no commotion, nor insurrection from thence upon the discovery of his Vanguard, as he thought he should, he pitched his Camp almost a mile from the town. Now had *M. Valerius* the Vice-Praetor, who was Admirall of the Fleet at *Brundisium*, sent *T. Valerius* his Lieutenant unto *Tarentum*, three daies before that *Annibal* shewed himself before the walls. He had mustred and enrolled the flower of the Nobility, and so bestowed at every gate, and about the walls where need required, good guards for defence: with such vigilant diligence both day and night, that he gave no opportunity and advantage either to the enemies to adventure any assault, or to the doubtful and untrusty friends to practice any treason. So *Annibal*, having spent there certain daies in vain, and seeing none of them who repaired unto him at the Lake *Avernus* either to come themselves, or to send messenger or letters, and
G perceiving now that he had rashly and foolishly followed vain promises, and so was deluded; dislodged and removed from thence. And even then also he spared the territory of *Tarentum*, and did no hurt at all: and albeit his fained and counterfeit lenity and mildness hitherto took no effect: yet he hoped still thereby to corrupt their faithfull allegiance to the Romans: and so he went to *Salapia*. And (by reason that midsummer was past, and he liked well of that place for a winter harbour) he conveyed thither all the corn from out of the Territory of *Metapontum*

* *Lago di Tripergula*.

and *Heraclea*. Then he sent out the Numidians and Moors, to fetch booties and prizes from out of the Salentine country, and all the woods and chafes next unto *Apulia* from whence they drave of other cattell small store: but of horses especially they brought away great numbers, of which there were four thousand divided amongst the horlemen to be handled, broken, and made gentle.

The Romans seeing there was like to be war in *Sicily*, & the same not lightly to be regarded; & that the death of the Tyrant there, rather gave the Syracusians good Captains, than wrought any change in their minds, or alteration in the cause: assigned unto *M. Marcellus*, one of the Consuls, that Province to govern. Presently upon the murder of *Hieronymus*, first the souldiers in the Leontin country, began to mutine and make an uprore, and boldly spake and said, That the Kings death should be expiate, and his obsequies solemnized with sacrificing the blood of conspirators. But afterwards, when they heard often iterated the sweet name of liberty and freedom restored unto them: and that there was good hope that the souldiers should have a largess dealt amongst them out of the Kings Treasure, and be under the command of Captains of better quality, and having besides all this, a bedroll rehearsed unto them of the Tyrant his cruelty and foul facts, and of more filthy and loathsome lusts: their affections were so altered, that they suffered the body of their King to lie above ground unburied, whom a little before, they so greatly desired and wished for. Now as concerning the conspirators, whiles the rest of them remained behind to assure and possess themselves of the army, *Theodorus* and *Sosis* took the Kings horses and rode post, as hard as ever they could to *Syracusa*, for to surprize upon a sudden all his followers and favourites (who knew nothing of that which was done) and fall upon them at unawares: but they were prevented not only by the same (which above all other things in such cases is most swift) but also by a courier one of the Kings servants. Whereupon *Andronodorus* had seized beforehand of that part of the City which is called the Island, together with the Castle, and all other places that he could come at which were thought of any good importance; and them he fortified with good guards.

* The City of *Syracuse* was divided into four parts, *Hexapylus*, *Tiche*, *Acradina* and *Insula*.
 * In other authors called, *Tyche*, or *Tuke* *Fortuna*, where the Temple there stood.
 * *Acradina* of others.

Theodorus and *Sosis* being entered within the City at * *Hexapylus* after sun-setting, in the twy-light and shutting in of the evening: and shewing the Kings royall robes all embred with blood, and the ornament and attire likewise of his head, he passed through * *Thica*, and called aloud unto the people to fight all at once for their liberty, and to arm themselves, and willed them to repair into * *Acradina*. The people some of them ran out into the streets, others stood in their entries and porches, divers looked out at the windows from within their houses, and asked what the matter might be? Every place shone with torch and cresset-light, and was filled with sundry garboils and hurlyburries. As many as were in arms gathered together in the open places of the City: those that were unarmed, took down off the Temple of *Jup. Olympius* the spoils of the Gauls & the Illyrians, which the people of *Rome* had given as a present to *K. Hiero*, and which he set aloft for a memorial: praying unto *Jupiter* that he would vouchsafe them this gracious favour, as to bestow those sacred weapons & harness upon them that meant to arm themselves therewith, for the defence of their country, for the maintenance of the Churches and shrines of the gods, & for the recovery of their liberty. This multitude also joyned with the *corps de guards*, that in the principal quarters of the City, were bestowed in places convenient. But *Andronodorus* amongst other places that he fortified, made sure also with strong guards of armed men the publike garners of the City within the Island. There was a place enclosed round about with four-square stone, and built strongly like a fortress: this was possessed by the youth that had been appointed for to guard and defend that quarter: and they sent messengers into *Acradina*, to signifie that the garners and the corn were kept by them to the behoof of the Senat. And on the morrow at the break of day, the whole people, as well armed as unarmed, assembled together in *Acradina*, within the Palace. And there before the altar of *Concordia*, which in that place stood erected, one of the principal and chief Citizens, named *Polyneus*, made an Oration unto them all, with frankness of speech enough, tending unto liberty and yet seasoned with modesty & moderation, in this wise: "Men (quoth he) that have experience of servitude and other indignities, fall to abhor the same, and their stomachs rise against them as known evils. But as for civill discord, what calamities & miseries it bringeth with it, the Citizens of *Syracuse* have heard their fathers tell, and not seen and tasted themselves. That ye have been so ready to take up arms and weapons in hand I commend you for it: but I would con you more thank, if ye used them not, unless ye be driven thereto by extream necessity. For the present, I hold it good, and my counsel is, that Embassadors be sent unto *Andronodorus*, to intimate unto him, yea, and to require and charge him, to submit himself unto the Senat and people, and by them to be ordered: to set open the gates of the Island, to put away from about him his guard, and deliver up the castle and garrison. But in case he intend under the pretence of being guardian or protector to the kingdom of another, thereby to usurp it to his own use; he must be given to understand, by mine advice, that we will seek to recover our liberty out of the hands of *Andronodorus*, more fiercely and forcibly than from *Hieronymus*. And so presently upon this assembly, embassadors were sent. Then the Senat went together and sat in Council: for, as during the reign of *Hiero*, there was set an ordinary publike Council of State: so after his death unto that day, the Senators were neither called together, nor their advice taken or sought in any matter. When the Embassadors were come unto *Andronodorus*, and had delivered their message, he was himself (verily) for his own part, moved with the generall consent of the Citizens: but especially when he considered, that among other quarters of the City possessed by the ad-

verse

A verse side, that one part also of the Island, which was the strongest, was betrayed (as it were) and held out against him. But when the Embassadors called still upon him to come forth, his wife *Demarata*, daughter of King *Hiero*, puffed up still with the proud mind and haughty stomach of a Prince, and full of the vain humour and spirit of a woman, put him oftentimes in mind of a saying, that *Dentis* the Tyrant had evermore in his mouth, namely, "That a man should not ride on horse-back to be deposed from his royall dignity and estate of tyranny, but be led fair and softly a foot-pace, and go to that as a bear to the stake. An easie matter (quoth she) it is for one to yield and forgo the possession of high place and honour, and a thing that may be done in the turning of a hand; whensoever one will: but to compass and attain thereto is a right hard matter, and of all other most difficult. You were best therefore to borrow some respite of time of the Embassadors, for to take farther deliberation of this main point, and in the mean while, to use the advantage thereof, to send for the Souldiers out of the Leontin country: unto whom, no doubt, if you would promise a reward out of the Princes treasure, you shall be Lord of all. This perillous unhappy counsel of a woman *Andronodorus* neither despised and rejected altogether, nor yet presently accepted and embraced: supposing it a better and safer course, if he meant to aspire unto high dignity and great puissance, for the present to temporize and give place unto the necessity of the time. And therefore he willed them to carry back unto the Senat this answer from him, That he submitted himself, and would be ordered & set down by the Senat and the people. The morrow after, so soon as it was day-light, he caused the gates of the Island to be set open, & shewed himself in the market-place of *Acradina*: where he ascended up unto the altar of *Concord* (from which the day before, *Polynus* had made a speech unto the people. He began his Oration with an excuse of his late coming and long stay behind, and craved pardon therefore: alledging, "That he had kept the gates shut, not because he meant to separate his own affairs from the State, and not to take such part as the City took: but when swords were once drawn he feared what would be the end and issue of murders and massacres; and whether men would stay their hands, when there was assurance of liberty effected (as being contented with the death only of the Tyrant) or whether, as many as either in blood and kindred, or in affinity and alliance, or in other offices or service, were toward the King and his Court, should be counted culpable in the fault of another & so likewise have their throats cut. For after that (quoth he) I understood once, that they who had delivered and set free their country, were minded and willing to save & preserve it, thus enfranchised: and that there was consulting on all hands indifferently, for the good of the state, I made no longer doubt of the matter, but to yield both mine own person and also all that ever was under my hand (as committed unto me upon trust and fidelity) unto my native country: now that he, who put all into my hand, is through his own folly & outrage overthrown and brought to confusion. Then turning to the murderers of the tyrant, and by name calling unto *Theodorus* and *Sofis*. A noble and memorable piece of service ye have already done, (quoth he) but trust me truly, your glory in this behalf is begun only, and not thoroughly finished and performed: nay, a great danger is yet behind, unless ye see to the generall concord and unity of all parts, that the common liberty of the City, turn not into pride and insolency beyond all measure.

E After this speech ended, he laid down the keys of the gates, and of the Kings treasure, at their feet. And so for that day, when the people were dismissed from the assembly, with joy and mirth they went in procession and supplication with their wives and children, round about all the Churches & Chappels of their gods. The day following, the solemn election was held for the creation of Prators. And first, before all others, *Andronodorus* was chosen, and the rest for the most part, the very murderers of the Tyrant. They elected also two that were absent, to wit, *Sopater* and *Deomenes*. Who being advertized of all matters that passed at *Syracuse*, delivered up the Kings treasure which lay in the Leontins country, and was now brought unto *Syracuse*, into the hands of the Treasurers; who for the same purpose were created. Likewise that which was in the Island, and in *Acradina*, was committed over unto their custody. That part also of the wall, which divided the Island from the rest of the City, and was supposed too strong a bar between, was by common consent cast down and rased. And as their minds were thus affected and enclined to procure and maintain liberty, so all other matters sorted sutable, and followed after accordingly.

The Oration
of Andronodo-
rus.

Hippocrates and *Epitidas*, when tidings came of the Tyrants death (which *Hippocrates* would fain have had concealed; and therefore slew the messenger that brought news thereof) being forsaken of the souldiers, returned to *Syracusa*: supposing for the present, that to be the safest course they could take. Where, because they would grow into no suspicion, nor to be noted to seek for some opportunity and occasion of change and alteration in the State, first they presented themselves before the Prators and Governors of the City, and so by their mediation, they had access to the Senat. They gave out, "That they had been sent from *Annibal* unto *Hieronymus* as unto a friend and confederate, and had yielded obedience unto him, as they were willed by their own Generall and Commander. Now their desire was, to return again unto *Annibal*. But so far as they might not travell in safety, for the Roman forces, that ranged all over Sicily, they craved a convoy and sufficient guard to conduct them, as far as to *Locri* in Sicily: shewing them, that by this small courtesy and desert of theirs, they should reap great thanks of *Annibal*, and come into high favour with him. The suit was soon obtained. For desirous they were, that those Cavaliers that used to lead the King, and were expert and skillfull besides in war, and the few with needy and audacious, should be sent away: but they made not so good speed to

put this their desire in execution as they should have done. For in the mean season these young and lusty martiall men, and such as ever had conversed with the souldiers, went up and down one while to them, another whiles to the fugitive strangers that were revolted, (who for the most part were sailers and sea men that came from the Romans) yea, and lorted themselves with the basest and most abject persons of the Commoners, spreading tales, and whispering into their ears sundry suspicious matters of crime against the Senators and great men of the Nobility, saying, that they plotted and practised closely under hand nothing else, but that *Syracusa*, under a colour of reconciliation and accord, should be reduced to the obedience of the Romans: and then, the title and faction, and some few with them that are of counsell to renew the association, might be Lords, and tyrannize over the rest. By this means there flocked multitudes, every day more than other to *Syracusa*: whose ears were tickled, and itched still to hear such surmises, and were apt enough to give credit thereto. And they gave not only *Hippocrates* and *Epicles*, but *Andronodorus* also good hope of an alteration, and a new world. For he (being at length overcome with the importunate suggestions of his wife, who ever put into his head, That now was the only time to stir up and take upon him the rule of the State, whiles all things were troubled, and in a confusion, upon their new and unknown liberty: whiles the souldiers were presented in their way, to be dealt withall, and daily maintained and fed out of the Kings Exchequer, and whiles those captains sent from *Annibal*, by reason of their acquaintance with the souldiers, were present to set on word, and further his designments) first therefore acquainted *Themistius*, who had married *Gelo* his daughter, with his complor: and after a few daies (full unadvisedly) imparted his mind also, unto one *Aristo*, an Actor of Tragedies, whom he used aforetime to make privy unto his other secrets. This *Aristo* was well born, and descended of a worshipful house, a man in good place, and of honest reputation: and his profession (for among the Greeks it is reputed no matter of shame, to play either in Tragedies or Comedies) was no blot either to his birth, or disgrace to his calling: and therefore as one who made more reckoning of his duty to his country, than of private friendship, bewrayed & disclosed all the treason unto the Prætors. Who finding by good proofs and certain evidences that this was no forged and counterfeit information, after consultation had with the Ancients of the Council, by their warrant and direction, set a guard of armed men about the door of the Senat House, and so soon as *Themistius* and *Andronodorus* were entred in place, slew them outright. And when there began some uprore upon this fact, which in shew seemed very horrible and hainous (especially to all the rest that knew not the cause:) at length they appeased the tumult and caused silence, and brought the informer into the Council House, that had detected the intended treason: who declared all things orderly in particular: namely, that this conspiracy was devised and sprung first from the marriage of *Harmonia* the daughter of *Gelo*, who was wedded unto *Themistius*: that divers auxiliary souldiers of Africans and Spaniards were appointed and provided to massacre the Prætors, and other principal Citizens: that their goods were promised unto the murderers to be ransacked and rifled: that besides, there was a hand of mercenary souldiers (such as were wont to be at a beck, and ready to execute the commandment of *Andronodorus*) set in a readinesse to seize the Island again, and keep it to his use. And when he had laid every thing abroad in order, with all circumstances, what the practises were and by whom they were to be performed and executed, and shewed before their eyes most plainly the whole conspiracy: & namely, what persons and what forces should have been employed. Then the whole body of the Senat were likewise verily perswaded, that they had deserved such an end, and were as justly murdered as *Hieronymus*. But without the Council House door, the confused multitude, composed of all sorts of people, who were doubtfull of the matter, and knew not what to make thereof, cried out. And albeit they menaced and threatned before the entry and porch of the Senat, yet at the sight of the dead bodies of the Conspirators, lying before their face, they were affrighted and soon hushd so as with great silence they followed the whole body of the Commons to the publike place of assembly. Unto whom, *Sopater*, by order from the Senat, and his fellow Prætors, was commanded to make an Oration.

Sopater his
speech to the
people of *Syracusa*.

He began formally to inveigh against *Andronodorus* and *Themistius*, (as they that accuse men at the bar) and ripped up their former life past, charging them with all the wicked deeds and impious facts, committed since the death of *Hiero*: "For what (quoth he) did *Hieronymus*, nay, what could he do of himself, so long as he was but a child and stripling, and scarcely come all the while he lived to have any hair on his face? His officers and guardians, were they that ruled all, and managed the kingdom at their pleasures, but so, as the blame and heavy load lay upon him. Who if they had perished either before *Hieronymus*, or at least wise together with him, they had been but well enough served. But they, who long ago had deserved to die, and for whom the gallows had already groined, ceased not still, after the death of the tyrant, to devise and plot new mischiefs, one in the neck of another. At the first, openly in the sight of the world, *Andronodorus* by shutting the gates of the Island, entred by way of inheritance upon the kingdom, and sought to seize in his own right, and immediat heir apparant, upon those things that he held under the Prince, only during his nonage. Afterwards, being betrayed by them that were in the Island, & besieged round about by the whole City (which was possessed fully of the *Acradiri*) seeing that in vain he had attempted to be King by apert and open force: he sought means to aspire thereto secretly, and by cunning sleights. Neither could he be so much as re-aimed and won by any favours and honours done unto him: who being himself a traitor to the re-

dom

A dom of the state, was notwithstanding advanced to be Prator, among other redemers of the liberty of their country. But no marvel it was (quoth he) that these men were of this hangry spirit, and longed to be Kings: for they had to their wives two princely dames, the daughters, one of King Hiero, and the other of his son Gelo.

As these words, the people from all parts of the assembly began to cry out with one voice, that neither of them both were worthy to live, nor any one besides of the Kings stock and lineage ought to remain upon the face of the earth. See the nature and disposition of the multitudes, whether they serve safely, or rule proudly. Liberty that is the mean between, they have neither the skill to despise with reason, or the grace to entertain in measure. Now, there wanted not (ye may be sure, as at all times else) ready instruments and firebrands, to help forward, and kindle more anger, such as seeing the Commoners, disempowered already, and bloudily minded of themselves, put them forward to murder and massacre. As it appeared then: For immediately, as the Prators put up a bill, that all the Kings stock should be rooted out, and the whole line utterly extinguished: before in manner that it was all read out and published, it passed clear, and was granted. And presently there were sent unto certain persons from the Prators, that murdered Demetrius and Hieronymia the daughters of King Hiero and Gelo, the two wives of Andronotus and Themistius.

Now there was another daughter of Hiero, named Heracles, wife to Sosippus, who having been sent as Embassador from Hieronymus to King Ptolemus, chose a life in voluntary exile, and lived not with his wife. She having an inkling given her aforehand, and knowing that the murderers were coming also toward her, took her two daughters, virgins: and together, with their hair loose hanging down their shoulders, and in other most poor array and ruffall habit, able to have moved pity and compassion, they were fled into a privat Oratory or Chappell unto their house-gods, to save themselves. The mother seeing the murderers fell to entreating them most pitiouly, and recommended unto them the late remembrance of her father Hiero, and her brother Gelo: "Beseech-

The pitifull words of dame Heracles.

ing them not to suffer her (an innocent and guiltless person) to fare the worse, and be punished upon hatred that was born unto her nephew Hieronymus. As for me (quoth she) I reaped no good by his Reign and Kingdom, unless it were the banishment and absence of my husband: and as by the life of Hieronymus, my fortune was not so good as my sisters: so after he was murdered and dead, my cause is not so bad, nor like unto hers. Moreover, and besides, in case Andronotus had effected his designments, my sister should have been a Queen, and reigned together with her husband: but as for me, I must have been a subject and servant with the rest. Again, if there were any messengers sent unto Sosippus, to report the death of Hieronymus, and the restoration of Syracuse to liberty: who can make doubt, but that forthwith he would be embarked and take the seas, and return again into his country? But how much are men put besides their hope, and deceived of their expectation? And who would ever have thought to have seen in a freed state his wife and children in danger to lose their lives? For wherein do we hinder the common liberty, or the course of laws? What danger can come to any person from us, one desolate lone woman, and in manner a widow, and two young maidens livings as Orphans fatherless? And if it be said again that there was indeed no fear of hurt to be imagined from us:

E but only the Kings blood and kindred was odious in the eyes of the people: Then, quoth she, let us be sent away far from Syracuse and Sicily, and confined over to Alexandria, the wife to her husband, the daughters to their own father. But when they would neither give ear to her words, nor endue their hearts to pity and compassion: then because she would not spend longer time in vain: (for now the saw some of them drawing their swords forth) she gave over all entreating for her self, and besought them instantly to be good yet, to the young filly girls, and spare their lives, unto whom being of that age, even the very enemies in their heat of anger forbore to offer violence: and thus seeing they were to be revenged of tyrants, they would not play the tyrants themselves, and commit that wickedness, which they seemed to hate in others.

Amidst these words the murderers (sent from the Prators) pulled her forth of the inward and most secret place of the chappell, and cut her throat: and when they had so done, they assailed and fell upon the the maidens, bespattered with the blood of their mother: who for sorrow of heart and fear together, being past themselves and out of their wits, and as it were in a furious fit of frenzy, ran against them, and got out of the Chappell: minding, if they could have escaped forth, and recovered the street, to set the whole City on an uprore. And so shifted for themselves, poor wenches, by running to and fro within the house, (which was not large and spacious) that for a good while they escaped amongst the thickest of so many armed men, and oftentimes avoided their reaches, and caught no hurt: yet, and when they had caught hold of them, notwithstanding they were to struggle with so many hands, and chose so strong, yet they wound away from them all: untill at length after they had received many a wound, and filled every place with blood, they fainted and

G sunk down, and yielded up their innocent spirits: This murder, be don't, was of it self pitiouly: but much more lamentable, by occasion of a present accident. For straight after came a messenger with express commandment, to spare the women, and not to kill them: for that upon a sudden the hearts of the people relented, and inclined to mercy. But when they heard there was so quick dispatch made of execution, that neither they had time to bethink themselves and repent, nor space to cool upon their heat, they fell pity and compassion into an extreme fit of anger and choler. The multitude thereupon began to murmur and murmur, and called to have an election of Prators in the room of Andronotus and Themistius (for they were both of them Prators) which

The tragical murder of Lady Heracles and her two daughters, young virgins.

new

new election was not like to fall out in the end to the good liking and contentment of the other Prætors in place. So a day was set down, and proclaimed for this election. At which time, it happened that beyond all mens expectation, one from the farthest part of the assembly nominated *Epicides*: and then another from thence named *Hippocrates*. After which, the same voices came thick and threefold still, so as it seemed the multitude would wholly go that way. The people there assembled, were a confused sort intermingled, as well with a number of souldiers, as of a company of Citizens and Commoners: yea, and many of them were strangers fugitive, thrust among, such as rather than their life desired a generall change and alteration. The Prætors at first dissembled all, and would seem to take no knowledge thereof: but thought it best to put off the matter to a farther day: yet overcome at last with the common accord and consent of the people: and fearing withall a mutiny and sedition, pronounced and declared the men aforesaid for Prætors. Neither would they, at first hand so soon as they were created, let that abroach which was in their mind and desire to effect: notwithstanding they were displeased and discontented much; both for that there had been Embassadors dispatched unto *Appius Claudius*, about a truce for ten daies: and also when it was obtained, that there were others addressed to treat for the renewing of the ancient league with the Romans.

At the same time (*Ap. Claudius*) the Roman General lay at *Murgantia* with an Armada of 100 gallies, waiting there to hear what was the event of the troubles which arose upon the murder of the tyrants: and how far forth men would proceed upon this their new and unwonted liberty. And much about those daies, when as the Syracusan Embassadors were sent from *Appius* unto *K. Marcellus* now coming into *Sicilia*, *Marcellus* himself after he heard the conditions of peace, thought they would grow to some good agreement and conclusion in the end: and therefore sent other Embassadors to *Syracuse*, personally to debate and confer in the presence of the Prætors, concerning the renewing of the League aforesaid. But by that time, they found not the City in the same quiet tune and peaceable state. For *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, after news came that the Carthaginian Navy was arrived and rid at anchor under the bay of ** Pachinus*, confidently, and without all fear buzzed in the eare one while of the mercenary souldiers, another while of the fugitive traitors, many false surmises against their brethren in Office, and namely, that they went about to betray *Syracuse* to the Romans. But *Appius* began to keep his Armada at anchor in the very mouth of the river, listning to know what heart and hope they of the contrary faction had, to effect that which they intended. Much credit was given (as it should seem) unto those slanders and lewd suggestions: in so much as at the first, the multitude ran to the waters side in a great hurry and tumultuous manner to hinder their landing, if haply they attempted it. In this trouble some confusion of all things, it was thought good, that the people should meet together to deliberate what was best to be done. In which assembly, while some drew one way, others haied and pulled another way, and were at the point to mutine and grow to a sedition, *Apollonides*, one of the principall and chief Citizens, made a speech to very good purpose for preservation of the publike peace, and thus he said: "Never was there any City nearer, either to hope of assured safety: or to fear of utter destruction, than this of ours at this present. For if all would go one way together, and wish one accord either encline to the Romans, or bend to the Carthaginians, there were M not a City under the cope of heaven; whose state were more happy and fortunate than ours. "But in case we be distracted, and the Common-weal go divers waies, there would not be more bitter and cruell war between the Syracusians and the Romans, than among the Syracusians themselves: when within one and the same walls, there should be banding one against another, and each side have their forces, their armor, and their Captains of their own. And therefore we ought of all hands to endeavour what we can, that all may be of one mind and draw in the same line. As for the main point now in question, Whether society and alliance be the better and more commodious, the Romans or the Carthaginians, is a matter of far less moment and importance than to be consulted and studied long upon. Howbeit, in choosing our friends and allies, we are to be directed by the authority and act of *Hiero*, rather than of *Hieronymus*: and N to prefer that amity which we have tried for fifty years in much felicity, above a friendship for the present unknown, and sometime heretofore found unfaithfull. It maketh somewhat also, to resolve upon this course, that in case we should deny peace and alliance to the Carthaginians, we need not presently go to war with them: but with the Romans we must out of hand make account either of peace, or else of hot wars. This speech of his the less that it favoured of factionous partiality and affection, the more authority and sway it carried with it. And besides the deliberation of the Prætors and choice Senators, the advice also of the martiall men were taken. And therefore the Captains of all their own ensignes and companies, yea, and the great Commanders of the auxiliary forces of their allies were willing to sit in Council together with them. When the matter had been often debated, and much contention and hot words passed between, at the last, because there appeared no colourable reason or cause to make war with the Romans, they agreed that a peace should be concluded, and that together with their Embassadors, there should be others also from them to ratifie and confirm the thing.

There passed not many daies between, when out of the Leontins country there arrived certain Orators, to crave help and succour for the guard and defence of their marches. This Embassage seemed to come very fitly and in good time, for to exonerate and rid the City of the unruly and disordered multitude, & likewise to send out of the way their Captains and ringleaders.

So

* Porto Longo-
bardo, or Cabo
Passaro.

The Oration
of Apollonides,
to the people
of Syracuse.

^A So *Hippocrates* the Prætor was commanded to lead thither the fugitive strangers. Many also of the mercenary souldiers, that were waged to help them in their wars, accompanied them: so as in all, the number amounted to four thousand. This expedition and journey contented greatly as well the senders and feters of it out, as also the parties themselves that were sent forth. For these of the one side had a good occasion and opportunity now offered them, to contrive a change in State (the only thing that so long they had desired) and those of the other, were right glad, that the sink (as it were) of the City was now well scoured and voided away. But this was like the palliative cure of a sore, and a lightning for the present of a sick body: whereby it might soon after by relapse fall back, as it were, into a recidive, and a worse disease and more dangerous than the other. For *Hippocrates* began at first to make rodes by stealth into the confines bordering upon the Roman Province, and there to waste & spoil: afterwards when *Appius* had sent a power of men to defend the frontiers of his confederats, he charged with his whole power upon that guard that was opposed against him, and slew many of them. Whereof, when *Marcellus* was advertized, he dispatched Embassadors incontinently to *Syracuse*, to charge them with the breach of peace: and to give them to understand, that there would never be wanting some occasion or other of quarrell and war, unless *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* were removed, and sent far enough out of the way, not only from *Syracuse*, but also quite out of *Sicily*. *Epicides* for fear lest if he remained present in the City, he might be charged and brought in question, for the fault and trespass of his brother absent, or be wanting for his part, in the raising of new war: went himself also in person into the *Leontins* country: and seeing them there forward enough of themselves, and provoked already against the Romans, began also to alienate and turn their hearts from *Syracuse*. For in these terms he suggested and informed against the *Syracusians*: namely, "how they had capitulated with the Romans, that all the Cities and Nations which were under the Kings, should be subject unto them, and within their jurisdiction: so as now they cannot be content (quoth he) with their liberty, unless they rule also like Lords and Kings. I would advise and counsell you therefore, to send word unto them and give them to understand, that the *Leontins* likewise deem it good reason, that they should themselves be free: in regard either that the tyrant was killed within the ground of their City, or because the first alarm for liberty began there. For they leaving and abandoning the Captains there that followed the King ran at once from thence to *Syracuse*. And therefore they are (saith he) to rase that aforesaid article out of the instrument of the covenants, or not to accept at all of peace with that condition. Soon were the multitude perswaded hereunto. And therefore when the Embassadors of the *Syracusians* came to the *Leontins*, both to make complaint for killing of the Roman *Corps de guard*, and also to command peremptorily, that *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* should depart either to *Locri*, or to what other place they would rather chuse, so they went their waies and voided clean out of *Sicily*: they returned unto them this stout answer again: that neither the *Syracusians* had any commission and warrant from them, to make peace with the Romans in their name, neither would they be tied and obliged to any confederacy made by others than their own selves. This answer the *Syracusians* made report of to the Romans, and said plainly, "That the *Leontins* were not under their jurisdiction, to be ordered and censured by them: and therefore, any thing comprised in the league with them notwithstanding, the Romans might war against them without breach of any covenant: and in that war they would not for their parts fail them, but do their best upon condition, that when they were once subdued, they might be reduced again under their obedience, according to the covenant comprehended in the League. Whereupon *Marcellus* with his whole power went forth against the *Leontins*, and sent for *Appius* also, to assail them on the other side: and so hot were his souldiers in this service, and bare themselves so resolute, for anger that the guard was slain, during the time that there was treaty of peace between: that at the very first assault they won the City. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, after they saw the wals scaled, and the gates of the City broken open, betook themselves for their safety, with some few into the Castle, from whence by night they made a secret escape, and fled to *Herbesus*.

^E As the *Syracusians* marched from home with a power of eight thousand armed men, and were come forward, as far as to the river *Myla*, they met with a messenger, who told them that the City *Leontium* was forced. They reported other news besides, as well lies as truths, one with another, namely, that townsmen and souldiers indifferently without respect were put to the sword: that he thought verily, there was not left one alive of fourteen years of age and upwards: that the City was put to the sack, and all the rich mens goods were given away. At this so fearful and horrible news, the army staid and went not forward. And when they all were greatly troubled, their Leaders *Sofis* and *Diomenes*, consulted what to do. This loud lie arose not upon nothing, but was occasioned by mistaking of a matter. For there were scourged and beheaded of fugitive traitors, to the number of two thousand. But of *Leontins* and other souldiers, there was not one hurt after the City was lost. And every man had all his own goods restored unto him again: saving that only which in the first hurlyburly of a City newly won, happed to miscarry and perish. Howbeit upon this bare report, they neither could be induced to go forward to the *Leontins*, complaining and grieving that their fellow souldiers were so betrayed and murdered, nor yet to abide there still for to expect and hear more certain tidings. The Prætors perceiving their minds disposed to revolt, and yet hoping that this mutinous fit of theirs would not continue long, in case the Captains and heads of their fury and folly were once rid out of the way led the army to *Megara*: and went them.

themselves in person with a few horsemen toward *Herbesus*, hoping to gain the City by treason, H while they all there were affrighted. But seeing that enterprise would not prevail, they minded to use forcible means. The morrow after they dislodged and raised their Camp from *Megara*, purposing with all their forces to assail *Herbesus*. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* supposing this to be the only way for them, although at the first sight not the safest, (considering all hopes besides were cut off) namely, to put themselves into the hands of the souldiers, who were for the most part acquainted with them, and besides, upon the bruit of the execution and massacre of their fellow souldiers, throughly chafed, went out to meet the army. The foremost ensigns in the forefront, hapned to consist of those six hundred Cretensians, who in the wars of *Hieronymus* had served under them, and received a favour and benefit at *Annibal* his hands. For being taken prisoners at *Thrasymenus*, I among other auxiliaries that came to aid the Romans, they were set at large and sent away without ransom. Whom when *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* knew by their colours, habit, and fashion of their armour, they held out branches of olives and other vails and tokens of suppliants, beseeching them humbly to receive them, and being once received, to vouchsafe to protect them, and not to deliver them into the hands of the Syracusians: by whom they should soon be yielded unto the people of *Rome*, for to be murdered and cut in peeces. At this they all cryed aloud with one voice, and willed them to be of good cheer, for they should fare no worse than their own selves. Upon this communication the ensigns staid, and the army stood still and marched not forward: but the generall Captains wist not as yet what the cause might be of this stay. After the rumour was spread that *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* were come, and that all the host throughout by a generall applause K seemed to like well of their coming: the Prætors incontinently set spurs to horse, and rode forward apace to the forefront of the vanguard, demanding of the Cretensians, what manner and fashion this was of theirs? and how they durst be so bold, as to parle and talk with enemies? and without license of their Prætors, to entertain them within their companies? And herewith they gave commandment, that *Hippocrates* should be apprehended and bound sure with chains. At which word the Cretensians set up such a cry, and the rest so answered it again with the like, that it was well seen, in case they had proceeded forward as they began, they should have incurred themselves no small danger. And thus in great perplexity, and fear of their own lives, they commanded to turn ensigns, and retire unto *Megara*, from whence they came: and dispatched messengers presently to *Syracuse*, to signify in what terms they stood. *Hippocrates* seeing the souldiers given to be suspicious and ready to beleieve every thing, devised a cunning shift besides, in this manner. After he had sent out certain of the Cretensians, to beset the waies between them and *Syracuse*, he pretended that they had intercepted some letters from thence, which he read unto the souldiers, and were indeed framed and indited by himself. The tenor of the letters ran in this form: "The Prætors of *Syracuse*, to *M. Marcellus* their friend, greeting. After these salutations and commendations premised, as the manner is, it followed written thus: you have done well and orderly in sparing none at all of the Leontins. But all other mercenary souldiers besides are in the same Predicament: neither will *Syracuse* be ever in quiet, so long as any forraign aid be either in the City, or in your army. And therefore our advice and counsell is, that you would endeavour "to get them into your hands, who with our Prætors are encamped before *Megara*, and by execution of them to deliver and let *Syracuse* free in the end. M

The contents of these letters were not so soon read, but with such an outcry and alarm they ran to their weapons on all hands, that the Prætors amidst this garboil were faine to ride away as fast as they could gallop, toward *Syracuse*. But although they were fled, the mutiny nevertheless continued and was not appeased: for the souldiers fell upon the Syracusians that were in the camp amongst them, and they had all drank of the same cup, and not one escaped, but that *Epicides* and *Hippocrates* came between, and opposed themselves against the multitude in this their furious rage not upon any pitifull compassion that was in them, or regard of common humanity, but because they would not cut themselves from all hope of return: and besides, they were not only desirous to have the souldiers themselves affectionate unto them and faithfull, and withall instead N of hostages: but also purposed, by this so great desert, first to gain and win unto them the kinsfolk and friends of those souldiers, and afterwards to oblige and bind them fast by so good a pawn and gage, remaining still among them. And having good experience, with how small a puff and gale of wind the common people turneth every way, they suborned a souldier, one of them who was besieged within the City of *Leontium*, to carry news to *Syracuse*, saying with those false tidings that were reported at the river *Myla*: yea, and to aver the same confidently upon his own knowledge, and tell things that were doubtfull, as if they were most certain, and by himself seen and known: thereby to stir up men to anger and indignation. This fellow was not only credited of the common multitude, but also being brought into the Council-House, he greatly moved the Senat: insomuch as some of them, more light of believe than others, gave it out openly and said, O "That it was happy, that the avarice and cruelty of the Romans was thus discovered among the "Leontins. And god blese us from them here. For if they set foot once within *Syracuse*, they "would commit the like outrages, yea, and worse too a great deal, and more horrible: as they "should find there greater matter to work upon, and to satisfie their covetous and greedy appetite to the full. Whereupon they agreed in generall, to shut the gates, and to stand upon their guard, and defend the City. But they all feared not alike, nor hated the same persons. For the martiall men, in a manner every one, and a great part of the common people abhorred the name of the Romans:

A Romans: the Prætors, and some few of the principal Citizens, albeit they were in the huff, and possessed with the false report aforesaid, yet they had more regard to provide for a mischief that was more imminent and near, and ready presently to fall upon their heads. And now by this time *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* were come before *Hexapylus*. Within the City, the kinsfolk and friends of those Citizens which were in the army, drew together in conventicles, conferred among themselves to set the gates open, and agreed to have the common country of them all, to be defended against the violence of the Romans. Now, when one only wicket of *Hexapylus* was opened, and they ready to enter in thereat, the Prætors came upon them in the manner. And first they commanded by word of mouth, and threatened them; after that, by vertue of their place and authority, they seemed to fright and terrifie them: and last of all, seeing nothing could prevail, forgetting their own dignity and majesty of their calling, they fell to pray and entreat them not to betray their country to those, who aforesaid were the instruments and supports of the Tyrant, and now the corrupters of the army. But so deaf ear gave all the multitude in this their rage and furious fit unto the Prætors, that they within, as well as without, set their hands to, by all forcible means, to burst down the gates, and so when they were all broken open, the army was let in safe, and received within the *Hexapylus*. The Prætors fled for refuge with the youth and strength of the Citizens into *Acradina*. The mercenaries, the fugitives, and all the souldiers that were left in *Syracusa* (of them who served the King) joyned to the army, and augmented their forces. And so *Acradina* also, was upon the first assault won. All the Prætors, but those that escaped by flight, and saved themselves in the midst of this hurry, were slain: and the night coming upon them, staid the massacre. The day following, all bondslaves were called to receive the cap, and made free: the prisons were set open, and the prisoners let go at large. And this confused rabble and multitude of all sorts created *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* Prætors. And thus *Syracusa*, having for a short time liberty shining favourably upon it, fell again into her old servitude.

When news hereof came to the Romans, incontinently they dislodged and removed the camp from *Leontium*, and marched directly towards *Syracusa*. It hapned the same time that the Embassadors sent from *Appius* by the way of the haven, were embarked in a galleace of five banks of oars: but another galley of four banks which was sent before, was not so soon entered into the mouth of the harbour, but it was taken: and the Embassadors hardly, and with much ado escaped in the other. And now, the world there was grown to this pass, that no laws of peace, no, nor so much as the very laws of arms were observed, but broken clean: at what time as the Roman army lay in camp a mile and an half from the City, at *Olympium*, the Temple of *Jupiter*. For when it was thought meet to send Embassadors from thence, *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* with their followers encountered them without the gate, and charged them upon their perill not to enter the City. The Roman Orator alledged, and said, "That he came not to proclaim war against the Syracusians, but to bring aid and help, as well unto those, who having escaped out of the midst of the slaughter fled unto the Roman Camp, as also unto them, who being kept under with fear, endure bondage and thralldom more miserable than banishment, yea, and death it self. Neither will the Romans (saith he) put up that shamefull and cruell murder of their Allies without due revenge. And therefore, if those persons who were fled for succour unto them, may return home safely into their country: if the authors of that massacre aforesaid, be delivered into their hands: and if the Syracusians may enjoy again their liberty, together with their laws, there shall not need any hostility or war. But in case these conditions be not performed, they would persecute with fire and sword, all such as shall hinder and stand against the same, whosoever."

To this *Epicides* framed his words in this wise: "If (saith he) ye had any message and commission to parl with my brother and me, we would return you an answer accordingly. In the mean while ye were best be gone for this time, and return again when the City and state of *Syracusa* shall be under their governance, unto whom ye were sent. As for war, if the Romans think it good to deal that way, they shall find and know by experience, try when they would, that it is one thing to assail *Syracusa*, and another to set upon *Leontium*. And so leaving the Embassadors, he made the gates fast against them."

From this time forward, the Romans laid siege unto *Syracusa*, and began to beleaguer it both by sea and land at once. On the land side at *Hexapylus*, by water at *Acradina*, upon the walls whereof the sea beateth. And like as they won the City of the Leontins, by terrifying them at the first assault, and therefore distrusted not, but that they should force and enter this also, one side or other, being so large and vast as it was, not compact, but built so scattering, one part far asunder from another, they approached with all their fabricks, engines, and ordnance of battery against the walls. Which enterprise of theirs, so resolutely begun, and so hotly and forcibly followed, had sped well and taken effect, if one man at that time had not been in *Syracusa*, *Archimedes* was he, a singular Astronomer. A rare man for contemplation and behold the sky with the Planets, and other stars therein fixed: but a more wonderfull engineer for devising and framing of artillery, ordnance, fabricks, and instruments of war, whereby he would with very little ado, and at ease, check and frustrate all the inventions which the enemies with so great difficulty had prepared for to give the assault. This cunning artificer and admirable workman had planted engines of all sorts upon the curtain of the wall, which stood on certain hills, and those not of even height: and having for the most part high places that yielded hard access, and some other low again, whereunto men might come on even & plain ground, he fixed and furnished every place accordingly. Now *Mar-*
cellus

cellus from out his gallies of five ranks of oars, assaulted the wall of *Acradina*, which (as is above-
 said) is washed and dashed upon, with the sea. And from the other gallies, the archers, slingers,
 yea, and the light armed darters (called *Velites*) whose javelins are of that fashion, that they be
 unhandsome to be lanced back again (by those that have not the cast and skill of it) so assailed the
 defendants, that they hardly suffered any one to stand upon the walls without hurt and danger;
 These, I say kept their gallies far distant from the wall, because archers and darters had need of some
 space and compass to lance and let drive their shot. But unto the gallies of five course of oars,
 there were adjoynd other two of either side: for which purpose the oars within were taken a-
 way, that they might close larboard to starboard, and so be coupled one unto the other. And thus
 being rowed as one entire gally, by the help of the utmost oars without, they carried upon
 them platforms of timber, framed with floores and lofts of planks, and other engins and instru-
 ments within them to batter and shake the walls. Against this artillery from the gallies, *Archi-
 medes* bestowed and disposed upon the walls counter-engins of sundry sizes, some greater, some
 smaller. Against those gallies that were furthest off he weighed and discharged stones of excee-
 ding main weight, and those that were nearer, he annoyed with lighter bullets, but those he shot
 far thicker upon them. And last of all, to the end that his own Citizens might, without taking
 harm, make a counter-battery against the enemies, and so annoy them, he caused certain barba-
 cans or loop-holes, almost a cubit deep, to be pierced through the walls, and to stand thick from
 the foot thereof, to the parapet; and all to flank the enemy, through which overtures, they with-
 in shot closely against the enemies, some arrows out of bows, some quarrels out of scorpions and
 brakes of mean and indifferent bigneis. And against those gallies, which approached more close
 and near under the wals (because they would be within the shot, and that they within might carry
 and levell over them) he devised a crane or swipe to be planted aloft upon the walls, having at
 the one end, which hung over the sea, a drag or grappling hook of iron like an hand, fastned thereto
 with a strong chain: which took hold upon the prow of a galley, and when the heavy counter-
 poise of lead at the other end weighed it down to the ground, and therewith drew with it the
 prow up on high, while it hung thus aloft in the air, the galley stood in a manner endlong upon
 the poop. And then the swipe being let go again all at once suddenly with a sway, dashed the gal-
 ley, tumbling (as it were) down from the top of the wall, with such a swinge and violence against
 the water (to the exceeding fear of the mariners) that if it had fallen directly down right upon the
 keel, yet needs it must have received good store of water into it. Thus all their provision for as-
 sault by the sea-side, was deluded and made void: and then they turned their whole forces from
 thence, to give assault by land. But even that part of the wall likewise, was as well furnished with
 all manner of engins and ordnance, provided at the great charge of *Hiero*, and by his carefull fore-
 cast for many years together: but devised and framed by the artificial cunning and skill only of *Ar-
 chimedes*. Besides, the naturall situation of the ground was a great help: for that the rock, upon
 which the foundations of the wall stand, is for the most part so steep and bending forward, that
 not only the shot levelled out of an engine, but also whatsoever was but rolled & tumbled down,
 with the very own weight and poise, came with a great force & violence upon the enemy. Which
 foresaid cause, made the assailants to have difficult climbing up, and as unstedfast footing and kee-
 ping of their hold. Whereupon they went to counsel. And considering well, that all their attempts
 and enterprizes were thus deluded and mocked by the enemy: it was thought good to give over
 assault, and only by long and continuall siege, to cut them off from all victuals both by land and
 sea. In the mean while *Marcellus* with one third part (well near) of the army, went forth in expedi-
 tion, to recover again those Cities, which taking occasion upon these troubles, were revolted to
 the Carthaginians. And he gained *Pelorus* and *Herbesus*, which yielded on their own accord. As
 for *Megara*, which he won by assault, he rased it down to the ground, and sacked it, to the fearful
 example of the rest and especially of the Syracusians.

And much about that time, *Himilco* also, who had a long time rid in the Bay of the Cape *Pa-
 chynus* with his Armado, disembarked and set aland at *Heraclea* (which they call *Minoa*) 25000 foot-
 men, 3000 horsemen, and twelve Elephants. He had not all this power of men when he lay with
 his fleet under *Pachinus*. For after that *Hippocrates* had taken and held the possession of *Syracusa*,
 he went to *Carthage*, where, being sent unto both by Embassadors from *Hippocrates*; and also by
 letters from *Annibal* (who moved him and remonstrances, That now the time was come to re-
 cover *Sicily* again with much honour and glory: and being himself there present in person no bad
 solicitor by word of mouth to further and follow the cause) he easily perswaded the Carthagini-
 ans and prevailed that as great a power both of horse and foot as might possibly be raised, should
 pass over into *Sicily*. Being arrived at *Heraclea*, within few daies after *Agrigentum* was delivered
 up into his hands. And all other Cities, which had banded and taken part with the Carthaginians,
 were put in so good hope to drive the Romans out of *Sicily*: that even they who were besieged
 within *Syracuse*, to take heart unto them; and were so in their ruff, that supposing part of their
 forces sufficient enough to defend their City, they parted between them the charge and managing
 of the whole war in this manner: That *Epicides* should remain behind for the guard and defence
 of the City, and *Hippocrates* joynt with *Himilco*, and war joyntly against the Romans. He with
 10000 foot, and 500 horse, set out by night: and passed between the *Corps de guard*, where none
 at all warded, and encamped about the *Acerre*. As they were fortifying their Camp, *Marcellus*
 came upon them as he retired back from *Agrigentum*, possessed now by the adverse part: whither
 he

A he had made great haste, but in vain, in hope to prevent his enemies, and get thither afore: but little thought he (and nothing less) than in his return from thence, at that time and in that place, to meet with an army of Syracusians that should make head against him. Howbeit, for fear of *Himilco* and the Carthaginians, whom he knew to be abroad, and with whom he was not able to make his part good with that power which he had about him, he marched as circumspectly as he could, having his eye on every side, and led his army in good order of battell against all occurrences whatsoever might happen by the way. And so as good hap was, that carefull forecast and diligence, which he was provided with against the Carthaginians, served him in very good stead against the Sicilians. Finding them therefore busie in pitching their tents, without order, and scattered a sunder, and most of them unarmed, he environed soon all the Infantry that they had, and put them to the sword. But the Cavalry after a slight skirmish begun, fled with their leader *Hippocrates* to *Acte*. *Marcellus* after he had by his flight repressed and kept in the Sicilians, who were at hand to fall away and revolt unto the Romans, returned to *Syracuse*: and after some few daies, *Himilco* joyned with *Hippocrates*, and encamped about eight miles from thence, upon the river *Anaris*.

Likewise about the same time, or very near, it happed that 55 war-ships of the Carthaginians, under the conduct of *Bomilcar*, Admirall of the Armado, put into the great haven of *Syracuse* out of the deep and main sea: and also the Roman fleet of thirty Gallies, with five ranks of oars, arrived at *Panormus*, and landed the first Legion there: and thus the war was turned and diverted from *Italy*. So wholly seemed both nations, as well Romans as Carthaginians, assused upon nothing now but *Sicily*. *Himilco* making full account to prey upon the Roman Legion which was set a land at *Panormus*, as they should come to *Syracuse*: missed of the right way to meet with them: for he marched and led his power far within land higher in the country, but the Legion coasted along by the sea side, accompanied as it were with the fleet which flanked them: and came to *Pachinus* unto *Appius Claudius*, who with part of his forces went out to meet them on the way. But the Carthaginians made no long stay about *Syracuse*. For *Bomilcar* having small trust and confidence in his ships, considering that the Romans were coming toward him with a fleet, and were twice as many in number: and withall seeing, that by sojourning there, he did no other good but with his company impoverish and eat out his friends, speed and hoisted up sail, and with a merry wind passed over into *Africk*. *Himilco* also, who had dogged and followed after *Marcellus* in vain as far as *Syracuse*, to espy some good opportunity and vantage to bid him battell, before he joyned with a greater power: seeing that he was hereof disappointed, and the enemy lying about *Syracuse* safe and secure, as well in regard of their fortifications, as their forces: because he would not spend any longer time to no purpose in sitting there still, to look upon their Allies how they were besieged, he dislodged and removed from thence: attending, wheresoever there were any hope and likelihood of revolt from the Romans, thither to come with his army, and shew himself in person, to encourage and animate by his presence those that favoured his part. And first he recovered *Morgantia*, where the Roman garrison was betrayed by the inhabitants, and delivered unto his hands. Into which City the Romans had conveyed great store of corn, victuall, and provision of all sorts. Upon this revolt, other Cities also took heart unto them, and the Roman garrisons were either thrust and driven out of the Castles and Fortresses, or else were treacherously betrayed, surprised, and destroyed.

The City *Enna*, seated upon an high hill, and on every side inaccessible, as it was by naturall situation of the ground impregnable, so it had a strong garrison within the Castle, and a Captain of that garrison, one, that was not so easie to be compassed and over-raught by deceitfull trains. His name was *Pinarus*, a witty man, and hardy withall, who reposed more trust in his own diligence to prevent, that he might not possibly be deceived, than in the truth and faith of the Sicilians. And at this time more than ever before, he stood upon his guard, and took heedfull care of himself and his charge, by occasion that he heard of so many treacheries and treasons, so many revolts of Cities, and massacres of garrisons: and therefore as well by day as night, he looked that the Castle was well provided and furnished of good watch and ward continually. & the souldiers never departed from their armour nor their appointed place. Which when the chief Citizens of *Enna* perceived, who already had covenanted with *Himilco*, and promised to betray the fort and the garrison: and saw that the Roman Captain was so wary, that he lay not open unto the opportunity of any fraudulent and guilefull course, they resolved by open and open means to effect this their designed enterprise. They alledged therefore unto *Pinarus*, "That the City and Castle both ought to be in their power, since that they entered into league and amity with the Romans as freemen, and were not yielded as slaves to be kept in dures and prison. Reason would therefore, and meet it was (as they thought) that all the keys of the gates were delivered unto them." With good and trusty allies, their own faith and truth is the surest bond. And no doubt, the people and Senate of *Rome* would con them greater thank, and esteem more dearly of them, if so be they of themselves, not by constraint, but of willing mind, would abide and continue in their sound allegiance and fast friendship. *Pinarus* made answer again, "That he was by his General placed there Captain of the garrison: at his hands he received the keys of the gates, and the Countership of the Castle, and the same to hold and keep neither at his own will, nor at the pleasure of the men of *Enna*, but at his disposition, who sealed him his Commission. Now for a Captain to abandon his fort (quoth he) is a capital crime among the Romans, by vertue of

*Pinarium his
speech to his
souldiers.*

“ a law, which our fathers themselves have confirmed, even by the exemplary punishment & death
“ of their own children, who have transgressed the same. And seeing the Consul *Agrippa* is not
“ far off, ye may, if it please you, send your Embassadors unto him, of whom you may be certified,
“ under whose power, commandment, and government I am. Tush, say they, we will never send
“ unto him. But if words and reasons may not prevail, we will work some other means to recover
“ ver our liberty again. Then quoth *Pinarium* to them, If ye think much to address your messen-
“ gers to the Consul, yet do me this favour, as to call a Common Councill of the people to my
“ sake, that I may know whether these demands proceed from some few, or from the whole
“ body of the City. So it was accorded and agreed, that a generall assembly should be proclaimed
“ against the morrow. Then *Pinarium* after that he was departed from this party, returned into the
“ fortres, and calling his souldiers together, spake unto them in this wise: I suppose ye have heard
“ already (my souldiers) in what sort the Roman garrisons have, these daies past, been betrayed
“ and murdered by the Sicilians. That treachery hitherto ye have avoided and escaped, first & prin-
“ cipally through the goodnes of the gods: next and immediately by your own valour and pro-
“ wess, & by continuall watch & ward, standing in your armor both day & night. And I would to
“ God ye might pass as well the time to come, without falling into this hard choice either to en-
“ dure and suffer such horrible mischief: or to execute and commit a fearfull example of cruelty.
“ This intended treason of theirs hath been carried and conveyed closely and cautelously all this
“ while, & seeing they cannot as yet meet with any advantage to surprise us, they would seem now
“ openly and without dissimulation, to demand for to have all the keys of the gates under their
“ hands. Which we should not so soon part with & render unto them, but presently *Enna* would
“ turn to the Carthaginians, and more cruelly should we here be murdered and bewo in pee-
“ ces, than the garrison was at *Murgantia*. Much ado I had to obtain of them respite of this one
“ night, to take further counsel: that I might advertise you of the present danger, wherein both I &
“ you stand. To morrow morning by day-light, they purpose to hold a solemn assembly of the
“ people, and to make a speech unto them, to accuse me, and to stir them up against you. And
“ to morrow is the day that the City *Enna* shall overflow either with the blood of you, or of the
“ Inhabitants. And be ye well assured, that as ye shall lose all that you have, if they surprise you:
“ so in case you prevent them and begin the fray, there shall no peril at all betide you. Look who
“ first lieth hand on his sword and draweth it, he shall carry away the victory clear. Therefore ye
“ must be there prest in your armor, and attentive to expect a signal from me. I my self will be
“ present in the assembly, and with parling and debating, temporise: and draw out the time, untill
“ ye be all in readines and every thing in order. And to soon as I shall give you a sign with my
“ gown, then let me hear you set up an outcry, then let me see you fall upon the multitude: down
“ with them and spare not and put them all to the sword. See in any case there be not one of them
“ escape your hands and remain alive, from whom ye may fear any harm, either by fraud or
“ force. And now I beseech thee O Dame *Ceres*, and thy daughter *Proserpina*, and all other gods
“ in heaven above, or in hell beneath, who inhabit this City, these holy lakes and sacred groves,
“ wherein ye are honoured and worshipped, to vouchsafe to be propice and favourable unto us:
“ in case we enter into this action and enterprise, for the avoiding of treachery intended against
“ us, and not to offer mischief unto other: and not otherwise, I would use more words unto you
“ my friends and souldiers, for to animate and encourage you, if it were that you had to deal
“ with men in arms: but since they are naked unarmed, & unwarned you shall kill and slay them
“ at your pleasure, and satisfie your selves with their blood. And to the end that you need not fear
“ any harm from *Himilco* and the Carthaginians, loe the Consul himself lieth encamped near
“ at hand. After this exhortation they were dismissed, to take their refection and rest. The next
“ day, they were bestowed in sundry parts of the City, some to beset all the streets, others to stop
“ the passages and the waies against the townsmen, that they might not escape. But the most of
“ them stood upon and about the Theatre, and were nothing suspected as being used heretofore to
“ behold and see the assemblies of the people. The Roman Captain *Pinarium* was by the Magistrates
“ brought forth and presented before the people: where he pleaded, That it lay not in his hands, but
“ in the power and authority of the Consul, to dispose of that which they demanded: and he ite-
“ rated for the most part the same allegations that he shewed the day before. At first they began
“ gently, some few by little and little: afterwards more and more of them, required him to deliver
“ up the keys; and so consequently all with one voice, charged and commanded him so to do: and
“ when he seemed to make some stay and defer the matter, they menaced and threatened fiercely, yet
“ and seemed as if they would no longer forbear, but proceed to extreame violence. Then the Captain
“ made a sign with his robe, according to the former agreement: and with that the souldiers who
“ had their eyes upon him, waiting wittly for the signal and were ready for execution, set up a loud
“ cry and ran some from aloft upon the multitude assembled over against them; others stood thick
“ at every corner of the Theatre, where the people should go forth, and opposed themselves against
“ them. Thus the men of *Enna*, shut up and penned within the Theatre were massacred and lay
“ tumbled one upon other: not they only that were killed, but such also as fled one over anothers
“ head: the sound fell upon the wounded, the quick upon the dead, one with another, by heaps.
“ Then there was running from thence sundry waies, and as if the City had been taken upon assault
“ by the enemy, there was nothing but murdering and flying away in every place. And as hot and fu-
“ rious, were the souldiers in the execution of this unarmed multitude (whom they judged wor-
“ thily

A thily and justly to be killed) as if like danger presented unto them, or choler raised in set battel, had provoked them thereto. Thus *Enna* was held still for the Romans by this means: were the deed simply ill, or by circumstance needfull and necessary; *Marcellus* misliked not of the fact, & granted the pillage of the Citizens of *Enna* to the souldiers: supposing that the Sicilians throughly frighted by this fearfull example would betray no more garrisons. The calamity and hard fortune of this City, (standing, as it did, in the very heart of *Sicily*) was in one day divulged and noised throughout the Island, from one end to the other. And otherwise, a famous and renowned town it was, either for the natural situation so exceeding strong: or because all places in it were accounted sacred and holy, in remembrance of *Proserpina*: who in times past left her footing & traces there, at what time as she was stoln away & ravished by *Pluto*. Now it was generally thought by the Sicilians, that this cursed and detestable massacre had defiled and polluted not only the habitations of men, but also the temples of the gods: whereupon even they likewise, who stood but doubtful and indifferent before, fell now away from the Romans, and turned to the Carthaginians.

B Then *Hippocrates* retired to *Murgantia* and *Himilco* to *Agrigentum*: who were sent for by the conspirators and traitors within *Enna*, and approached with their forces, but to no purpose. *Marcellus* returned to the Leontins country: and after he had brought into the Camp corn and other victuals, and left there a meanguard, he presented himself to the siege that lay before *Syracuse*. And when he had sent *Appius Claudius* to Rome to sue for the Consulship, he committed the charge in his room of the Armado there, and the old leaguer unto *T. Quinius Crispinus*. Himself created and fortified his wintering harbours five miles from *Exapylor*, at a place which men call *Leontia*. And these were the affairs of *Sicily* unto the beginning of winter.

In the same summer the war began likewise with King *Philip* which long before had been suspected. For there came Embassadors from *Oricum* to *M. Valerius* the Prætor Admiral of the fleet, for the defence of *Brundisium*, and the sea-coast thereof about of *Calabria*, and made report that *Philip* first assailed to win *Apollonia*, and was come up the river with one hundred and twenty light gallies, or foists with two ranks of oares against the stream: and afterwards, seeing he could not effect his purpose so speedily as he hoped, privily by night he approached with his army to *Oricum*: and that the City, situate upon a plain, neither strongly fenced with walls, nor well manned with souldiers, nor yet furnished with armor and munition, was at the first assault surprised and won. And as they recounted these news, so, they besought him to grant aid and succour: and to make head against this undoubted enemy of the Romans, either by Land, or forces at Sea, and to chase him away from them: who for no other reason were by him assailed, but because they were near neighbors to *Italy*. *M. Valerius* leaving the guard of that place to *T. Valerius* his Lieutenant General, with a fleet of ships well rigged, furnished & appointed; and having embarked these souldiers (which the gallies for war would not receive) in the merchants ships of burden, arrived at *Oricum* on the second day after: and finding that City kept with a small and slight garrison, which *Philip* when he departed from thence had left there, recovered it without much resistance. Thither repaired to him embassadors from *Apollonia*, who brought word that they were besieged, because they refused to revolt from the Romans: and were not able to hold out any longer against

E the forcible attempts of the Macedonians, unless a garrison of Romans were sent unto them. He promised to effect whatsoever they desired, and so shipped a thousand elect and choice souldiers in gallies, and sent them to the mouth of the river, under the conduct of a Captain of Allies *Nævius Crispus*, an industrious man, and an expert souldier. He having landed his men, and sent the gallies back to *Oricum* (from whence he came) to the rest of the Armado, conducted his souldiers higher in the country, far from the river side, by a way that was not beset nor held by the Kings forces: and in the night-season, unawares to all the enemies, entred the City. The day following they rested, only the Captain took a survey of the youth and able men of *Apollonia*, of their armor and the munitions and forces of the City. When he had seen and perused all, thereupon he was well appaid and encouraged to fight, and withall he had learned by the Scouts and spies, how retchless, F idle, and negligent the enemies were without. So at midnight he went forth of the City without any noise, and entred the Camp of the enemies so carelessly guarded as it was, and lying so open: that by credible report, there were above one thousand men got within the trench and rampier, before that any one was ware thereof: and if they had held their hands, and not fallen to killing, they might have passed on still even as far as to the Kings Pavilion. But by reason that they slew the warders next the gates, the enemies were raised: whereupon, they were all so frighted and terrified, that not only there was never a souldier took weapon in hand, and went about to repulse the enemy out of the Camp: but even the King himself, half naked as he was, and newly awakened out of his sleep, clad in simple apparell, scarce decent for a common souldier, much less, I wot, for a King, was faine to run toward the river side to his ships. Thither also the other multitude fled disordered in heaps. There were not many under three thousand either slain or taken prisoners in the camp. Yet there were more by odds of the enemies taken than killed. In the rising of the camp the Apollonians met with *Catapults* and *Bulists*, and other engines provided for the assault of the City, which they conveyed all to *Apollonia*, to serve for defence of their City against the like occasion of needfull service. All the booty besides of the camp was granted to the Romans.

Tidings hereof being come to *Oricum*, *M. Valerius* presently set forth the Armado as far as to the mouth of the river, that the King might not flee away and escape by sea with his ships: whereupon *Philip* doubting his power as well by sea as shore, and doubting he was not able to match

the Romans, drew up some of his ships to land, set fire upon the rest, and so by land went into *Ma- cedony*, with a great part of his souldiers disarmed and spoiled. The Roman fleet wintered at *Ori- cum* with *M. Valerius*.

* chasteau
haut.

The same year in *Spain* the affairs went variably on both sides. For before that the Romans passed over the river *Iberus*, *Mago* and *Asdrubal* deicated a mighty host of Spaniards, so as, all the farther part of *Spain* had fallen from the Romans, but that *P. Cornelius* made haste to transport his army over *Iberus*, and came in good time to settle the wavering and doubtful minds of the allies. At the first the Romans encamped at * *Castrum Alium*, a place memorable for the death of great *Amilcar*. The Castle was well fortified, and thither afore they had conveyed corn. But because all those quarters thereabout were full of enemies, and sundry times their Cavalry had charged the Roman footmen, and gone clear away without any harm, whereby there had been slain at times upon two thousand of them, which either made small halts away, and staid behind, or straggled loosely over the fields: the Romans departed from thence, nearer unto places of more security and peace, and fortified themselves in camp upon the mount of *Victoria*. Thither came *Cn. Scipio* with all his forces, and likewise *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisgo*, the third Captain of the Carthaginians, with a full army. And they all encamped beyond the water, over against the fort of the Romans above said. *P. Scipio*, accompanied with certain light armed souldiers, was gone out closely to discover and take view of the places thereabout: howbeit, not so covertly, but he was espied by the enemies, and (no doubt) they had put him to a shrewd foil in the open plain champion, but that he took a little hill thereby for his vantage. Where he was environed and beset round about: but by the coming of his brother *Cneus*, he was delivered out of that danger.

Castulo, a famous and strong City in *Spain*, and so near linked in affinity to the Carthaginians, that *Annibal* from thence married his wife, ranged to the Romans. The Carthaginians came against *Illiturgum* and began to assault it, because a garrison of the Romans lay there: and like they were to be Masters of the town, by occasion especially of a great dearth and scarcity of victuals within. But *Cn. Scipio* for to relieve his friends and the garrison, went out with a legion lightly appointed with carriages, and marching between the two camps of the enemies skirmished with them, slew many of them, and entered the City. The morrow after he sallied out, joynd in fight with the enemy, and sped as well: so as in both battels there were slain of them above twelve thousand in the place, more than ten thousand taken prisoners, and 36 military ensigs carried away. Thus the siege brake up at *Illiturgum*. After this, the Carthaginians began to lay siege unto *Biger- ra* (a City also confederat with the Romans,) But *Cn. Scipio* at his coming raised that siege without any conflict. Then the Carthaginians from thence went forward against *Munda*, and the Romans followed them thither straight after. There they encountred together and fought a set battel with banners displayed, for the space well-near of four hours. And as the Romans bare themselves bravely, and had got the better, and were at point of the victory, the retreat was sounded, by occasion that *Cn. Scipio* was hurt fore in his thigh with a barbed javelin, and the souldiers about him were greatly afraid that the wound was deadly. But no doubt, if it had not been for that stay and hinderance the very camp of the Carthaginians might that day have been forced. For not only the souldiers, but the Elephants also were driven already so far as the trench, and even there upon the very bank, 39 of them were sticked with darts and pikes. In this battell likewise were killed (by report) twelve thousand men, almost three thousand taken prisoners, and 57 military ensigs won. Then the Carthaginians retired back to the City *Aurinx*, and the Romans followed upon them, because they would give them no time to rest and breath themselves after their fright. Where *Scipio* being brought into the field in a litter, gave them battel the second time, and got the victory clear: but fewer of the enemies were slain by the one half than afore, because there were not so many in number left to fight. But (as they are a nation given naturally to renew war, and to be ever fighting, and cannot give over) they soon repaired and made up their forces. For *Asdrubal* had sent his brother *Mago*, to levy and gather new souldiers: whereupon they took fresh heart again to try another field. These, being for the most part other souldiers (new come) fought as it were in revenge, and to uphold that side which in few daies space had so often taken the foil, and demeaned themselves as courageously as they before, and sped as unto wardly. For there were slain of them above eight thousand, not many under one thousand taken captives, with military ensigs 58. In rifling of them there was found very much spoil of the Gauls, as rings of gold, ear-kanets, collars, and bracelets great store. Over and besides, two great Lords and Princes of the Gauls, whose names were *Manicapus* and *Arvismarus*, were slain outright in that conflict. Eight Elephants taken alive, and three killed.

Now when as the affairs in *Spain* went thus fortunately with the Romans, they began at length for very shame to thinke of *Saguntum*, a town that was the cause of all these wars, and had now five years already been in the hands and possession of the enemy. Whereupon by force of arms they recovered it, drove out of the town the garrison of the Carthaginians, and restored it again to the ancient inhabitants, as many as remained alive, and had escaped these broils of war. As for the Turdetans, who were the occasion of the wars between the Saguntins and the Carthaginians, they subdued them, and brought them under their subjection, sold them in port sale, and destroyed their City utterly. These were the achievements in *Spain*, during the time that *Q. Fabius* and *M. Claudius* were Consuls.

At *Rome*, when the new Tribunes of the Commons were once entered into their office, presently

L. Marcellus

A. L. *Messius* one of the Tribunes aforesaid, arrested the Censors *P. Furius* and *M. Atilius*, peremptorily to make their appearance and answer before the people. These Censors had taken from him being Treasurer the year before, his horse of service allowed him by the City, called and displaced him out of his Tribe, deprived him of liberty to give his voice, and made him *Ævius*, and all, for being a party with them at *Cannæ*, who conspired to abandon *Italy*. But by the means and mediation of the other nine Tribunes, they were discharged: for they would not suffer, that the Censors should come to their answer while they were in office. And the death of one of them, namely, *P. Furius*, was the cause that they could not accomplish the lessing and numbring of the Citizens. And when *M. Atilius* surrendered up his Magistracy, *Q. Fabius Max.* held the solemn B assembly and Parliament of the people for the election of Consuls, wherein were created *Q. Fabius Max.* the Consul his son, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the second time, both absent. For Prætors, there were elected *M. Atilius*, and with him, they who at that time were *Ediles* of the chair to wit, *P. Sempronius Tuditanus*, *Cn. Fulvius Centimalus*, and *M. Æmilius Lepidus*.

This year as it appeareth in old Records, were the Stage-plays first set out by the *Ediles* of the chair, and continued four daies. This *Edile Tuditanus* above named was he who at *Cannæ* when all besides him for fear were affrighted in that wofull calamity, brake forcibly through the midst of the enemies, and escaped. When *Q. Fabius* the old Consul had finished the Election then the new Consuls Elect were sent for to repair unto *Rome*, and they entered their Magistracy. Then they assembled the Senat for to consult and take order for the war, for the Provinces as well their own,

C as those that were under the Prætors: also concerning the armies, and the disposition of every charge and place of command. So the Provinces and armies were divided in this wise: The war with *Annibal*, wheresoever it fell out, was committed to the managing of the Cons. with the charge of one army, which *Sempronius* himself had before under his conduct: and of another, commanded by *Fabius* the Consul. And those were two legions. *M. Æmilius* the Prætor, whole lot it was to have the jurisdiction over the forreiners, had committed his authority unto his Colleague *Atilius*, the Prætor of the Citizens of *Rome*, that he might govern the Province about *Luceria*, and those two legions, over which *Q. Fabius*, now Consul, had the command, whiles he was Prætor. To *Sempronius* the Prætor befell the Province of *Ariminum*. To *Cn. Fulvius* was allotted *Suessula*, with two legions likewise: so as, *Fulvius* should have the leading of the legions

D of Citizens, and *Tuditanus* receive his from *M. Pomponius*. The government of the forrein Provinces continued still in the former deputies. *M. Claudius* ruled *Sicily*, so far as the dominion of King *Hiero* extended: and *Lentulus* the Vice-Prætor had the charge of the old Province. *T. Octavius* was high Admiral of the Navy, without any new supply or augmentation of forces. *M. Valerius* was employed in *Greece* and *Macedony*, with one legion, and the Armado which he had before. *Q. Mutius* was L. Deputy in *Sardinia*, having under him the old army, consisting of two legions. And *C. Terentius* had the administration of the affairs in *Picennus*, with that one legion which long time he had been Captain of. Moreover, it was decreed and agreed upon, that there should be mustred and enrolled two new legions of Citizens, and twenty thousand men besides

E the defence and maintenance of the State and Empire of *Rome*, against many wars at once, either in hand already, or suspected shortly. The Consuls having enrolled two legions of Citizens, and chosen a supply to make out the rest, before that they set foot out of the City, procured the pacification of the gods, for the fearful and prodigious tokens that were reported. For the wall and gates of *Rome* were blasted and smitten with lightning from heaven: and likewise the Temple of *Jupiter* at *Aricia*. Other vain objects and illusions also of the eyes and ears, which men imagined they saw and heard, were beleeved for truths. Namely, there appeared in the river of *Tarracina* certain resemblances and shews of Gallies, whereas indeed there were none such. And in the Temple of *Jup. Vicilinus*, which standeth in the Territory of *Cissa* there was heard, forsooth, rustling of armor: and the river of *Amitemus* seemed to run with blood. When satisfaction was

F made for these strange signs, the gods pleased, and all well again, according to the direction set down by the Priests and Prelates, then the Consuls set forward in their expedition, *Sempronius* into *Lucania*, and *Fabius* into *Apulia*. Where it fell out, that *Fabius* the father repaired into the Camp at *Suessula*, as Lieutenant and assistant unto his son. And when *Fabius* the younger went forth to meet him, and his Serjeants or Ushers marching afore, said not a word to *Fabius* the father, nor put him aside to give way, for very reverence of his person, (such majesty he carried,) the old man rode forward, and passed by eleven of the said Lictors with their bundles of rods. Then the Consul commanded the Serjeant that was next himself to do his office: and with that said Usher called upon old *Fabius*, to alight from his horse back: and at last he set foot aground: I did all this but to try, quoth he, my son, whether you knew well that you were a Consul or no.

G There came that night secretly to the Consul while the Camp lay there, one *Cassius Albinus*, an *Arpinat*, with his three bondslaves, promising, that if he might have a good reward for his service, he would betray *Arpos* into his hands. *Fabius* then propounded this matter unto his Council, to be debated of. Some were of opinion, that *Albinus* was to be whipped and put to death, fugitive rumpagare and false knave as he was: a common enemy, and a dangerous to either part, and playing with both hands, like a double-hearted hypocrite. Who first, after the overthrow at *Cannæ* (as if he might turn with the wheel of fortune, and go from his word and faithful promise, and change ever as the changer) ranged himself unto *Annibal*: and by his exam-

ple, drew with him *Arpi* to revolt and rebell: now after that he seeth the Roman estate to rise again and hold up head (and that beyond his hope & contrary to his desires) he would play the villain and turn coat again, and come with a new practice of a more shamefull treason than before: as if treachery and falshood were of the nature and quality of a judgment passed in a remittal court: and as if he might be allowed to carry two faces under a hood, and alter every hour. Faithless friend that he is, not to be trusted, and slippery enemy, not to be regarded. A good deed it were, that together with that same traitor of *Falerii*, and the other of King *Pyrrius*, he made a third, and were punished accordingly for exemplary justice, to teach all rogues and runnagates hereafter how they run from their Lords and Masters. On the other side, old *Fabius* (the Consuls father) replied, and said: That men now a daies had forgot how to make difference of seasons, and in the very heat & midst of wars, reasoned and gave their opinion and sentence of every thing and person as in a free time of open peace: when as indeed, we are to think, consider, and deliberate of this point, that (if possibly it might be) no more of our allies revolt from the people of *Rome*, rather than invite and incite them thereto: and after one is started aside, and upon repentance returned again to the ancient amity, to fall a reviling and rebuking of him, and bitterly to say that he deserveth to be made an example to all others. For if it may be lawfull for one to turn from the Romans, and held unlawfull to return again unto the Romans, no man need doubt, but shortly the Roman Empire will be forsaken of all her confederats and allies, and we shall see within a while all the Cities of *Italy* linked and confedered in a league and friendship with the Carthaginians. And yet (quoth he) I am not the man that thinketh *Alcimus* worthy to be trusted in any thing for all this, but I would take a mean course & middle way between both extremities. My opinion is therefore that for the present he should be taken neither for enemy nor friend, but commanded to ward, and to have the liberty of a prisoner, and only be kept forth-coming in some confederat and trusty City, not far from the Camp during the time of the war. And when the war is once finished and ended, then I hold it good to deliberate and consult, whether that his former revolt hath deserved more punishment than this his present return meriteth favour and grace. Every man liked well of this advice of old *Fabius*, and gave their assent. So he was bound with chains, and both himself and his company delivered over and put in custody, and a good round sum of gold, which he then had brought with him, was by commandment reserved for his use. At *Cales* he made his abode: where all the day time he used to walk at liberty, with his keepers following him, but in the night they kept him close prisoner. But at *Arpi*, where his house was, they of his own house began first to miss him, and seek for him: afterwards, when it was noised throughout the whole City, that he was out of the way, and could not be found: the same hereof caused a tumult, for the loss of a principall person as he was, thus revolted to the enemy. And for fear of an alteration in the State, presently the news thereof was sent to *Annibal*. Who was nothing offended therewith, both because long afore he had the party himself in jealousy and suspicion, as one neither fish nor flesh, a man of no credit and hardly to be trusted: and also for that he found a good occasion and quarrel to seize upon the goods of so rich and substantiall a Citizen, and to make sale thereof. But to the end that the world might think that he was more angry against his person, than greedy of his substance, he joyned with cruelty, a grave course also of judicall severity, that the one might serve as a file to give lustre to the other. For having sent for his wife and children into the Camp, first he examined them straightly, for to know whether he was fled, and what store of silver and gold he had left behind him at home in his house: and when he had learned enough of them touching every particular, and as much as he desired, he burnt them quick to ashes.

Fabius being departed from *Suessula* purposed the first thing that he did to assail *Arpi*. Where he lay encamped a mile from the town: and after he had well viewed by near approach, the situation of the City, and considered the wall, look where he saw it was most strong and sure, and therefore guarded most slightly and negligently, there especially he purposed to give the hottest assault. And when he had sufficiently provided and got together all ordnance and engins, requisite for the battery of Cities, he made choice of the most hardy and valiant Centurions of the whole army, and set over them certain Tribunes and Marshals, valorous and doughty good men, and appointed unto them a Regiment of six hundred souldiers (for so many he thought sufficient for the present service) with direction and commandment, that when the trumpet sounded the relief of the fourth watch, they should bring scaling ladders to that place aforesaid. Now there stood a gate low and narrow, answering to the street not much used and frequented, by reason that quarter of the City was not inhabited, but stood void. That gate he gave them order first to scale and clime over, and then to go forward on the wall, and from within-forth to break down the bars, and level the said gate, and when they were Masters of that quarter of the City, then to wind the horn, and give signall to the rest of the forces for to approach and come hard to the town, saying, That he would have all things in readines, and in good order. This direction was performed accordingly with great diligence, and that which was thought and feared would have been an hindrance and let unto them in the action, was the only thing which he ped them most, that they were not desiered. And that was a smoking shower of rain that began after midnigh, which caused the warders and watchmen to quit their standings, forsake the Sentries, and to flie into the houses for covert. The first noise of the storm pouring down with such a force, made that the rumbling of the souldiers could not be heard, as they were breaking down the gates and

As it grew after to rain more softly, and so kept still at one, it sounded gently and sweetly in their ears, untill he brought a good many of them fast asleep. Now after they had seized the gate, the Marshalls gave order, That the Cornettiers should be bestowed in that void street afore said, distant equally asunder, and to wind their horns; for to waken and raise the Consul. Which being done, according as it was before agreed, the Cos. commanded the standards and ensigns to be brought forth, and somewhat before day-light entred at the said broken gate into the City. With that, the enemies at length began to rouse themselves, for now the shower and storm was past, and the day approached. There was a garrison in the City at hand of five thousand of *Annibal* his souldiers, armed and well appointed: and the Arpins of themselves were 3000 strong. Those **B** the Carthaginians put in the forefront, as a forlorn hope, and opposed them against the enemy, for fear of some treacherous prank that they might play behind their backs. First, they began to arrange themselves to fight in the dark, blind, and narrow lanes. For the Romans had filled and taken up not only all the streets, but also the houses that were next the gate, to the end, they might not be galled with shot, and wounded from aloft. Some Arpins and Romans fell at length to meet, to take knowledge and acquaintance one of another, and so began to commune and talk together. The Romans asked what the Arpins meant to rebell: for what offence and harm given of the Romans, and for what desert and benefit received from the Carthaginians should they (being naturall Italians) maintain war for Aliens, strangers, and barbarous nations, against the Romans their old friends and ancient Allies: and so to bring *Italy* in subjection to *Affrick*, to do homage and fealty, yea, and to become tributary, and to pay pension unto it? The Arpins excused and cleared themselves, saying, that they (simple men, and ignorant in all things) were bought and sold by their great rulers and principall Citizens, and lived in manner as captives and slaves under the command of some few persons that might do all. Upon this beginning, more and more of them grew to parling and conference. At length the Prator of *Arpi* himself was by his own people and Citizens brought and presented before the Consul: where, after faithfull promise passed between the ensigns and the battels; the Arpins immediately bent their forces on the Romans side against the Carthaginians. The Spaniards likewise (who were not many under a thousand men) after they had capitulat and agreed with the Roman Consul, nothing but this one article, That the garrison of the Carthaginians might be sent forth and paid away safe without harm: **D** came with their colours to the Consul. Then all the gates were set open for the Carthaginians, depart: and being sent away upon safe conduct without any harm at all or damage unto *Annibal*, arrived at *Salapia*. Thus *Arpi* was restored again to the Romans, without the loss and detriment of any one man but one only old traitor and new fugitive revolt. The Spaniards were appointed to have double allowance of victuals: and they performed good, faithfull, and valiant service many times after to the Common weal.

When one of the Consuls was in *Apulia*, and the other in *Lucania*, one hundred and twelve men of arms, Gentlemen of the Nobility of *Capua*, having licence granted by the Magistrates to go out of the City, pretending to make a rode into the enemies country; and to fetch in booties and prizes, came directly into the Romans Camp, lying about *Suessula*. And meeting with the **E** *Corps de guard*, declared who they were, and that they would par with the Lord Deputy. Now *Cn. Fulvius* was the General and Commander of the army there: who being advertized and certified hereof gave order that ten only of all that number should be brought before him unarmed. When he heard their suit and demand, which was nothing else, but that when *Capua* was recovered by the Romans, they might have their goods restored unto them: he received them all into his protection. The other Prator also *Sempronius Tuditanus*, won by force the town *Citernum*: where there were taken prisoners above seven thousand men: and a good deal of copper and silver coin gained besides. At *Rome* there chanced a fearfull and pitifull fire, which continued two nights and one whole day. All between *Soluna* and the gate *Carmentalis*, together with the *Equimellum* and the street *Jugurium*, were burned down, and made even with the ground. Likewise **F** without the gate the fire spread far all about, and in the Temples of *Fortuna* and Dame *Matuta*, and *Sper*, consumed much, as well hallowed as prophane.

The same year, when all things prospered well and had good success in *Spain*, *P.* and *Cn.* both *Scipios* having recovered many associates and those of ancient league that came in again to him and yielded themselves: and besides, gained some new confederats: conceived good hope, and took heart to proceed farther, even into *Affrick*.

Syphax King of the Numidians, on a sudden fell out with the Carthaginians, and became their professed enemy. Unto him the *Scipios* addressed three Centurions as Embassadors, to treat with him about a league and alliance: and to promise withall, that if he went on still to trouble and molest the Carthaginians, by making war upon them, he should do an high favour to the Senate and people of *Rome*: that they would endeavour and bring about, that in good time and place, **G** he should be well required for that kindness, and receive at their hands a double recompence with thanks. This embassage pleased the barbarous King right well. And after he had conferred and reasoned with the Embassadors, concerning military affairs, and the knowledge of warfare: and heard those old & experienced souldiers talk of war, he soon found his own wants, and how unskilfull himself was in many points and feats of arms, in comparison of that methodicall and orderly discipline, whereof they had discoursed. The first thing then that he requested at their hands, was this: That as they were good friends and faithfull Allies, two of them would go
"back

back with their Embassie unto their Generals, and that the third might remain with him, to read unto him a lecture in the military science of warfare, Saying, that the nation of the Numidians were raw and altogether unskilful in footmens service, and only nimble and practised in fight on horseback, So (quoth he) from the first beginning of our nation have our ancestors used to war: & so have we from our childhood been enured to fight. Mary, an enemy I have trusting and presuming much upon his Infantry, whom I would gladly be able to match every way in all kind of service, Footmen I am able to set out as well as another: for why? my Realm is populous, and yieldeth abundance of men: but altogether ignorant we are, how to fit them with armor, how to marshall them, how to order and set them in battell array: inasomuch as all my people in battell go to it pell-mell, and are as a multitude huddled and thrumbled together as I venture without skill without discretion and advisement. The Embassadors answered and said, That for the present they would do according to his will and pleasure: but withal, they had his faithful promise & word of a Prince that he should immediately send back their companion again, in case their Generals approved not their deed in that behalf. *Q. Statorius* his name was, that staid behind with the King. So *Syphax* sent by the two Romans his answer to the foresaid Embassage into *Spain*: and besides, with them other Numidians, Embassadors of his own, to receive farther assurance and security from the Roman Generals: unto whom he gave in charge, that forthwith they should sollicite, perswade, and entice all the Numidians that were auxiliary souldiers unto the Carthaginians, and served in any Camp, City, or garrison Town of theirs, for to abandon them and come to him. And *Statorius* for his part, having mustered a great multitude of serviceable young men, chose forth and enrolled a power of footmen, to serve in the Kings wars: and when he had sorted them into bands and companies, and ordred them in battell array, as near as possibly he could, to the manner of the Romans: he trained them in their running to follow their colours: he taught them to keep their places in their ranks, and to double their files: and likewise he accustomed them to travell and do work: and so acquainted them with other military orders and exercises, that within short time, the King reposed as good confidence, and was as mighty in his new Infantry, as in his old Cavalry: and in a set pitched field on even ground, was able to meet the Carthaginian with banner displayed, and give him the foil in a full battell. The coming of the Kings Embassadors into *Spain*, was to the Romans also a matter of great consequence and importance: for upon the rumour and fame that went thereof the Numidians began to fall away apace, and to come thick unto the Romans. Thus were the Romans joynd in amity and friendship with King *Syphax*.

When the Carthaginians had intelligence of this new alliance, they addressed immediately their Embassadors to *Gala*, who reigned in another part of *Numidia*, over a nation called *Massyli*. This *Gala* had a son named *Masanissa*, of seventeen years of age, but a youth of such towardness, and so forward in vertue, that even then he made good and apparant shew, that he would another day enlarge his domibion, and make a more flourishing and mighty Kingdom than his father should leave it unto him. These Embassadors declared unto *Gala*, That forasmuch as *Syphax* had entred league, and was banded with the Romans, to the end that by their alliance and society, he might be more mighty and puissant against other Kings and nations of *Affrick*: It were also better for him and much more commodious to joyn with the Carthaginians in all convenient speed: before that either *Syphax* passed over into *Spain*, or the Romans into *Affrick*: And *Syphax* (say they) may soon be defeated and overthrowen now, while that he hath gained naught yet, but the bare name of the Roman League. *Gala* was soon perswaded to send a power of men especially at the earnest instance of his son, who was very desirous of that war, and to have the managing thereof. He with the help of the Carthaginian legions vanquished *Syphax*, and gave him a great overthrow. So as at that field there were slain, by report, in one day thirty thousand. *Syphax* himself in person, with some few Numidian horsemen, fled back to the Maurisians, that inhabit the farthest coasts, hard upon the Ocean over-against *Gades*. But the barbarous people at the fame of his coming so resorted in great numbers to him out of all parts, that in a short space he was able to arm a mighty host. And before he could with them cross over into *Spain*, which was divided from *Affrick* with a narrow arm of the sea, *Masanissa* was come with his victorious Army: who in that place, of himself, without any help or aid of the Carthaginians, gave *Syphax* battell, to his great honour and singular glory. In *Spain* no memorable exploit was achieved, but that the Roman Generals allured and drew to them the able and serviceable manhood of the Celtiberians, for the same hire and stipend that they bargained for with the Carthaginians: and sent from thence above three hundred Spaniards of the noblest parentage into *Italy*, to sollicite their countrymen, who served under *Annibal* as auxiliaries to follow them and take part with the Romans. This only, touching the affairs of *Spain* that year, is a thing worthy to be noted and remembered. That the Romans never waged souldier to serve in their War before that time, when the Celtiberians began to be their mercenaries, and first received pay.

The five and twentieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation
of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the five and twentieth Book.

Publius Cornelius Scipio, surnamed afterwards Africanus, was made Edile, before he was of lawfull years. Annibal won the City Tarentum (all but the Castle, into which the Roman garrison was retired) by means of certain young Tarentine Gentlemen, who had made semblance, that they went by night a hunting. The solemn plaies in the honour of Apollo, were now first instituted, upon occasion of certain propheticall verses of Martius, wherein the overthrow at Cannæ had been foretold. Q. Fulvius and Ap. Claudius Consul, fought fort unately against Hanno, a Duke or Captain of the Carthaginians. T. Sempronius Gracchus the Pro-Consul, was by a Lucan (his host that gave him entertainment) trained into the danger of an ambush, and slain by Mago. Centenius Penula, who had served in the wars as a Centurion, having made suit unto the Senat, to have the leading of an army, and promised, if this petition were granted, so win the victory of Annibal, and to vanquish him, took the charge of eight thousand footmen, and gave battell to Annibal: but he was slain himself, and his whole army defeated and put to the sword. Gn. Fulvius the Prætor fought unfortunately against Annibal, and lost the field: in which fight there died sixteen thousand men. Himself, with two hundred horsemen fled and escaped. Capua was besieged by Q. Fulvius, and Appius Claudius, the Consuls. Claudius Marcellus in the third year of the siege won Syracule, and bare himself in that service like a worthy and noble Knight. In that tumult and hurly-burly when the City was taken, Archimedes, while he was busily occupied about certain Geometrical figures and forms that he had drawn in the dust, was killed. The two Scipios, Publius, and Cornelius, after so many and so worthy exploits performed fortunately in Spain, came to a wofull and heavy end, being themselves slain there, with the loss well-near of their whole Armies, in the eighth year after that they went into Spain. And the main possession of that Province had been quite lost, but for the singular manhood and industry of L. Martius, a Knight of Rome, who having rallied and gathered together the remnants of the armies, so encouraged them, that by their valiant service two several encamped holds of the enemies were won, seven and thirty thousand of the enemies slain, and eighteen hundred taken prisoners, and a great rich booty obtained. Whereupon he was called Captain Martius.

The five and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

VV Hiles these affairs thus passed in Affrick and in Spain, Annibal emploied the summer season in the territory of Tarentum, in hope by treason to be Master of the City of the Tarentins. In which mean while, certain base Cities of the Salentins, and towns of no importance revolted unto him. And at the same time, of those twelve States of the Brutii, which the year before had turned, and banded with the Carthaginians, the Consentins and Thurins were rallied wholly again to the devotion of the people of Rome. And more of them had returned likewise, but for L. Pomponius Veientanus, Captain of the Allies: who after he had made certain rodes into the country of the Brutii, and sped his hand well with many booties, took upon him the countenance of a sufficient Colonel, and was no less reputed: and having gathered a power of men, suddenly in haste, without good adviement, fought with Hanno. In which conflict, a mighty multitude of his men were either slain or taken prisoners. But, as good hap was, they were but a disordered unruly rabble of rustical clowns and bond-slaves: and the least loss of all other, was the Captain himself, who amongst the rest was taken captive: a man as then, the author of a rash and fool-hardy fight, and had been aforetime a Publican or farmer of the City revenues, and alwaies (through his naughty practises and cunning fetches and shifts wherein he was become skillful) a disloyal person and dangerous both to the publicke State, and also to those private companies and societies, with whom he had commerce and dealing. Sempronius the Consul, lying in the Lucans country, made many light skirmishes, but not any one, worth remembrance, and won certain poore towns, and of smal regard, belonging unto the Lucans.

The longer that this war continued lingring, whiles prosperous success and adverse mishap interchangeably wrought much variety and alteration as well in the inward minds of men: as in their outward state and fortune: such religious zeal and superstition (and the same for the most part in forein ceremonies) had so seized & possessed the City, that either the men or gods thereof, were suddenly all at once become clean altered and transfigured. Insomuch as now the Roman rites and holy observations were contemned, not only in secret, & within doors at home in their private

private houses, but abroad also in the open streets, yea, and in the common place and Capitoll: where there flocked alwaies a sort of women, that neither offered sacrifice and oblations, nor said their prayers, and did their devotions according to the use and custome of their native country and City. Certain odd Priests and Chaplains, yea, and doting wizards and blind Prophets, had inveigled the minds and consciences of men: whose number was the greater by reason first of the rurall people and peasants of the country, who for need and poverty, and for fear together, were driven to quit their lands which they had not tilled and husbanded, by reason of the long wars, and many invasions and rodes that laid all waste, and so retired into the City: afterwards by the easie occupation and ready means of gain which they found by the error of others, whom they soon seduced and abused: which trade they used and practised openly, as if it had been a lawfull art and mystery. At the first, divers good and honest persons began secretly to grieve and be offended herewith, yea, and to mutter and utter their griefs in private: but afterwards in process of time the matter was presented before the LL. of the Councill, and brake forth to open complaint in publike places. The *Ædiles* and *Triumvirs* Capitall were blamed much, and sharply rebuked of the Senate, for not redressing these disorders: and when they went in hand to rid the common place of this multitude, and to cast down, over-turn, and sling away the preparation and provision for their sacrifices and oblations, they had like to have been misused and mischieved by the people. When this malady and disorder seemed now to be greater than might be remedied and reformed by the meaner and inferiour Magistrate, *M. Æmilius*, Prætor of the City for the time being, received Commission by order from the Senate, to see that the people were eased and delivered from this new religion and superstition. He not only read unto them in a publike assembly the decree of the Senate in that behalf, but also made proclamation, *Imprimis*, that who-soever had any books of prophetes or prayers, or treaties written of this art and science of sacrifices, should bring in all those books and writings unto him before the Calends of April next ensuing. Item, that no person should sacrifice either in publike place, or sacred Church, after any new form or forreign rights and traditions. And in that year there died certain publike Priests, to wit, *L. Cornelius Lentulus* the Arch-Prelate, or high Priest: and *C. Papyrius Maffo*, the son of *Ælius* a Bishop. Also *P. Furius Philus* an Augur and *C. Papyrius Maffo* the son of *Lucius*, a Decemvir deputed for holy mysteries. In place of *Lentulus* and of *Papyrius*, were *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, and *Cn. Servilius Cæpio* substituted high-Priest and Bishop. For Augur there was created *L. Quintus Flaminius*: and *L. Cornelius Lentulus* was choien Decemvir over sacred ceremonies and divine service.

Now the time drew near of the solemn election of new Consuls: but because it was not thought good to call the old away, (busied as they were in the wars) *T. Sempronius* one of the Consuls, nominated for Dictator, to hold that election aforesaid, *C. Claudius Cento*, who named for his Generall of the Cavalry *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*. This Dictator, the first comitiall day following, created for Consuls *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* above named, his Generall of horse-men, and *Ap. Claudius Pulcher*, who in his Prætorship had the jurisdiction and government of the Province of Sicily. Then were the Prætors elected, *Cn. Fulvius Flaccus*, *C. Claudius Nero*, *M. Junius Syllanus*, and *P. Cornelius Sulla*. When the Election was ended, the Dictator resigned up his place.

That year was *Ædile Cn. Plautius*, together with *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, one *P. Cornelius Scipio*, whose surname afterwards was *Africannus*. When he stood and made suit for the *Ædileship*, and the Tribunes of the Commons were against him, objecting that he was not eligible and capable of that office for that he was not of lawfull age to be a competitor, and to put in for it: If (quoth he) all the Quirites and Citizens of Rome will chooe me *Ædile*, I have years enough on my back. Whereupon, in favour and furtherance of his suit, there was such running and labouring on all hands to the Tribes for their voices, that the Tribunes suddainly forsooke their purpose to hinder him. And this was the largesse and donative that the *Ædiles* bestowed. The Roman Games were, according to the wealth of that time, exhibited and set out with great state and magnificence and continued one day longer than ordinary: and for every street throughout the City, was allowed a *Constitio* of oyl, *L. Villius Tappulus*, and *M. Fundanus Fundulus* *Ædiles* of the Commons, accused certain dames and wives of the City before the people, of dishonest and incontinent life: and some of them being condemned, they forced into banishment. The Games called *Plebeii*, were renewed for two daies: and by occasion of these games a solemn feast or dinner was kept for the honour of *Jupiter*.

Then *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* the third time entered the Consulship, together with *Appius Claudius*: and the Prætors cast lots for their Provinces. It fell unto *P. Cornelius Sulla* his lot, to have the jurisdiction both of Citizens and Strangers, which before was executed by twain. To *Cn. Fulvius Flaccus* fell *Apulia*: to *C. Claudius Nero* was allotted *Sæssula*: and *M. Junius Syllanus* his hap was to have the rule of the Tuscans. The Consuls were appointed by decree of the Senate to war with *Anniball*, and to have under their command two legions apiece: and that one of them should receive his legions of *Q. Fabius*, the Cos. of the former year: and the other take his at the hands of *Fulvius Centimalus*. As for the Prætors, *Fulvius Flaccus* had Commission for the conduct of the legions at *Luceria*, which served under *Æmilius* Prætor there: and *Nero Claudius* was to have the leading of those that were under the hand of *C. Terentius* in *Picenum*: and that they should provide themselves of supply to make up the full number of the Companies. *M. Junius* had the charge of the legions of Citizens mitted the year before to serve in *Tuscany*: *T. Sempronius Gracchus*,

* About a wine gallon.

A *Gracchus* and *P. Semprianus Tuditanus* continued still in the government of their Provinces, the one of *Lucania*, the other of *Gallia*; and kept their own forces. Likewise *P. Lentulus* governed the old Province in *Sicily*: *M. Marcellus* was Lord Deputy of *Syracusa*; and so far as the Realm and Dominion of King *Hiero* reached. *T. Octavius* Admiral of the Navy. *Greece* was governed still by *M. Valerius*; *Sardinia* by *Q. Mutius Scævola*; *Spain* by *P.* and *Cornelius Scipio*. To the old armies before, there were other two new legions levied and enrolled by the Coss. So as in all, the whole forces for that year amounted to 23 Legions.

When the Consuls should muster the souldiers, they were hindered by occasion of a lewd prank played by one *M. Posthumius Pyrgensis*, to the great trouble and disquiet of the State and publike peace. This *Posthumius* was by his vocation and calling a Publican, who many years together for crafty and deceitfull dealing, for avarice and covetousness, had nor his fellow in all the City, but it were *L. Raponius Veientanus* again; the same man, whom the year before, as he foraged the territories of the *Lucans* rashly and unadvisedly, the *Carthaginians* by the conduct of *Hanno* had taken prisoner. These two (forasmuch as it was covenanted and indented before, that the transporting of those things which were for the provision of the armies beyond sea, should be warranted by the City against all danger of tempest; and that all damage and loss of goods that way miscarrying, should not lie upon the shoulders of the Publicans, who had undertaken by great to serve the armies, but be made good again out of the common Chest and Treasure:) these publicans (I say) not only gave false information of certain shipwracks, but also if they brought word at any

B time, truly of some ships that were perished, they were such only as were lost by their own fraud and deceit, and not cast away by chance or violence of weather. For they would freight & charge certain old vessels and shaken bottoms, with some few wares of small or no worth at all, and suffer them to sink for the nonce in the deep sea, and save the mariners and sailors with small pinaces and cockboats prepared aforehand for the purpose: and when they had done, lie shamefully and say, that they had lost merchandise and commodities in those ships of sundry sorts, and of great value. These cunning parts of theirs had been the year past revealed and notified to *M. Emylius* the Prætor, and the Senat by him made acquainted therewith: howbeit there was nothing done, nor any act of Senat devised for the chastisement of the offender: because the LL. of the Councill in no case would offend the company and society of these publicans and farmers, in such a

D time especially, when there was some need of them. Then the common people took the matter into their own hands, for to proceed with more severity against these lewd and fraudulent practices. At length, two of the Tribunes of the Commons, *Sp.* and *Lucius*, both *Carvili*, arose up and shewed themselves. For seeing how odious and infamous an indignity this was, and not to be suffered they brought *M. Posthumius* in question; and laid an action and set a fine upon his head, of two hundred thousand Asse. When the day of trial was come, whether the fine aforesaid should stand and be paid, or taken off and remitted; and that the Commons were assembled in so great number, that the great Court-yard of the Capitol would scarcely hold the multitude: the defendant spake for himself and pleaded at large. But the only hope that he seemed to have was this, in case *C. Servilius Scaeva* a Tribune of the Commons, a friend and near kinsman of *Posthumius*,

E would by vertue of his place come between and stop the course of law for proceeding farther, before that the tribes and wards were called forth, to go together and to give their voices. The two Tribunes abovenamed, having brought forth the witnesses to depose, and their depositions being taken, commanded the people to void and make way: And the lottery casket or foller was brought forth to cast lots, in what Tribes the Latines should give their voices. All this while the Publicans were earnest with *Scaeva* to dissolve the assembly by one means or other, and put off the Court for that day. The common people on the other side called on hard and gain said it. And as it fell out, *Scaeva* sat formost in one of the points and corners of the assembly. He wist not what to do, his mind was so perplexed for shame of the one side if he did not help his friend and kinsman, and for fear on the other side, because he see the people so eagerly bent. The Publicans seeing

F small hope of help in him, with full intent to make some stir, and to trouble the Court, put forward forcibly and advanced themselves through a void way, seized upon an high place, and between the Tribunes and the people, rushed in upon them, and fell to quarrell and brawl both with the people of the one side, and also with the Tribunes on the other: insomuch as they were like to go together by the ears. Whereupon *Fulvius* the Consul, "See ye not (quoth he to the Tribunes) how basely ye are accounted of and made of no better reckoning among them, than private persons? See ye not a riot and mutiny toward, unless ye make haste and break up the assembly? So the Commons were dismissed, and a Senate called: Where the Consuls made relation unto the Lords of the Councill, and complained how the solemn Session and Court of the Commons, was by the audacious violence of the Publicans disturbed: "That Court (I say)

G wherein *M. Furius Camillus*, upon whose exile ensued the destruction of the City, suffered himself to be condemned by ungrateful Citizens: wherein the Decemvirs afore him by vertue of whole laws the City is governed; and we live at this day: and wherein my principall Citizens afterwards have been content to beset down and judged by the people. Moreover how *Posthumius Pyrgensis* by force wrested from the Commons, the liberty of their voices and suffrages; subverted and made void the iudicial Session of the Commons: curbed the Tribunes and had no regard of them; came as it were in warlike manner against the people of *Rome*: and got for their vantage the higher ground, to keep the Tribunes from coming unto the Commons:

"and

* 625 lib. ster.

The complaints of the Consuls to the Romans.

and to stop the tribes for being called to scrutiny and to give their voices: and nothing else was that kept men from committing a fray, and shedding blood, but the patience of the Magistrates themselves: in that for the present, they gave place to the furious rage and insatiable cruelty of a few: and for his will and pleasure brake up the assembly, before they could go together about the matter they were met for: (which the defendant himself with force & arms was ready to stop and hinder for going forward) because they might have no occasion given them to quarrel, which was the only thing that they fought for. When this matter with all the circumstances was thoroughly scanned of, and the best men there had spoken their minds, and given their opinion according to the outrageousness and indignity of the thing: and thereupon the Senate decreed, that this violence tended to the breach of common peace, and the hazard of the State (a most dangerous precedent to be suffered) then without more ado, the two *Comitum* Tribunes of the Com. laid aside clean all debating about the penall fine aforesaid, and indicted *Posthumus* of a capitall crime: and commanded him to be attached by a principall Serjeant, and to be led to prison, unless he put in good sureties for his appearance to answer the cause, such as would be bound for him body for body. *Posthumus* put in bail: and made default at his day. The then Tribunes called the Commons together, preferred a bill unto them, which they granted to pass in this form: That if *M. Posthumus* came not forth & made appearance before the Calends of May, and being cited and called that day, answered not to his name, and no lawful excuse alleged for his absence, they judged him to be a banished man, and therefore awarded his goods to be sold in port-sale, and himself to be excommunicate, and interdicted the use of water and of fire: and to lose the benefit of a Citizen for ever. This done, they began also to endite all those, one after another, of a capitall crime, who were his abettors, and the movers and stirrers of a sedition and commotion of the people, and to call for personal pledges. At the first they committed as many of them as could find no such sureties: and afterwards, those also that were sufficient to put in bail. For the avoiding of which danger, most of them departed into voluntary exile. This was the end of the Publicans fraudulent dealings: and this was the issue of their audacious enterprise, in defence and maintenance of their guile and deceit.

* 1 of May.

* *Scapula* rather.

After this, a solemn Court was called for the creation of the Arch-Prelate, and *M. Cornelius Cethegus* newly elected Prelate, was the President of this election. Three competitors there were, who sued for that Prelacy, and strived earnestly one against the other: namely, *Q. Fulvius Placcus*, Consul for the time being, who also had before been twice Consul, and Censor besides; also *T. Manlius Torquatus*, a man of great reputation, for that he had been likewise dignified with a double Consulship, and one Censorship; and last of all, *P. Licinius Crassus*, who as yet, was to suffer the Edileship: howbeit, this young man in that sute and contention was superior, and carried it away from those grave, ancient, and honourable persons. Before him, for the space of an hundred and twenty years, there had not been created any one, the highest Priest, (save only *P. Cornelius Calpurnius*) but had sit before in the Ivory Chair and born office of State. The Consul had much ado to go through with the Levy, and to enroll the full legion of souldiers, by reason that the small number of young and able men would hardly afford both to furnish out the new legions of Citizens, and also to supply and make up the old. Howbeit the Senate would not suffer them to give over their enterprise which they were about, but agreed that there should be chosen two Ternions of Triumvirs: the one sort of them to be sent out, within the compass of fifty miles every way from *Rome*, the other to go farther: with commission to take good view and survey, both within that precinct and without, in all through-fares and market towns: in boroughs and places of frequent assemblies: of all persons of free condition that they could set eye on: and so many as they thought able men of body to bear arms, although they were not come to the lawfull age for service, to press them for souldiers. Also it was decreed, that the Tribunes of the Commons; if they so pleased, should put up a bill, that all under seventeen years of age, who had bound themselves by military oath, should have as good pay, as if they had been enrolled souldiers at seventeen years or upward. By vertue of this decree, the two Ternions aforesaid of the Tribunes being chosen, made diligent search, and visited all the country over for free-born men accordingly.

The Oration of one of the Ambassadors of the confined souldiers unto *Marcellus*.

At the same time letters came from *M. Marcellus* out of *Sicily*, concerning the demands of the souldiers who served under *P. Lentulus*, and they were read in the Senate House. That army consisted of the residue which remained after the field lost at *Canna*, and was confined into *Italy* (as hath been said afore) with this condition, not to return back into *Italy* before the Punic war should be ended. These souldiers obtained licence of *Lentulus* to send as Ambassadors unto *Marcellus* (where he lay in winter harbour) the principall men of arms, such as served on horse allowed by the City, the chiefe Centurions also and the bravest souldiers and choicest flower of the Legions. One of these in the name of the rest, having liberty granted them for to speak in his oration in this wise, "We had come to you into *Italy*, O *M. Marcellus*, when you were Consul, immediately upon that decree made against us (which if it were not unjust and unreasonable, yet surely it was heavy and rigorous enough: but that we hoped to be sent into this Province: so generally troubled and out of order by the death of the King, there to be employed in some dangerous and cruell war against the *Sicilians* and *Carthaginians* both at once, and so with our bloodshed and grievous wounds to make satisfaction for our trespass unto the Magistrates and rulers of *Rome*. Like as in our fathers daies, they which were taken prisoners

"by

- A "by King *Pyrrhus* before *Heraclea*, made amends for their fault by their good service against the
 "same *Pyrrhus*. And yet, I can not see, [my *LL* of the Senat] for what delight of our parts, ye
 "either have been displeased sometime, or are offended at this present with us. For me thinks,
 "I see both Consuls, and the whole body of the Senat of *Rome*, when I behold your face, O *Mar-*
 "cellus: whom if we had had to our Consul at *Canna*, it would have gone better both with the
 "Common-weal, and with ourselves, then it did. For I beseech you, suffer us now, before I
 "I make moan, and complain of our hard state and condition, to purge our selves of that crime
 "for which we are blamed. Set aside, thar neither the wrath of the Gods, nor destiny and fatal
 "necessity (upon the Law and decree whereof dependeth the immutable order and infallible
 B "course and consequence of all things in the world) was the cause that we were defeated & over-
 "thrown at *Canna*, but our own selves, and our default was the occasion let us see then, whose
 "fault it was, the souldiers, or the Generals? For mine own part, I remember I am a souldier,
 "and of my Captain and General I will never speak but well: of him especially, unto whom I
 "know the Senat rendered thanks for that he despised not of the common-weal; and whose
 "government ever since his flight and running away, hath been prorogued from year to year, and
 "who hath had the conduct of armies continually. Neither will I say ought of the rest likewise,
 "who escaped that unfortunate foil and defeat, I mean our military Tribuns and Colonels, who
 "(as we hear say) sue for dignities, bear honourable offices in City, yea, and rule whole Provin-
 "ces as *LL*. Presidents in foreign parts. It is foindeed my *LL*? do ye to easily pardon and forgive
 C "your own selves and children? and deal ye so hardly, so rigorously and cruelly, against us base ab-
 "ject persons and vile wretches? And was it no shame and dishonor imputed to the Consul and
 "other great personages of the City to flee, when there was no other hope? and were the poor
 "souldiers sent by you into the field with this intention, to be all killed up, and none to escape? At
 "the battail of *Allia*, the whole army in a manner fled away: Also at the Straights of *Caudium*
 "(to say nothing of other shameful foils of our armies) the host yielded up their armor to the
 "enemy, before they joynd battel, and fought one strok. Yet, so far off it was, that those armies
 "sustained any infamy and shameful reproach therefore, that both the City of *Rome* was recovered
 "again by the means of those Regiments which fled from *Allia* to *Ves*, and also the *Caudine* le-
 "gions which returned to *Rome* naked, were sent again into *Samnium* well armed: who subdued
 D "and brought under the yoke of subjection the very same enemies, who had taken such pride and
 "joy in that dishonour and ignominy of theirs. And now, for the army before *Canna*, is any man
 "able to come forth and charge them justly, that either they fled, or for cowardly fear behaved
 "themselves unbecomly, and not like souldiers? Where were slain in field above fifty thousand men:
 "from whence the Consul fled with fifty Horsemen, and no more: and of which company there is
 "not one remaineth alive, but whom the enemy, weary with killing, spared and left. I remember,
 "at what time as the prisoners taken there, were denied money to pay for their ransome, then
 "every man commanded and praised us, for saving and reserving our selves against another day, to
 "be employed in the service of the Common-weal: for returning unto *Vesuvius* to the Consul,
 "and for making a good shew of a compleat army. But now, in worse case are we, than in our
 E "fathers dayes, captives have been that were taken prisoners. For they only had their armor and
 "weapons changed for worse; their rank in the battel shifted; their place in the camp where
 "they should quarter, altered: which notwithstanding, they recovered again all at once, by per-
 "forming their good devoir to their country, and winning a victory in one fortunat battel. Not
 "one of them was ever confined (as it were) to a place of exile: none put beside hope to be dis-
 "charged from souldiery by serving out his full time: and to be brief, they were set to fight with
 "some enemy or other, where they might once for all, either lose their life, or end their dishonor.
 "And we, against whom nothing can be objected at all; unless it be this, that we were the cause,
 "and none but we, that some citizen of *Rome* might be said to remain alive of all those that were
 "at the battel of *Canna*: we I say, are sent far enough off, not only from our native country, and
 F "Italy, but also from all enemies: where we wax old in exile, to the end, that we should have no
 "hope, no occasion and opportunity to wipe away and cancel our disgrace, to mitigate and paci-
 "fie the anger of our fellow-citizens, and finally to die with honor. But it is neither end of
 "shame, nor reward of vertue and valour, that we desire and crave: but only that we might be
 "permitted to make proof of our courage, and shew our prowess. Pains and perils we seek for,
 "and to be employed in dangerous adventures, like hardy men and brave souldiers. Two years
 "already there hath been sharp and hot war in *Sicily*. Some Cities the Carthaginians won by
 "force, other some the Romans took likewise by assault. Whole Regiments of foot, many troops
 "and cornets of horse encounter together, and assail one another. At *Syracuse* there are great
 "enterprises and worthy feats of arms, both by Sea and Land. The shouts of them that fight, the
 G "very clattering and ringing again of their armor and weapons, we can hear where we are, and
 "we sit still like idle larks, and do nothing, as if we had neither hands nor weapons to fight with.
 "T. *Simplicius* the Consul, with legions of bond-slaves, hath bidden battel to the enemies,
 "and fought with them in plain field so oft, that they are well recompensed for their labour with
 "gaining their freedom first, and then the Burgeoise of the City. Let us yet, in place and quali-
 "ty at leastwise, of bond-slaves taken up and bought for money against these wars, fight with
 "those enemies: as well as they have done, and by our fight tie, whether we can regain our en-
 "largement and liberty. Will you your self, O *Marcellus*, make trial of us, and of our valour, by Sea,

by Land, in pitched field, and battelranged, or in giving assault and winning of walled Towns? Put us to it, and spare not. The hardest adventures, the most painful and dangerous enterprises, are they which we require most gladly: that we may have that betimes, and at once, which we should have come unto at *Cannae*: seeing that all the time we have lived since, hath been destined to our ignominy and disgrace.

At these words they fell down prostrate at *Marcellus* his feet. *Marcellus* answered them, that he had neither power of himself, nor commission otherwise, to content them, and satisfy their request. Howbeit, write to the Senat he would: and according as the LL. should give advice and direction, so he would do and not fail. These letters (as I said before) were brought to the Consuls, and by them read in the Senat-house. And after deliberate consultation about their contents, the Senat passed this decree: That as concerning those soldiers, who had forsaken their fellows fighting before *Cannae*, the Senat saw no reason, why they should be put in trust any more with the affairs of the Common-wealth; but if *M. Claudius* the Proconsul thought it good otherwise, he might do according to that which he judged convenient, and to stand with his own credit, and the safety of the State. Provided alwayes, that not one of them be dispensed with, and freed from servile or charge of souldiery: nor rewarded with any military gift in testimony and token of his valour: nor yet reduced home again into *Italy*, so long as the enemy made abode there.

After this, the Pretor for the City, by virtue of a decree from the Senat, and an act of the Commons, assembled the people together. In which Session were created five Commissioners called *Quingueviri*, for the reedifying and repairing of the turrets and the walls: Likewise two other fraternities of *Triumvirs*, the one for taking an inventory of all sacred things, and to sign and note all offerings and oblations: the other for reedifying the Temples of *Fortune* and dame *Minerva*, within the gate *Carmentaria*, and likewise of *Spes* without the gate, which the year past were consumed by fire. Great and fearful tempests hapned this year. On the Alban mount it rained stones continually for two dayes. Many places were blasted and smitten with lightning from Heaven; and namely, two Chappels in the Capitol, and the Rampier about the camp and fort above *Suessula* in divers places thereof: and two watchmen in their Sentinels stricken stark dead. The wall and certain turrets, there on at *Cumes*, not only smitten but also shaken down and overthrown with lightnings and thunder-bolts. At *Reate* there was seen a huge stone to flie to and fro in the air. The sun also appeared more red than it useth to be, and like to blood. In regard of these prodigious sights, there was a solemn Profession and supplication all one day: and the Consuls for certain dayes together, attended only upon Divine service of the Gods: and the Novendial Sacrifices were devoutly celebrated nine dayes together.

Now whereas a long time already both *Annibal* hoped, and the Romans also suspected that the Tarentins would revolt: there fell out between, an occurrence and outward accident, which hastned it the rather. There was one *Phileas* a Tarentine, who having abode long at *Rome* under colour of an Ambassador leger, a busy headed man, and of an unquiet spirit, one that of all things could not away with rest and peace, in which so long as he lived he thought every day a year, and that now he was waxen old and aged therein, found means to have access unto the hostages of the Tarentins. Kept they were in the Close belonging to the Temple of Liberty, with the les attendance and careful eye, because it was expedient and good neither for themselves, nor for their City, to make an escape, and deceive the Romans. These hostages he had oftentimes solicited and perswaded by much talk and many reasons, and at length having bribed and corrupted two sextons and warders of the said Temple, he trained them forth in the evening out from the place where they were in safe custody: and when he had accompanied them onward on the way as a guide, and directed them how to pass secretly, he fled himself and they together. By day break the next morning they were missed, and their escape was noised throughout the City: Whereupon, men were sent out after them from all parts, to fetch them in again: who having overtaken them at *Tarracina*, laid hold of them, and brought them back to *Rome*: where in the *Comitium*, they were, by the consent of the people, beaten with rods, and then thrown down headlong from the cliff *Tarpeia*.

The cruel rigor of this punishment, caused much anger; and provoked two of the noblest and most famous Grecian Cities in *Italy* to indignation, not only in publick generally, but also in private particularly: according as any man was either in blood joyned, or in alliance and friendship linked to them who were thus foully and shamefully put to death. Amongst whom there were about thirteen noble Gentlemen of *Tarentum*, conspired together and the chief of them were *Nico* and *Philonenes*. These conspirators before they would stir and enter into any action, thought best to speak and confer with *Annibal* first: and so having gone forth of the City under a pretence as if they went to the chase a hunting, by night they came unto him. But when they drew neer unto the camp, the rest hid themselves within a wood neer unto the high way: *Nico* and *Philonenes* only went forward to the watch, and there being taken (as they requested themselves) were brought before *Annibal*. Who when they had delivered unto him their complor and upon what occasions they entered into that designment they were highly commended, and promised great rewards, and wiled and charged by him, that to the intent they might bear their country-men in hand, how they ever went out of the City to fetch in some booties, they should drive afore them into the City, certain cattel of the Carthaginians, which were put over to pasture and feeding:

and

A and herewith gave them his word to do it safely, and without any impeachment and resistance whensoever. Thus these young Gentlemen were seen to bring in good store of cattell: and as they were known to make this adventure the second time and oftner till, men marvelled the lesse at the matter, and suspected nothing. Now upon a new parling and communication with *Annibal*, they covenanted with him upon his faithful promise in these terms, *Imprimis*, for the Tarentins themselves, to enjoy freely their Lands and goods, and live under their own laws. *Item*, to pay no pension nor tribute unto *Annibal*, nor be forced to receive a garrison against their wills. And last of all, to betray the garrison souldiers of the Romans; and all their fortresses and places of strength deliver up into the hands of the Carthaginians. When these conditions and capitulations were agreed upon, then *Philomenes* uled much oitner to go forth and come in again in the night: and as he was known to be a great hunter, and much delighted in that exercise, he had his hounds following him hard at his heels, and all other furniture about him fit for huntmen: and lightly ever he took some wild beast or other with his hounds, or elie got something from the enemy, that of purpose lay ready for his hands: and alwayes as he brought home ought with him, he would bestow it either upon the Captain of the Roman garrison, or deal it among the warders of gates. And they all, verily believed and were perswaded, that his going out and in thus, most by night, was only for fear of the enemies. Now, when he had used this so accustomedly, that he had made it an ordinary practise, in so much, that at what time of the night so ever he had but once lured or whistled, the gate was streight set open for him: then *Annibal* thought it time, to put the C plot abovesaid in execution. Three dayes journey he was off; Where becaue he would have men the lesse marvail, why he kept a standing camp so long still in one place, he feigned and made himself sick. The Romans also, that lay in garrison at *Tarentum* gave over to suspect his long abode and leaguering there. But after that he was determined and resolved to advance toward *Tarentum*, he picked out ten thousand foot and horsemen together, whom he supposed for nimble bodies, swift footmanhip, and lightness of armor, to be most meet for expedition: and with them at the fourth watch of the night, he marched forward with his enignes. And having sent out afore-hand fourscore Numidian light Horses, he commanded them, to ride about and scour all the wayes on every side, and to cast their eye to espie and discover all the coasts, that no country people a far off might descry and view the army on foot, but they should be seen: and withal, to D bring in, as many as were gone before, and kill all them they met and encountered: to the end that the Peasants there inhabiting, might think they were Theeves and Robbers, rather than the vancurriers and fore-riders of an army. Himself in person marching with great speed and celerity, pitched his camp almost 15 miles from *Tarentum*. Neither would he there, be known unto his men of his purpose, nor tell them whicher they should go: only he called his souldiers together, and charged them to hold on the direct way, and not suffer any one to turn aside, nor in the march go out of his rank or file: and above all things, to be ready for to receive their charge and commandment from their Caprains, and do nothing without their warrant and commission. As for himself, he would when he saw his time, let them know his mind, and what the service was that he would have done. And about the same very hour and instant, news came as far as *Tarentum*, that E some few Numidian Horsemen forraged the country, and had put the villagers in great fright all about. At which tidings, the Captain of the Roman garrison was no more moved, nor made any other hast, but only gave order, that some of the Horsemen the next morning by day light should ride forth, to keep the enemy from farther excursions. In the mean time, they that had this charge, bare themselves so carelesly in providing themselves to execute that which they were commanded, that contrary-wise, they took those outrodes of the Numidians for a good argument, That *Annibal* with his army was not dislodged, but abode still in leaguer where he lay fitt. *Annibal* when it was once dark and dead night, began to set forward. *Philomenes* was there ready to be his guide, loden with his game hunted as his manner was. The rest of his conspiracy waited their time to execute their several charges, as it was agreed among them. Now it was ordred between F them afore, that *Philomenes* coming in at the usual little wicket, with his venison that he had hunted, should bring in with him some armed men: and *Annibal* on another part, come to the gate called *Tamenis*, which looked toward the East, and stood on the Land side of the City, a good way within the wall, as it were in a nook. When *Annibal* approached the said gate, he made a fire, in token that he was come (as it was devised between them before) and it flamed forth and gave a shining light. The like did *Nico* again. Then the fires on both sides were put out, that they made no more blaze. And *Annibal* in great and still silence, led his army close to the gate. *Nico* came suddainly at unawares, upon the watchmen fast asleep, killed them in their beds, and opened that gate. *Annibal* entred with his Regiment of footmen, and commanded the cavalry to stay behind, to the end they might have liberty of open ground to ride, whithersoever there was need, G and as occasion required. Now by this time, *Philomenes* also was come neer to that little gate on the other side, where he uled to make his egress and ingreis to and fro. And when he had raised the watchman with his voyce so wel known, and with his whistle wherewith now he was familiarly acquainted, & said withal, that he was troubled with tugging and lugging of a foul & heavy beast: therewith the wicket was set open. Two lusty fellows there were carrying in the wild bore between them, and he himself followed with one of the huntmen, lightly & nimbly appointed, and whiles the watchman his eye was upon the two porters, that carried the beast, wondering at the bigness of the bore, and took no heed to himself, *Nico* thrust him through with his spear. Then

tred in after them, about thirty men armed, who killed the rest of the watch, and brake down the great gates withal: and immediately there entered the companies with banner displayed: and so, forth from thence they were conducted and brought to the market place, without making any noise, and there joyned themselves to *Annibal*. Then *Annibal* divided two thousand Gauls into three Regiments, whom he sent into sundry parts of the City: and gave order to the Tarentins and the Affricans, to get possession of the most principal and populous places of the City: and when the cry and shout was once up, to kill all the Romans wheresoever, and to spare the Townsmen. But to the end that this might be orderly done, he gave direction to the young Gentlemen aforesaid of *Tarentum*, that so soon as they espied a far off, any of their own Citizens and Country-men, they should bid them be quiet and still, to hold their peace, to be of good cheer and fear nothing. By which time, they began to set up a shout and cry, as men use to do in a City taken by assault, but what the matter should be, no man of the Town or garrison could certainly tell. For the Tarentin inhabitants supposed verily, that the Roman souldiers of the garrison were risen up to sack the City: the Romans on the other side, thought that the Townsmen mutined, and they were in doubt of some traiterous practise. The Captain himself awakened and raised at the first tumult, escaped to the key, where he took a small Barge or whirry-boat, and fled to the Castle. The Trumpet also that sounded from the Theatre, made the greater terror: for it was both a Roman Trumpeter, provided aforehand for the purpose by those Traitors, and a Grecian blew it, one who had no skill: and so it was doubtful, both who he was that sounded and who they were that he gave signal unto. When day appeared, and the Romans saw the armour of the Carthaginians and Gauls, then they wist well in what door the wind was, and how the World went: and the Greeks seeing the Romans lying along every where slain, were soon aware that the City was taken by *Annibal*. But after it was broad day light, and that the Romans who remained unkilld, were fled into the Castle, and the noise and hurliburly began by little and little to slacke and give over: then *Annibal* commanded the Tarentins to be called to a general assembly, and to present themselves without arms. When they were all come together, but only those who with the Romans were fled for company into the Castle, there to abide such fortune as they: *Annibal* spake kindly unto the Tarentins, gave them good and friendly words, rehearsed with great protestation what favors he had shewed to all their Citizens, whom he had taken prisoners either at *Thrasymenus*, or at *Canna*: and withal, after he had bitterly inveighed against the Lordly and proud rule of the Romans, he commanded every man to repair home to his own house and set his own name upon his dore: for that, so many houses as had not the name written upon them of the Master thereof, he would presently upon sound of Trumpet, command to be rifled. Over and besides, that if any one should hap to write his own name, and set it on the door or lodging-house of a Roman (for he saw divers of their houses empty) he would take him for an enemy, and deal with him accordingly. After this speech ended, and the assembly dissolved, when the doors were marked with their titles and inscriptions aforesaid, whereby the houses of friends and enemies were known distinctly one from another: the signal was given by sound of Trumpet: and then there was running every where from all parts to ransack the lodgings of the Romans. And some pretty sprinkling of pillage they met withal. The next day after, he advanced against the Castle to assault it, which after he saw impregnable and not possible to be won, either by forcible assault, or by artificial devices of fabricks and engins, by reason that both the Sea came to it, wherewith the greater part thereof was compassed, in manner of a demy Iland, and also fortified besides on another part with exceeding high and steep rocks: and withal, fenced from the City with a strong wall and deep ditch: therefore, because he would neither let nor hinder himself from achieving greater affairs, while he was carefully busied onely about defending the Tarentins, nor yet leave them without a strong guard, for fear lest the Romans from out of the Castle, might at their pleasure come upon them, he determined to raise a rampier for a partition between the Castle and the City, for their defence against the said garrison. And he was not out of hope, but that when the Romans should offer to issue forth to hinder the said work, they might also be fought withal: and in case they adventured rashly to run on, and engage themselves too far, they might be cut off in their heat, & the forces of the garrison might be so diminished & abated by some great slaughter & execution, that the Tarentins of themselves should be able with ease to defend their City against them. The said work was not so soon begun, but the Romans all of a sudden, set open the Castle gate, sallied forth & charged upon the pioneers as they were labouring about their bulwark. The guard that attended for the defence of the workmen, and stood before their work, fell off and suffered themselves to be put back, to the end that the enemies upon their first success, should be more adventurous: supposing that the further they gave ground, the more of the other would follow after and chase them. Which being perceived, the Carthaginians whom *Annibal* had kept close for this purpose, and had in readines very well appointed, rose out of all parts, and made head again. Neither were the Romans able to abide their forcible violence. And sic they could not in multitudes by occasion that the straightness of the place would give no leave: and besides, many things lay in their way: partly the work that was begun, and partly, other provision of stuffe brought for the same, which mightily hindered and impeached them. Most of them fell headlong into the trench: and to be short, more perished in their flight, than were killed in the fight. After this the fortification went in and again, and none durst venture to hinder it. So he cast a mighty deep ditch, & raised an high rampier within it. Also behind it, a pretty distance off, he went in hand

A to build a mure or wall to it, in the very same quarters: that they might be able even without any guard at all, or strength of men, to defend themselves against the Romans. Howbeit, he left them an indifferent band of souldiers, which might withal help out somewhat in making of the wall. Himself then departed with the rest of his army as far as the River *G. Iesus* (five miles off from the City) and there encamped. From which standing camp, he came back once again to survey the work: and finding that it went better forward than he looked for, he began to conceive some good hope that the citadel also might be won by assault. For why it was not defended surely by situation on high ground, as others are, but seated on a plain and divided from the City, by a wall only and a ditch. Now when as it began to be assailed with fabricks, and artillery devised of all sorts, there hapned a new supply to be sent from *Merapontum* to aid the garrison: whereby the Romans took heart unto them, in so much as in the night time of a suddain and before they were looked for, they set upon the fabricks and ordinance of the enemies planted thereupon: some they cast down and overthrew, others they fired and consumed. And there an end of *Annibal* his assault of the Castle from that side.

The only hope behind now, was in continual siege: and yet that hope promised no great effect, because they that held the Castle, had the Sea free at their command, all that side, whereas the said fort (standing as it were in an half Island) overlooketh the mouth of the haven: and the City contrary-wise, was wholly secluded from all enter-courie of passage and commodities coming in by Sea, and liker were they that besieged the fortres, to feel the want and scarcity of victuals, than those that were besieged within it. Then *Annibal*, after he had called together the principal citizens of *Tarentum*, laid open unto them all, the present difficulties, saying; "That he neither saw any way to win by force the Castle so strong and fortified as it was, nor had any hope at all to gain it by siege, so long as the enemies were Lords of the Sea. But if they had ships once, whereby they might hinder and stay the coming in of their victuals and other commodities, the enemies immediatly would either quit the peece, or yeeld themselves. The *Tarentins* held well with that, and approved the device. But (say they) he that giveth us that counsel, must also affoord us means to effect the same. For the Carthaginian ships if they were sent for, and set out of *Sicily* might well do the feat: mary, as for our own which lie shut up as it were, within a little creek and bay, considering, that the enemy keepeth the mouth and entry of the haven, how is it possible that they should get out from their harbour into the open Sea, and pass without danger? Pass (quoth he?) Pass they shall, make no doubt of that. Many things, I tell you, considered in their own nature are cumbersome and difficult, but by policy and wit of man are easily welded and wrought with a sleight. Ye have a City here seated upon a plain and champain ground, the wayes answering to every side of it are even, large, and broad enough, yea, and open to all quarters. I will chuse that way which crosseth the midt of the City, and passeth along to the haven and the Sea, and so will carry and transport the ships upon wains, with no great ado and trouble. And so, both the Sea shall be ours clear, which now the enemies keep, and also we shall besiege the Castle round, as well by Sea as by Land: nay, more than that, within short time we shall either enter it, being abandoned of the enemies, or else be masters both of it and them together.

These words not only put them in good hope, that the enterprize would be effected, but also set them in a wonderful good conceit and admiration of the Captain himself. Then out of hand, all the wains and carts were taken up from all places as many as could be had, and were put together, and coupled one to another. Divers cranes and other instruments were set to, for to draw up the ships to Land the way made plain and level, that the carts might go more easily, and pass away with less trouble and more expedition. After this they got together draught oxen, cart jades and other labouring beasts, yea, and men also for to draw: and thus the work was lustily begun, inso-much, as within few dayes, the fleet well rigged, appointed, and dressed, was brought about the Castle, and rid at anchor even in the avenue & entry of the haven. In these terms stood *Tarentum*, when *Annibal* left it, and returned back to his wintering harbours. But authors write diversly of this revolt of *Tarentum*, whether it hapned the year past, or at this present. But the greater number of them; and those that lived neerer to that time, when the remembrance of these matters was fresh, affirm that it was this very year.

At *Rome*, the Consuls and Pretors both remained still, until the * fifth day before the Calends of *May*, by occasion of the Latin holy-dayes, upon which day, when they had performed a solemn sacrifice, with all complements thereto belonging, on the *Alban* Hill, they departed every one to his severall charge and Province. After this, there crept into the minds of men a new scrupulosity of conscience upon certain propheticall verses of one *Martius*, a noble and famous Prophet in times past. Now, by reason that in the year before, there was diligent search and inquisition made, for such books of *Fortune*, according to a decree granted out of the Senat, those verses came to light, and to the hands of M. *Emilius* Pretor of the City, who sat upon that commission. And he immediatly gave them to *Sulla* the new Pretor. Of two Prophecies of *Martius*, the one, which afterwards caried the greater authority with it, by reason of the event that hapned so right, and declared it so evidently, caused the other also, whereof the time was not yet come, to be of credit and believed. The former contained a Prediction of the overthrow at *Canna*, in these or such like words:

From Trojane line, O Romane once descended,
 Flie Canna River, neer to Cannæ Town :
 Lest strangers born, who have thy death intended,
 Force thee to fight on Diomedes his down.
 But warning mine, thou wilt not rest upon,
 Until with blood thou first do fill the plain ;
 And then to Sea from fruitful Land, anon
 Thy men shall down the stream by thousands slain.
 Thy flesh must bait the fish in Ocean deep,
 And lure the fowles that flie from high to prey,
 And feed wild beasts, on earth below that keep.
 Mark well my words. Jove thus me taught to say.

* The same
 that Ausidus,

* Apollo is cal-
 led in Homer
 Ilia, a. Ekebo-
 los. i. shooting
 afar off.

If enemies ye would expel, if botch and plague sore
 * Sent from a far, ye would drive forth, and vexed be no more;
 To Phœbus (Romans) I advise, ye vow, from year to year
 To set forth playes in solemn wise, with mirth and merry chear.
 From publick stock, the people must, part of the charge disburse :
 The rest shall ye, for you and yours, defray with privat purse.
 The soveraign Pretor must procure these games to be perform'd,
 Who sits in place, mens pleas to hear, and see all wrongs reform'd.
 Then shall the ten Decemvirs hight, the Greeckish rites observe,
 In slaying beasts for sacrifice, and nothing from them swerve.
 If all be done accordingly, your joy shall aye increase,
 Your State shall daily grow in wealth, and fruits of blessed peace.
 For God Apollo will you save, he will your foes destroy,
 Who at their pleasure wast your fields, and work you much annoy.

* 37 lib. 10. lb.
 sterl.

For the explanation and expiation both, of this prophesie, they took one whole day. And the morrow after, there passed a decree from the Senate, That the Decemvirs should peruse and look into the books of Sibylla, about the exhibiting of those said games, in the honour of Apollo, and celebrating likewise of the sacrifices. And when all was perused, and relation made before the Senat : the Lords made an Act, and set down an order : First, to vow and set forth solemn pa-
 stimes accordingly, to the honour of Apollo. Item, After the Games were done and finished, to allow the Pretor * twelvethousand Asles, toward the expenses of the divine service, and two greater beasts for sacrifice. There passed also another Act of the Senat, That the Decemvirs should celebrate divine service, and sacrifice after the observance and rites of the Grecians; and offer up-
 on the Altar these beasts, to wit, an Ox with gilded horns, and two white femal Goats, with gilded horns likewise, for Don Apollo : and a Cow with horns, in like manner gilded, for Dame Latona. The Pretor, when he was to represent the Games within the Circus Maximus, gave commandment, and made proclamation, That the people, during the time of those solemnities, should contribute money, for an offering to Apollo, every man according to his ability, and as he might well spare. This is the beginning of the Apollinare Games and Playes exhibited for to ob-
 tain victory, and not for to escape some plague or pestilence, as most men suppose. And when they were celebrated, the people stood to behold and look on, adorned with garlands upon their heads, and the dames and matrons of the City went in procession, and made supplications. Every mans doore was set open, and they feasted and made good chear generally through the City in the open street; and a high holyday this was, solemnized with all kind of ceremonies that could be devised.

But to return again to Annibal, who was about Tarentum; and both Consuls remaining in Samnium, but ready, as it seemed, to besiege Capua : it fell out, that the Campanians already were distressed with hunger and famine, (a calamity that usually followeth long and continual siege) and the reason was, because the armies of the Romans had impeached and hindred their seednesse. Therefore they dispatched Embassadors to Annibal, beseeching him, that he would take order for grain to be brought into Capua, from all parts neer adjoyning, before that the Consuls were come abroad with their legions into their territory, and all the wayes beset, and passages stopped by the guards and companies of the enemies. Whereupon, Annibal gave direction to Hanno, that he should remove out of the country of the Brutii, and passe over with his forces into Cam-
 pania, and endeavour so, that the Campanians might be provided of sufficient store of corn. Then

Hanno

A *Hanno* dislodged anon, and departed with all his power out of the * *Brutians* countrey, purposing to avoid the leaguer of his enemies, and namely the *Consuls*, who lay in *Samnium*: and when he approached neer to * *Beneventum*, he pitched his Tents three miles from the City it self, upon a high ground. After which, he commanded, that the corn should be brought to him into his camp, out of all the associat and confederat Cities thereabout, into which it had been carried in the summer afore; and allowed a good guard for the safe convey thereof. After this, he sent a messenger to *Capua*, to give them notice, upon what day they should attend, and be in readinesse to receive their corn; and against the time, provide out of the countrey for the carriage, carts, wains, and draught-beasts, and pack-hories of all sorts. But the *Campans*, like as they carried themselves in all things else, idly and negligently, so in this they were very slack and retchless: for they sent little above forty carres, and some few beasts for carriage besides. For which they had a check given them, and were rebuked by *Hanno*; because that hunger, which causeth the very dumb beast to bestir it self and make hard shifts, was not able to prick them forward to be more careful about their own business. So there was a farther day appointed for to fetch their corn, and to come more furnished and better provided for carriage. All this being reported to the men of *Beneventum*, with the circumstances and particulars, as it was, they addressed with all speed ten Embassadors to the Roman *Consuls*, encamped then about *Bovianum*. Upon which intelligence given of the affairs at *Capua*, they took order, and agreed between themselves, that one of them should conduct an army into *Campania*. And *Fulvius*, who undertook that charge, marched by night to *Beneventum*, and put himself within the walls of the Town. And there he was advertised by them that dwelt neer hand, That *Hanno* was gone out with part of his forces, for to purvey corn; that there were 2000 carts come, with a rude and disorderly multitude besides of people, without armor; that all that they did was in hurry, in haste, and great fear; and finally, that the camp was out of form and fashion, and all good military order cleane gone, by reason of a rabble & multitude of country clowns, come out of those quarters, and entermingled amongst them. The Consul, I say, being enformed for certain by credible persons, of these things, gave his souldiers warning to make ready against the next night ensuing, nothing but their ensignes and weapons, for that they were to charge upon the camp of the *Carthaginians*. And so they set forward at the relief of the fourth watch, leaving their packs and trusses with all their baggage and baggage behind them at *Beneventum*: and presenting themselves before the camp, somewhat before day, they put them into such a bodily fear, and so terrified them, that if it had been pitched upon a plain ground, no doubt, it had been won at the first assault. But the height of the place, and their rampiers and fortifications besides, which could not possibly be entered upon, without climbing upon the steep hill with much difficulty, were a defence unto it. By day light there was a lusty assault given, and a hot skirmish begun, but the *Carthaginians* not only defended and kept their rampier, but also (as having the vantage of the ground) they chased and thrust the enemies back, as they mounted up the hill. Howbeit, resolute hardinesse overcame all hardnesse and difficulties whatsoever; For in diverse places at once they advanced as far as the banks and trenches; but it cost bloody blows first, and the death of many a souldier. The Consul therefore calling the Coronels and Marshals together, said, it were not amisse to give over that rash and heady attempt, and, as he thought, it were the safer course, for that day to retire the army to *Beneventum*, and on the morrow to encamp themselves afrent the enemy, to the end, that neither the *Campans* might get forth, nor *Hanno* return and enter into the Town again. And that this might be the sooner effected, and with a great deal more ease, he would send for his Colleague also with his army, and both of them jointly bend their forces that way. But these devices of the Captain general were soon dashed. For as he was about to sound the retreat, the souldiers with a loud voyce cried out, that they could not away with such faint Captains; they scorned to be commanded in so cold and slothful service; they would none of that: and so put the Consul out of his bent. It hapned, that next unto the gate entring into the enemies camp, there served a cohort or company of the *Peligni*, led by Captain *Vibius*, who caught the banner out of the bearer his hand, and flung it over the rampier, and with that, fell to cursing himself and his company both, wishing a plague light upon him and them to, if the enemies went away with that banner: and therewith led himself the way, and brake first through the trench, and over the pallisado into their camp. Now by this time the *Peligni* fought within the rampier: and then *Valerius Flaccus* a Coronel of the third legion, from another side fell to upbraid the Romans, and hit them in the teeth with their beastly cowardice, for suffering their allies to have the honor of entering and taking the camp. Whereupon *T. Pedanius* (a centurion of the Regiment called *Principes*, and serving in the first place thereof) took likewise an ensign from him that carried it, and withal, Now shall, quoth he, this ensign, and this Centinere (meaning himself) presently be within the rampier of the enemies: let me see who dare follow, and save it from being taken by the enemy. At first, his own band and company followed him hard at heels, as he clambred to get over the rampier, and then the whole legion came after likewise. By this time, the Consul also seeing his souldiers climbing over the rampier, changed his purpose, and was of a clean other mind: and from calling and reclaiming his souldiers back, fell to exhort and encourage them, shewing in how great hazard and danger a right hardy and valiant cohort of allies were, and the whole Legion of Citizens besides. They all therefore set to, and every man did his best: and notwithstanding there was many a dart driven and javelin lanced, notwithstanding the enemies opposed

posed their armor and bodies full against them yet they never flinted to assay every place, as well high as low, until they were broken through, and gotten in. Many a man was hurt (ye may be sure) but yet even they that bled until they fainted, and were not able to fight any longer, carried this mind and strove withal, to die yet within the rampier of their enemies. Thus in the turning of an hand the camp was won, as easily as if it had been pitched upon a plain and even ground, and not fortified at all with trench and rampier. From this time now, there was no more fighting, but killing on all hands in that tumult and confusion of pell mell within the camp. Slain there were of enemies more than six thousand, and above seven thousand taken prisoners, together with the Campan purveyors for corn, and all the provision of wains, carts, and labouring beasts. Besides another huge booty was taken, which *Hanno* when he went a foraging all abroad, had raised out of the country of the associates of the people of *Rome*. Then the Consul after he had cast down all the fortifications of the camp, returned from thence to *Beneventum*. And there both the Consuls together (for *Ap. Claudius* also thither came after a few dayes) made sale of all the prizes and pillage, and divided the same. *Vibius* the Pelignian, and *T. Pedanius* a principal centurion of the third legion, by whose forward and singular good service, the camp of the enemies was forced, were rewarded especially above the rest. *Hanno* then together with some few forragers whom by chance he had with him, returned from *Cominium Ceritum* (whither the news came of the losse of the camp) into the *Bruttians* country, more like one that fled in rout, then marched in warlike order.

The Campanians also having heard, as well of their own losses as of their allies, sent Embassadors unto *Annibal*, to certify him: "That both the Consuls were at *Beneventum*, that the war was "within a dayes journey of *Capua*, and but a step from the very gates and walls of the City: and "unless he made good hast to succour and rescue them, *Capua* would sooner come under the "obedience and subjection of the enemies than *Arpi* did. And he was not to make such a reck- "ning of all *Tarentum* (much less then of the *Castile* alone) as in regard thereof to leave *Capua* un- "defended, and yeeld it to the people of *Rome*, *Capua* I say, which he was wont to compare and "make equal with the City of *Rome*. *Annibal* promised that he would take care for the good estate of the Campanians: and for the present he lent two thousand Horsemen with the Embassadors, as a guard to keep the country and territory from invasion and spoil.

The Romans in this mean time, among other their affairs, neglected not the safety of the Castle of *Tarentum*, and the garrison there beleagued. For *C. Servilius*, Lieutenant, by order and authority of the Senat, was sent by *P. Cornelius* the Pretor into *Hetruria*, to purvey for corn, and to buy store: who with certain ships laden therewith, arrived in the haven of *Tarentum*, passing even through the guards of the enemies. At whose coming, they that before whiles they had but small hope, were oftentimes by way of parly moved by the enemies to go to the contrary side, now themselves began to perswade and sollicit the enemy to come unto them. And the garrison surely was strong enough, considering that the souldiers which lay at *Metapontum*, were drawn from thence to the defence and keeping of the Castle of *Tarentum*. And therefore the *Metapontins*, so soon as they were delivered of the fear whereby they were kept and held in as with a bit, revolted unto *Annibal*. Semblably did the *Thurins* also, who inhabited the same tract by the Sea side. They were moved and perswaded thereto, not so much by the rebellion of the *Tarentins* and *Metapontins*, with whom they were linked in kindred, and joyned neer in blood (over and besides that they were descended as well as they, out of *Achaia*) as with anger toward the Romans for the hostages lately by them killed. Their friends therefore and kinsfolk dispatched letters and messengers unto *Hanno* and *Mago* (who were in the country of the *Bruttii* neer at hand) offering to deliver the City into their hands, if they brought their power and presented it before their walls. Now was there one *M. Atinius*, Captain there over a small garrison, whom they supposed might be easily drawn forth of the Town to make some rash and inconsiderat skirmish, presuming not so much upon his own souldiers (who were but an handful) as upon the youth and stout of the *Thurians*, whom he had of purpose enrolled into bands and companies, and furnished with armor against the like occasions of service. The *Carthaginian* Captains afore named, had divided all their forces between them in two parts, and were entered into the territory of *Thuri*: and *Hanno* with his Regiment of footmen, advanced with banners displayed before the City: *Mago* with the Horsemen, staid behind close among the Hills, over-against the Town, and there lay secretly in ambush. *Atinius* then, who by his espials was enformed only of the squadrons of footmen, came forth with his forces into the field, ignorant (God wot) both of the falshood and treason of the Townsmen, and also of the covert trains and ambushment of the enemies. The skirmish of footmen was exceeding faint and cold, whiles the Romans being but few, fought in the vanguard: and the *Thurins* looked rather when the skirmish should end, than made any hast to fight themselves and help: and withal, the squadrons of the *Carthaginians* gave ground for the nonce, to train the enemy as far as the side of the Hill, under which, on the other side their Horsemen lay in wait and were ambushed. And thither they were not so soon come, but the Horsemen made hast to shew themselves, with a great outcry, and presently put to flight the raw and disordered company and multitude of the *Thurins*: who were not very fast and sound in heart to them on whose side they fought. The Romans albeit they were environed round, whiles the footmen lay still at them on the one side, and the Horsemen charged them a-fresh on the other side, yet they mainteined fight, and held out a long while: but at last, they likewise turned back

A back and fled to the City. There the traitors and conspirators being gathered together on heaps, so soon as they had let in at the gates standing wide open, the companies of their own citizens: when they saw once the Romans running apace in disorder toward the City, made a false alarm, crying aloud that the Carthaginians were at hand, and that both enemies and friends together intermingled, would enter the City, unless they made better hast to shut the gates. So they excluded the Romans out, and gave them as a prey to be hewn in peeces by their enemies. Howbeit, *Asinius* with some few, was received within the Town first. After this, there was some mutiny and dissension between the citizens themselves, for a little while. Some were of mind to stand upon their guard and defend the Town: others were of opinion, to yeeld unto fortune of the time, and deliver it up to the victors hands. But in conclusion, fortune and bad counsel together, (as for the most part it falleth out) prevailed. And so, after they had brought *Asinius* and his soldiers to the haven side, unto their ships for to be embarked, more upon good will that they bare to him for his mild and just government, and therefore were ready to save him, than for any regard at all they had of the Romans, they received the Carthaginians into the City.

The Consuls then led the legions from *Beneventum* into the territory of *Capua*, not only to make spoil and marre the corn, that was laid up already in strong Towns against winter, but also to afflict *Capua*: supposing they should make their Consulship renowned unto posterity, by the destruction of so rich and wealthy a City: and besides, do away that great dishonour and shameful blemish of the Empire of *Rome*, in suffering a City so neer unto them to continue now three years in rebellion, without revenge and condign punishment. But to the end that *Beneventum* should not be without a guard, and that against all suddain accidents and occurrences of war, in case *Annibal* should come to *Capua*, for to rescue and aid his allies, (which they made no doubt but he would do) there might be Horsemen to withstand his violence: they commanded *T. Gracchus* to come out of *Lucania*, with the cavalry and light armed footmen: and to take order and leave some other to govern the legions and the standing camp, for the guard and defence of those parts there.

Gracchus before he dislodged out of the Lucans country, hapned to have a fearful and prodigious token, as he offered sacrifice. For after the sacrifice was performed and accomplished, two Snakes came gliding out of a blind hole, no man knew how, to the entrails of the beast, and fell to eat the Liver: and so soon as they were espied, suddainly glid out of sight and were no more seen. Now, when as the bowel-pryers had given advice to kill a new sacrifice, and so soon as the inwards were opened and laid forth, to tend and look unto them more heedfully, the Snakes came again, as it is reported, the second and third time: and when they had once given as it were an assay, and tasted the Liver, they went cleer away without hurt and untouched. And albeit the Soothsayers aforesaid, had given an *Item*, and foretold, that this prodigious sight pertained properly unto the chief Captain and General, and warned him to take heed of some close persons and secret practices: yet his fatal destiny of death that hung over his head, could by no forecast and providence be altered and avoided. Now there was one *Flavius* a Lucane, the principal head of that bend and side of the Lucans, which when the other faction revolted unto *Annibal*, took the Romans parts: and having been by them chosen the Prætor, had continued in that place of Magistracy a year already: this man all on a suddain changed his mind and affection, and seeking to wind and enter into the favour of *Annibal*, could not be content to revolt himself, and to draw with him the Lucans to rebellion: unless he made a league also and covenant with the enemies, and sealed it with the murder and blood of his General: of him (I say) who being entertained and lodged in his house, he purposed villanously to betray. He entred therefore into secret speech and conference with *Mago*, Governour over the *Bruttii*, and having capitulated with him, under his faithful word and promise, That if he delivered the Roman General into his hands, the Lucans might live in freedom under their own Laws, in league and amity with the Carthaginians: he told him of a place into which he would bring *Gracchus*, with a small company and guard about him: willing *Mago* to put his foot and horse in arms, and in such a place aforehand, wherein he might bestow closely and secretly a mighty number of men. When the place was well viewed and considered all about, they agreed upon a day, for putting this plot in practice. This done, *Flavius* cometh to the Roman General *Gracchus*, and enformeth him that he had begun an enterprise of great consequence, for the accomplishment and full perfecting whereof, he needed the helping hand of *Gracchus* himself: "Namely, he had perswaded with all the Prætors and Governours, who in that universal and general trouble of all *Italy*, had revolted unto *Annibal*, for to return again into the league and friendship of the Romans: seeing that the Roman state and their Dominion, which by the overthrow at *Canna* was come in a manner to the lowest ebb, and sunk into extreme despair, flowed now again, and grew every day more than other, greater and mightier: whereas contrary-wise, the puissance of *Annibal* decayed much, and was well-neer come to nothing: besides, the Romans were men that might be appeased and reconciled again, especially the trespass being so long ago done and past: for never was there nation under the sun, more tractable, more exorable and ready to pardon a fault: and how often have they (to go no further for examples) forgiven the open Rebellion even of their fore-fathers and ancestors: These (quoth he) were my words unto them, and indeed, but my words. Many they had rather hear *Gracchus* himself speak, and hear the same from out of his own mouth: "they

"they would more gladly talk with him in person, and take hold of his right hand, which as the assured pawn of his faithful promise, he carrieth alwayes with him wheresoever he goeth, and they desire no more, I have therefore (saith he) appointed a convenient place of interview and conference: lying out of the way and forth of sight, but yet not far from the Romans camp. These the matter may be dispatched in few words, and all the name and nation of the Lucans, reduced under the obedience and alliance of the people of Rome. Gracchus suspecting no fraud nor harm, neither in his words nor deeds, sounding all to a great likelihood of simplicity and truth in his conceit, departed out of the camp attended upon with his Sergeants, and guarded only with a cornet of Horsemen: and so by the guidance of his own host, in whose house he lodged, was plunged headlong within the danger of the ambush of his enemies: Who, suddenly arose, and *Flavim* because he would put it out of doubt, that he was a traitor, went to their side and joyned with them. Then they let flie arrows, and shot darts against Gracchus and his Horsemen on every side. Whereupon Gracchus alight from horseback, and commanded the rest to do the same, exhorting them, that the only thing which fortune now had left unto them, they would grace and honour with vertue. For what remaineth else for us, (a small handful unto them) environed as we are with a multitude of them, within a valley compassed about with hills and woods, but present death? This only we are to resolve upon, Whether in this present amazement and heartles fear, we will as beasts suffer our throats to be cut without revenge again; or turning wholly our timorous expectation and suffering of death, into choler and courage, fight adventurously and manfully, and bathing our hands in the blood of our enemies, lose our lives, and fall down dead, upon the weapons and bodies of them, lying gasping themselves under us. Ah! that Lucan, that fugitive rogue and rebel, that treacherous and false traitor, see ye all lay at him. Whose hap it will be, ere he die, to be his Priest, to sacrifice and send him to the Devil, he shall win an honourable prize, and find no small solace and comfort in his own death.

Gracchus killed by his host, a Lucan.

With these words, he wrapped his rich coat of arms about his left arme (for they had not brought forth with them so much as their shields) and charged with exceeding force upon the enemies. The fight was far greater on their part than for the proportion and number of the men. The bodies of the Romans lay open most unto the shot. And thus overcharged on all sides from the higher places: as being in the valley subject to the volley of their darts, they were soon pierced through. When Gracchus was left naked alone, and his guard dead at his feet, the Carthaginians did what they could to take him alive: but he having espied among the enemies his good host and friend, that Lucan, ran among the thickest presse: where he was so fully bent to mischief him, that they could not will nor choose but kill him outright, without they would have lost the lives of many other. He was not so soon dead, but *Mago* sent him streight wayes unto *Annibal*, and commanded that his body together with the knitches of rods (belonging to his Magistracy) should be presented and shewed before the Tribunal seat of the General. And this is the true report of the end of Gracchus: to wit, that he let his life in the Lucan Land, about the plains which are called *Veteres Campi*. There be some that tell it otherwise, how he being accompanied with his Sergeants, and three serving men his bondslaves, went out from the camp within the territory of *Beneventum*, neer unto the River * *Calor*, for to wash himself: where there chanced his enemies to lurk, and lye in wait among the willows and salows that grew by the bank side, and so being unarmed and naked too, he was assaulted, where he defended himself as well as he could, with flinging at them pible stones such as the River afforded and carried down with the stream, and so was slain. Others write, that by advice of the Bowel-pyers, he went out of the camp half a mile off, for to purge and expiate in some pure and clean place, those prodigious tokens above rehearsed: and there was beset and environed round about with two troops of Numidian Horsemen, who hapned there to lie in ambush. See how variable and uncertain the same goeth, both in what place, and after what manner, this so noble and famous person came by his death. Nay, the very funeral and sepulture also of Gracchus, is diversly delivered. Some say he was entered by his own souldiers within the Roman camp. Others give out and say (and that is the more common report) that by the appointment of *Annibal* he was buried in the very entrance of the Carthaginian leaguer; that there was a funeral fire made in solemn wise to burn his corpe; that the whole army justed and ran at tilt and torment in their compleat armor; that the Spaniards leaped and danced Morrice; and each nation according to their guise and manner performed sundry motions and exercises as well of their weapons, as of their bodies: yea, and that *Annibal* himself in proper person, with all honor of funeral pomp that might be devised, both in word and deed, solemnized the obsequies in the best maner. This say they that affirm the thing to have hapned in the Lucans country. But if a man should believe them, who record how he was slain at the River *Calor*, then the enemies got nothing of him but only his head. Which being presented unto *Annibal*, he sent *Carthalo* immediately with it into the Roman camp, unto *Cornelius* the Treasurer or Quæstor: who there within the very camp performed the funerals of the General, and both army and citizens of *Beneventum* together solemnized the same right honourably.

Calor.

The Coniuls being entred into the territory of *Campan*, as they foraged all abroad, dragging one from another, were by the Townsmen of *Cana* which sallied out, and by the Horsemen of *Mago*, put in fear: whereupon in great fright and hast they rallied the souldiers to their colours, that

that were ranged over the Country: but before they could well embattail them, and let them in array, they were discomfited, and lost above a thousand and five hundred men. Upon which good success, the enemies (as they are a nation by nature proud) began to be very lofty and exceeding audacious, insomuch, as they offered to skirmish sundry times with the Romans, and ever challenged them to fight. But that one battail, so unadvisedly and inconsiderately achieved, made the Consuls more circumspect and wary afterward. Howbeit, one small occurrence happened, which, as it encouraged and animated them again, so it abated the hearts, and daunted the boldness of the other: For in war there is nothing (be it never so little) but one time or other, it is the occasion of some great consequence and importance. There was in the camp one T. Quintius Crispinus, linked in special friendship and familiarity with *Badius*, a Citizen of *Capua*. Their acquaintance grew and encreased upon this occasion: This *Badius* upon a time, before the revolt of *Capua*, fell sick at *Rome*, and lying in *Crispinus* his house, was liberally and kindly used, yea, and tenderly seen unto by him, during his sickness. This *Badius* having put himself forward before the standing guards, that warded at the gate of the Roman camp, willed, that *Crispinus* should be called out unto him. Which being told unto *Crispinus*, he supposed no otherwise of it, but that he should talk friendly and familiarly with him. For albeit both nations generally were at enmity, in regard of the publick State, yet the private right and band of hospitality, remained still in force, and was not forgotten, and therefore he went out somewhat apart from the rest of his fellows. Now, when they were come in sight and interview one of the other. I challenge thee, O *Crispinus* (quoth *Badius*) to combat: let us mount on Horseback, and trye it out between us two, without any other companion, whether of us is the better man at arms. To this *Crispinus* made answer again and said, We want no enemies, neither you nor I, upon whom we may make proof of our manhood: as for me, if I met and encountred you in the very battail, yet I would decline, avoid, and shift from you, lest I should defile and stain my hand in the murder and bloodshed of my guest and friend. And with this he turned from him, and went his way. But the Campanian contrary-wise, upon these words, was the more eager with him, railing and rating at him for his effeminate cowardise and dastardiness, letting flie at the harmless and innocent man, all spiteful terms and reproachful language: which himself I wot (if he had his due) was well worthy of: calling him a friendly foe, and a kind enemy indeed, and finally charged him, that he made his excuse of sparing him, for friendship sake, whom he knew he was not able to match in manhood and valour. But if (quoth he) thou thinkest, that by the breach of publick league and covenant, our private bands of amity and hospitality, are not yet enough broken in sunder, then here I pronounce openly, in the hearing of two armies, That I *Badius* a Campanian, renounce all hospitality with thee T. Quintius Crispinus a Roman, and so farewell all friendship forever: I will, I say, have no more to do by way of acquaintance with thee, no society, no alliance, no hospitality will the guest have with that host, who in hostile manner is come to invade his native country, and to make assault upon the publick buildings and private houses thereof. And therefore, if thou be a man, meet me in the field. *Crispinus* drew back a long time, and was loth to enter into the action; but at last his fellow Horsemen, serving in the same troop and corner with him, forced and perswaded him, not to suffer that bragging Campanian, thus to insult over him without revenge. Whereupon he made no more ado, nor any longer delay, but whilst he went unto the L. Generals to know their pleasure, whether they would permit and license him, out of his order and rank, to fight with an enemy that challenged him, and gave him defiance. And having obtained leave, he buckled his armor about him, took his weapon, mounted on Horseback, and calling upon *Badius* by name, bad him come forth if he durst to single fight. The Campanian made no stay, and so with spear in rest, set spurs to, and they ran their Horses full career one at the other. *Crispinus* with his lance pierced *Badius* above his shield, through the left shoulder, and therewith unhorsed him, and when he was fallen to the earth with the push, he alight himself from his horse, minding on foot to fall upon him as he lay along, and so to dispatch him outright. But *Badius*, before his enemy fell upon him, left his targuet behind and his horse, and by good footmanship recovered his own fellows. *Crispinus* then, all goodly to be seen with the spoils of his enemy, made shew of the horse and armor that he had won, and bearing up withal the bloody point of his lance, was with much praise and great gratulation of the souldiers, brought honourably to the Consuls, and presented before them. At whose hands he was both highly commended, and also liberally rewarded.

Annibal having dislodged out of the territory of *Beneventum*, and removed into *Capua*, within three dayes after he was come thither, brought forth his forces into the field, making no doubt at all, but that, considering the Campanians his absence, had but few dayes before fought fortunately, the Romans now would be so much lesse able to abide his royal army so often used to victory. And verily when the conflict was once begun, the Roman battailions of the Infantry were much troubled and distressed, especially with the fierce assault of the Horsemen, who overcharged and pelted them mightily with their darts and javelins, until the signal was given to their own Cavalry also, to set hard to, and charge the enemies with their horse. Now whilst the men of arms were busy in fight on both sides, it happened that the Regiment of *Sempronius Gracchus* lately slain, were detected marching off under the conduct of C. Cornelius the Treasurer, which put both parts in like fear, lest they were some new and fresh enemies that advanced against them. So they sounded the retreat on either side, as if they had been agreed to

so do, departed out of the field (as a man would say) on even hand, and retired themselves unto their several holds: howbeit, the greater number was slain of Romans, upon the first violent charge given by the Horsemen. From thence the Consuls intending to draw *Annibal* away from *Capua*, departed sundry wayes, *Fulvius* into the territory of *Cumes*, and *Claudius* into the *Lucans* Country. The next day, when *Annibal* was advertised, that the Romans had abandoned their camp, and that they were gone into divers parts with their several armies, being at first uncertain whom to pursue, resolved at length to make after *Appius*, and so began to do. But after he had once trained the enemy about to the place that he desired, he returned himself another way to *Capua*. And *Annibal* hapned also upon a new occasion presented to have a good hand of his enemies in those parts.

There was one *M. Centenius*, surnamed *Penula*, one of the chief Centurions of the *Pilani*, a singular good Caprain in that kind, as well in regard of his mighty and goodly body, as also of his brave mind, and valiant courage. This man having served out his ordinary time required by Law, was by the means of *P. Cornelius Sulla* the Pretor, brought into the Senat-house, and became a Petitioner unto the LL. of the Councel, that he might have the leading of five thousand footmen: promising that within short time, by reason he was so well acquainted with the nature and qualities of the enemy, and withal so much beaten in coasting thole quarters, he would do some great deed, and achieve a piece of notable service: and look, by what cunning devices and stratagems, both our leaders and our armies had been until that day, entrapped and over-raught, the very same would he use and practise against the enemy. He was not so vain and unadvised in making this offer, but they were as foolish and foolish again in taking him at his word, and trusting him: as who would say, A good Leader and Commander, and a stout and hardy souldier were all one. And so where as he demanded but five thousand, he had the charge given of eight thousand: whereof the one half were citizens, the other allies and confederats: and besides them, he himself also gathered together out of the country as he marched, a good Company of Volunaries: in so much as his power was doubled, by that time he came into the *Lucans* Country, where *Annibal* abode, after that he had followed *Claudius* in vain, and to no effect. But a man that had but half an eye, might see what the sequel and event would be of the conflict between General *Annib. l.* and Centinere *Centenius*: between both armies also, the one of old beaten souldiers used ever to victories, the other of raw novices and yong beginners, yea, many of them taken up suddainly in hast, and slenderly armed by the halves. For so soon as both hosts had confronted one another, and that on neither side they dallied and shifted off, but minded presently to go to it & fight: soon were they on both parts arranged in order of battail. And albeit the Romans had many disadvantages, yet they maintained skirmish more than two hours: and that so hotly and courageously, that they shrunk not one jot, so long as their leader stood on foot. But after that he once was stricken down and slain, who not only in regard and remembrance of the former name (that he had won) of valour and prowess: but also for fear of future shame and dishonor, in case he should remain alive after the defeat of his forces, whereof he was the only cause through his fool-hardy rashness, presented himself desperately upon the pikes of his enemies, where he might be sure of nothing but present death: and incontinently the Roman battail was discomfited and put to flight. And so hard bestead they were, in seeking wayes and means to escape (all the avenues were so laid and beset with the Horsemen) that of so a great multitude, there were hardly one thousand saved, all the rest miscarried here and there, and came by their death one way or other.

In this mean time, *Capua* was streightly beleaguered by the Consuls, and they began to assault it in most forcible manner: great preparation there was of all things needful unto such an exploit, and with great diligence every thing provided and brought accordingly. Corn was conveyed to *Capitulum*, and laid up there for store: at the mouth of the River *Vulturnum* (where now the City standeth) was the sconce and castle fortified (which *Fabius* before had built) and a strong garrison therein planted, to the end that both the Sea so near, and the whole River also might be at their command. Into these two fortresses standing on the Sea side, as well the corn which lately was sent out of *Sardinia*, as also that which *Annus* the Pretor had bought out of *Hetruria*, was transported from the Port of *Ofis*, whereby the army might be served plentifully all winter season. Over and besides that losse received in the *Lucans* country, the army likewise of the *Voluntaries*, which during the life of *Crassus*, had served truly and faithfully, now abandoned their colours; as if by the death of their Caprain they had taken themselves fully discharged from warfare.

Annibal made no small account of *Capua*: for willing enough he was, that his allies and friends there should not be forsaken and left in so great peril wherein they stood: and yet upon that fortunate success which hapned unto him through the rashness of one Roman Caprain, his fingers itched to be doing with another of them, and hoped to find some good opportunity and advantage to surprise and overthrow both Caprain and army. Whence therefore certain *Apulian* Embassadors advertised him, that *Cn. Fulvius* the Pretor, (who as the first in assaulting of certain Cities in *Apulia*, which had revolted unto *Annibal*, bare himself like a wife and prudent Caprain: now afterwards, upon his good fortune and happy success in those affairs, whereby himself and his souldiers had made up their mouths, and filled their hands well with booties and pillage) both himself and his men were grown so idle, and so dissolute, that no good government nor military discipl-

A discipline remained among them: hereupon *Annibal* having good experience, (as often heretofore, so in this late instance but few dayes past) in how man stead an army serveth, when it is directed by an unskilful Leader, removed his tentes into *Capua*. Now lay the Roman legions and *Fulvius* the Pretor, encamped about *Herdania*. And when the news came thither that the enemies were on their journey coming toward them, hardly might the souldiers be reclaimed and stayed, but they would in all hast pick up standard and ensigs, and straight wayes go into the field and bid them battail, without commission and commandement of their Pretour. And no one thing more held them back, than the assured hope they had to do it at their pleasure whensoever they would. *Annibal* the night following, having certain intelligence, that there was a tumult in the camp, and that most of the souldiers mightily importuned their General to put forth unto them the signal of battail, and called earnestly unto him for to lead them out into the field, made full account to meet with good opportunity and occasion, to have a fair day of his enemies: and therefore he bestowed three thousand men lightly appointed, in divers villages thereabout, among the thick groves and bushes, and within the woods: who at a sign given them, should all at once upon a suddain, start up and leap forth of their lurking corners: and withal, he gave order to *Mago*, with two thousand Horsemen or thereabout, to keep all the wayes whereas he supposed they were most like to flee and make escape. Having thus ordred all things beforehand in the night time: at the break of day he entred the field with his army, and embattailed himself in warlike manner. *Fulvius* for his part, was not behind: not induced so much upon any hope or conceit he had of good speed, as drawn and haled thereto, through the rash enforcement and compulsion of his souldiers. And therefore as they came forth to battail upon a head and hear, inconsiderately so they were set in array as disorderly: even at the pleasure of the souldiers, according as they came forth and took up their ranks and files, as they list themselves: and then again as the roy took them in the head left the same, either upon wilfulness or fear. The first legion together with the left wing or corner of Horsemen, were first marshalled: and the squadrons drawn and stretched out in a great length: notwithstanding the Knight-Marshal and Coronels cried out, that within, there was no strength nor power at all: and that the enemies wheresoever they should hap to charge, would break in upon them and go through. But no wholesome counsel for their own good might be taken and considered upon: nay they would not so much as lend their ear, and give them the hearing. And by this time *Annibal* was in place, with another manner of army (you may be sure) and otherwise ordered and arranged. And therefore the Romans were not able to abide so much as the first shout and shock of the onset. The Captain himself (as foolish and heady as *Centenius*, but in courage and resolution far short of him) seeing how the world went, the field like to be lost, his souldiers in fear and great perplexity: recovered his horse in great hast, and with some two hundred horsemen fled away and escaped: all the army besides, beaten back affront, beset behind flanked on the sides, and environed round, were so killed and hewn in pieces, that of eighteen thousand, there were not past two thousand saved. And the enemies besides were masters of the camp.

When these losses one in the neck of another were reported at *Rome*, the City was set in a great fit of sorrow and fear for the while: but so long as the Consuls, in whom rested the main chance, had hitherto prospered and sped well, they were the lesse troubled at these by-blowes and crosses in fortunes. Whereupon they addressed *C. Lectorius* and *M. Minilius* as messengers unto the Consuls, willing them to gather together with good care and diligence, those dispersed reliques and remainders of the two armies: also to have an eye and heedful regard unto them, that upon fear and desperation they yielded not themselves to the enemy (as it happened after the Cannian overthrow:) and last of all, to make diligent search and seek out those *Volours*, or voluntary servitors, that had abandoned their ensigs and called themselves. The like charge was laid upon *P. Cornelius*, who had commission besides to levy more men. And he made proclamation throughout all market Towns, fairs, and places of frequent resort, That those *Volours* should be found out and brought again to their own colours, to serve as aforesaid. All these directions were executed and accomplished with exceeding great care and diligence.

Appian *Cl. dius* the Consul, after he had made *D. Junius* Captain of the iconce erected upon the mouth of the River *Palurnus*, and *M. Aurelius Cotta* Governour of *Puteoli*, with commission, That as any ships [with corn] from out of *Sardinia* or *Sicilia* arrived there, they should immediately send the corn to the camp: went back himself to *Capua*: where he found *Q. Fulvius* his Colleague, transporting thither all provision from *Caplinum*, and making preparation for the assault of *Capua*. Then both Cons. jointly together besieged the City: and sent unto *Cl. dius* *Nerva* the Pretor, for to come unto them from *Suessula*, out of the old camp of *Claudius*. Who likewise leaving a small garrison there, to defend the place, with all his power and forces, descended into the plains before *Capua*. So there were three royal pavilions pitched for three LL. Generals about *Capua*: and three full armies in three sundry places began to fortifie, erecting bastions and forts in places not far distant: yea, and to cast a trench and raise a rampier round about the City. And in divers quarters at once, they skirmished with the men of *Capua*, whensoever they came to hinder their fortifications, with so good success, that the Townsmen were driven at last, to keep within their gates and walls. But before that those rampiers and trenches above said were fully finished, and all ends brought together, there were Embassadors dispatched unto *Annibal*, to complain in the name of the Capuans, as finding themselves grie-

* 15. of March.

ved, that he had forsaken *Capua*, and in a manner delivered it into the Romans hands: and with all, to beseech him earnestly, that now or never, he would rescue and succor them, being not only besieged, but also shut up and almost trenched about, as within a prison. *P. Cornelius* likewise the Pretor of the City of *Rome*, sent his letters unto the Consuls, advising them before they had fully invested *Capua* round about, to make offer unto the Capuans of this liberty, That as many as would, might depart with bag and baggage out of *Capua*: and whosoever went forth before the

* Ides of *March*, should enjoy their freedom and all their goods and lands: but as many as after that day, either departed or tarried there still behind, should be reckoned no better than very enemies. These intimations were made known unto the Campans, but so light they set by them, that they fell a railing, reviling, and menacing the Romans, with most reproachful taunts and spiteful terms. *Annibal* was departed from *Herdonia* with his legions unto *Tarentum*, hoping either by force or fraud to gain the Castle. And seeing he little prevailed, he turned from thence, and took his way to *Brundisium*, supposing that Town would be betrayed into his hands. Whiles he lay there also and lost his time in doing nothing, the Embassadors of the Campans arrived and came unto him, with complaints and humble requests both at once. Unto whom *Annibal* made this glorious and lordlike answer with a Majesty: Once already have I raised the siege, and never will the Consuls, I trow, abide my second coming. The Embassadors having received their dispatch, departed with this hope: but much ado they had, to put themselves within *Capua*, so enclosed round was it (by this time) with a double trench and a rampier.

It fortuned at the very same instant, when *Capua* was thus streightly beleaguer'd, that the siege also and assault of *Syracuse* came to an end: helped forward and hastned by intestine treachery and treason withal, as well as by force of army and valour of Captain abroad. For *Marcellus* in the beginning of the spring, doubtful in himself and hanging in suspense, whether to bend his whole forces toward *Agrigentum*, against *Himilco* and *Hippocrates*, or still proceed to besiege *Syracuse*: albeit he saw the City might not possibly be won, either by forcible assault, (considering it was by situation both by Sea and Land invincible) or pining famine, by reason the passage in manner lay open to and fro between it and *Carthage*, for safe transporting of all sort of victuals: yet because he would leave no stone unrolled, but try all wayes that could be devised: he commanded certain revolts from the *Syracusians* (for there sided with the Romans some of the noblest persons of the City, who at the time of the first backsliding from the Romans, because they misliked and abhorred all rebellion and change in the state, were driven out and banished the City) to deal with their bend and faction by way of conference, to sound the hearts (I say) of such as were their followers, and to solicit them to their part: and withal to assure them (upon their warrant) that if by their means *Syracuse* were betrayed, they should live in freedom, and enjoy their own Laws as they would themselves. But no opportunity could they espie for to parly and talk with them. For by reason that there were many suspected to entline and draw that way, every man had a careful eye and regard unto them, that there could be no treachery practised, but soon it would be found out and detected. Yet a bond-servant toward one of the banished persons abovesaid, happned to be let into the City, pretending that he was run away from the adverse part unto them: who hapning to meet with some few, began to move and broach such a matter. After which, certain others lying close hidden under the nets in a fisher boat, came about by water to the camp of the Romans, and had conference and communication with those former fugitives and exiled men. And thus from time to time, this was practised in the same manner, by divers and sundry persons, until at length they were a crew of fourscore in all. Now when all things were concluded for the betraying of the City, neer upon the point of execution, it chanced that one *Aistalus* (a false brother among them, who took snuff that he was not specially trusted in the matter) disclosed the conspiracy unto *Epicides*, and appeached the parties: whereupon they were all put to extreame torture, and suffered death every one. When this plot would speed no better, they conceived hope another way, by a new occasion and occurrence that presently offered it self. There chanced one *Damasippus* a Lacedemonian, sent from *Syracusa*, as a messenger to King *Philip* for to be taken prisoner by the Roman armado: Now, both *Epicides* was very desirous and exceeding careful how to ransom him, and also *Marcellus* was not unwilling for his part to grant the same. For even then, the Romans began to affect the friendship of the *Aetolians*, with which Nation the Lacedemonians were confederat, and in league. So, when there should be commissioners and delegates sent on both sides, to parle and treat about his redemption the most indifferent place for them to meet in, was at the key or wharf of *Trogili*, fast by a turret which they call *Galegrina*, as being just in the midst between, and most convenient for both parties. It happned now, that as they had recourse oftentimes thither about this business, one of the Romans well viewed the wall neer by, he counted the stones that appeared in the forefront of the wall and made estimate to himself of their quadrature and proportion: and withal, giving a guess as neer as he could of what height (by his reckoning) and measure, the wall might be: and supposing it was a good deal lower than either he himself or others, had alwayes before taken it to be, and easy to be scaled with ladders, even of a mean size and middle sort; he relateth the matter, and his conceit of it to *Marcellus*. And in his opinion it was a thing not to be neglected, but to be thought upon. But forasmuch as there was no access unto that place, by reason, that for the lowliness thereof, it was the more carefully guarded and defended, it was thought good to wait for some opportunity and advantage to help that difficulty. Which, as good hap was, offered it self presently unto them by

* *Scindino*.
* *Scala Gyaca*.

means

A means of a fugitive: who gave them intelligence, that they held a solemn feast of *Diana* at that time within the City, and the same continued three dayes together: also he said, that for want of other things, during this siege to make good chear withal, they spared for no wine, but made merrery therewith in great plenty and abundance. For why? not only *Epicides* had bountifully bestowed wine upon the whole Commons, but also the great men of the City had in every ward and parish where they dwelt, allowed a proportion besides, of their own charges. When *Marcellus* heard this, he called unto him some few of his Colonels and knight Marshals, and conferred with them: and when they had sorted out certain choice and elect Centurions and souldiers, fit and sufficient men to adventure and execute so great a peece of service, and withal provided ladders
 B secretly: to all the rest he commanded a watchword and warning to be given, That they should betimes take their refection of meat and repose of sleep, for that in the night they were to be employed in an expedition and action of service. After this, when he thought it was about the time, that they (as having feasted all day long, and well filled their bellies with meat, and their heads with wine) were gone to rest, and newly fallen sound asleep, he commanded one ensign or company of souldiers, to carry ladders: and besides them, there were upon a thousand well armed and appointed, marching with silence and in thin ranks, brought thither to the place. When the foremost without any stir or noise at all, had scaled the top of the wall, others followed in their course. For the forward and resolute boldness of the former, was able to animate and encourage the rest, if they had been false-hearted. By this time now, the thousand armed soldiers had seized
 C that part, when the rest of the ladders were set to: and upon more ladders still, they gat up to the wall in diverse places, upon a signal given them from the gate *Hexapylus*. Unto which places the Romans were now come, and found no stirring at all, but exceeding silence and desolation, forasmuch as a great sort of them had made good chear within the turrets, and either were fast asleep with drinking wine already, or else were bibbing still, notwithstanding their eyes were heavy, and their hearts asleep. And yet, some few of them they took in their beds, and killed. Neer unto *Hexapylus* there is a little wicket, which with great violence they began withal, to break it open. So as now, both from the wall (as was before appointed) they gave signal by sound of trumpet: and also from all parts they went not to work any more by stealth, but plainly and openly without dissimulation. For they were come already as far as *Epipola*, a place full of
 D watchmen and warders. And the enemies were to be terrified now and stricken into fear, and no longer to be dealt withal by craft and guile. And it fell out so indeed, that they were mightily scared. For they heard not so soon the sounding of the trumpets, and the shouting and outcry of them that were possessed of the walls and one part of the City, but the warders, thinking all was gone, some ran along upon the wall, others leapt from the walls, or else were born down headlong, with the press of others that were affrighted. And yet many there were, who were not ware at all of this misery and extremity, both because generally they were all dead asleep, and also by reason that the City was so wide and large, that a thing felt and seen in some remote parts, reached not streightwayes throughout, to all the rest. The gate *Hexapylus* was broken down somewhat before day, at which *Marcellus* with all his power entred the City. He wakened them all, and
 E set them to their business: he made them take weapon in hand, and to help (what they could) a City in a manner wholly surpris'd and taken. *Epicides* made hast from the Island (which they themselves call *Naxos*) with a company of souldiers about him, making full account to drive them out again: as supposing, that they were but some few, who through the negligence of the watchmen and warders were got over the wall: and ever as he met with any that were scared and in fear, he said unto them erstwhiles, that they themselves made more ado, and every thing worse than there was cause, reporting all in greater measure and more fearful manner than need was in very truth. But when he saw all places about * *Epipola* full of armed men, after some small volley of shot, and little skirmish with the enemy, (whereby he provoked them, rather than did any good else) he turned back again with his companies, and retired into *Acradina*, not fearing so much the violence and multitude of the enemies, as lest some intestine mischief by this occasion might arise, and that he should find in this tumult and hurlyburly, the gates of *Acradina*, and the Island shut against him. *Marcellus* being entred within the walls, took his prospect from the higher places, and when he beheld under his eyes the most goodly and beautiful City of all others in those dayes, (by report) he wept and shed tears abundantly, partly for joy that he had brought his purpose to good a pass, and partly in compassion and remembrance of the ancient glory and renown of that City. He called to mind the navies of the Athenians by them sunk and drowned: he thought upon the utter overthrow of two puissant armies, together with the loss of two most noble and famous Captains of theirs: moreover, there came into his memory so many wars fought against the Carthaginians, with so great peril and hazard: so many and so mighty Tyrants and Kings that
 G rained and kept their seat and royal court there: and amongst the rest, he could not chuse but think of King *Hiero*, of fresh and famous memory, a Prince, who above all other gifts which his own vertue and fortune had graced and endued him withal, was recommended especially for his many favours and good turns done unto the people of *Rome*. When all these things presented themselves to his remembrance, with this cogitation besides, how all that beauty and glory within one hours space was ready to burn on a light fire, and to be consumed into ashes: before that he advanced his ensigns against *Acradina*, he sent before, those Syracusians who had conversed (as is afore-said) amongst the guards and garrison of the Romans, to perswade the enemies with mild and gentle

* Some make it the fifth part of *Syracusa*.

tle speech, yet, to yeeld the City. It so fell out, that the most part of them that warded the gates and walls both, of *Acradina*, were certain fugitive revolts fled from the Romans, who had no hope at all, upon any condition whatsoever to be pardoned. These would suffer none, either to approach the walls, or to parle and speak with any. And therefore *Marcellus*, after he saw that enterprise frustrate and disappointed, commanded to retire with the ensignes unto *Euryalus*. This *Euryalus* is a little mount and fort, situate in the utmost quarter of the City, remote far from Sea, and commanding the high way that leadeth into the fields, and the middle parts and very heart of the whole Island: a place very commodious for the taking up and receipt of all victuals. The Captain of this hold was *Philodemus* an Argive, placed there by *Epicides*. Unto whom there was sent from *Marcellus*, *Sosis*, one of them that murdered the tyrant: and after long communication, *Sosis* with crafty words abused by him, and colourably put off until another time, made relation unto *Marcellus*, that *Philodemus* had taken a farther day of respite and deliberation. But he put off still from day to day, trifling out the time of purpose, until *Hippocrates* and *Himilco* might come with their forces and legions, making no doubt, but if he might receive them into his fortres, the whole army of the Romans being now enclosed within the walls, should be overthrown, and utterly defeated. *Marcellus* seeing that *Euryalus* was not delivered up, (and forced possibly it could not be) encamped himself between *Neapolis* and *Tyche* (so are two parts of the City named, and may for their bigness go well enough for two entire cities of themselves:) for fear, lest it be were once entred into the populous and most inhabited places of the City, his souldiers greedy of pillage, would not be kept together, but run loosely up and down to rife. Thither came unto him from *Tyche* and *Neapolis*, Embassadors and Orators, with olive branches adorned with sacred veils and infules, humbly beseeching him to hold his hand from effusion of blood, and siring the City. *Marcellus* calling his Councel about these their petitions, rather than demands, after mature deliberation, by general consent of all, gave expresse and streight commandment to the souldiers, that no man should offer abuse or violence to the body of any free-born person whatsoever: as for all besides, his will and pleasure was it should be their booty. Now was the camp of *Marcellus* defended on both sides with housing in stead of a wall, and he bestowed a good corps de guard at the gates thereof, lying open over against the streets: lest when the souldiers ran to and fro in the City, the camp in the mean while might be assailed. Then upon the sound of Trumpet the souldiers fell to their business, ran into all parts, brake open dores, set all on a fearful hurry, but spilled no blood: and they never gave over ransacking and rifling, until they had cast out and carried away all the riches and goods, that had been a gathering a long time, during their wealthy and prosperous estate. Amid these stirs, *Philodemus* also seeing no hope of succours and rescue, after he had covenanted for his security; to return safe and without harm to *Epicides*, withdrew his garrison away with him out of the fort, and rendred it up to the Romans.

Now whiles every man was turned another way, and busied in that part of the City which was forced, *Bomilcar* taking the advantage of one night, wherein the Roman fleet by reason of a violent tempest could not ride at anchor in the main Sea, gat forth of the haven of *Syracuse* with 35 ships, and having Sea room, hoised up sails, and away he went with a mery gale of wind, leaving 4 behind for *Epicides* and the *Syracusians*: and after he had informed the Carthaginians in what danger the state of *Syracuse* stood, returned within few dayes with a fleet of a hundred sail, rewarded for his labor (as the report went) by *Epicides*, with many rich gifts, which the treasure of King *Hiero* paid for. *Marcellus* possessed now of the fortres *Euryalus*, and having planted there a garrison, was well rid of one care yet: for he doubted, lest if a new power of enemies had been received behind his back into that fort, they would greatly have annoyed his men, enclosed now as they were, and encumbered within the walls.

After this he besieged *Acradina*, and invested it round about, and fortified three several camps (in meet and convenient places) against it, hoping to shut them up into such streights, that they should be driven to extream scarcity and want of all things. Now when as for certain dayes, the guards of the one side and the other had rested quiet, suddainly upon the arival of *Hippocrates* and *Himilco*, they within began from all parts to set freshly upon the Romans. For, first *Hippocrates* (after he had encamped and well fortified himself fast by the great Key, and given a signal to them that kept *Acradina*) assaulted the old camp of the Romans, where *Crispinus* lay with his guard for the defence thereof: then *Epicides* also sallied forth, and brake upon the Corps de guard of *Marcellus*: and withal, the Carthaginian fleet approached close to the strand that lieth between the City and the Roman camp, to hinder that *Crispinus* might have no aid sent unto him from *Marcellus*. And yet for all this ado, the enemies made a greater stir and tumultuous alarm, than any skirmish to speak of: for *Crispinus* not only gave *Hippocrates* the repulse, and drave him from the defences of his own camp, but also followed him in chace, as he fled fearfully in hast away: and *Marcellus* forced *Epicides* to take the City again, and get it over his head. So as now they seemed very sufficiently provided and appointed against all dangers from thence forth, of their suddain sallies and irruptions.

A great pestilence in *Syracusa*.

Over and besides all these troubles, there hapned a common calamity unto both, the plague and pestilence: in such manner, as it might soon have withdrawn the minds, as well of the one part as of the other, from thinking any more of war. For, besides that it fell out to be the Autumn or harvest season of the year, the place it self by nature unwholsome, stinking and corrupt (but much more without the City than within) the extream and intolerable heat of the weather

A weather mightily distempered all their bodies generally, in the camps both the one and the other. At the first, by occasion of the distemperature of the season, and corruption of the place, they both fell sick and died: but afterward by visiting and tending one another that were infected, the disease grew catching and contagious, and so spread and increased more and more: in such manner, as either they that were fallen sick perished for want of looking to and diligent attendance; or if any came about them, to keep them and minister unto them, they were infected and endangered also as deeply as the other: so as every day a man could go no where, but either death, or corpses carried forth to their graves, were presented to his eyes: night and day in all places there was nothing heard but weeping, wailing, and piteous lamentation. In the end their hearts were so hardened and made savage again, by continual usage to this misery, that not only they gave over to weep over the dead, and to accompany them unto their sepulchres with due mourning and doleful plaints, but also to carry them forth and to inter them: so that the breathlesse bodies lay scattred all abroad on the ground in the sight of them, that looked every hour for the like miserable death themselves. The dead killed the sick: the sick infected the sound, partly with fear, and partly with the corruption and pestiferous stench that came from their bodies. And because they would die rather upon the sword's point, than of this maladie, some of them made offer to go alone among the armed guards of their very enemies, to be killed out of hand, and rid out of their misery. Howbeit, the plague was hotter by far in the Carthaginian camp, than among the Romans, by reason of corrupt water, and much slaughter committed there, and so long siege about *Syracuse*. For of the enemies army, the Sicilians at the first, so soon as they saw the sickness to spread commonly, and increase by reason of the corruption of the place, got themselves away, and stole every man home to the Cities neer adjoining. But the Carthaginians were faine to stick by it still, as having no place to retire themselves unto; and so, they together with their Generals themselves *Hippocrates* and *Himilco*, died all of them, and not one escaped. *Marcellus* when he saw this mortality grow thus hot, brought his people into the City, where the houses and shadowy places yielded some good refreshing to the sick and weak bodies: howbeit, many also of the Roman army went of it, and turned up their heels. Thus when the Land-souldiers of the Carthaginians were all gone and consumed of the plague, the Sicilians who had served under *Hippocrates*, withdrew themselves into certain Towns, which were not great, yet free and strong both by natural situation, and also by strength of walls and other defences: the one of them three miles from *Syracuse*, the other fifteen miles distant from the haven mouth: and thither they conveyed from out of their own cities adjoining, all manner of victuals, and sent abroad for aids of men.

In the mean while *Bomilcar* set sail once again with his fleet for *Carthage*, where he made relation of the state of their confederats in such terms, that still he fed them with some hope. That not only by their help they might be saved, but also that the Romans (notwithstanding they had in some sort forced and taken the City) might be surpris'd and taken there themselves: and in conclusion perswaded and prevailed so with them, that they granted not only to lend with him a great number of hulks and caricks, laden with store of all things, but also to furnish him with more ships of war, to encrease his Armado. Whereupon he departed from *Carthage* with 130 Gallies, and 70 ships of burden, and had forewinds good enough to set him over into *Sicily*. But those winds kept him from doubling the point of the Cape *Pachynus*.

The same and rumor first of *Bomilcar* his coming, and then his delay above mens expectation, that checked it again, wrought diversly in the minds of the Romans and Syracusians, ministering one while fear; another while joy unto them both. Whereupon *Epicles* fearing lest if the same Easterly winds which then held, and were settled in that corner, should continue many dayes more, the Carthaginian navy would return again into *Affrick*, leaving the guard of *Acradina* to the Captains of the waged and mercenary souldiers, sailed to *Bomilcar*, riding still with his fleet in the rode that looketh toward *Affrick*, and fearing a conflict at Sea, not so much because he was inferior to the enemies either in force or number of ships (for he had many more than the Romans) but for that the winds stood more favourably to help the Roman Armado than his: howbeit, in the end he perswaded him to try the fortune of a battail at Sea. And *Marcellus* for his part, seeing both the Sicilian forces gather and assemble together from all parts of the Island, and understanding that the Carthaginian fleet was coming with great store of victuals: for fear lest at any time whiles he was shut up within the enemies City, he should be assailed both by Sea and Land: albeit he was short of them in number of ships, yet determined to hinder *Bomilcar* for arriving at *Syracuse*. Thus did two armades of enemies affronting one another, about the head of *Pachynus*, ready to joyn battail, so soon as the calmness of the weaver would give them leave to advance into the main and open Sea. Therefore when the East wind began to lie, which for certain dayes had blustered and raged, first *Bomilcar* weighed anchor: and the vanguard of his Armado seemed to gather still into the deep; only because he might more easily gain the Cape and promontory aforesaid. But so soon as he saw the Romans ships make way toward him (I wot not what suddain accident it was that affrighted him) he set up all his sails and fell off, into the main Sea: and after he had sent certain messengers to *Heraclea*, willing them for to set again their hulks home into *Affrick*, himself coasted all along *Sicily*, and shaped his course for *Tarenium*. *Epicles* disappointed thus on a suddain, of so great hopes that he had, because he would not return again to the siege of a City, whereof a great part was lost already, saileth to

Agriæum, there to abide and expect the event and small issue, rather than to stir himself and trye any more, how to help them with any succour from thence.

These things being reported in the camp of the Sicilians, to wit, that *Epicides* had quit *Syracuse*: that the Carthaginians had abandoned the whole Island of *Sicily*, and in manner yielded it again into the hands of the Romans: after they had sounded first their minds who were besieged, by talk and conference with them, they sent Ambassadors unto *Marcellus*, to treat about conditions of surrendering the City. When they were grown in a manner to this point, without any squaring or difference at all, that the Romans should have the fignory all and wholly which belonged unto the Kings: and that, all the rest the Sicilians should enjoy, with liberty and their own proper Laws: the Ambassadors aforesaid called forth to a parley, those unto whom *Epicides* at his departure had committed the government of the affairs, and declared unto them, that as they were addressed Orators unto *Marcellus*, so they were from him sent unto the army of the Sicilians: that generally all, as well the besieged, as those who were without the danger of the siege, should be comprized within the treaty, and abide one and the same fortune: and that neither the one side nor the other should capitulate or enter into any covenant for themselves apart, without all the rest. Who being received and admitted, for to salute and speak unto their kinsfolk and friends, made them acquainted with the agreement and composition between *Marcellus* and them: and so after they had presented unto them some good hope of their safety, they perswaded with them so far forth, as to joyn with them, and all together, for to set upon and assault the bodies of the Captains deputed by *Epicides*, namely, *Polyxenus*, *Philestius*, and one *Epicides* surnamed *Syræus*. When they were once made away and killed, they called the multitude together unto a general assembly: where they complained greatly of their poverty, and penury of all things, (for which they were wont to murmur secretly among themselves:) "And albeit ye are distressed (say they) with so many miseries and calamities, yet are ye not to blame for tunc therefore, so long as it was in your own power and choice, either to be delivered from them, or to endure them longer. As for the Romans (said they) it was not hatred, but meet love and charity, that moved them to come against *Syracuse* for to assault it. For when they heard that the government of the state was usurped by *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* (the ministers first belonging to *Annibal*, and after to *Hieronymus*) then they began to lay siege unto it intending not the overthrow and destruction of the City it self, but to put down and depose the cruel tyrant that ruled the state. Seeing then, that now *Hippocrates* is dead, *Epicides* excluded from *Syracuse*, his Deputies and Captains killed, and the Carthaginians driven out of all their hold and possession of *Sicily*, both by Land and Sea, what reason have the Romans, that to be willing and well content, that *Syracuse* should continue in safety now, as well as if *Hieronymus* self were living, the only maintainer and observant upholder of the Roman amity? And therefore, it ought but well should happen, either to the City, or to the Citizens, ye may thank yourselves, and none else, for letting slip opportunity now offered, of reconciliation and accommodation with the Romans. Never look to have the like occasion hereafter, to that, which at this instant is presented: if ye had the grace to see what a door is opened for you, to be delivered from the yoke of most insolent and proud tyrants. This speech they gave ear unto with exceeding accord and general applause. But before that any Ambassadors were nominated to be sent unto *Marcellus*, it was thought good that new Pretors should be created. Out of the number of which Pretors, there were Orators addressed unto *Marcellus*. And the principal man among them, spake in this wise. "Neither we *Syracusians* (quoth he) O *Marcellus*, at the first we loved from you Romans, but *Hieronymus*, impious and wicked Prince as he was: yet nothing so much hurtful to you as to us: not afterwards, when peace was knit again upon the murder of the tyrant, was it any citizen of *Syracuse*, but *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* (the Kings right hands and ministers, who oppressed and kept us under, with fear of one side, and with detestable lights on another side) that made the brack, and were the troublers and disturbers of this peace. Nor yet can any man come forth and say truly, that ever we were at our own liberty, and entertained not peace and amity with you. And now also I assure you, so soon as by the massacre of these, that held *Syracuse* in such oppression and bondage, we began again to be our own men, and to have the law in our own hands: the first thing you see that we do, is this, to come and present our selves unto you, to deliver up our armor and weapons, to yield our bodies, our City, the walls, and all the strength thereof, and to refuse no condition, that is shall please you Romans to impose upon us. As to your self, O noble *Marcellus*, the Gods have given you the honour of conquest, over the most noble and beautiful city of all other in *Greece*. Behold, now, what memorable acts soever that we have at any time achieved, either by Land or Sea, all makes to the advancement of the glorious title and dignity of your triumph. See you then, that another day it be not known by bare hear-say, and the trump of fame, how great and mighty a City you have won, but rather that it may stand still and remain for all posterity, for a mark and worthy spectacle to behold: to the end, that whosoever hereafter, shall resort thither, by Land, whosoever shall arrive there by Sea, it may present unto them, both our Trophies and worthy victories over the Athenians and Carthaginians: and also this of yours, over us, the bravest conquest of all the rest. See (I say) that you leave for your house and family, the City of *Syracuse* whole and sound, to do homage and fealty ever hereafter, to the name and lineage of the *Marcellis*, and to hold of them as of their sovereign Lord, in chief and in vassalage. That

A "That all the World may see, that the late remembrance of *Hieronymus*, beareth no greater stroke with the Romans; that the ancient name of King *Hiero*, a noble Prince of famous memory. Much longer was he a friend, than the other an enemy. His good deeds and many favours ye have tasted and felt with great contentment: the folly and madness of *Hieronymus*, hurt none of you, but wrought his own confusion and overthrow. There was nothing but they might have obtained at the Romans hands: all was clear there, and no danger from thence. But among their own selves they were at more war: there was the peril, there was all the mischief. For the Roman rebels, who were run from them, doubting that they should be delivered over into their hands, and not comprised within the terms of the composition and protection, drave the auxiliaries also that were waaged soldiers into the same scruple and fear. They hastily therefore took arms, and first killed the Pretors: and afterwards, ran all about to massacre the Syracusians. Look whom they hapned to meet, them they murdered in this furious fit of choler. Whatsoever came next to their hands, and lay handsome for them, they killed. And because forsooth they would not be without their leaders, they created six provosts or Captains, that three should govern *Acradina*, and other three *Nasos*. At the last, after the uprore was appeased, the mercenary souldiers aforesaid, followed the matter thoroughly by search and diligent inquiry, what were the capitulations indeed agreed upon with the Romans: and then began the very truth to appeare, namely, that their condition and the fugitives were far different.

C These Embassadors in very good time returned from *Marcellus*, and certified them that they were carried away with a wrong surmise and false suspicion, and the Romans had no just cause to punish them. Now there was one of those three Provosts of *Acradina*, a Spaniard named *Mericius*. Unto him there was sent for the nonce among those of the retinue and train of the Embassadors aforesaid, one of the Spaniards, who were auxiliary souldiers, serving under the Romans: who finding *Mericius* alone without other company, gave him to understand especially above all things, in what terms he had left *Spain* (and from thence he was newly come) namely, how the Romans there were grown mighty, and held a great hand over them with their forces. And that himself, in case he had a mind to do some worthy deed, might soon rise, and be a great man in his country: chose whether he list to serve under the Romans, or return again into his own

D "home. Contrary-wise, if he went on still in this countie he had begun, and minded still to be besieged, what long abiding place could he have there, shut up as he was from sea and Land? *Mericius* pondered well these reasons: and when it was agreed, that there should be addressed new Embassadors unto *Marcellus*, sent his own brother with them, who by the self-same Spaniard was brought apart from all the rest unto *Marcellus*: and after he had a protection granted, he laid the plot, and ordered all the matter how it should be done, and so returned to *Acradina*. Then *Mericius* because he would withdraw mens minds from all suspicion of treason, and that he intended nothing lesse, than to betray *Acradina*, gave it out, That he liked not, and would no more of this recourse, ever and anon, of Embassadors between: and therefore as he would admit of none to come from *Marcellus*, so he would send no more to him. And to the end, that

E all the guards should be kept more diligently, he thought it good to divide conveniently among the Provosts, the quarters of the City, and assign to every one his ward by himself, and that each one should be bound to answer for the safe keeping of his own division, and for no more. Then all gave their consent to part accordingly, and to himself befell the charge of that quarter which reacheth from the fountain or well *Archeus* unto the mouth or entry of the great key or haven. And hereof he gave notice and intelligence to the Romans. Whereupon *Marcellus* caused a great Hulk, laden with armed souldiers, to be fastned by an haling rope unto a Gally of four course of oars, and so in the night by strength of oars to be towed and drawn up after it into *Acradina*, and landeth the souldiers over against the gate, that is next to the fountain *Archeus*. This being done about the relief of the fourth watch, *Marcellus* received the souldiers that were set ashore at

F the gate, according as before it was agreed. And *Marcellus* by the dawning of the day, with all his forces gave a Camifado upon the walls of *Acradina*, in such manner, that not only he turned thither unto his assault all those that kept *Acradina*, but also from *Nasos* there came running whole squadrons and companies of armed men (leaving their own wards) for to repel and put back the violence and assault of the Romans. In this tumult and trouble, certain Barges appointed and furnished thereto aforesaid, were brought about to *Nasos*, where the other souldiers stood: who coming adunward upon the *Acradina*, that were left half naked and very weak, by reason of the departure of their fellows, and finding the gates wide open, at which erewhile the souldiers ramped, with small ado were masters of *Nasos*, left, as it was, without warders, who in fear made hast to run away and escape. And none of them all had lesse means to defend themselves, or smaller mind to tarry still, than the fugitive rebels, for they durst not well trust their own fellows, and so in the hottest of the skirmish made an escape.

G As soon as he understood, that *Nasos* was won, and likewise the quarter of *Acradina* was held, and kept for him: and that *Mericius* with his guard had joynted to his souldiers, founded the retreat for fear, that the Kings residence, which was more in name than in deed, should be rifled and spoiled.

Thus by suppressing the violence of the souldiers, both the rebel fugitives that were in *Acradina* had good time and place to shift for themselves and get away, and also the Syracusians delivered

livered now at last from fear, opened the gates of *Acradina*, and sent Orators unto *Marcellus*; craving nothing but life for themselves and their children. *Marcellus* called his Council together, and those *Syracusans* likewise, who in the time of civil dissention, were driven to forsake their houses, and remained among the garrisons of the Romans: and then he made the Embassadors this answer. "There have not been (quoth he) more benefits and good turns for the space of fifty years received at King *Hiero* his hands by the people of *Rome*, than detriments and mischiefs intended against them within these few years, by them that have seized and possessed the City of *Syracusa*. But most of those mischiefs in the end, have lighted upon their heads right justly, who duly deserved the same: and for the breach of league and covenants, they themselves have suffered at their own hands more grievous punishment by far, than the people of *Rome* would willingly ever have required. As for me, this is the third year that I lie in siege before *Syracusa*; not, I assure you, with this intent, that the City should not be reserved safe and sound for the natural people thereof to keep and inhabit, but that the Captains and ring-leaders of fugitives and rebels might not seize it, and so hold it in captivity and oppression. How much the *Syracusians* might have done with me at first, may be easily seen by the example either of those *Syracusians* who conversed among the guards of the Romans, or of the Spanish Captain *Mericus*, who yielded up his garrison. Yea, and the hardy and resolute course in the end taken (although it were with the latest) by the *Syracusians* themselves, may sufficiently testify the same. Whereby also it may appear, that for all my travel and pain which I have undergone, for all the perils which I have adventured and passed through, about the walls of *Syracusa*, both by Land and Water, thus long: I have gathered no fruit so sweet and pleasant as this, that it may be said, how I was able, yet at last, to win and conquer *Syracusa*.

Syracusa won
and ransacked

Archimedes
killed.

Then the Questor was sent, attended with a guard, unto *Nasos*, for to enter upon the Kings treasure there, and to keep the same in safety. The pillage of the City was given to the souldiers: but there were appointed certain warders over every house of theirs, who were among the garrisons of the Romans, for to save the same. Amids many cruel, spiteful, and foul examples of anger, malice, and covetousness, which hapned to be committed during the time of this saccage, it is reported, That in so great huriburly as possibly might be, when a City is newly taken, and hungry souldiers run to rifling, *Archimedes* was busily occupied, and studying upon certain Geometrical figures that he had drawn out in the dust, and hapned to be slain by a souldier, that knew not who he was. Whereat *Marcellus* was much offended and displeased: and thereupon gave especial order, that he should be honourably enterr'd: yea, and caused his kinsfolks to be fought out: and all they in remembrance of him, and for his name sake, were not only saved, but also well accounted of, and had in good reputation. Thus you see in what sort, and by what means especially, *Syracusa* was won. A City wherein was found such store of wealth and riches, as hardly would have been gotten in *Carthage*, if it had been forced then: notwithstanding it was able to hold out with *Rome*, and maintain war with equal force and power.

Some few dayes before the winning of *Syracusa*, *T. Octavius* with fourscore Gallies, of five ranks of oars, crossed the Seas from *Lelybeum* to *Utica*, and being exited the gate before day light, chanced to take by the way certain Caricks charged with corn. After he was disbarcked and let a Land, he wasted grievously part of the territory about *Utica*, and returned to the City with booty and prizes of all sorts. And the third day after he went from *Lelybeum* he returned thither again with 130 caricks full of corn and other booty: and that corn he sent forthwith to *Syracusa*: which if it had not come as it did in good time to help the present necessity, the conquerors as well as the conquered had felt the smart of most extrem and grievous famine.

In the same summer, the Roman Generals in *Spain* (who almost for two years had done no memorable act there, but warred by policy and stratagems, more than by force of arms) dislodged from their forts and winter harbors, and joyned their armies together. Then they called a Council, where they jumped with one general accord in this opinion. That considering all this while they had effected this much only, as to empeach and stay *Asdrubal* from all means of passing over into *Italy*, it was now high time to make an end at once of the war in *Spain*. And to effect and bring this to passe, they supposed verily that their strength was well amended and sufficient, by reason that in the winter time they had levied and put in arms thirty thousand Celtiberians. Now the *Carthaginians* had in *Spain* then, no fewer than three armies. *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco*, and *Mago*, were encamped with all their forces together, distant from the Romans almost five dayes journey: *Asdrubal* the son of *Amilcar*, an ancient warrior, and an old Captain in *Spain*, was somewhat neerer with his whole power, before a City named *Antorgis*. Him the Roman Generals were desirous to defeat and vanquish first: and in good hope they were, that they had strength enough and to spare, for to accomplish that: many, this was their only doubt and fear, lest upon the discomiture of him, the other *Asdrubal* and *Mago* would for fear retire themselves into the unpassable woods, and take the wilds and mountains, and so mainrein a long war. They supposed therefore it was the best course to divide their power between them in two parts, and at once to compass the whole war of *Spain*. And thus they agreed to part their forces: namely, That *P. Cornelius* should lead two third parts of the army, consisting of Romans and allies, against *Mago* and *Asdrubal*: and that *Cn. Cornelius* with the other third part of that old army should joyn with the Celtiberians, and war against *Asdrubal* the Barchine. [i. son of *Amilcar* above-said.] Both these Captains with their hosts set out together in their journey, putting the Celtiberians

Aberians before in the vanguard, and encamped neer the City *Anatorgis* in the sight of their enemies, having but the river running between. And there *Cn. Scipio* staid behind, and made his abode with the power aforesaid: but *P. Scipio* went onward to perform that part of the war which he purposed and intended. *Asdrubal* after he perceived that there lay in camp but a small power of Romans, and that their whole hope relied upon the aids of the Celtiberians; as one that could well skill of the falshood and treachery of the barbarous people, but especially of all those nations, among whom he had been so long a souldier: by reason that both camps, as well his own as the other of the Romans, were full of Spaniards, he used by the means of reciprocal commerce of their language, for to have secret speech and conference with the principal heads of the Celtiberians, and so treated with them, that in consideration of a great sum of money, they were perswaded and yielded in the end to withdraw all their forces from thence, and give the Romans the slip. And this they supposed was not so heinous and odious a fact. For why? they were not dealt withal to turn their swords upon the Romans, and to war against them: again, they were to have as good pay and wages to sit still, and not to serve, as was sufficient to bind them for to bear arms and fight: and last of all, rest it self, and sleeping in a whole skin, together with their return home to their own, and the joy and pleasure of visiting their friends, and seeing their goods and lands, were plausible and pleasing inducements to every man. And therefore the Captains themselves were no sooner drawn thereto, than the very multitude. Over and besides, to strike it dead sure, they stood in no fear of the Romans (being so few as they were) that they could possibly keep them perforce. And surely, this might well serve, to be a Caveat for Roman Captains ever hereafter, and such precedent examples and instances as this, may stand in stead of good lessons indeed, to teach them how they trust again the aids of foreiners; and never to relie themselves so much upon them, but that they alwayes have in their camp the greater part of their own forces, and the more number of their natural souldiers. All on a suddain therefore the Celtiberians dislodged, plucked up standards, and departed from them, and never bad them farewell. And when the Romans demanded the cause of this change, yea, and besought and importuned them to tarry, they made them no other answer but this, That they were called and sent for home, by occasion of wars in their own country. *Scipio* seeing that these Allies of his were so slippery, and could neither be intreated nor enforced to stay: and that himself alone without them was not able to make his part good with the enemy: and to joyn again with his brother, was a thing impossible: for want of all other good means, for the present, when he saw no remedy else, determined to retire himself as far backward as he could: having this especial care above all things, not to encounter and joyn battail with the enemy in plain field, without some advantage, who now was passed over the river, and traced him hard at heels in his dismarch.

About the same time *P. Scipio* stood in the like terms of fear, but in more danger by the coming of a new enemy, and that was *Masaniissa* the young Prince, who then was a friend and pensionary souldier of the Carthaginians: but afterwards mighty and renowned for his amity with the Romans. He with his Numidian Horsemen first encountred *P. Scipio*, as he marched on his journey, and afterwards both day and night molested and troubled him very shrewdly: in such sort, that **E** not only he would intercept and catch up those that were gone out wandering and stragling far from the camp, a fuelling or foraging, and send them short of home; but also ride braving even before the camp. Many a time would he venture, yea, and enter upon the thickest of the standing corps de guard, and make foul work and trouble among them. By night also he used oft to make many starts upon a suddain, and assail the gates of the camp and the rampier, and put them in exceeding great frights. So as the Romans at no time, nor in no place could be at rest and quiet for him, but ever in fear and doubt of some shrewd turn or other by him: so as they were driven to keep within their rampier, cut off from the use of all commodities abroad, and in a manner as good as besieged: and more streightly yet were they like to be beleaguered, in case *Indibilis*, who was coming (as the rumor went) with 7500 Suesetans, were once joyned with the Carthaginians. **F** Whereupon *Scipio* a wary warrior and prudent Captain otherwise, driven to these hard extremities, and forced to make shifts, entred into a rash and inconsiderate designment, even to go on and meet (forsooth) *Indibilis* in the night, and in what place soever it should be his hap to encounter him, there to bid him battail, and fight with him. Leaving therefore a mean guard to keep the camp, and *T. Fonteius* his Lieutenant, as Provost and Captain, he set out at midnight, and meeting with his enemies, joyned battail with them: but they skirmished rather by loose companies in their march, than with their united forces in set and pight field. Howbeit, the Romans had the better hand so much as it was, considering what a confused and disorderly conflict there might be. But the Numidian Cavalry, whom *Scipio* thought he was secured of, and that they were not aware of him, all on a suddain flanked the sides of the Romans, and mightily terrified them. Against these **G** Numidians, whiles *Scipio* made head again afresh, behold a third sort of enemies also charged upon his back, even the Carthaginian Captains, who by this time while the other were in fight, had overtaken their allies and were come thither. So as the Romans were to maintain battail on all hands, and were at a stand, and in doubt with themselves against which enemy to turn first, or what way with a close couched Squadron to give the venture for to breakthrough. As the General was thus manfully fighting, and encouraging his souldiers, presenting and opposing himself forward, where was most need and danger, his chance was to be run through the right side of his body with a Lance: and that massive band of the enemies which had charged upon the thick

P. Scipio slain.

battailon,

battailon, which environed their Captain, seeing *Scipio* falling from his Horse ready to die, in great joy and mirth set up a cheerful shout, and ran all over the army, and caried glad tidings that the Roman General was slain. This voice being once spread all abroad, caused both the enemies to take themselves undoubtedly for victors, and the Romans to make no other account but they were vanquished. Whereupon they having lost their Leader, began forthwith to flie out of the field. But as it was no hard matter for them to make a lane and break through among the Numidians, and other auxiliary souldiers lightly armed; so to escape and go cleer away from so many Horse, and Footmen also, who were as swift on foot as the horsemen, it was almost impossible. Thus they were more in manner slain in their flight now, then in their fight before. And there had not one remained alive, but that the day being far spent already, and toward evening, the night came on apace and overtook them. The Carthaginian Captains, and those also of *Affrick*, taking the full benefit of this their good fortune, slept not their businesse, nor made delay: but presently after the battail, scarcely allowing their souldiers so much sleep as would content nature, marched in great hast toward *Asdrubal* the son of *Amilcar*: making account assuredly, that when they had joyned their power with his, they should break the neck of this war, and end it once for all. When they were come to him, great joy and gratulation there was between the Captains and the hosts of both sides, for this fresh victory newly achieved: and seeing they had already defeated so brave a warrior and great commander, together with his whole army, they made no doubt but expected certainly to have another hand as good as this.

The news verily of this so great a foil and overthrow, was not yet come unto the Romans: but yet they were stricken into a sad dump and deep silence, and more than that, into a secret preface and fore-deeming of some unlucky tidings: as commonly mens minds use to fore-give and tell aforehand, when there is some mischief and ill toward them. The General himself, besides that he saw he was abandoned and forsaken of his associates, and knew the forces of the enemies so mightily reenforced; by good conjectures and gueses, yea, and by very reason, was induced to suspect some loss and calamity received already, rather than enclined to hope after any good success and happy speed. For thus he discoursed with himself: How is it possible that *Asdrubal* and *Mago* should bring their armies together without conflict, unless my brother be slain in fight, or have forgotten to be a warrior? how cometh it that he withstood them not? or how hapneth it that my brother followed not hard after them fast upon their backs? At leastwise, if he had not been able to keep them asunder, but that both Captains and armies must needs meet and joyn in one, yet he himself me thinks, at leastwise would have come by this time to his brother, and brought his own power to his. In this perplexity and anguish of spirit, he thought yet, for the present time, that the only good course he could take, was to withdraw himself back from thence as far as he could: and so all that one night unware to his enemies (who so long only were quiet) he marched a great way, and won much ground of them. The next morning, so soon as the enemies perceived that the Romans were dislodged and gone, they sent out the Numidian light Horsemen, and began to follow after them apace, and pursued them as fast as possibly they could: and before night the Numidian Cavalry had overtaken them, and skirmished one while with the tail of their march, another while at their sides and flanks, and gave them no rest: whereat the Romans made as it were a stand, and began to defend and save their army as well as they could: yet with great wariness and regard of security, *Scipio* encouraged them so to fight, as they might march on still and gain ground, before the Infantry overtook them. But as one while the army was one foot, and another while stood still, in long time they rid but a little ground. And *Scipio* seeing the night draw on apace, reclaimed his souldiers from farther skirmishes: and after he had rallied them together, he retired with them up to a little mount, no sufficient place (God wot) of safe retreat for an army, especially so troubled and affrighted already, yet higher than any other place all about. There the first thing that he did, was to bestow the baggage and cavalry in the mids within his forces: and at first the infantry ranged round about in a ring, made no difficult matter of it to put by the violent charge of the Numidian Horsemen. But afterwards when the three Generals marching with three full armies approached, their Captain *Scipio* perceiving that he was never able to keep that place without some fortification, began to cast his eye about, and to bethink with himself, by what means possible he might empale himself round about as it were with a rampier: but the hill was so naked of wood, and the soil of the ground besides so stony and craggy, that he could neither finde any underwood fit to cut out stakes for a pallisado nor earth meet to make turfs for a bank, or minable for a trench: and in one word, all things untoward and unhandisome for a mound, and to fortifie withal. Neither was there any place there, to speak of, so steep and upright, but the enemy might at ease mount up and climb it. All the hill on every side, had a gentle rising and ascent up to the top. Howbeit, to represent some shew and resemblance yet of a rampier, they were forced to take their pack saddles, with their packs tied fast unto them, and so round about to pile them and raise them to the usual height of a mure: And where there wanted pack saddles to make up the work, there they were fain to heap together, all sorts of fardels, trusses, and other carriages, and to put them between the enemies and them. The Carthaginian armies when they were come, matched very easily up against the Hill. But the new fashion and manner of their defences and fortifications, was very strange unto them, so as at the first the souldiers marvelled much

A and were astonished thereto, and stood still. But their Captains on all sides cried out upon them, And why stand ye gaping (say they) so: and do not pull in peeces and pluck away that foolish babble there, good to make sport with? A very toy, that women and children would scarce stand about thus long? Why, the enemy is taken already in a pincfold, and lieth lurking and hiding himself behind the trosses and other carriages. After this manner (I say) the leaders rated at the souldiers. But it was not so easy a matter, either to get over that Barricado of the packs, or to remove and rid them out of the way, as they lay piled close against them; nor yet to unfold and unwrap the pack-saddles, lying overwhelmed as they did, under the packs, and entangled together with them. Thus they were hindered and staid a long time: and when at length they had put this bag and baggage aside that was set in their way, and made passage and entrance for the armed men, B and that in divers places. The camp and tents were soon taken on all sides, ere a man could turn about: and so being few to many, and frightened men to late conquerors, no marvel if they were killed and hewn in pieces in every place. Howbeit, many of the souldiers having fled for refuge into the forests neer by, escaped into the camp of *P. Scipio*, whereof *T. Fonteius* his Lieutenant had the charge. As for *Cn. Scipio* some write that he was slain upon that mount at the first onset and assault made by the enemies: others report that with a few others he fled into a Tower hard by the camp: and that there was a fire made round about it, and so when the gates thereof were burned, which by no violent means otherwise they could break open, the enemies entred and took it, and they within were killed every one, Captain and all.

C Thus *Cn. Scipio* came to his end, in the seventh year after that he went into *Spain*, and on the nine and twentieth day after that his brother lost his life. Their death was bewailed and lamented no less over all *Spain* than at *Rome*. For among the citizens at home one part of their sorrow they took for the loss of the armies, another part went for the distraction and alienation of the Province, and a third again was spent in the cogitation of the publick calamity: but *Spain* from one end to the other, mourned only for their Governors and Captains, and had a great misse of them. And *Cneus* of the twain, was more bewailed, because he had been longer time their ruler, and had won the favour and affection of men, and possessed their hearts before the other: and was the first that ever gave them in those parts a proof and taste of the Romans just and temperat government.

D When the army was thus defeated and brought to nothing, so as *Spain* seemed utterly lost, there arose one man yet, that recovered all again, and brought the decayed state to the former perfection. There was in the army one *L. Martius*, the son of *Septimius*, a Gentleman and Knight of *Rome*, a forward young man: for courage and wit, far above the degree and condition wherein he was born. Besides this excellent and most toward disposition of his by nature, he had great helps by the discipline and instruction of *Cn. Scipio*: under whom, for so many years he was trained and had learned all military knowledge and skill meet for a souldier. This *Martius*, what by rallying the disperied souldiers who were fled, and what by drawing others out of sundry garrisons had raised and assembled together a reasonable good power, and joynd with *T. Fonteius*, the Lieutenant aforesaid of *P. Scipio*: But the Roman Knight, above all others, grew to so great credit and reputation among all the souldiers, that when they had fortified their camp within the E river *Iberus*, and were determined among themselves, to chuse one General over the armies, in a solemn assembly of souldiers, even by their own military election: they went one by one in course one after another, unto the main corps de guard that defended the rampier, and to the other wards belonging unto the camp, until they had all given their voyces: and so by general consent created him their General. All the time which they had after, (and that was but small) they employed in fortifying their hold, and conveying thither corn and victuals: and what charge soever was imposed by him upon the souldiers, the same they executed readily and willingly, and without any shew that their hearts were dismayed, and cast down any jot at all. But after that news was brought, that *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco*, was coming against them, to dispatch clean the reliques of the war, that he had passed over *Iberus* and approached neer: and the souldiers saw once the F signal of battel put forth unto them by this new General: calling to mind, what noble warriors they had served under but a while before: what worthy leaders they were wont to have, and with how puissant armies they used heretofore to go to the field: they fell a weeping every one, shaking and beating their heads: some lift up and stretched out their hands to heaven, blaming and accusing the Gods: others lay along upon the ground, calling every one upon his own Captain by special name: Neither could their piteous moans and plaints be staid, notwithstanding the Centurions encouraged what they could, the souldiers of their companies: notwithstanding (I say) that *Martius* himself sometimes spake them fair, sometimes rebuked them, for giving themselves to such foolish and vain pining like women: and not rather resolve to raise up their hearts, and with him to quicken and whet their stomachs in defence of themselves and of the common G weal, and not to suffer their former Captains and Leaders to lie dead and unrevenged. By this time now all on a sudden, the shout of the enemies was decried, and the sound of the trumpets were within hearing, being come close under the rampier. Whereupon all at once, turning their sorrow and weeping into anger and indignation, they ran every man to his armor and weapon: and as if they had been horn mad they hastned from all parts to the gates and entries of the camp, and charged upon the enemies as they came carelessly and without order and array. Immediately this unexpected and sudden object, strooke an exceeding fear into the Carthaginians: a

as wondering from whence so many enemies should start up so soon, considering the armies were so lately clean in a manner destroyed; and how it came to passe, that being newly vanquished and put to flight they should be so stout, so bold and confident of their own selves: whose Gods name, should be their General, after the two *Scipios* were slain: what Captain and Governor had they over the camp; and who gave out the signal of battell: marvelling (I say) at these premises, and so many particulars, that they once imagined not afore, at first hand they will not what to do, but as amazed men, began to give ground and retire; but afterwards, being still fiercely followed upon with a violent charge, they were plainly beaten back and put to flight. And verily, either there had been a foul havock and slaughter of them that fled; or a rash and dangerous enterprise for them who would have followed the chase: but that *Martius* hastened to sound the retreat, and opposing himself against the foremost ensignes of the vanguard, yea, and taking hold of some of them himself, staid the main battail and repressed their violence, who were upon the point already to pursue them with heat. And so he reduced them back again into the camp, as greedy as they were still of murder, and thirsty of bloodshed. The Carthaginians, who at the first were driven from the rampier, and for fear hastened away: after that they saw none to follow them, supposed they had been afraid, and therefore staid still: whereupon they departed to their camp again in reckless manner, fair and softly. And as careless as they were in their retire thither, so negligent were they in guarding the same: for although their enemies were neerer, yet they remembered and thought again, that they were but the tail and reliques of two armies, vanquished and defeated a few dayes before. Upon this resolute perswasion of theirs, and bafe conceit of the enemies, they were very negligent every way within their camp: whereof *Martius* having by his espial, certain intelligence, resolved upon a designment, which at the first sight seemed more like a project of hazard, than an enterprise of hardiness; and it was no more, but even upon a bravery to set upon the enemy in his own camp, and give him a camifado. For as he thought it an easier emprise, to force the hold and pavilions of *Asdrubal*, being but one, than to defend and keep his own, in case three armies and three Captains should joyn together: so he considered withal, that either if he sped well in this exploit, he should restore and set upright again unto the Romans, the decayed and prostrate State of *Spain*: or if he were discomfited and put back, yet by giving the adventure first upon the enemies, he should not be altogether contemned, and of no reputation. But lest this attempt so suddain, and the terror and error which may fall out in the night-time, should happen to trouble this his designed plot, and the course of his good fortune: he thought it not amiss, to make a speech unto his souldiers, and to exhort and encourage them afore-hand. And therefore calling them together to a general audience, in this manner he discoursed unto them of his intent and purpose.

The Oracion
of *Martius* to
his souldiers.

"My valorous and loyal souldiers, either the reverence and affectionate love of mine, toward
our chief Captains during their life, and after their death: or the very present condition and
state wherein we all now stand: may be a sufficient testimony and proof to any man who-
ever, that this charge and government of mine, as it is in regard of your judgement of me right
honourable, so it is in truth, and in very deed, to me most weighty, and full of care and trouble.
For at what time as (but that fear took away all sense of sorrow) I was not so much master of
my self, as to seek out and find some comfort and solace for mine own pensive soul and heavy
spirit: I was forced being but one, (which is a most hard matter: for a man to do in time of
grief) to minister consolation unto the common misfortune and calamity of you all. And
surely I have no list at all (the harder is my case) to avert my mind from continual grief of heart,
not so much as even then, when as I am to study and devise, by what means I may be able to
preserve (for the behoof of my country) these small remnants of two armies. For why the grie-
vous and bitter remembrance of calamities past, is ever before me. The two *Scipios* trouble me
all the day time with careful thoughts, they disquiet me in the night season with fearful dreams,
they make me oftentimes to start out of my sleep, willing and charging me, to suffer neither
them nor their souldiers (who were your fellows and companions, and for the space of eight
years in those parts where they served, never received foil) nor yet the Common-wealth, to
continue unrevenge: warning me withal, to follow their discipline, their precepts, rules, and good
instructions. And like as, while they lived here among us, there was no man more obedient than
my self to their directions and commandments: even so after their decease, whatsoever in my
conceit, I judge they would have had especially done in all occurrences, the same my desire is,
that you also (my souldiers) would like of and approve for the very best. I would not have you
to weep, wail, and lament still for them, as if they were extinct and gone for ever; (for they live
still, and shall, so long as the world endureth, and continue immortal in renown and fame of
their worthy and noble acts) but rather so often as you remember and think of them, to go like
hardy and valiant men to a field, even as if you heard them speaking unto you, or saw them gi-
ving out the signal of battell. Neither was it (I assure you) any other object but this, presented
yesterday unto your eyes and minds, which effected so memorable a piece of service as it was:
by which ye have made good proof unto your enemies, and given them to understand, that the
Roman name died not together with the *Scipios*; and that the vigour and vertue of that people
which was not extinct and buried, by the overthrow at *Cannæ*, will ever rise again: (ye may be
sure) out of all adversities, let cruel fortune storm and rage as much as ever she can. And now,
since ye have shewed such valour and hardiness already of your own accord, I have a mind,
and

A "and would gladly see, how bravely ye will bear your selves upon the direction and commandment of your Captain. For yesterday, when I sounded the retreat unto you, at what time as you followed so freely upon the enemy, being troubled and dishearted: my desire and meaning was: not to repress and abate your bold courage, but to defer and reserve it against some greater opportunity of advantage, and for a more honourable and glorious exploit: that anon upon the first occasion, you being prepared and provided, might surprize them at unawares, and not standing upon their guard; armed and well appointed, assail them disarmed & naked; and that which more is, whiles they are in their beds fast and sound asleep. And the hope that I conceive of this good opportunity and effect thereof (my souldiers) ariseth not upon some fantastick imagination of mine own brain by hap-hazard, and upon vain presumption, but grounded upon good reason and present experience. For verily, if a man should demand even of you your own selves, what the reason was, that being but few in number, and lately discomfited, ye were able to defend your camp, against many more than your selves, and those heartned with fresh victories; ye would make no other answer but this, That you, fearing that which followed, had both fortified your camp in every respect with strong munitions, and were your selves well appointed and furnished, yea, and ready to receive them whensoever they came. And surely, so it is, and we find it true by experience: Men are least sure and secured against that which fortune saith is fearless, and need not to be prevented, because that which we neglect is evermore open and exposed to all dangers. Now the enemies doubt nothing less at this time, then that we, who were so lately our selves besegged and assailed by them, will now come to give an assault upon them in their hold. Let us adventure to do that which no man would beleeve that ever we durst enterprise, and the self-same cause which seemeth to make the thing most difficult, shall effect it toonest of all others. At the change of the third watch I will lead you forth without any noise at all in great silence. Well enformed and assured I am, that in their camp the Sentinels are not relieved in due course and order, neither yet the ordinary *corps de guard* kept as they ought to be. Your shout and outcry shal not so soon be heard at the gates, nor your first charge and assault given, but ye shall surely be masters of the camp. Then let me see you perform that slaughter and execution among them heavy and dead asleep, affrighted with an unexpected alarm, and taken on a sudden unarmed, and in their beds: from which yesterday ye thought much, that ye were called away and reclaimed. I wot well, that this seemeth unto you an audacious enterprise and full of hazard, but when things go croise and stand in doubtfull terms, and when other means fail, the hardiest attempts, yea, and the most venturous and desperate courses, are ever safest and speediest. For if a man stay never so little at the very instant when a thing is to be done (whereof the opportunity passeth and flieth away ere one would think) immediately when it is once gone, he may sing his cap after well enough, and complain thereof and say, had I wist, but never the nearer. One Army they have hard at hand, and two more are not far off: now if we venture of this here, our opportunity and advantage is as good as theirs. And once already ye have made trial of their forces and your own: put we it off another day, contenting our selves with the bare name of yesterdaies sally, and give over so, it will be great doubt and danger, lest all the Generals with all their armies be rallied and re-united. And shall we then be able to hold our own against three Generals and three hosts, whom *Cn. Scipio* having about him his whole puissance, fresh and in good plight, could not withstand nor abide? Our Captains by dividing their forces, and dismemb'ring one compleat army, were defeated and overthrowen: semblably may our enemies, parted while they be, and severed asunder, be discomfited and brought to nought. Lo, this is the only way for us to war, and none other. And therefore let us wait no longer than the commodious opportunity of the next night. Go ye then a gods blessing make much of your selves, take your repose and repose, that ye may be fresh and lusty to break into your enemies hold with the same resolute courage, wherewith erewhile ye defended your own. The souldiers, as they gladly gave ear to this new counsell of their new captain, so, the more audacious and adventurous that it was, the better it pleased them. Therest of the day behind they spent in furnishing and making ready their harness and weapons, and in chetishing their bodies, yea, and the better part of the night they slepe quietly. And so at the relief of the fourth watch they set forward.

Now were there other companies also of Carthaginians, beyond this next camp abovesaid, about six miles distant from thence. A hollow way and valley there lay between, standing thick of trees. In the midst of this wood, for a furlong space well near, he bestowed close by a cohort of footmen, yea, and certain horsemen of Romans: but by his leave this was but a crafty and slye trick, borrowed of the Carthaginians. Thus the midst way being intercepted and taken up, the rest of the forces were conducted in a full march toward the enemies in the next camp. And finding no guards before the gates, no Sentinels upon the rampier, they entred in as it had been into their own hold, and no man made resistance: then they sounded trumpets, and gave the alarm. Some fall to killing of the enemies that asleep; others sing dry linter and straw for to kindle fire upon their hues and pavilions; other some again keep the gates, that none should issue forth. So the fire, the outcry, and massacre all together put them out of their right wits, and made them as it were. Besides themselves: that neither hear they could, nor yet make any shift for themselves. Unarmed and killed men fell among the bands of armed souldiers. Some run in haste to the gates, others finding the waies and passages beset, run up to the rampier: and look as they escaped and got away

from thence by that means he flieth straightwaies directly toward the other camp. Where they H were caught up by the cohort of footmen, and the corner of horsemen, which rose up suddenly out of their Ambuscado: and being enclosed on every side, were killed to the last man. And yet, if it had been any ones good hap to have escaped from thence with life, so swiftly, and with so great expedition, the Romans after they had got the nearer camp, sped themselves to the other, that he could not have recovered it before them, to bring news of the defeat. And even there likewise, the farther they were off from their enemy, the more negligent they were: and because some also a little before day were slipt away a forraging, fuelling, and plundering, the Romans found every thing more loose and out of order, than in the other camp. Their weapons only stood reared up in their *corps de guard*, the souldiers themselves were unarmed, either sitting and lying all along on the ground, or walking up and down before the gates, and under the rampier. With these souldiers so secure, so retchleis, so disarmed and disordered (the Romans being yet in their hot blood, and not cooled upon their fresh massacre, and more than that, lusty and brag for their new victory) began to make a fray, and to skirmish. But the Carthaginians were not able to keep them out of the gates. And so within the Camp there was a hot and cruell fight: for, from all parts thereof, they ran together upon the first alarm that arose in the very beginning of the tumult and scuffling. And long had that skirmish continued, but that the Romans bucklers and targets seen all bloody were a pattern unto the Carthaginians of a former execution: and thereupon drave them into a mighty fear. This fearfull fight caused them all to turn back and take their heels: and thus as many of them as escaped killing got out by heaps wheresoever they could make shift to find way, and were clean turned out of their camp, and all that they had. So in the compass of one day and night, by the conduct and direction of *L. Martius*, there were two encamped holds forced and won from the enemies: in which there were 37000 of the enemies slain, saith *Claudius*, who translated the Annals of *Acilius* out of the Greek tongue into the Latine, and 1830 taken prisoners besides the gain of a mighty rich booty. In which pillage there was found a shield of silver weighing 138 pound, with the image and portraiture of *Asdrubal* the Barchine. *Valerius Antias* recordeth, that the camp only of *Mago* was taken, and seven thousand men slain: and that in another battell with *Asdrubal*, upon a sally forth, there died ten thousand, and 4330 were taken prisoners. *Piso* writeth, that when *Mago* followed after our men in an hor and disorderly chace (for they seemed to give back and retreat) there were five thousand men killed by the train of an ambush. But all writers do blazon the great honour and fame of Duke *Martius*. And besides the very truth of his glorious name, they make mention also and speak of some miracles: namely, that as he made the Oration unto his souldiers, there was seen a flaming fire burning from his head, without any sense and feeling of his, to the great wonder and fear of the souldiers that stood about him: and that in the memoriall of his brave victory over the Carthaginians, there remained in the temple of *Jup.* untill the Capitoll was burned, that foresaid shield, with the Image of *Asdrubal*, and it was called *Martius* his shield. After this, *Spain* was quiet for a long time, whiles both sides after so many overthrowes given and taken between them, were loath to hazard the main chance in one battell.

In the time that these affairs passed in *Spain*, *Marcellus* upon the winning of *Syracuse*, having set all other things in order throughout *Sicily*, with such faithfulness and upright integrity, that not only he greatly augmented his own glory, but also enlarged the majesty of the people of *Rome*, brought over to *Rome* all the goodly and beautiful ornaments of that City, their graven and molten images, their pictures and painted tables, whereof there was great store in *Syracuse*. These braveries (no doubt) at the first were no more but the spoils of enemies, and lawfully acquired in right of war and conquest. But from thence began our great love and liking to the cunning workmanship of Grecian Artisans: and from hence came afterwards our licentiousness and outrage in spoiling and robbing, so commonly & ordinarily, all sacred and profane places, where these things were to be had: which staid not so, but proceeded and turned at length to the spoiling of the Roman gods themselves, and to that very first Temple which by *Marcellus* was beautified and adorned principally above the rest. For strangers and forrein travellers used in pilgrimage to visit the Temples which were dedicated by *Marcellus* at the gate *Capena*, in regard only of the most rare and singular workmanship of the ornaments in that kind, of which at this day there is very little or nothing to be seen.

Now from all City well-near of *Sicily*, there resorted Embassies unto him: as their causes were divers and unlike, so their conditions were not all one. As many as before the winning of *Syracuse*, had either not rebelled at all, or became reconciled and in favour again they were accepted in the quality of faithfull Allies, and made much of: those who for fear after the loss of *Syracuse*, yielded, were reputed as conquered, and received laws and conditions at the will and pleasure of the Conqueror. There remained yet no small reliques of war about *Aggrigentum* for the Romans to dispatch namely, *Epicides* and *Hanno*, the Captains of the former war: and a third, sent new from *Annibal* in the room of *Hippocrates*, a Citizen of *Hippo* (his countymen name him *Martes*) descended from the *Libyphancies*, a man of Action, and one who under *Annibal* had been brought up, and taught all feats of arms, and skill of warfare. Unto his charge were committed by *Epicides* and *Hanno* the Numidian Auxiliaries, with whom he over-ran all the countries belonging to the enemies: he went unto all the Confederats, and so wrought with them to continue fast in their allegiance, and to send aids to every one in due time accordingly: in such sort, that within

A within short time he got himself a great name throughout all *Sicily*, so as the favorites and faction of the Carthaginians had no greater hope in any than in him. And therefore both Captains, as well *Hanno* the Carthaginian, as *Epicides* the Syracusan, who for a time had been pent up within the walls of *Agrigentum*, bearing themselves as well upon the fidelity as policy of *Mutines*, boldly adventured to come forth of the walls of *Agrigentum*, and upon the river *Himera* encamped themselves. Whereof *Marcellus* having intelligence, forthwith removed with all his power, and sat him down encamped, almost four miles from the enemy, minding to wait and expect what they did or went about. But *Mutines* gave him neither opportunity of place to rest him long, nor respite of time to take counsell in, but crossed the river, and with exceeding terrour, and tumultuous noise assailed the standing guards of his enemies: yea, and the morrow after gave them battell as it were in a pitch field, and drave them within their holds and fortifications. But being called from thence by occasion of a mutiny of Numidians within the Camp (who to the number almost of three hundred were departed to *Heraclea Minoa*) he went to appease their moods, and to reclaim them to due obedience: but he gave the rest of the Captains (by report) a great charge and express warning, not to fight with the enemy, howsoever they did in his absence. But both the Captains were greatly offended therat, and *Hanno* especially, who was already male-content, and repined at his glory: What? saith he, thinketh *Mutines*, a base African, and not of the right stamp neither, to gage and rule me, a Carthaginian General, sent with Commission from the Senat and people? He periwaded therefore *Epicides* effectually to pass over the river, and to strike a battell: for quoth he, if we should stay for him, and then hap to have a fortunate day of it and win the victory, all the honour no doubt shall redound to *Mutines*.

Be ye sure, *Marcellus* thought this a great indignity, that he who had repulsed at *Nola* *Annibal*, even when he bare himself so bravely upon his fresh victory at *Canna*, should give one foot to these petty enemies, vanquished already by him both by sea and land: whereupon he commanded his souldiers to arm in all haste, and to bring forth the standards and ensigns. But as he was arranging his men in battell array, there came riding unto him all on the spur, with bridle on the horse neck, ten Numidians from out of the army of the enemies, with these tidings and intelligences, assuring them, "That their countymen, who first were offended and discontented by occasion of that mutiny aforesaid, wherein three hundred of their company departed and went away to *Heraclea*: and then afterwards, because they saw their own head and leader, by the practice of those other Caprain, who maligned and envied his glory, sent far enough out of the way, even against the very day when the battell should be fought: were not disposed at all to fight, but would sit still and not stir. A kind of people these were, deceitfull otherwise, and used to break promise: howbeit now, they were just and true of their word. Upon this, as the Romans took better heart unto them, (for there was a speedy pursivant or courier sent throughout the battailions, from company to company, for to signifie unto them, that the enemy was disappointed and abandoned of his Cavalry, whom they feared most of all other) so the enemies were mightily dismaied and put in fear: for over and besides, that they had no help from them who were the greatest strength of their army, they were in a deep fear lest their own horsemen would E set upon them. By which occasion the conflict was not great, for at the first shout and shock given, well it was seen which way the game would go, and the matter was soon determined. The Numidians, who at the first encounter, and during the conflict, had stood quiet in both points of the battell, seeing their own fellows turn back and flie, bare them only company for a while as they fled: but after that they perceived them all to make haste for fear to *Agrigentum*: fearing also themselves there to be besieged among them, slipped away every one to their own Cities. Many thousands were there slain and taken prisoners: and eight elephants besides taken alive. This was the last field fought by *Marcellus* in *Sicily*: upon this victory he returned to *Syracuse*. By this time now was the year almost come about and growing to an end. And therefore at *Rome* the Senate decreed, that *P. Cornelius* the Praetor should send letters to the Consuls, lying before *Capua*, reporting this tenour: That forasmuch as *Annibal* was far from them, and no great matter of consequence like to be performed the while at *Capua*: the one of them (if they thought so good) should repair to *Rome*, for to create new Magistrates in the room of the old. The Consuls having received the letters, agreed between themselves and took order, that *Claudius* should go to hold and accomplish the solemn election of Magistrates: and *Fulvius* remain still at *Capua*. So *Claudius* created new Coss. *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus*, and *P. Sulpicius Galba* the son of *Servius*: a man that had not borne any curule office of state before. After these were Praetors chosen, *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, *C. Sulpicius*, *C. Calpurnius Piso*. Unto *Piso* befell the jurisdiction within the City: *Sulpicius* had the government of the Province *Sicily*. *Cethegus* of *Apulia*: and *Lentulus* of *Sardinia*. The Consuls had the government of their Provinces prorogued for to continue one year longer.

The six and twentieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation
of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the six and twentieth Book.

ANnibal encamped himselfe at three miles end from Rome, fast upon the river Anio. Himselfe in person, accompanied with two thousand men of arms, rode to the gate Capena, for to view the sit of the City. And notwithstanding that for three daies space the armies of both sides were come into the field ready embattled, yet they never joyned in conflict, by reason of the tempestuous and stormy weather: But ever as they were returned again into their Camps, presently it proved fair. Capua was won by Q. Fulvius, and Appius Claudius the Pro-Consuls. The Nobles and principall Citizens of Capua poisoned themselves. When as their Senators stood bound to stakes (for to be whipped) and then to lose their heads, there came letters from the Senate of Rome unto the Pro-Consul Q. Fulvius, with direction to spare their lives: but before that he would read them, he put them up into his bosome, and willed the ministers or executioners to let the Law have the course, and to do their office, and so he went through with the execution. It hapned that in a solemn assembly of the people there was much debate and question, who should govern as L. Deputy the Province of Spain: and when no man was willing to undertake that charge, P. Scipio, the son of that Publius who was slain in Spain, made offer to go that voyage, and by the voices generally of the people, and with one accord of all he was thither sent. In one day he assailed and also forced New-Carthage. being a young man, not fully 24 year old. And there went an opinion of him, that he was descended of some heavenly race: both for that himselfe, after he was come to seventeen years of age, and had put on his mans robe, conversed within the Capitoll, and also because there was a snake or serpent seen oftentimes in his mothers bedchamber. This book containeth besides the affairs in Sicily: the amity concluded with the Etruscians: and the war against the Acarnanians and Philip King of the Macedonians.

The six and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

CNENS Fulvius Centimalus, and P. Sulpitius Galba the Consuls, when they had entred into their Magistracy upon the Ides of March, assembled the Senators into the Capitoll, where they consulted with the LL. about the state of the Common-weal, concerning the administration of the wars, and as touching the Provinces and the Armies. Q. Fulvius and App. Claudius, the Consuls of the former year, continued still their rule and full command, with the charge of the same forces which they had before under their hands. And over and besides, they were expressly commanded, not to depart from Capua (before which they lay at siege) untill they had forced and won the City. For at that time the Romans among all their other affairs were most amused upon it: not so much for anger and malice, (whereof they had never against any one City greater and juster cause) as in this regard, that being a state so noble and mighty, like as by revolting first it had drawn and induced certain other Cities to do the same: so if it were recovered and regained, like it was to reduce their affections again to look back and return unto their old allegiance and obedience to their wonted signiory of Rome. The Prætors also of the former year, M. Junius in Tuscany, and P. Sempronius in Gaul, continued in their places of regiment, with two legions a piece under their conduct, the same which they had before. And so M. Marcellus remained as Pro-Consul behind in Sicily, for to finish and dispatch the reliques of the war there, with the power of that army which he had already: and had commission (if need were of new supply) to make up the number of his companies, out of those legions which were commanded by P. Cornelius the Vice-Prætor in Sicily: provided alwaies, that he chose no souldier out of those bands, unto whom the Senat had flatly denied, either licence to be discharged, or passport to return home into their country, before the war was fully ended. Unto C. Sulpitius, whose lot it was to govern the Province of Sicily, were assigned those two legions, which P. Cornelius had before: with a fresh supply, out of the army of Cnens Fulvius, which the last year was shamefully defeated, beaten and put to flight in Apulia. These souldiers, all the sort of them, had the same limitation of service and no other, appointed and set down by the Senat, as those former who remained after the overthrow at Cannæ. And this disgrace they had besides, as well the one company as the other, that they might not winter within any town, nor build them any standing camp for wintering harbours, within ten miles of a City. L. Cornelius the Lord Deputy in Sardinia, was allowed to have the conduct of those two legions which were under the leading of Q. Mutius. And order was given unto the Consuls, to levy and enroll a new supply thereto if need required. T. Octacilius and M. Valerius were appointed to guard and defend all the sea-coasts of Sicily and Greece, with the

A the help of those Legions and Armadoes which they had already. The Greeks had fifty sail in their fleet, and were manned with one Legion. The Sicilians had one hundred ships, and two Legions to furnish them. So that in this year the Romans maintained three and twenty Legions, to wage war both by sea and land.

In the beginning of the year, when the letters of *L. Martins* were read and scanned in the Senat house, the *L.* there assembled, liked well of the contents, and spake highly in the praise of his worthy acts: but many of them were offended at the superscription, because he took upon him the honourable title of a Pro-Prator in his stile, and wrote thus, [*L. Martins the Pro-Prator to the Senat*] considering, that his command was neither granted by the people, nor allowed and confirmed by the Senat. An ill precedent (say they) it is, and of bad consequence, that Generals of the field should be chosen by armies, and that the solemnity of Elections, so devoutly begun in the name of the gods, and with the religious observation of the Bird-flight, should now be transferred into the Camps and Provinces far from Laws and Magistrates, and committed to the inconsiderate wills of rash affectionate souldiers. And when some there in place were of opinion, that the matter should be put in question at the Council Table, it was thought better to defer that consultation, untill those gentlemen of service, that brought the Letters from *Martius*, were gone and departed. As concerning corn and apparell for the army, they agreed to write back unto him, that the Senat would take order and provide for both: but they would not allow in any cause to give him this addition, and to write [*To Martins the Pro-Prator*] lest that they might seem to approve the very same thing by their prejudice and doom aforehand, which they had left for to be decided and determined afterwards. When the Gentlemen aforesaid had their dispatch, and were dismissed, the first thing that the Consuls propounded was it, and no other: and generally they jumped in this one point, for to deal with the Tribunes of the peoples, that with all speed possible they would move the Commons, and propound unto them, for to know, who their will and pleasure was should be sent *L. Deputy* into Spain, for to have the government of that army, whereof *Cn. Scipio*, *L. General*, had the conduct.

This matter, I say, was treated of with the Tribunes, and a bill preferred thereof unto the Commons: but there was another greater contention in terms, that had possessed their minds already. For *C. Sempronius Blafus* had commented a criminal action against *Cn. Fulvius*, accusing him for the loss of the Army in *Apulia*, and ceased not in all the assemblies of the people to make invectives against him, charging him, That being Captain General, through his much folly ignorance, and rashness, he had brought his army into a place of danger: reproving him moreover, and saying, That never any Captain but *Cn. Fulvius* had corrupted, marred, and infected his legions with all kind of vices before that he betrayed them to the enemies in such wise, that it might be well and truly said, that they were altogether spoiled and defeated before they had a fight of their enemies: and were not vanquished by *Annibal*, but by their own Colonel and Commander. See (quoth he) the disorder that is in Elections, and how no man, when he is to give his voice, doth well weigh and consider, who it is that he choiceth a General & unto whom he committeth the charge of an Army. Behold the difference between *Cn. Fulvius*, and *T. Sempronius*. This man having the leading of an army of bondslaves, by discipline, good order and government, within short time brought his souldiers to that good pass, that there was not one of them all throughout the army remembered and regarded how basely he was born, and of what parentage descended, but all in general bare themselves so, that they were to their friends a sure defence, and to their enemies a fearful terror: and after that he had recovered them out of *Blumentum*, & other Cities, (as it were, out of the claws of *Annibal*) he restored and delivered them safe & sound to the people of *Rome*. Whereas contrariwise *Cn. Fulvius* having received an army of Roman Citizens, well and worshipfully born, liberally and honestly brought up, had taught them servile vices fit for slaves, and so trained them, that with their friends and allies they were stout, proud, and unruly; and among their enemies were cowards & very dastards: so far from that they were to be a posse, the violence of the Carthaginians, that they were not able to abide so much as their first cry and shout. And no marvel I assure you, that the souldiers could not stick to it in the battell, and hold out manfully: when the General himself was the first that ran away headly. I rather wonder at it, that any of them stood to it and died in the field, and were not all of them as fearful as *Cn. Fulvius*, and took not heels with him for company. Yet *C. Flaminius*, *L. Paulus*, *L. Posthumus*, both *Scipios*, as well *Cn.* as *P.* chose rather to lose their lives in battell, than to forsake their armies when they were environed round with enemies. But *Cn. Fulvius* he was in manner the only man that returned to *Rome* with news of the army defeated and overthrown. Now verily a great indignity it is, and a shameful manner of proceeding, that the residue of the army, after the overthrow at *Canna*, because they fled out of the field, were confined and transported over into *Sicily*, with expell condition, nor to return again from thence before that the enemy were clean gone and departed out of *Italy*: & that the very same rigorous and heavy decree passed likewise, and was executed against the Legions of *Cn. Fulvius*, and *Cn. Fulvius* himself, who fled out of the battell which was through his own folly and rashness begun should go away clear, and escape without all punishment: that himself, I say, should lead his old age butaverns, stews, and brothel-houses, where already he hath spent his youth full daies; while his poor souldiers (who had faulted in nothing, but that they were like unto their Captain) he banisheth enough off, and packed away (as it were) into exile, and endure shame.

The Oration
of T. Sempronius
Blafus against
Cn. Fulvius.

The answer of
Cn. Fulvius.

"full and ignominious soldiery. Lo, how unequally at Rome the freedom of the City is parted
"between the rich and the poor; between men of nobility and high calling, and those that are of
"mean parentage and low degree.

Thus much spake the plaintiff C. Sempronius Blaesus. The defendant on the other side shifted all
the blame from himself, and laid the whole fault upon his soldiers, alledging and pleading
thus, "That when they called upon him hastily, and with great wilfulness for to give battell, he
"brought them forth into the field not on that day which they would themselves (for it was late
"in the evening) but the morrow after, when both time and place were meet and convenient for
"the purpose: and notwithstanding they were well appointed and orderly embattelled, yet were
"they not able to sustain either the same, or the fury of the enemies, I know not whether. And
"when they all fled away again, he also was carried away in the throng of the rout: like as Varro
"the Consul, at the battell before Cannæ, and as many other Generals elsewhere. And what good
"could he have done to the Common weal, in case he had staid behind alone? unless perad-
"venture his death might have cured and remedied the publike sores and maladies, or made
"amends for the common losses. Neither was it for want of victuals, nor for that he light at un-
"awares upon places of disadvantage and danger; nor yet, because he was entrapped within the
"trains of an ambush, marching on end forward, without sending his spies before, that he was
"overcome; but even by mere force, by dint of sword, in open field, and in a pight battell. And it
"was not he could do withall, if his own men were fearful and timorous, and the enemies hardy
"and venturous, he had not the rule of their hearts. It is long of every one his own nature to be
"either bold or heartless.

Two severall daies was he judicially accused, and at both times a fine of money only set upon
his head, in case the matter should go against him. At the third Session the witnesses were produ-
ced forth, to be deposed and give evidence: and after that he had been shamefully reviled, and
charged with all manner of reproaches, there were very many upon their oath testified, That the
first beginning of the fright and flight both, was occasioned by the Prator himself: and that the
soldiers seeing themselves forsaken by him, and inposing verily that their Captain and Leader
was not afraid of his own shadow, but had great reason to fear, they likewise turned their backs
and fled. Upon which evidence, the whole Court was so incensed against him with anger, that
they cried all with one voice, to commence a capitall action, for that he was worthy to die.
Whereupon arose a new debate and controversy: for whereas the Tribune had twice before laid
a penall action upon him of money, and now at the third time said that he would have a jury of
life and death go upon him: then he called upon the other Tribunes for their helping hand to
mitigate this rigour of the Tribune. But when those his Collegues made answer again and said, that
they would not oppose themselves nor hinder his counsell, but that he might proceed in the suit at
his own good pleasure, *more majorum, i. e.* [according to the ancient manner used by their fore-
fathers,] either by order of law, or rule of custome, and bring him being but a private person to
the triall either of a capitall crime, or penall trespass: then Sempronius spake and said flatly, that
he laid upon him a criminal action of treason against the State: and requested of C. Calpurnius
the Chief Justice of the City, for to have a day of hearing and judicial triall by the people. Then
the defendant cast about to help himself by another remedy, namely, in case he could compels that M.
Q. Fulvius his brother might possibly be present at the Session when he should be judged: who at
that time was a man of great credit and reputation, in regard both of the name that went on
him for his noble acts, and of that great hope which men had of him, that he was like presently to
be Master of Capua. But when this said Q. Fulvius had requested so much by letters, entited to
that purpose as effectually as he could devise, and to move commiseration and pity in behalf of the
life of his brother, the L.L. of the Senat returned this answer unto him again, That it was not for
the good of the State that he should depart from Capua: thereupon, before the Sessions day
was come, Cn. Fulvius departed of his own accord into exile to Tarquinii, and the Commons
made an act and confirmed that banishment of his to be a just, due, and sufficient punishment for
his offence.

During these businesses at Rome, the whole strength and force of war was bent against Capua,
and yet the City was rather straightly beleaguered than forcibly assaulted: inasmuch as neither
the servants or bondmen, nor the common people were able to endure the famine any longer:
and send unto Annibal any messengers, they possibly could not, by reason of the straight watch and
ward that the Romans kept, so near one unto the other. At length there was a certain Numidi-
an offered to go and to escape clear away, who having taken letters unto Annibal to put him in
mind to be as good as his promise, departed in the night, and passed through the midst of the
Roman camp, and put the Campanians in very good hope, to issue forth at all the gates, and to
make a sally upon the enemy, whiles their power and strength served them. And verily in many
scuffings and skirmishes which they made, they got the better for the most part in horse fight:
but lightly their footmen had ever the worse. The Romans for their parts were nothing so much
pleased when they had the upperhand at any time, as they were discontented and ill afraid, to re-
ceive a foil in any kind of service of them, who were not only besieged, but in manner overcome
already and conquered. So they devised a means in the end, to make up and supply by industry
and policy the defect they had in strength and force. They chose out of all the Legions certain
lusty young men, such as for clean strength of body, and lightness withall, were most nimble and
swift,

A swift. These had every one of them, a light buckler or target, shorter than commonly horsemen have, and seven javelins or darts apiece, four foot long, with iron heads at one end, like as those Javelins have, which they use to lance that are lightly armed, and begin skirmishes. And every horseman took up one of these behind him on horseback, and used them, both to sit the horse and ride, and also to leap down on foot, with great activity and agility, at the signall and token given them. Now, when as, after daily practice and exercise, they were able to do it nimble enough, and without fear, they advanced forth into the plain, lying between their camp, and the wall of the City, and affronted the horsemen of the Campanians as they stood arranged in battell array: and so soon as they were come within a darts cast, the light javellottiers aforesaid, B dismounted from their horses, at a sign given them: and behold, all of a sudden, out of the Cavalry there was a battaillon of footmen arranged, who charged the men of arms of the enemies, and let flie their shot with great force, dart after dart, which they lanced so thick, that they galled many a horse, and wounded also many horsemen. Howbeit, their fear was much greater, by reason of the strange and unexpected manner of fight. The Roman horsemen seeing their enemies thus affrighted, set too hard, and charged them upon lustily, chased them and beat them down even to the City gates. After this, the Romans were the better in horse-service also. And here-upon began the manner from henceforth to entertain such light armed javellottiers, called *Velites*, even among the Legions. The first deviser of this mingling of footmen among the horsemen they say was one *Q. Navius* a Centurion, and that he was highly honoured by the Generall for C his invention.

Whiles things stood thus at *Capua*, *Annibal* was greatly distracted in mind, and possessed with two contrary cogitations, whether he should go to gain the Castle of *Tarentum*, or to rescue and save the City of *Capua*. At last the regard of *Capua* prevailed with him: for he saw that as well friends as enemies depended thereupon, and had their mind and eye wholly bent that way: as being a City like to give the very trial and proof, what would the issue be generally of all the revolt and rebellion from the Romans. Leaving therefore behind him a great part of his carriage in the Brutians country, and all his souldiers heavily armed, he made haite into *Campania*, with an elect power of foot and horse, such as he supposed most meet and best appointed for expedition and riddance of way: yet as fast as he marched, there followed after him three and thirty Elephants, and so he fate him down closely in a secret valley behind the mountain *Tiffata*, which overlooketh the City *Capua*. At the first coming he forced the fort called *Galatia*, and compelled the garrison there to quit the place, and then he turned and opposed himself against the enemies who besieged *Capua*. But he dispatched certain courriers afore unto *Capua* to signifie unto them at what time he minded to set upon the camp of the Romans: that they also at the very instant might be ready to issue forth at every gate of the City to do the like. The Romans having no fore-knowledge by their espials of this occurrence, were mightily terrified: for *Annibal* himself assailed them one way, and all the Campanians as well foot as horsemen (together with the garrison souldiers of the Carthaginians under the leading of *Bostar* and *Hanno* their captains) sallied out another way. The Romans therefore being driven to their shifts, as well as they might in so E sudden and fearfull a case, had an eye to this, not to make head altogether one way, and so to leave the rest quite without defence; therefore they divided their forces in this manner among themselves: *Appius Claudius* opposed himself against the Campanians: and *Fulvius* against *Annibal*. *Claudius Nero* the Vice-Prætor, with the horsemen belonging to the sixth legion, quartered upon the way that leadeth to *Suessula*: and *C. Fulvius Flaccus* the Lieutenant with the horsemen of Allies, took up his standing, and planted himself over-against the river *Vulturinus*. The battell began not after the usual manner, only with shouts and outcries, but besides all other clamours of men neighing of horses, and rustling of armour, there was a multitude of Campanians good for no other service of war, placed upon the wals, who together with ringing and sounding of halons and vessels of brasse (as the manner is in the still dead time of the night, when the moon is in the eclipse) made such an hideous noise, that it caused even them that were in fight to be amused thereupon, and to listen after it. *Appius* with small ado repulsed the Campanians from the trench and rampier. But *Fulvius* on the other part had more trouble to deal with *Annibal* and the Carthaginians, who charged so fiercely upon him, that the sixth legion there gave ground and retreated: which being once beat back, a Squadron of Spaniards and three Elephants passed forwards as far as the rampier, and had already broken through the main battell of the Romans: but they were in suspense between doubtfull hope and present danger, shinking one while to break through and pass into the Camp: and doubtfull another while to be excluded from the rest of their companies. *Fulvius* seeing this fear of the Legion, and perill where-in the Camp stood, encourageth and exhorteth *Q. Navius* and other principall Centurions, to assail valiantly, to kill and hew in pieces that one company of the enemies which were fighting under the counterescarp. "For all now lieth a bleeding, quoth he, and in extreame hazard: "for either you must give the enemies way, and then wil they more easily enter into the camp, then "they had already pierced through the thick squadrons of the battell: or else ye must defeat and "slay them in the place, even under the trench. And that (quoth he) were no difficult piece of service, considering they are but few in number, severed and shut out clean from the succour of "their fellows: and the same Roman battaillon which seemeth now disbanded and open, whiles "it is affrighted, if so be it would make head and turn both sides upon the enemy, were able to "com-

The singular
valour of Na-
vius.

"compass round and environ them, and put them to a doubtful hazard, yea, and cut them in pie-
ces within the midst. *Navius* had no sooner heard the General speak these words, but he caught
the ensign of the second band of *Hasdrubal* from the ensign-bearer, and displayed it in the faces of the
enemies, threatening to sling it among the midst of them, unless his souldiers made the better haste
to follow him, and settle themselves to fight. He was a goodly tall and personable man of body,
his brave armor besides let him out and beautified his person: and withall, the advancing of his
ensign on high, drew every mans eye upon him, as well enemies as friends. But when he was ap-
proached once to the banners of the Spaniards, then from all hands they spared him not, but hur-
red at him their barbed javelins, and the whole battell in manner was bent only against him. But
neither the multitude of enemies, nor the volley of their shot, was able to reprecis and rebut the
violence of that one man. Likewise *M. Attilius* a Lieutenant, caused the ensign-bearer of the first
band of the *Principes*, belonging to the same Legion, to enter with his ensign upon the cohort and
troop of the Spaniards. The Lieutenants also *L. Porcius Licinius* and *T. Popilius*, who had the
guarding of the camp, fought valiantly upon the rampier in defence thereof, and killed the Ele-
phants upon the very counterescarp, as they were passing over and entering the camp. And by occa-
sion that their bodies filled up the ditch, the enemies had a passage made them into the camp, as
it were over a causey or bridge raised of purpose to give them way: and there over the very car-
casses of the Elephants, there was a cruell slaughter committed. But on the other side of the camp,
the Campains and the garrison of the Carthaginians had the repulse already: and under the very
gate of *Capua* which openeth upon the river *Vultururns*, there was another skirmish, wherethe
Romans striving to enter the town, were not so much put back and withstood by force of aimed
men, as by brakes, scorpions, and other engins of ordnance, which being mounted and planted
upon the very gate, discharged shot so violently, that they drove the enemies farther off. Over and
besides, the forcible and furious assault of the Romans was danted and suppressed, by reason that
their General himself, *Ap. Claudius*, was hurt; who as he was encouraging his men to fight in the
very forefront of the vanguard, hapned to be wounded with a dart above in his breast under the left
shoulder: yet there were an exceeding number of enemies there slain before the gate, and the
rest were driven for fear to make haste and get the City over their heads. *Annibal* also perceiving
the Cohort of the Spaniards lying along dead, and the camp of the enemies so manfully defended
even to the death: gave over farther assault, and began to retire his ensigns, and to turn backward
all his footmen, interposing his horsemen behind them, for fear the enemy should charge them
on the tail. The legions were exceedingly eager to pursue after the enemies: but *Plautius* com-
manded to found the retreat, supposing they had done well enough already, and effected two things,
to wit, that both the Campains saw in how little *Annibal* served them; and also *Annibal*
himself knew and perceived no less. Some writers that have recorded this battell, set down that
of *Annibal* his Army there were slain that day eight thousand men, and of Campains three thou-
sand: that the Carthaginians lost fifteen ensigns, and the Campains eighteen. But in others,
I find that the conflict was not so great, and that the flight was much more than the skirmish:
for when as the Numidians and Spaniards together with the Elephants brake at unawares into
the Roman Camp, those Elephants as they passed through the midst thereof, overthrew and
dall along many of the tents and pavilions: and the Sumpter-horses and other beasts there
for carriage, with great noise brake their halters, and collars, fled for fear, and bare down all
before them as they went. And that besides this tumultuous flight and confusion, *Annibal* dealt
fraudulently, by sending in among the rest certain that could speak the Latin tongue (for some
such he had about him) who in the Consuls name gave commandment (since that the Camp
was lost) that every souldier should make shift for himself, and flee to the next mountains.
But this deceit was soon espied and prevented with the loss and slaughter of a number of
enemies: and the Elephants were coursed out of the Camp with fire. But howsoever this battell
was either begun or ended, the last it was fought there, before that *Capua* was yielded up and
surrendered.

The *Mediterraneus* (for so they call the head Magistrate and Governor of the City of *Capua*)
for that year, was one *Seppius Lepidus*, a man of base parentage and mean calling. The report goeth,
that his mother upon a time as she made satisfaction in the name of him (being then fatherless and
under age) by a purgatory sacrifice, for a prodigious domestical portent, that hapned in her house,
was told by the Soothsaier out of his learning, that one day the chief government of *Capua*
should befall to that child: whereto, she seeing no likelihood nor hope at all of any such matter,
said thus again, You talk of a poor City of *Capua*, when that day comes; and God save all, when
my son shall be advanced to the highest place and government thereof. But these words spoken at
random and in jest, proved afterwards good earnest, and true indeed. For when as the Citizens
were driven to great straights, through sword and famine, and were past all hope of recovery: in
such sort, as they that were of quality and born for honour, refused to be in place of authority,
this *Lepidus* complaining that *Capua* was forlorn, betrayed, and abandoned by her own nobility took
upon him the chief Magistracy, and was the last of all the Campains that bore sovereign rule in
that City.

Annibal perceiving that neither his enemies would be drawn forth any more to fight: nor pos-
sibly he could break through their camp for to come unto *Capua*: for fear lest that the new Con-
suls should stop all the passages, and intercept his purveyance of victuals, determined to dislodge
without

A without effecting his purpose, and to remove from *Capua*. And as he cast and tossed to and fro in his mind what course to take, and whither to go: it came into his head to make no more ado, but to march directly to *Rome*, the very head and seat-City of the whole war. This was the upshot of all, and the enterprise that he most desired. Howbeit as all others much grieved and greatly blamed him, that he had over-slept the opportunity when it was, even presently upon the battell at *Canna*: so himself acknowledged no less that he was mightily overseen. And yet the thing was not so far past (he thought) that he should despair, but upon some sudden fright and unexpected tumult, he might seize of some quarter of the City or other. And if *Rome* were once in that hazard, then either both the Roman Generals, or one at the least, would immediately leave the siege of *Capua*. B Who if they had once divided their forces, both of them would be the weaker, and minister either unto him, or to the Campanians, some occasion of good fortune. The only thing that troubled his mind was this, for fear lest that as soon as his back were turned, the Campanians would yield themselves unto the Romans. He therefore with large and liberall rewards induceth a certain Numidian (an audacious and adventurous fellow, one that cared not what dangers he undertook) to be the carrier of certain letters, and to enter into the camp of the Romans, counterfeiting himself to be a fugitive, from the adverse part unto them: and so when he espied his time, to slip secretly from the other side of the camp to *Capua*. The letters were very comfortable, importing unto them, "That his remove and departure from thence was for their good and safety, whereby he meant to withdraw the Roman Captains and their forces from *Capua* to the defence of their own City of *Rome*: willing them not to let fall their hearts and be discouraged; for by patient abiding some few daies they should be wholly freed and delivered of the siege. Then he made stay of all the shipping and vessels that he could find upon the river *Vulturnus*, and commanded them to be brought to *Castellum*, which he had fortified aforetime with a pile or Castle to guard and keep the place with a garrison. And having intelligence that there was such store of barges and bottoms upon the river, as would serve to transport in one night his whole army: he made provision of victuals for ten daies, brought down his army by night to the river side, and crossed the water with all his power before the next day-light. But this was not carried so secretly, but before that it was effected, intelligence was given thereof by certain runagate fugitives: whereupon *Fulvius Flaccus* addressed his letters unto the Senate of *Rome*, and gave notice thereof. At which tidings men according to their sundry fancies and humours were diversly affected: and as so fearfull an occurrence required, incontinently the Senate assembled.

P. Cornelius, surnamed *Asina*, was of opinion, that all the Captains and Armies whatsoever should be called home out of all parts of *Italy*, without regard of *Capua* or any other exploit besides, save only the defence of the City. *Fabius Maximus* thought it was a dishonest, lewd, and a shamefull part, to depart from the siege of *Capua*, and to be scared to turn here and there, and to be carried away with every copy of *Annibal* his countenance, and with his vain threats and menaces. He that won a victory at *Canna*, and durst not then go forward to the City, hath he conceived any hope now to win *Rome*, being also lately repulsed from *Capua*? No, he marcheth toward *Rome*, not minding to besiege it, but hoping to raise the siege from *Capua*. And however it be, I am assured (quoth he) that *Jupiter* (the witness of covenants broken by *Annibal*) and other gods besides, will defend us with the help of that army which we shall find at home in the City. Between these two opinions *P. Valerius Flaccus* held the mean, and prevailed: for he having a regard and due consideration, both of the one and the other: thought good to write unto the Colonels that lay before *Capua*, and to certify them what strength they had of able men to defend the City: as for the forces of *Annibal*; and what power was needfull to maintain the siege at *Capua*, they themselves knew best. Therefore in case that one of the Pro-Consuls there, and part of the army might be spared from thence and sent to *Rome*, and nevertheless, the siege continue with the conduct of the other Pro-Consul, and the rest of the army: then *Claudius* and *Fulvius* should so order the matter between themselves, that the one of them might remain still before *Capua* at siege, and the other repair to *Rome*, for to defend and keep their native country from the same danger. Hereupon the Senate agreed, and made an Act: which being brought unto *Capua*, *Q. Fulvius* the vice-Consul who was to go to *Rome*, by reason that his Colleague was sick of his hurt, chose out of the three armies certain companies of souldiers, and so with fifteen thousand footmen, and one thousand horsemen, passed over the river *Vulturnus*. Then having certain intelligence, that *Annibal* minded to march along the Latine street way: he took his journey through the towns and burroughs situate upon the way *Appia*, and sent his courriers before unto *Stia*, *Sora*, and *Lavinium*, which are seated near unto it, not only for to lay provision of victuals ready for him in their Cities and towns, but also from the country villages farther out of the way, to bring their provision to that port through-fare: and to draw forces into their towns for their own defence, and every one to stand upon their good guard, and to look unto their state, as well publike as private. *Annibal* the same day that he had crossed *Vulturnus* encamped not far from the river. And the morrow after entered into the territory of the Sidicines, and led his host bear unto *Calus*. There, after he had staid one day, foraging and spoiling the country, he marched by *Sessula*, into the territories of *Alifae* and *Casertum*, by the way of the Latine street. Under the town *Casertum* he abode in camp two daies, and raised booties here and there in every place. From thence leaving *Lucerana* and *Aquinum*, he came into the country about *Fregella*, as far as to the river *Liris*, where

where he found the bridge cut down by the Fregellans for to impeach and let his journey. *Annibal* likewise was staid at the river *Vulturnus*, by reason that the barges and bottoms were burnt by *Annibal*: and much ado he had, for the great scarcity of timber and wonds, to make punts and boats for to set over his army. But *Fulvius*, after he had once transported his men in such boats and planks as he made shift withall, had afterwards no hindrance in his journey: but found not only store of victuals in the Towns and Cities as he travelled, but also plenty thereof brought ready for him to the waies side right courteously. Then the souldiers as they marched on foot cheered and encouraged one another to mend their pace and make speed, considering they went to the defence of their naturall country. Now there was a post sent from *Fregelle*, who rode night and day and never made stay, and he put the City in exceeding fear. The running together besides of the people, that ceased not to make every thing more than it was, and to invent somewhat of their own fingers ends, and put it to the news that they heard, made a greater hurry than the messenger himself, and set the City in an uprore. And not only the women were heard to weep and wail in their own private houses: but also from all parts the Dames of the City came flocking into the streets, running about to all the Churches and Chappels of their gods and goddesses, sweeping the Altars with the tresses of their hair hanging down, kneeling upon the bare ground and stretching out their hands up toward heaven unto the gods, pouring out their prayers and supplications, That they would vouchsafe to preserve the City of *Rome* out of the hands of the enemies, and to save the Roman wives and their little children from harm and all abuse. The body of the Senat gave attendance upon the Magistrates in the common place, ready to give them their advice and counsell. Some receive of them direction, and departed every man to execute his charge: others offer themselves to the Magistrates, to be employed in any service whatsoever. Sundry guards were bestowed in the Castle, in the Capitoll, and upon the walls: all places about the City were well manned. The Alban mountain also and the Castle of *Tusculum* were furnished with good garrisons. Amidst this alarm tidings came, that *Q. Fulvius* the Pro-Consul, was departed from *Capua*, and onward on his journey to *Rome* with an army. And because he should not be abridged of his power and authority, after he was come into the City, there was a decree granted out of the Senat-House, that *Q. Fulvius* should have as large a commission of role and command as the Consuls themselves. *Annibal*, after he had made fouler work and havock in the territory of *Fregelle*, than in other places, for anger that they had cut down the bridges against his coming, led his army through the *Frusinat*, *Ferentinat*, and *Anagnine* countries, and came forwards into the territory *Lavicos*: and so by *Algidum* he marched toward *Tusculum*. And when he could not be let in there within the walls, he descended beneath *Tusculum*, on the right hand to *Gabi*: from whence he conducted his army into *Pupinia*, and eight miles from *Rome* encamped. The nearer the enemy approached to the City, the greater slaughter was made of the peasants that fled from him, by his vancurriers, the Numidian light-horsemens whom he sent afore to make riddance. And many there were of all conditions and ages that were taken captive.

In this tumultuous trouble, *Fulvius Flaccus* with his army entered *Rome* at the gate *Capena*: from whence he went through the midst of the City, along the street *Carina* into the *Esquilie*, and from thence he went forth, and between the gates *Esquilina* and *Collina* pitched his tents. Thither the *Ediles* of the Commons brought victuals: the Consul and the Senate resorted to him into the camp, where they sat in Council about the State of the Common-weal. And agreed it was, That the Consuls should lie encamped likewise about the gates *Collina* and *Esquilina*: that *C. Calpurnius*, Prator of the City, should have the keeping of the Capitoll and the Castle with a guard; and that the Senators keep residence continually in good number within the compass of the *Forum*, what need soever there should be of their counsell and advice, against all sudden accidents. By this time *Annibal* was come forward as far as to the river *Anio*, and within three miles of the City lay encamped, where he kept a standing Leaguer. But himself in person with 4000 horsemen advanced forward toward the gate *Collina*, even as far as to *Hercules* his Temple, and rode all about as near as he well could, to view the walls, and the situation of the City. *Flaccus* took soul disdain thereat, and thought it a shamefull indignity, that he should brave it at his pleasure so scornfully without revenge, whereupon he sent out certain of his own Cavalry, and gave commandment, That they should set the enemies horsemen farther off, and chase them back into their Camp. Whiles they were in skirmish together, the Consul gave order, that the Numidian horsemen, such as were fled from the enemy, and turned to the Romans (who were at that time to the number of twelve hundred upon the *Aventine* hill) should pass through the midst of the City to the *Esquilie*: supposing that there were none more meet than they, for to fight among the valleys, the garden houses, the sepulchres and hollow waies on every side. Whom, when some from the Castle and the Capitoll, espied riding down the descent of the hill, called *Clivus Pupinus*, they ran crying about the City, The *Aventine* is taken, The *Aventine* is taken, Which alarm caused a tumult, and gave such an occasion of fear and running away, that if the Camp of *Annibal* had not been without the walls, the fearfull multitude doubtless would have abandoned and quit the City. But they took their houses, and got every man up to the terraces and leads thereof: from whence they pelted with stones and other shot, their own friends instead of enemies, as they rode scattering one from another in the streets. This tumult could not be repressed, nor the error appear, by reason that the waies were so patterned with

A with a number of the country peasants, and of cattell besides, whom sudden fear had driven into the City. Howbeit, the horsemen fought fortunately, and the enemies were removed and set back. And because it was necessary to stay all disorders and uprores that chanced upon small occasions to arise, it was thought good and agreed upon, that all those who had been either Dictators, or born the office of Censors, should have their full power and authority untill such time as the enemy was clean departed from about the walls. And that was to good purpose: for all the rest of that day, and the night following, there were divers and sundry garboiles, without any cause or occasion raised, and the same stilled and appeased by that means.

The next day, *Annibal* passed over *Anio*, and brought forth all his whole power into the field. B Neither were *Flaccus* and the Consuls behind hand for their parts, but ready for battell. When both armies stood arranged in order on both sides, amused upon the issue and event of that one fight, which was for no less a prize and reward to the victorious part, than the very City of *Rome*: there fell such a mighty storm of rain and hail together, and so troubled both hosts, that they could scarce hold their weapons in hand, but were driven to retire themselves for safety into their severall Camps, fearing nothing less than their own enemies. The morrow after likewise, when they stood in the same place in battell array, the like tempest parted them asunder. And they were not so soon retired into their Camp, but the day was wonderful fair, and the weather calm again.

The Carthaginians took this for an ominous presage to them of ill luck. And *Annibal* was cheard (by report) to say, That one while his mind, another while his fortune, would not give him leave to win the City of *Rome*. There were other occurrences besides, as well small as great, that discouraged him and abated his hope. Of more importance was this, that whiles he lay with his host in arms before the walls of *Rome*, he understood, there were certain companies with banners displayed sent into *Spain* for to supply the armies there. Of less reckoning was this, that he was advertised by a certain captive, how the very same plot of ground whereon he was encamped, happened at the same time to be sold: not underfoot, but at the full price, and nothing abated. This he took to be so presumptuous a part, and such a scornfull indignity, namely, that there should be a chapman found at *Rome*, to make purchase of that piece of land, which he was possessed of and held in right of arms, that presently he called for the publike crier and trumpet, and gave commandment unto him, to proclaim port-sale of all the shops of Bankers and money changers at that time about the *Forum* in *Rome*. Nevertheless, hereupon he was moved to dislodge and retired his camp backwards from the City to the river *Turia*, six miles from *Rome*. From whence he took his way to the grove of *Feronia*, where stood a Temple, in those daies much renowned for wealth and riches. The inhabitants thereabout were certain Capenats, who used to bring thither the first fruits of their corn and revenues, yea, and many other oblations besides, according to their store: by means whereof they had adorned and garnished it with much gold and silver. Of all those gifts and offerings was this Temple then robbed and spoiled. But after the departure of *Annibal* from thence, there were found great heaps of brass, by reason that the souldiers upon touch and remorse of conscience, had cast in many brazen pieces. The sacking and pillage of this Temple, all writers do agree upon, and make no doubt thereof. *Calpus* saith, That *Annibal* as he went toward *Rome* from *Eretum*, turned thither; and he setteth down the beginning of his journey from *Rate*, *Cusil*, and from *Amiternum*. And that out of *Campania*, he came into *Samnium*, and from thence into the country of *Peligni*, and so passed beside the City *Salmo*, to the *Marucins*, and then by the territory of the *Albenes* into the *Marians* land, and from thence he marched to *Amiternum*, and so forward to the town *Foruli*. Neither is there any error or doubt in all this, because the marks and tokens of the voyage of so great an army could nor within the memory and compass of so small an age be confounded and worn out. For certain it is, that he passed that way. The only difference lieth herein, whether he came to the City of *Rome*, or returned from thence into *Campania*, by that way aforesaid.

F Now was not *Annibal* so resolute to defend *Capua*, but the Romans were as fully bent, and more eager to continue the siege and assault thereof. For he sped himself so fast another way in his voyage back, first out of the *Lucans* country to the *Brutians*, and so on still to the streight [of *Sicily*] and to *Rhegium*, that with his sudden coming thither, he surprised them at unawares, even before they heard of his arrivall. As for *Capua*, albeit in the time of *Fulvius* his absence it was no less straightly beleagured, yet it felt the coming again of *Flaccus*: and besides, there was much marvell there, why *Annibal* returned not back as well as he. Afterwards, they understood, by conference with some that were without, how they were forsaken and forlorn of *Annibal*, and that the Carthaginians were past all hope to keep and hold *Capua* still to their own use. There was an Edict moreover of the *Pro-Consul*, passed by order from the *Senat*, and the same published and divulged among the enemies, That what Citizen soever of *Capua* would turn to the Romans before such a certain day he should have a generall pardon. But there was no coming in, nor ranging to the Romans side; for fear of punishment at the Romans hands, more than for any regard of their allegiance to the Carthaginians: because their transgression and trespass in their former revolt was so great, that it might not be abandoned. And as no one man at all privately on his own head came over to the camp of the Romans, so there was no good order taken by publike council for the benefit and safety of the whole City. The Noblemen had given over managing of state-matters, and could not be brought by any means to assemble in the *Senat*.

And

And in chief place of government was he, who had not won to himself any honour thereby, but his unworthiness was derogatory to the authority and power of that Magistracy which he bore. For now there was not one of the chief Citizens and Noblemen that would be so much as seen in the Market place or Common Hall of assemblies: but shutting themselves within doors in their private houses, they expected every day for the destruction of their country, together with their own undoing and overthrow. The whole charge and care lay upon *Bellar* and *Hanno* Captains of the garrison in the fort there of the Carthaginians, and more careful were they of their own welfare, than fearful for the jeopardy of their friends and Allies. These two wrote letters unto *Annibal*, entreated not only in plain terms and frankly, but also sharply and bitterly: wherein they laid unto his charge, "That he had not only betrayed *Capua* into the hands of the enemies, but also delivered and exposed them and the garrison to the cruel clutches of the Romans to be massacred and executed. That he was gone his waies, and departed into the country of the *Bruttii*, as one that turned away his face of purpose, because he would not see with his own eyes the loss of *Capua*. But, I wot, the Romans contrariwise could not be withdrawn from the siege of *Capua*, no, not by the assaulting of the City of *Rome*: so much more were the Romans resolute enemies, than the Carthaginians constant friends. But if he would return again to *Capua*, and bend the full force of his war thither, both they and the Citizens also of *Capua* would be ready to sally forth and encounter the enemies. For why, they passed not over the Alps with intent to war with the *Rhegins* and *Tarentins*: no, but where the Roman Legions were, there ought the armies of the Carthaginians to be. Thus at *Canna*, thus at *Thrasymenus* were the victories achieved, by affronting and meeting the enemy, by joyning camp to camp, and by hazarding the fortune of the battell. To this effect were the letters penned, and given to certain Numidians, who for a good reward had offered their service before, for the safe carriage and delivery of them. These fellows presented themselves before *Flaccus* in the Camp, in habit and quality of fugitives unto his side: hoping to spy out some convenient time when they might give him the slip and be gone. Now by occasion of the famine which had continued long in *Capua* there was none but might pretend a good and reasonable cause to depart from thence to the adverse part. But behold, there hapned a Capuan wench to come into the leaguer (a naughty pack and an harlot, that one of the supposed counterfeit fugitives aforesaid kept.) She informed the General of the Romans, that those Numidians, fraudulently and by covin, pretended to flee unto his part, and had letters about them unto *Annibal*. This would she stand to, and be ready to aver to the very face of one of them, who bewrayed & disclosed the plot unto her. At first, when he was brought forth before her, he set a jolly countenance of the matter, & made it very strange & pretending stoutly that he knew not the woman: but by little and little he was convicted by manifest truths, and especially when he saw that they called for the rack, and that he was upon the point to be put to torture: and so in the end confessed that all was true, and therewith brought forth the letters. Over and besides, another thing was now revealed, which before was kept close and secret: to wit, that there were other Numidians besides, who under the colour of fugitives had gone up and down in the Roman camp: of these there were apprehended not so few as threescore and ten, and they together with the new were whipped with rods, had their hands cut off, and sent back again to *Capua*. This pitious spectacle and sight of so fearful execution killed their courage, and brake the very heart of the Campains. Whereupon the people ran together unto the Council-House, and compelled *Leſius* to assemble a Senat, and openly threatened the Nobles (who a long time had absented themselves from public consultations) that unless they would now repair into the Senat, they would go home to their very houses, and pluck them out by the ears into the street. For fear hereof, the chief Magistrate had a frequent and full assembly of Senators. Whiles all the rest were of opinion to send Embassadors to the Roman Generals, *Vibius Virius* (who had been the chief cause and principall author of their first revolt from the Romans) being demanded his advice, spake to the point in this manner.

The Oration
of *Vibius Virius*
in the Senat
of *Capua*.

"They that talk of Embassadors of peace, and of yielding, little consider and remember either what they would have done, in case the Romans had been at their devotion and mercy, or what themselves must endure and suffer. For what think ye will become (quoth he) of this present surrender of ours, in comparison of that whereby in times past we freely gave unto the Romans our selves, and all that we had, for to obtain their aid and succour against the *Samnites*? And have we so soon forgot, at what time, and in what condition and state we were when we forsook and abandoned the people of *Rome*? Also, after our revolt, how we most cruelly and shamefully killed their garrison, who we might have dismissed and sent away with their lives? Moreover, how often we have issued forth against them lying at sieges, and how maliciously minded we were unto them, yea, and how we have sallied upon them in their camp? Over and besides, call ye not to remembrance, how we called for *Annibal* to surprise and defeat them? and (that which of all other is most fresh in memory) how we sent him from thence to give the assault to *Rome*? On the contrary side mark well and call to mind, how maliciously they have attempted and practised all hostility against us: by which ye may well know what account to make of them, and what ye are to trust unto. For when they had a stranger and forrain enemy within *Italy*, nay, when they had *Annibal* their enemy: when the wars were so hot, that all was on a light fire: they passed by all other affairs, yea, they let *Annibal* himself alone, and sent both their Consuls with two compleat Consular armies to besiege and force *Capua*. This is the second

A "second year that they keep us entrenched round about, penning us up, and pining us with extreme famine and hunger: during which time, they themselves as well as we, have endured the utmost extremities and dangers that are, and sustained most grievous and infinite travells: oftentimes being killed and cut in pieces about their rampiers, trenches, and ditches, and finally driven almost out of their Camp and hold. But to let pass and speak no more of these ordinary matters, seeing it is an old and usual case for them to abide painfull toil, and incur many perils, who besiege and assault any Cities or towns of their enemies: See a manifest sign of their deadly feud, and execrable hatred against us. *Annibal* with a puissant power of foot and horsemen both, assailed their Camp, yea, and in some part was Master of it. Think ye that in so great danger of theirs they were one jot withdrawn from the siege? He passed over the river *Volturnus*, and burnt the territory of *Capua*: yet for all that calamity and loss, which their allies received, stirred not they one whit, nor gave over their enterprize. He commanded to march forward with banner displayed against the very City of *Rome*: they made as little account of that dangerous tempest toward, as of all the rest. After he had passed over the river *Anio*, he pitched his tents within three miles of the City: nay, he approached at length the walls, and made a bravado even under the gates: to be short, he presented unto their eye his resolution, and menaced to make *Rome* too hot for them unless they levied the siege before *Capua*: and yet they gave not over but beleaguered us still. The very wild and savage beasts be they never so fell, be they maddened never so much with blind rage and woodness against one, yet if another go to their dens, and offer to take away their whelps, they will turn again to succour and help their young ones: but the Romans, notwithstanding *Rome* was besieged, their wives and children in danger; whose piteous cries and lamentable plaints were heard almost even hither; notwithstanding their altars, their sacred fires, the temples of their gods, the monuments and sepulchers of their Ancestors, were profaned, abused, and polluted, could not be drawn away from *Capua*. So eager, so hungry are they to be revenged of us, so thirsty are they to drink out blood. And good reason, haply, they have so to do. For would not we also have done the semblable, if fortune had given us the opportunity? But seeing the will of the immortall gods is otherwise: and considering that I owe nature a death: in my power it is (whiles I am at liberty, whiles I am mine own man, and master of myself) to avoid torments, to shun shamefull ignominies and reproaches (whereof the enemy hopeth I shall feel the smart) and that by one kind of death, which as it is honest, so it is also easie and gentle? Never will I endure to see *Ap. Claudius* and *Q. Fulvius* proudly and insolently bearing themselves upon their conquest over us: never will I be led and haled bound with chains through the City of *Rome*, to make a shew, and to serve for a spectacle and gazing stock in their Triumph: and afterwards either in dark prison, or tied openly to a stake, yield my back and side to be tewed, whipped, and mangled: and then lay my neck upon the block, to have my head chopt off with the bloody axe of the Romans. Never wil I behold my native country sacked, spoiled, and put to fire and sword, nor the chaste married dames of *Capua* to be forcibly ravished, the fair and beautiful maidens shamefully deflowered, and the well-favoured young boies and freeborn, unnaturally abused. They rased *Alba* in times past from the top to the very foundation, and left neither stick nor stone thereof, *Alba* I say, from whence they had their off-spring, and were first descended: to the end that there might remain no memory at all of their stock and first original. And shall I ever beleieve they will spare *Capua*, & receive into mercy, against which they are more hatefully and mortally bent than against *Carthage*? Therefore, my masters and friends, as many of you as are minded and resolved to die before ye see these so many miseries and wofull calamities, I have at home a supper this night well furnished and provided for you all: and when ye have eat meat your fill, and drunk wine to it liberally, the same wastell cup that first will be presented unto me, shall go round about to you all: and that one draught shall deliver your bodies from torments, preserve your spirits from anguish, and contemptuous disgrace: keep your eyes from beholding all cruell acts, your ears from hearing, all shamefull indignities which follow and attend upon conquered persons. There shall be also in readinesse certain servitors of purpose to make a mighty great fire within the base court-yard of mine house, and to cast our dead bodies thereinto. This is the only honest way to death, and befitting us who are free born and gentlemen indeed. In which doing, our enemies will wonder at our vertue and valour: yea, and *Annibal* himself shall well know that he hath forsaken and betrayed his trust and magnanimous allies.

This Oration of *Virius*, there were more men present that heard with applause and good liking than could find in their hearts to put that in execution which they so well allowed & approved. The greater part of the Senat, not despairing, but that the clemency of the people of *Rome*, which had been tried and seen oftentimes in many wars, might be gained and extended also unto them; concluded, to send Embassadors with commission to yield *Capua* into the Romans hands. Some seven and twenty Senators there were that accompanied *Vibius Virius* home to his house, and supped with him: and after they had done what they could to drink themselves drunk, and to intoxicate their brains with freely taking in their wine, (thereby to withdraw their minds from the sense and apprehension of their imminent harm and misery) drunk all of the poisoned cup above said. This done, and the banquet ended, they rose from the table, took one another by the hand, embraced each other, taking their last leave, bidding a finall adieu and farewell, and bewailing together with pteuous tears their own misfortune, and the miserable estate

Vibius Virius
and divers Senators of *Capua* poison themselves.

of their country, some staid behind to be burned in one and the same fire for fellowship, others brake company and departed to their own houses. Now, by reason that their veins were filled with full feeding and drinking wine so liberally, the poyson was not so quick of operation, nor so effectually as to hasten their death. And therefore most of them languished all night long, and continued drawing on a piece of the next day, before they let their last breath: but yet they all had yielded up their ghost before that the gates were let open for the enemies.

Capua delivered to the Romans.

The day following, the gate of *Jupiter* which stood next over against the Roman Camp, was by the commandment of the Pro-consul opened. Thereat entred one legion and two cornets of horsemen, under the leading of *C. Fulvius* the Lieutenant: who after he had first above all other things given expresse order, that all armor of defence, and weapons of offence (which was to be found in *Capua*) should be brought forth and presented unto him: placed and disposed at all the gates, warders sufficient to see that no person might possibly go forth, or be let out: then he laid hold upon the garrison of the Carthaginians, and commanded the Senators of *Capua* to repair into the Camp, before the Roman Captain Generals themselves. So soon as they were thither come straightwaies they had irons clapped upon them, and were commanded to make tender unto the treasurers of all the gold and silver they had. The gold amounted to 70 pound weight: the silver rose to the weight of three thousand and two hundred pound. Five and twenty of the Senators were sent to *Cales*, eight and twenty to *Theaurum*, to be kept safe in ward. Even those who were known for certain to have principally moved and perswaded the revolt from the Romans. Concerning the punishment of the Senators of *Capua*, *Fulvius* and *Claudius* could not agree: *Claudius* was more tractable and exorable, and might have been soon entreated for a pardon. *Fulvius* was more rigorous, and proceeded to a harder course. Whereupon *Appius* put over the whole deciding and determination thereof unto the Senate of *Rome*. Alledging that it was meet and requisite, that the LL. of the Council should have the examination of the cause, and namely upon these points. *Imprimis*, whether they had conspired and combined in this action, with any of the free burroughs and Cities belonging to the state of the Latines. *Item*, whether they had any help and relief from thence in the time of the war, or from any other towns whatsoever? But *Fulvius* in no case would condescend thereto, nor suffer that the minds of faithfull and loyall allies should be disquieted with doubtfull surmises and insinuations of any crimes: and called in question upon the appeachment and delatory information of those that never yet made reckoning of conscience, either what they did, or what they said. And therefore he protested to suppress that manner of proceeding, and crush that inquisition for ever. After this communication they departed asunder: and *Appius* made no doubt but that howsoever his Colleague fared and took on giving out so shrewd and bitter words, he would yet take pause and stay for the letters from *Rome*, concerning so weighty a business as this was. But *Fulvius*, because of his designment, brake up his keeping of state in his royall pavilion, and sent his officers and ordinary train out of the way, because he would not be hindered and empeached by them, in the course of his designment: and commanded the Colonels and Captains of the Allies, to give warning unto two thousand chosen men of arms, for to be in readines and present themselves at a third sound of the trumpet. With this power of horsemen he set forward by night, and marched to *Tiburum*: and by break of day entred the gate and kept his way on into the market-place. At the first entrance of the horsemen, the people ran together from all parts: then he caused the chief Magistrate (a *Sidicin*) to be called, and charged him to produce his prisoners the Capuans, whom he had in custody. When they were all brought forth, they were first whipped with rods, and then beheaded. From thence he rode upon the spur to *Cales*: where so soon as he was set on the Tribunal seat, in place of judgement, and the Capuan prisoners likewise presented in place and bound to the stake: there came a horseman in post from *Rome*, and when he had delivered letters from *C. Calpurnius* the Consul, and the people of *Rome* unto *Fulvius*: there ran a trumpet from the Tribunal through all the assembly, that the whole process against the Campanians was to be put off and reserved entire to the censure and doom of the Lords of the Senate. And *Fulvius* supposing it to be no less indeed, after he took the letters, never brake them up, but bestowed them in his bosome, and gave commandment to the Crier, to charge the Lictor or executioner to do his office, according to law. Thus they also that were at *Cales* were executed and suffered death. Then he read the letters, and the order set down by the Senate: but it was too late now, to stay that which was done already and past and which indeed was hastened with all speed that might be, for fear it might have been crossed and prevented.

The Senators of Capua executed.

Now as *Fulvius* was arising from the bench, *Tancredius*, a Campan, passing amidst the throng, called by name aloud upon *Fulvius*. Whereat *Flaccus* wondering what the man meant, sat him down again upon his seat and demanded what he would: *Mary* (quoth he) command me also to be killed that thou maiest boast and glory another day that thou hast done to death a better man by far and much more valiant than thy self. Surely (quoth *Flaccus*) this fellow is lunatick and not well in his wits: and again, were I minded to take his life from him, I am inhibited by vertue of the act of the Senate. "Then (quoth *Fulvius*) since that my country is forced and lost, my kinsfolk and friends made away: seeing also that I have with mine own hand murdered my wife and children, because they should suffer no villanous indignity: and may not my self so much as die this death which my countrymen here have suffered before my face, I will seek by vertue and manhood to ease my self of this life, so tedious, so irksome, and odious unto me: and with

A with that, he drew forth the skein which he had hid under his garment, and stabbed himself in the breast quite through his body, and there at the feet of the L. General, fell down ready to dye in the place. Forasmuch as both the execution of the Campanians, and also the most part of other matters were performed according to the will of *Flaccus* alone: some there be that write how *Appianus Claudius* died about the time that *Capua* was yielded. And that this very same *Tancreus* neither came to *Cales* of his own accord, nor killed himself: but that as he was a binding to the stake, because the words which he uttered could not be heard for the confused noise of the people, therefore *Flaccus* commanded silence; and then *Tancreus* spake those words before rehearsed, namely, That himself a right valiant and hardy man was put to death by a meaner person than himself, and much inferior to him in valour and virtue. Wherest by the commandment of the Pro-Consul the crier pronounced and said: Go to Sergeant, let this brave and valiant man have the more store of rods bestowed upon him, let him have good scourging, lay on load, and let the lashes surely on, and let him be the first that you proceed against, let him have the law to the full. Some there be that have written, how the act of the Senat was read before he proceeded to the beheading: but because there was this branch or clause within the act, That if he thought so good, he should reserve the whole deciding of the matter unto the Senat: he construed it thus, that it was put to his discretion for to weigh and consider what was more profitable to the Common-weal. This done, he returned from *Cales* to *Capua*. *Arella* and *Callatia* were both surrendered into his hands: where they also who were the chief heads of those states suffered the like punishment. Thus there were about fourscore of the Senators put to death: and to the number well-near of three hundred *Capuans* (born of noble blood) committed to prison. Others of them were bestowed in safe custody within divers Cities of the Latines, and came to sundry unhappy ends. The multitude besides of the Campan Citizens were sold outright.

It remained now to put to question and debate, what was to be done with the City and the Territory thereto belonging. And some were of mind, that a City so exceeding mighty, so near a neighbour, and so dangerous to *Rome*, should be utterly rased and destroyed. But the consideration of a present commodity and gain, took place and prevailed. For in regard of the territory and land lying about it (which was well known to be the most fertile soil in all *Italy*, and yielded all manner of fruit) the City was saved: whereinto those husbandmen that tilled the grounds, might retire themselves and dwell. And for the peopling and inhabiting thereof, there was a multitude reserved of the Inhabitants which were there already, namely of Libertines and enfranchised bondslaves, Merchants factors, retailers, artizans, and craftsmen who kept there still and remained. But the whole territory, and all publike edifices were seized to the use of the people of *Rome*. Moreover, order was taken, that *Capua* should be inhabited only, and replenished with people like a City: but no form of Common-weal, no Corporation, no Senat, no assembly of Commons, nor Magistrature of their own should be allowed there. For without a common Council of State, without magistracy and government, without intelligences and reciprocal commerce, as in the body of a Commonalty, they supposed, that they would never agree together in any conspiracy, but be far unmeet to contrive a conspiracy and compass alteration. As for a Provost or Governor to minister law, and execute justice among them, they purposed to send them one yearly from *Rome*. Thus were the affairs ordered and composed at *Capua* by a good policy and commendable counsel every way. For those that were most in fault and guilty were punished with rigour, and that speedily. The number of Citizens were scattered and dispersed sundry waies, without all hope to return again. The bare houses and walls that had not offended they were spared, and neither burned nor pulled down. And besides, the commodity and gain that accrewed unto the Romans by this manner of proceeding, they won some name of clemency and mercy among their Confederates and Allies: in that they saved a most noble and wealthy City, at the ruins whereof all *Campanians*, and as many States as bordered about *Campania*, would have grieved much, and grasped at gain. By this means also the enemy was constrained now to confess, and could not otherwise chuse, how powerful and mighty the Romans were to chastise and punish their faithless associates. *Pyrrus*, and how feeble *Annibal* was, and not able to defend and maintain those whom he had received into his protection.

The Roman Pro-Consuls after they had finished and performed their charge at *Capua*, assigned unto *Claudius Nero* six thousand footmen out of those two Legions which he had before *Capua*, and three hundred horsemen which he had chosen himself: also of Latine Allies as many foot in number, and 800 horse besides. This army *Nero* embarked at *Portus*, and transported into *Spain*. When he was arrived at *Tyrtacon*, after he had there landed his soldiers, and laid up his ships in dock, and armed with all his mariners (to make the greater number) he marched to the river *Ithrus*, where he received the forces of *T. Fomtus*, and *L. Martius*, and from thence advanced toward the enemies.

G *Asdrubal* the son of *Amilcar* lay encamped at a place called the *Black Stones*, in the *Asturians* country: it lieth between the towns *Iliturgis* and *Mentissa*. Now *Nero* kept the narrow straits of the Forrest there. *Asdrubal*, because he would not be pent up in so strait a room, sent an herald or messenger of peace to him, who should make promise in his name, that if *Nero* would permit him to pass peaceably from thence, he would withdraw all his forces out of *Spain*. The Roman Captain took this message joyfully: and *Asdrubal* requested, That they might impart the next day, and devise together how the Romans would set down conditions and articles in writing,

ting, as touching the rendry and delivery of the fortresses in every City, and likewise of prefixing some day, by which time the garrisons should be removed and displaced, and the Carthaginians have away all their bag and baggage without fraud and covin. *Asdrubal* having obtained his request, presently commanded, that in the very evening, and all night long the heaviest and most cumbersome part of his whole army should escape what way soever they could out of the gullet of the Forrest. But he gave especial direction, that they should not over many of them that night go forth, because their small number was not only fitter to deceive the enemy, and not so soon to be discovered, but also might more easily pass through those narrow and difficult passages. So the morrow they came to an interview and parl; where the time was spent of purpose in much needless talk, and drawing of books, more than cause was: whereupon the day being far gone, the business was put off unto the next day. And the night ensuing between, ministered *Asdrubal* more time to send others away. And yet could not they make an end that day neither. Thus there passed certain daies, employed in open shew about dispute and reasoning of the articles and conditions of agreement, and the nights were bestowed in letting out the Carthaginians closely out of their Camp. Now, after that the greater part of his host was gone away cleary, then he began to wrangle and jar, yea, and to go from some offers that he had voluntarily made, and ever they were further and further off from agreement. For *Asdrubal* the less that he feared, the less also was to be trusted. And by this time in manner all his Infantry were got out of the Forrest, and the next morning, not only the Forrest, but all the plains about were overcast, and covered with a thick and foggy mist. Which *Asdrubal* perceiving, he sent a messenger to *Nero*, requesting to defer their farther conference and communication to the morrow, pretending, that the present day was a festivall holy-day among the Carthaginians, and therefore they made scruple upon it, to follow any other business but serve God. All this while there was no fraud so much as once suspected. *Asdrubal* had no sooner obtained respite for that day, but forthwith he and all his Cavalry, together with his Elephants, dislodged, and without any noise or stir recovered without any harm a place of security. By the fourth hour of the day the sun had dispatched and scattered the mist, and cleared the sky, and then the Romans might discover the Camp of their enemies empty, and no creature left therein. Then at length, *Claudius* perceiving that *Asdrubal* had shewed him a Carthaginian trick, and that he was at length thus over-raught by his falshood and cunning practice, began to make out after him, minding to bid him battell. But the enemy would none of that, and fell off. Howbeit there passed some small skirmishes between the rereward of the Carthaginians, and the forlorn hope and vancourtiers of the Romans. Amidst these affairs (the States of *Spain*) neither they who revolted after the overthrow of the Romans, returned again unto them; nor any new fell away, more than before.

At *Rome*, the Senate and people after the recovery of *Capua*, took as great care for *Spain* now, as for *Italy* it self. And agreed they were in generall, that the army there should be strengthened with new forces, and a Generall thither sent: but who should be the man was not yet concluded. Forasmuch as they were to take some extraordinary care in the chusing of one to be sent thither, where two singular and renowned warriors were slain within the compass of thirty daies, and to succeed in the room of those twain. Whiles some nominated one, and some another, at length they grew to this point, that the people should hold a solemn assembly (as it were, purchased) for election of a Pro-Consul to go over into *Spain*. And the Consuls accordingly proclaimed a set day for the said assembly. At first there was great expectation that those persons who took themselves worthy of so great command should put forth themselves, and prefer their own names beforehand. But when this expectation failed and came to nothing, every man began afresh to retrace and renew the former grief, and mourn again for the losses received, and to find the want and miss of so valorous Captains whom they had lost. Whereupon the whole City being sad and pensive, and in manner destitute of all good counsell, and not resolved what to do in this hard case, came yet down into *Mars* field upon the day, appointed for the election. Every mans eye was upon the Magistrates, and beheld the countenances of their great men and Rulers, how they looked one upon another, grieving and grumbling, that the State was at so low an ebb, and the Common-wealth grown to so desperate a case, that no man durst be seen to take upon him the government and Province of *Spain*. Then all of a sudden, *P. Cornelius* (his son that was slain in *Spain*, a young Gentleman, not fully four and twenty years old) shewed himself, and said, That he would undertake that charge upon him: and therewith stepped up into an higher place, from whence he might be seen, and there he stood. Upon whom, when all men had cast their eyes, and viewed him well, in a generall accord and favourable affection unto the man, they wished unto him straightwaies a happy and fortunate government. And when the assembly was willed to give their suffrages, and go to a scrutiny, there was not one Century from the first to the last, nor one person from the highest to the lowest, but gave their voice with *P. Scipio*, for to take a voyage as L. Deputy into *Spain*. But after the thing was passed, and their passionate heart of affection once allayed, they were on a sudden driven into a still silence and deep dump, to think what a strange and new deed they had done. And that which they bethought themselves most of, was this, that favour had carried them away in this action more than the due consideration and regard of his age. Some there were that had in dread and horror the ominous fortune also of that family: and the name of him that out of two mournfull houses was to go

A go into those Provinces where he must fight amongst the Sepulchres both of father and uncle. When *Scipio* perceived, that presently upon the election passed in so hasty a fit, the people grew to be heavy and pensive: he called them to an open audience, and there before them all discoursed of his young age, of the government committed unto him, and of the future war that he was to manage: and that with so noble courage and haughty spirit, that he renewed afresh and kindled again the former zeal and heat that was so cooled: and possessed mens minds with more assured hope than usually mans faithfull promise, or reason grounded upon the confidence of precedents past, or any earthly thing is wont to afford and warrant. For *Scipio* was a rare and wonderfull man, not only in regard of those true vertues inherent in him: but also for that he had framed himself even from his young and tender years, by artificiall means, to the better setting out of those inbred parts and qualities of his own: making shew and semblant before the multitude, that the most things which he did, were either represented unto him by night-visions and apparitions, or else suggested, as it were, by revelation from the gods above: were it that he was superstitiously given, and his mind wholly possessed therewith, or that by his policy he might effect his designments, and have his commandments performed with more expedition, as if they were directions delivered from the Oracles and the very mouth of the gods. Over and besides that, he made this overture to credit and reputation, and prepared mens minds in this sort from his very first beginning. From the very time that he once put on his mans gown, there was no day went over his head, but before he began his own private busyness, or enterprised any publike affairs, he would go into the Capitoll: and so soon as he was entered into the Temple, there sit him down, and alone by himself bestow a good time in some secret Ile and corner thereof. This ordinary manner of his, which he continued all his life long, (were it of purpose consideratly, or by chance unadvisedly) made divers men beleieve verily, that it was a truth indeed, which was commonly supposed and reported, That the man had a god to his father. Which deep and setled imagination of the people, resembled and renewed again the like fame (in all the world) to that which went before and was bruited abroad of *Alexander* the great, and for the vanity and fabulous speech of folk, was the very fame and all one in every respect: namely, that his mother conceived him by a mighty great serpent: for that very often in her bed-chamber there was seen some such prodigious and wonderfull thing, and ever as any body came in, it would wind away of a sudden, and vanish out of sight. These strange and miraculous conceits he would never himself elevate and discredit as toies and vanities, but rather cherish and encrease the opinion thereof, by a certain cunning cast of his own, in that he would neither deny and disavow any such matter, nor yet affirm plainly and verifie the same. Many other devices he had of like sort, partly true indeed, partly feigned and counterfeit, which caused men beyond all measure to have this young man in wonderfull admiration. Upon the strong and grounded presumption whereof, the City at that time conferred upon him (far unmeet, I wot, in regard of his unripe years) so great a government, and a world withall of weighty and important affairs.

Besides, the forces which remained in Spain of the old army, and those which were transported over from *Puteoli* with *Claudius Nero*, he had a supplement also of ten thousand foot, and one thousand horsemen: and to assist in the conduct of his wars, he had as coadjutor appointed unto him *M. Junius Syllanus* the Pro-Prator. Thus with a fleet of thirty ships, (and Gallies there were all of five banks of oars) he took the seas, and set sail from the mouth of *Tyber*, and coasting along the Tuscan seas under the Alps, and through the gulph of *Gallia*, he doubled at length the point and cape of *Pyrene*, and disembarked at *Emporia* a City of Greeks: (for descended they are also from *Phoenicia*) and there he let his people a land. From thence, having taken order that his ships should follow after, he marched by land to *Taracon*, which he appointed for the Rendezvous, where all his allies and confederats (for at the wonder and fame of his landing, there flocked Embassadors unto him from all parts of the Province) should meet together at a generall Diet. There he commanded that the ships should be bestowed in their docks, save only three Gallies (of three ranks) which came from *Massila*, and upon civillie and kindness accompanied him from home, and those were sent back again. Then he gave audience to the Embassadors, who hung in doubtfull suspence by reason of the variety and of sundry changes and chances that lately had happened, and to them he began to return answer, and give them their severall dispatches: but with such a spirit and boldness (upon confidence that he had in his own rare vertues) that he let not fall in all his speech one word that might move quarrell, and favoured of rigour, and yet whatsoever he spake, it carried an exceeding majesty with it, and a singular credit. Being departed from *Taracon*, he visited both the States of the Allies, and also the standing wintering camps of the army, where he highly commended the souldiers, for that notwithstanding they had received two shrewd blows, upon two so great defeats one in the neck of another, yet they held the Province still, and kept the field; and not suffering the enemies to reap and taste the fruit of their fortunate victories, and kept them out of all the countries lying within *Iberus*, and defended faithfully all their confederats according to the trust reposed in them. *Martinus* he had in his train alwaies about him: whom he so highly honoured, that it was very well seen, he feared nothing less than that any other man should eclipse or shadow his glory. Then *Syllanus* succeeded in place of *Nero*, and the new souldiers were brought into the standing winter leaguers, and *Scipio* having reviewed all the Cities and the States that he was to survey, and performed all other affairs that were then to be done, retired and withdrew himself to *Taraco*.

The fame of *Scipio* was no less bruised among the enemies, than it was rise with his own Citizens and loving allies: and a certain presage went withall of the future event, which carried (as good hap was) the greater fear and dread with it, as there was less reason that could be rendered and given thereof. They had betaken themselves into their wintring harbours far distant and remote asunder. *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco* even as far as to the Ocean sea side unto *Gades*: *Mago* into the midland parts, and especially above the forest and chafe of *Casula*. And *Asdrubal* the son of *Amilcar* wintred nearest unto *Iberus* about *Saguntum*.

In the very end of that summer, when *Capua* was won, and *Scipio* come into *Spain*, the Carthaginian Armado which was sent for out of *Sicily* to *Tarentum*, for to intercept the victuals, and empeach the same for coming to the Roman garrison that held the Castle of *Tarentum*, had verily stopped all the passages from the sea to the said Castle: but by their long abode in those parts, and keeping the seas so straightly, they had caused a greater dearth and scarcity of victuals among their own friends than their enemies: for there could not by the help of those Carthaginian ships so much corn be along the river that was possessed by friends, nor from the open ports, for to furnish the townsmen of *Tarentum*, as the navy it self consumed and spent in maintenance of that rabble of sea-men, sailors, and mariners, mingled of all sorts of people. So as the garrison of the Castle being but few in number there was able to be sustained by the provision they had aforehand, without the help of any new brought in unto them: whereas the Tarentins and the Navy could not have sufficient conveyed unto them: by reason whereof, at length the Armado had leave to depart thence with more thanks of the City, than they had for their first *bien-venuth* ther. And yet victuals were not much cheaper, because when the help by sea was gone there could be no corn at all be brought from other parts abroad.

At the end of the very same summer, when *M. Marcellus* was come to the City out of *Sicily*, his own Province, *C. Calpurnius* the Prætor assembled the Senat for his sake in the Temple of *Bellona*. Where, after he had discoursed of the acts by him achieved, and complained after a mild and modest sort, laying open his griefs, not so much in the behalf of himself, as of his soldiers: in that when he had performed and accomplished his charge and commission in his Province, he could not have licence to bring home his army with: he demanded that he might be allowed to ride in triumph into the City: but he could not obtain it. This matter was much canvassed and debated, *pro & contra*, Whether it were less meet and convenient, to deny him triumph being now present, in whose name whiles he was absent, for the fortunate success and good speed of all affairs under his conduct and government, there was a solemn procession decreed, and sacrifices done to the honour of the immortal gods: or to grant him triumph (as if the war were fully finished) whom the Senate had commanded to make over his army to his successor: which surely they would never have decreed, but that the war remained still within the Province: and especially seeing the army it self was away, the best witness simply, whether he had deserved a triumph or no. At length, a middle and indifferent course between both was agreed upon, namely, that he should enter the City ovant in a petty triumph. And the Tribunes of the Commons, by the approbation first of the Senate, propoied unto the people, that *M. Marcellus* should the same day that he came ovant into the City retain still his full authority and government. The day before he entered the City, he rode in triumph upon the mount *Albanus*, and from thence, in ovant wise he sent a rich booty before him into the City. There was carried in this pomp the counterfeit of the City *Syracuse* won, crossbows, brakes, standing slings, and all other warlike instrument: besides, the ornaments testifying long and continuall peace, and the great wealth and treasure of the Kings: as divers vessels of silver and brais curiously wrought: other household furniture also, rich hangings of capistry, and garments of great price, many goodly images and right noble statues, wherewith *Syracuse* was adorned and beauried, even with the best and principal Cities of *Greece*. In token also of a victory over the Carthaginians, there were eight Elephants brought in a show. And that which was not the least sight and spectacle to behold, *Sosis* the Syracusan, and *Mericus* the Spaniard went afore with crowns of gold upon their heads. The one of them was the guide when *Syracuse* was entered in the night season: and the other betrayed *Nafar*, and the garrison there. Both these were enfranchised Citizens of *Rome*, and had fifty acres of land a piece granted unto them for ever. *Sosis* had his land set out in the territory of *Syracuse*, which either belonged to the Kings, or to the enemies of the people of *Rome*, and a dwelling house (chuse where he would in *Syracuse* of all those that were seized upon by right of conquest.) As for *Mericus* and the Spaniards that with him fled from the enemies, and sided unto the Romans, they had assigned unto them a City to inhabit, and land to occupy in *Sicily*, which sometime belonged to them that had revolted from the people of *Rome*. And order was given to *M. Cornelius* for to appoint them the said City and land wheresoever he thought good. And in the same territory there were allotted and set out four hundred acres of land unto *Belligenes*, by whose means *Mericus* was allured and induced to leave the adverse part and turn to the Romans.

After that *Marcellus* was departed out of *Sicily*, the Navy of the Carthaginians disbarked eight thousand footmen and three thousand Numidian horsemen, unto them revolted the Murgantine land and *Hybla*, together with *Magella*: and other small piles of base account, took example by them and followed after. The Numidians with their Captain *Mutines*, ranged over all *Sicily*, and seized the towns and villages belonging to the associates of the people of *Rome*. Over and besides all this, the Roman army there, being discontented and angry, partly, for that together with their General,

Marcellus triumpheth.

A nerall they were not licensed to go out of the Province: and partly, for that they were forbidden
 and debarred, for wintering in any good towns: demerited themselves slackly and lazily in their
 military service: in such sort, as if there had been a head to lead them as they had a heart to move
 them, they would have mutined and rebelled. Among these troubles and difficulties, *M. Corneli-*
us the Praetor, both appeased and mitigated the stomacks of the souldiers, as well by comfortable
 words, as by rebukes and checks: and also brought under his obedience and subjection, all those
 Cities which had revolted. Of which he according to the former act of the Senate, allotted *Mun-*
erantia to the Spaniards, unto whom both a City and land to it was by order aforesaid due. Both
 the Consuls who had the government of the Province *Apulia*, seeing there was less cause of fear
 and terror now from the Carthaginians and *Annibal*, were commanded to cast lots between
 them for the Provinces of *Apulia* and *Macedonia*. So *Macedonia* befell unto *Sulpius*, and he suc-
 ceeded there instead of *Levinus*. *Fulvius* was sent for home to *Rome*, about the election of the
 Consuls. And when he held the solemn assembly of the people, for the choice and creation of the
 Consuls, The Century of the younger Citizens, which had the prerogative to give their first voice, de-
 clared *T. Manlius Torquatus*, and *Ostacilius* for Consuls. *Manlius* being there present in place,
 when the multitude came about him to congratulate with God give you joy, &c. (for that there
 was no doubt, but the whole body of the people would approve this choice of the first Century)
 came with a great company about him to the tribunall seat of estate where the Consul sat: and
 made request unto him, that he would give him the hearing of some few words, and command
 C that prerogative century which had given their voices to be called back again to a new scrutiny.
 And when every man was attentive, and expected what he should demand, he alledged for his ex-
 cuse a pair of ill eyes. "For a shameless Pilot of a ship is he, and as impudent a Generall of an ar-
 my, (quoth he) who having to do all by other mens eyes, would require to have the goods
 "and lives of other men to be put into their hands. And therefore may it please your honour to
 "command this Century of the younger sort to give their voices anew, and in creating Consuls,
 "to remember the war that is in *Italy*, to consider of the troublesome state of the Common-
 "weal, and to think of this, That scarcely yet mens ears have had any rest since they resounded and
 "rung again with the noises and alarms, that the enemies raised within these few months, when
 "they lay in siege neer unto the wals of *Rome*. But after these words, when the said Century cried
 D with one accord, that they were of the same mind still, and would nominate the same Consuls a-
 gain, and none other: then *Torquatus*, "Neither (quoth he) shall I be able, if I were Consul to
 "bear with your fashions and conditions, nor you again endure my rule and commandment. To
 "the scrutiny therefore once again, and think how the Carthaginians war within *Italy*, and *Ami-*
 "bal is the Generall of the enemies. Then the Century moved as well by the authority and reve-
 rence of the mans person, as by the applause and admiration of the people, who wondered at his
 vertue, besought the Consul to call forth and cite a Century of the elder bands: for that they would
 willingly conier with more ancient men than themselves, and by their sage advice and good di-
 rection nominate the Consuls. When those elders were called to this Century, there was some
 time allowed for to commune apart secretly with them, within the place railed in, called *Ovile*.
 E These ancients said unto them, that they were to consult of three persons, whereof two already
 were full of honourable dignities, which they had born, to wit, *Q. Fabius* and *M. Marcellus*. But
 verily, (say they) in case ye would have some new Cos. to be chosen, for to be opposed against the
 Carthaginians, ye have *M. Valerius Maximus*, a notable man, one who hath performed singular
 good service, and atchieved many noble deeds, both by sea and land against King *Philip*. So when
 they had three propounded unto them, the elder were dismissed and the younger entred into a se-
 cond scrutiny: and declared for Consuls, *M. Claudius Marcellus* (glittering then in the prime of his
 glory, for he late subduing and conquest of *Sicily*) and *M. Valerius*, who was absent. This fore-
 dom and choice of the prerogative Century, all the rest followed after, and by their suffrages con-
 firmed. "Let them mock on now and scoff hereat all they that have nothing in admiration but
 F antiquity and things done in elder time. For mine own part, if there be any such City and Com-
 mon-weal, at all, consisting of wise men and Philosophers, as some great Clarks have rather
 "imagined in their fancies than found in effect: I dare be bold to think & say, that in it there could
 "not possibly be either rulers and Magistrates more grave and temperate in their desire of dignity
 "and government, or a people better mannered, nurtured, and instructed. But that it should be
 "thought an unlikely matter and scarce credible, that a Century of younger persons were willing
 "to consult with the elder and be advised by them, to whom they should give their voices, for to
 "be created the chief Magistrates: it is the corruption of this our age that is the cause: wherein
 "we see how small reverence and authority even parents themselves have, and of how slender
 "and base account they be amongst their own naturall children.
 After this followed the Election of Praetors, wherein were created *P. Manlius Volsus*, and *L.*
 G *Manlius Acidivus*, *C. Laetorius*, and *L. Cincius Alimentus*. When this Election was finished, it for-
 mally matters came, how *T. Ostacilius* (whom the people, as it seemed, would have chosen in
 his absence, to march *T. Manlius* in the Consulship, but that the ordinary course of the election
 was disturbed and stopped) departed this life in *Sicily*. The Apollinare games in the former year
 had been exhibited, and when *Calpurnius* the Praetor put up a bill, and moved the Senate, that
 they might be celebrated again that year also, these passed a decree, That they should be vowed to
 continue from time to time for ever.

The Oration
 of T. Manlius
 to the Consul

The

The same year certain prodigious tokens were seen and reported. In the Temple of Concordia^H the Image of Victory, which stood upon the lantern and top thereof was smitten with lightning, and being shaken and driven from its own place, rested fast upon those other Images of Victory that were fixed in the forefront of the said Temple, and fell not down from thence. Word also was brought, That in *Anagnia* and *Fregelle* the walls and the gates were likewise blasted and stricken with fire from heaven: and that in the market place of *Sutrium* there ran streams of blood a whole day together: That in *Eretum* it rained stones: and that in *Rome* a female mule brought forth a foal. These strange and wonderfull signs were purged and expiate with greater sacrifices: and a solemn supplication proclaimed: wherein for one day the people should wholly attend their devotions, and pray unto the gods: and likewise a Novendiall sacrifice. In that year died I certain publicke Priests of State, and new were chosen in their stead. *Caius Livius* in the room of *M. Pomponius Mitho* the High Priest: and *M. Servilius*, to supply the place of *Sp. Carvilius Maximus*, the Arch-Augur. And forasmuch as *T. Otacilius Maximus*, the Prelate or Bishop, died when the year was expired, there was none nominated for to succeed him. *C. Claudius* the Arch-flamine of *Jupiter* lost his Flaminship, and was deprived of that Sacerdotal dignity, because he had committed an error in sacrificing, when he should minister and distribute the inwards of the beast.

About the same time *M. Aemilius Levinus* (after he had by secret conferences sounded beforehand and solicited the minds of the *Ætolian* Princes and great LL.) came with a small fleet of ships lightly appointed, to their general Diet or Councill, summoned before for that purpose only. In which solemn assembly, after he had made declaration, "That *Syracusa* and *Capua* were won, and under the protection of the people of *Rome*, and what good success they had in the affairs and wars of *Italy*: and discoursed besides, That the Romans, according to their ancient custome, received by tradition from their forefathers, used to respect and make much of their Allies: and namely, That either they received them into the City of *Rome*, and endued them with the same franchises that they themselves enjoyed, or else dealt so liberally with them otherwise, that they liked of their condition so well, as they chose rather to be allies than Citizens: he protested and said, That the *Ætolians* should be much more honoured amongst them than all others, for that they were the first that of all forrain nations beyond sea, entertained league and amity with them. As for King *Philip* and the *Macedonians*, their heavy friends, & dangerous neighbours, he had so danted their courages, abated their forces, and driven them to that pass, that not only they were forced to abandon those towns, which by violence they had taken wrongfully from the *Ætolians*, but also had much ado themselves to keep *Macedony* itself quiet, and without perill of hostility: promising withall, That he would bring and reduce the *Acar-nians* (for whom the *Ætolians* were so discontented and grieved, that they were dismembred from the body of their State) under their ancient form of jurisdiction and seignory again. These relations and promises made by the Roman General, were confirmed and assured unto them by the authority and countenance of *Scopas* (who for the time was the Prætor or head Magistrate of that State) and of *Dorimachus* a Prince of the *Ætolians*, who with less modesty and greater asseveration and confidence extolled and magnified the greatness, power, and majesty of the people of *Rome*. The principall matter that induced and moved them was the hope of recovering and keeping *Acar-nania*. Whereupon, there were conditions drawn & engrossed, under which they should joyn in league and friendship with the people of *Rome*. And this branch was added to the rest of the defeazances, That if they were so pleased, and liked well of it, there should be comprized in the same league and privileges, the *Eleans* and *Lacedæmonians*, together with *Attalus*, *Pleigratus*, and *Scerdiletus*: of which three, *Attalus* was King of *Asia* the less, the other were Princes and Potentates of *Illyricum*. The articles ran in this form: *Imprimis*, That the *Ætolians* should immediately make war by land with King *Philip*. *Item*, That the Romans at sea should help with twenty gallees at the least, bearing five ranks of oars. *Item*, As touching all the Cities that should be conquered (beginning from *Ætolia*, so far as to ** Corcyra*) that the ground whereon the Cities were seated, the edifices, the walls, and the lands thereto belonging, should be seized to the use of the *Ætolians*: all other goods and chattels else, should be a prize for the people of *Rome*. *Item*, That if the *Ætolians* hapned to make peace with *Philip*, it must pass with this clause and proviso, that the peace should stand good upon this condition, That *Philip* abstain to make war upon the Romans and their Allies, and all those that lived under their dominions. *Item*, In case the people of *Rome* fortun'd to piece again, and be confederate with the King, they should put in a caveat and proviso, that he might have no liberty to war upon the *Ætolians*, or their associates. These were the covenants agreed upon: and being fair engrossed two years after into a pair of indentures the one of them remained for the *Ætolians* in *Glympia*, the other for the Romans in their Capitoll, among other sacred records and monuments, for a perpetuall memoriall to all posterity. The occasion of so great delay was because the Embassadors of the *Ætolians* were staid and kept very long at *Rome*. But that was no let nor hinderance at all to the proceedings in the wars. For the *Ætolians* presently made war upon *Philip*: and *Levinus* conquered ** Zacynthus* (a little Island near to *Ætolia*, having a City within it of the same name, which he forced by assault, all save the Castle) likewise ** Oeniada* and ** Naxos*, which he won from the *Acar-nians* before: and all these he gave to the *Ætolians*. And supposing that *Philip* having his hands full of the war upon his own frontiers had no time to think upon *Italy*, and the *Carthaginians*, and to mind the

Scalvonia.

** Corphu.*

** Zanto.*

** Dragamesto.*

** Nicisa.*

A the covenants that passed between *Amihal* and him, he retired himself into *Corcyra*.

Philip lying in winter harbpr within *Pella*, was advertized of the *Ætolians* revolt. Therefore because he minded at the prime of the Spring to conduct an army into *Greece*, to the end that *Macedony* and the Cities bordering thereupon, should not be molested by the *Illyrians*, whom he supposed would be at quiet and not stir, if they were once frighted with the harms of others, he made a sudden rode and expedition into the marches of the *Origins* and *Apolloniats*: and when the *Apolloniats* issued forth against him, he repelled them, and with great fear and terror drave them within their walls. After he had wasted the confines next to the *Illyrians*, he turned his forces with like celerity and speed into *Pelagonias*: and then won by assault a City of the

* *Jenica*. *Se-*
phiano. or *Zu-*
chia. *Nigro*.

B *Dardaniats*, situate in the frontiers of *Macedonia*, through which the *Dardaniats* meant to have their passage. And when he had performed these exploits in great haste, not forgetting how the *Ætolians* and *Romans* both maintained war against him jointly, he descended through *Pelagonia*, *Nymphæum*, and *Bolea*, into *Thessaly*: supposing verily that the people of those countries might be incited to wage war together with him against the *Ætolians*. And leaving there behind him (at the streight of *Thessaly*) *Perseus* four thousand strong, for to debar the *Ætolians* entrance that way: himself in person, before that he should be occupied in greater affairs, led forth his army into *Macedonia*, and from thence into *Thracia*, and so forward against the *Medians*. That nation was wont to make incursions, and to invade *Macedony*, whensoever they could perceive that the King was either busied in other wars, or his Realm disurnished and slenderly provided

C of good gard and strong garrisons. He began therefore to forrage and spoil the territories about *Phraganda*; and to assault *Iamphorina*, the principall City and chief strength of that Region *Medica*.

Scopas having intelligence that the King was gone into *Thracia* and kept there occupied in the wars, put all the serviceable young men of *Æolia* in arms, and prepared war against *Acarmania*. The nation of the *Acarnians*, albeit they were both in strength unequal, and also saw already, that they had lost the walled City of the *Oniades*, and *Naxus*: and knowing well, that the *Roman* forces would come upon them besides: rather upon anger than any good counsell and adviement, made preparation for war, and resolved to meet them. Their wives and children, and elder persons, such as were above forty years of age, they sent away into *Epirus*, adjoyning near unto them,

D Of all that were fifteen years old and upward unto threescore, they took a solemn oath, that they would never return back without victory. They laid also a heavy curse and cruell malediction upon all those of their own nation: and framed a most humble request, in as effectual terms as they could devise, unto all their friends, that none of them should entertain within their Cities, their doors and houses, nor admit to their table, any one of them that were vanquished, and fled out of the field: yea, and beought withall the *Epirons* to gather together the dead bodies of as many of them as should chance to be slain in battell, and to inter them all in one grave, and erect a tomb and monument over them, with an *Epiraph* and inscription to this effect; *Here lie buried and entombed the Acarnanians, who fighting in defence of their country, against the violence and injuries of the Ætolians, lost their lives manfully in the field.* By this means, when their courages were enkindled and incensed, they encamped themselves in their utmost frontiers, abiding the coming of their enemies. And having dispatched messengers to *Philip*, to give notice to him in what jeopardy they stood, they constrained him to give over that war which he had in hand, considering that *Iamphorina* was surrendered up into his hands, and that he had sped wel otherwise in the rest of his affairs. The *Ætolians*, upon the first fame that was blown abroad of that solemn oath, taken by the *Acarnians*, were wel cooled, and not so hasty to set forward; but hearing once of *Philip* his coming, they were driven to retire again as far as possibly they could within their own confines. Neither *Philip* for his part marched on further than to *Cline* (notwithstanding that he made great speed afore, and took long journeyes; for fear that the *Acarnians* should be surprized, before he could reach unto them) nor so soon as he heard that the *Ætolians* were retired, he himself also returned

F unto *Pella*. *Levinus* in the beginning of the Spring, took the sea, and loosed from *Corcyra*, and having doubled the point of *Leucates*, and sailed as far as *Naupactum*, there he published and gave knowledge, That he would shape his course from thence for *Anticyra*: and that *Scopas* and the *Ætolians* should there meet him, and be in readines. This *Anticyra* is situate in *Locris*, on the left hand, as ye enter into the gulph of *Corinth*. By land it is a small journey thither from *Naupactum*, and as short a cut by sea. So within three daies after they began to assail the City on both sides. The fiercer assault was from the sea-side, both because they had in their ships engines of battery, and other ordnance and artillery of all sorts: and also, for that the assailants from that part were *Romans*. So within few daies the City was yielded up, and delivered again unto the *Ætolians*, the pillage thereof fell to the *Romans* share, according to covenant. There *Levinus* received letters from *Rome*, specifying thus much, That he was declared Consul in his absence, and *P. Sulpitius* was coming to succeed him in the Province: but by occasion that he lay there sick of a long disease, he came to *Rome* later than all men expected.

M. *Marcellus* entering his Consulship upon the Ides of *March*, assembled the Senat that day, only for form and order sake: for he made open profession there, that during the absence of his Colleague, he would treat of no matters, either concerning the state of the City, or the Provinces. But this protestation he uttered withall, and said: That he knew full well that there were
"many

"many Sicilians in the towns and villages near unto the City barkbiters and slanderers of him, who for his own part he was so far off from hindring, but that they might freely for all him, divulgate and publish abroad in Rome all those crimes which were devised and spoken against him by his adversaries, that were it not that they pretended some fear forsooth, to charge the Consul with any matters, in the absence of his Collegue, he would straightwaies give them audience in the Senate: but so soon verily as my brother Consul is come home, I will not, quoth he, I assure you, suffer any one matter to be debated here, before that those Sicilians be sent for into the Senate house. And I understand that *M. Cornelius* hath taken generall search like a musther over all *Sicily*, to the end there might come a number to Rome with complaints of me: he also with letters full of entreaties hath buzzed into all mens ears, and born the whole City in hand, that the war continueth still in *Sicily*, and all to diminish and abridge my glory. The Consul having that day won the commendation and name of one that knew how to rule and govern his affections, dismissed the Senat: and it seemed that there would be a generall vacation not of law matters only, but of all other things & as it were holyday still, untill the other Consul came unto the City. This rest and idleness (as the wonted manner is) set the Commons having nothing else to do, a talking: and now their tongues walked apart, teasing not to spread rumours. That by this long and continuall war, not only the lands and territory about the City of Rome (especially where *Annibal* had marched with his cruell army) were wasted, but also *Italy* was in a manner dispeopled and laid desolate, by reason of so many musters and levies: complaining, that whole armies were defeated and put to the sword at *Cannæ* in defence of the Common-wealth: and that there were two Consuls created, both martiall men, and warriors, over-fierce and eager of fight, such as time of peace and quietness were able to find occasions of war: so little was it to be looked for at their hands, that in time of war they would seek for peace, and suffer the City to have any breathing time and intermission. These speeches rumoured among the common people were interrupted and staid by occasion of a Scare-fire that began in sundry places together about the *Forum*, in the night of that day, which was immediately before the festivall daies of *Minerva*, called *Quinquatrus*. At one and the self-same time the seven merchants shops and ware-houses, which afterwards were turned into five, and the shops of the Bankers and money changers which now are called *Nova*, (or the new-shops) were on fire. Divers private mens houses also the fire caught, for as then there were no stately Halls and Palaces of the City there built. Likewise the fire took hold of the common prison, called *Linturnia*: the Fish market hall likewise, and the royall gallery or walking-place. Hardly could the Chappel of *Vesta* be saved, and that by the good help and pains-taking especially of thirteen bondslaves: whose bondage was bought out at the Cities charges, and they made freemen. The fire continued one night and a day: and no man made doubt, but it came by mans hand, and was the practice of some few wicked persons: for that the fires began in many places at once, and those far distant aunder. Whereupon the Consul by the advice and direction of the Senat, made proclamation in a solemn assembly of the people, that whosoever would come forth and give notice by whose means that fire was procured, he should be well rewarded: if he were a free-man, with a piece of money: if bond, with freedom. In hope of which recompence, a certain slave belonging to the *Calpurnii* the Campans, (his name was *Manius*) was induced to bewray the matters whom he served, and five other young Gentlemen of *Campania*, whose fathers had lost their heads by the commandment of *Q. Fulvius*. Those he appeached to have made the said fires: and he gave them a warning besides, that they intended to do more mischief about the City, if they were let alone, and not apprehended: so they were attached, and their household-servants. At the first, these persons made light account both of the informer, and the information they made, and elevated the credit that was given thereto: alledging, that the day before the party himself being chastised and scourged by his Masters, ran away, and so upon an anger and pique he devised: (by occasion of this misfortune which was meer casuall) to frame an accusation against his Masters. But when the matter was avorted to their teeth in open place, and that they, by whose ministry the feat was done, were in the midst of the *Forum*, upon the rack for to utter a truth, then they all made confession of the fact. So as well the Masters that were the setters thereof, as the servants that were privy and accessory thereto, had their deaths and suffered for it. The informer who disclosed the villany, was made free, and had 10000 ailes for his labour.

* 62 li. 10 sh.
sterl.

As the Consul *Levinus* passed by *Capua* in his journey [homeward,] there flockt about him a number of Campans, and besought him with tears, that they might have leave to go to Rome, and present themselves before the Senate, there to make suit (it haply there were any pity and commiseration in them) not to destroy them utterly, nor suffer *Q. Fulvius* to confine the name and generation of the Campans from off the face of the earth. Now *Elacius* for his part denied flatly that he bare them any private grudge by malice: but only hated the Campans as the common enemies to the State, and so he would do ever so long as he knew them to ill affect. And as they were to the people of Rome, for there was not a nation upon earth, nor a people under heaven more spitefully & deadly bent against the Roman name than they were. And that was the cause (saith he) that he penned them up within their walls. For whosoever of them chanced any way to make an escape, they ringed about the country like brutes and savage beasts, roaring, tearing, and killing whosoever came in their way. Some of them are fled to the adverse side unto *Annibal*, others are gone to Rome to set fire on the City, and there (quoth he) shall the Con-

sol

- A "ful find the market place half burned, and the very points and tokens remaining fresh of the
 "Champion's mischievous practices. There should be seen that they minded to have done violence
 "upon the Chapel of *Fortuna*, and to have put out those eternal fires, and utterly defaced the sacred
 "pledges of the Roman Empire, bestowed and laid up in it as the most sacred place of the Chap-
 "pels. Neither thought he it was safe for the City to permit the Campanians to come within the
 "walls thereof. Then *Lucius* having raised the Campanians to take an oath of perpetual friendship and
 "to *Flaccus*, that they would make return to *Capua* before five days were expired, after they had
 "their answer and dispatch from the Senate, he commanded them to come after him to *Rome*.
 "Attended thus as he was with his company he encountered the Sicilians who came forth to
 "meet him and with this multitude he entered the City, accompanied (they say) with the Campanians
 "and Sicilians, both vanquished and subdued by wars, a vaunters of two most famous persons,
 "*Marcellus* and *Fabius*, who had conquered two most noble and renowned Cities, *Syracusa* and
 "*Capua*. But both the Consul treated and consulted first with the Senate, about the state of the Common-
 "weal, and the government of the Provinces. These *Legatus* related in what terms stood *Ma-
 cedon* and *Gracchus* the *Ætolians* also, with the *Acarnanians* and *Locrians*, likewise what *As-
 ches* he had achieved in those parts both by sea and land, and how he had repelled *Philip* back into
 "*Macedonia*, when he began to make war upon the *Ætolians*, who now was retired and gone
 "into the utmost parts of his Kingdom. So as the legion might be withdrawn from thence, for
 "that the Armado was sufficient to keep the King forth of *Italy*. Thus much spake he of himself,
 "and of the Province whereof he had been governor. Then both Consuls in common proposed
 "unto the Senate, concerning the Province. And the LL. decreed that one of the Consuls should
 "take the charge of *Italy*, and of the war with *Annibal*; and the other should have under his
 "hand the Armado, whereof *T. Otacilius* was the Admiral; and together with *L. Cincius* the Pre-
 "tor, govern the Province of *Sicily*. They were allowed the two armies which were in *Tuscany* and
 "in *France*, consisting of four legions: whereof two of the former year, that were of Citizens
 "should be sent into *Tuscany*, and those two which the Consul *Sulpicius* had conducted, should be
 "led into *France*. Moreover, that he should have the government of *France*, and the leading of the
 "Legions there, whom that Consul would appoint, whose lot it was to have *Italy* for his Province.
 "D Into *Tuscany* was *C. Calpurnius* sent with Commission after the term of the Dictatorship expired,
 "to have his full jurisdiction to continue for a year. Likewise to *Q. Fabius* was assigned the
 "keeping of *Capua*, and his rule prorogued for another year. The armies, as well of Citizens as of
 "Allies, were by commandment of the Senate bridged and made less so that for two legions there
 "should be but one, and that consisting of five hundred footmen, and three hundred horsemen:
 "that they should be discharged of such as who had served longest: that of Allies there should
 "be left seven thousand foot, and three hundred horse: while the same respect and consideration
 "of service in dismissing the old soldiers. As for *C. Fabius* the Consul of the former year, he
 "ruled the same Province of *Apulia* still, without any alteration of his former: only his govern-
 "ment was continued unto him another year. And *P. Sulpicius* his Colleague, was commanded
 "E to send away all his army, only the masters and sailors excepted. Likewise order was given that
 "so soon as the new Consul was arrived and landed in the Province of *Sicily*, the army there,
 "which was commanded by *M. Cornelius*, should be sent out of *Sicily*. Unto *L. Cincius* the Pretor
 "were assigned the soldiers that remained after the defeat at *Canus*, for to keep *Sicily* in order,
 "and those sent to two legions. And as many legions were appointed for *P. Claudius* *Nasus* the
 "Pretor, for to go into *Sardinia*, even those whereof *L. Cincius* had the leading in the same Pro-
 "vince the former year. As for the legions of Citizens, the Consuls were enjoined to levy and
 "enroll them so, as they should retain no soldier of all those who had served in the army, either of
 "*M. Claudius*, or *M. Valerius*, or *Fulvius*, nor exceeded the number that year of one and twenty le-
 "gions of the Romans. When these Acts were passed in the Senate-house, the Consuls cast lots for
 "F their severall Provinces. *Sicily* and the Armado fell to *Marcellus*; *Italy*, and the war against *Annibal*,
 "to *Lucius*. This lot that fell to *Marcellus* so struck the Sicilians dead, (who stood in the presence of the
 "Consuls, looking for the event of the lottery) as if *Syracusa* had been lost again: in such sort, as
 "their pitifull lamentations, and their wooll plaints, for the present turned all mens eyes up-
 "on them, and none after ministered cause of much speech and talk. But they went about to
 "all the Senators from one to another in poor and vile array, protesting, "That if *Marcellus* came
 "amongst them again as a Deputy, they would not only forsake every man his own country
 "where he was born, but also abandon the whole Island of *Sicily*, complaining that without any
 "defect of their parts, heretofore he had been cruelly bent against them, and his hatred was irre-
 "concilable: and what would he now do in his choler, and knowing that the Sicilians came to
 "G "none of purpose to make complaints of him? The Island were better (say they) to be on a light
 "fire to burn with *Etna*; or to be all a very sea, than thus to be exposed as a prey unto a mor-
 "tal enemy, for to be devoured. These grievous moans and piteous complaints of the Sicilians
 "first carried to the houses of the Nobles and great men of the City, and there taken up and much
 "talked of by many, while some pitied the Sicilians, others envied *Marcellus*, spread abroad at
 "length so far, until they came to the Council-Table. And the Consuls were dealt withall to
 "propose unto the Senate, that they might exchange their Provinces one for another. Then *Mar-*

The complaints of the Sicilians against *Marcellus*.

Marcellus stood up and said, "That in case audience had been given to the Sicilians already in the Senate-house, peradventure he would deliver his opinion to another purpose: but now lest any man might say that they were bridled for fear, and durst not speak their minds freely, nor complain as they would of him, at whose command, and under whose obedience, they were to be within a while: he was for his part ready to make change of his Province, if his Collegue were as well content, and made no greater scruple of the matter. Only he requested that the Senate would not prejudice his cause. For if at the first (quoth he) it had been hard and unjust, extraordinarily and without casting lots, to give my Collegue the free choice of his own Province, how much greater wrong then should I have, nay, what disgrace were offered unto me, if my lot should be taken from me and transferred upon him. So for that time, the Senat having made an overture unto *Marcellus*, what they would have done, rather than by any decree prejudiced the matter, brake up. And the Consuls between themselves privately made exchange, one with the other. See the fortune and fatall destiny of *Marcellus*, that haied him, as it were, to be matched with *Annibal*, and to fall into his hands: to the end that the same man, who of all the Romans, was the first that vanquished *Annibal* in fight, and won the honour from him: should now in the midst of prosperity and happy success of war, be the last Roman General that was slain by *Annibal*, and yielded the glory of giving him the overthrow. After the Provinces were thus interchangeably shifted, the Sicilians were brought into the Senat. Where they made a long speech as touching the perpetuall and constant faithfulness unto the end of *K. Hiero*, towards the people of *Rome*, and all to curry favour and gain thanks unto the whole nation of *Sicily*. Recounting, that *Hieronymus* first, and after him *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, as for other things, so especially for their revolting from the Romans, and turning to *Annibal*, were odious and hateful unto them. For which cause and nothing else *Hieronymus* was by the hands of the chieftains of their young gallants, as it were by a publike decree of the state made away and killed, and the noblest of their young gentlemen, to the number of seventy, conspired to murder *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*: who being disappointed and put by the effecting of their designment, through the delay of *Marcellus*, (who at the time before appointed, came not with his power to *Syracusa*) were appeached, their intended plot revealed, and they all by those tyrants put to death. And yet to speak a truth, *Marcellus* himself was he that gave the first occasion of the tyrannizing of *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, in that most cruelly he sacked and spoiled the *Leontium*. But from that time forward, the Nobles of *Syracusa* never ceased to come in unto *Marcellus*, & promised to deliver the City into his hands, whensoever he pleased. But he, forsooth, at first, stood upon these terms, that he would rather force it by assault, but afterwards, seeing he could not effect that his purpose, notwithstanding he had wrought all the devices he could, both by sea and land, he made choice of one *Sosis* a copper-smith, & *Morienus* a Spaniard, to have them to work and contrive the betraying of the City, rather than of the principal of the *Syracusan* Nobility, who had so often offered that service, and never yet would it be accepted: & all, I wot, because he might pretend some colourable cause of justice, to proceed in all rigor against the most ancient allies of the people of *Rome*, to massacre them, and make spoil of all that they had: for he saw that *Hieronymus* had not revolted and gone to *Annibal*, but the whole people and Senat of *Syracusa*: Suppose, that the *Syracusians* in generall, by publike consent had shut the gates against *Marcellus*, & not their Tyrants *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, when they had the *Syracusians* sure enough under their own hands: Say they had warred against the people *Rome* with as spitefull and cruel malice as the *Carthaginians* do, and ever did: what greater hostility could *Marcellus* possibly have exercised against them more than he hath, unless he would destroy and rase the City to the very ground? Surely he hath left nothing in *Syracusa* but the bare walls, the naked and empty houses of the City, the temples and chapels of the gods defaced & broke open: for the gods themselves, with all the rich & gorgeous ornaments are carried away. Many a man is spoiled and robbed of his goods, in such sort, as having nothing left him but the bare soil, they are not able when all is gone, with his leavings to maintain themselves, and sustain their wives and children. They were humble petitioners therefore, and suppliant suiters unto the LL. of the Senat, to take order, that restitution might be made unto the rightful owners, if not of all (for that is impossible) yet of so much at least, as was to be found, and might be truly owned again.

After these and such like complaints *Leontius* the Consul commanded them to go forth of the Councill-house, to the end that the LL. might be consulted with, and deliver their opinions concerning their demands. "Nay mary (quoth *Marcellus*) let them stay still rather, that I may answer to their very faces: seeing my LL. our case and condition is so hard, who war and fight for you, that we must have those to enform against us, and be our accusers, whom we have conquered and subdued by martiall arms: Let it even be so, that two Cities, to wit, *Capua* and *Syracusa*, won this year, may convent judicially both their conquerors, the one *Fulvius*, the other *Marcellus*. When the Embassadors were brought back again into the Senat-house, then began *Marcellus* the Consul, and spake in this wise,

Marcellus his defence against the *Syracusians*.

"I am not so far overseen, and forgetfull, my Lords, either of the majesty of the people of *Rome*, or of this place of command which I now hold, that I would plead mine own cause, as Consul as I am, against these *Grecians*, my accusers, in case the question were of any crime or fault of mine own. But all the controversie to be discussed, standeth not upon these terms, to examine what I have done, whom the right of war will justify and bear out, howsoever I have
"proceeded

him to pardon that which they had spoken, either to bewail, or to ease their conscience; and were effective both them in particular, and the City of *Capua* in general, unto his merciful protection. After this, the Consul with gracious words licensed them to depart.

When the Sicilians had their dispatch, the Campanians had likewise given them in the Senate; and as their speech was more lamentable, so the Senate was heavier, and harder to be digested; for neither could they themselves deny, but that they deserved condign punishment: nor Tyrants had they any, upon whom they might lay the blame. But they thought they had suffered enough for their sin already, in that so many of their Senators died by poison, and so many lost their heads. Some few of their nobility and but a few remained yet alive, who as they were not roused in conscience, nor so faulty, as to lay violent hands upon themselves, so the Conqueror in his furious wrath, so judged them not worthy of death: they therefore made humble suit for themselves, their wives and children, to obtain freedom, and to enjoy some part of their own goods, being as they were, nice citizens of *Rome*, and most of them by affinity and near kindred, upon mutual and cross marriages, linked in alliance and blood to the Romans. After that they also were willing to void out of the Senate-house: for a while, there grew some question and doubt, whether *Q. Fulvius* should be sent for from *Capua* (for presently upon the taking of the City, *Claudius* the Consul died) that this matter might be argued and discussed in presence of the General himself, like as the other had been rehearsed of and debated between *Marcius* and the Sicilians. But afterwards when they saw in the Senate-house *M. Annius*, and *C. Pulvius*, the brother of *Plautius*, both his Lieutenants: likewise *Q. Minucius*, and *E. Virginius Philo*, Lieutenants unto *Claudius*, who had been present in all actions, and were eye-witnesses of every thing; and besides, were unwilling that either *Pulvius* should be called away from *Capua*, or the Campanians longer delayed: *M. Annius* *Riparius*, who of all them that had been at the service of *Capua*, was of greatest authority and reputation, being demanded his opinion, spake in this wise.

"I take it (quoth he) when *Capua* was newly won, I was one of Council with the Consuls there, when question was asked, and enquiry made, Whether any one Campanian had deserved well of us and our Common-wealth. And found it was, that two women only, to wit, *Ursula* *Oppia*, born in *Aquila*, but dwelling then at *Capua*, and *Plautia* *Clodia*, sometime a common trumpet and carter, were well winners unto us. The former of these with daily sacrifice for the welfare, life, and victory of the Romans; the other, secretly sustained the poor and needy Roman captives with food and victuals. As for all other Campanians, from the highest to the lowest, they were no better added unto us, than the Carthaginians. And even those, who were befriended by *Quintus* *Pulvius*, suffered death, because they were more faulty than others, but for that they were of greater mark and esteem than the rest. Now, that the Senate should decide the cause of any Campanian, who are condemned enemies of *Rome*, without a grant from the people, I see not how it can be. For in our fore-fathers time the like cause was of the Sicilians that rebelled; and then *M. Annius* a Tribune of the Commons, first put up a bill, and the Commons afterwards passed it, namely, That the Senate might have power and authority, to give their opinion, and determine of the Sicilians. Therefore I am of mind, that we deal with the Tribunes of the Commons, that one or more of them, present a bill unto the Commons, by virtue whereof we may be authorized to let down some order for the Campanians. Then *L. Junius* a Tribune of the Commons, by leave and advice of the Senate, proposed unto the Commons a bill in this form and manner. *Whereas the Campanians, Arrians, Calatins, and Sabellians, who have yielded themselves unto Fulvius the Pro-consul, to be at the pleasure and devotion of the people of Rome: all their lands, which they have surrendered together with their temples, as well their territory within the City, as all and full, both sacred and profane, their necessary implements, and all other things whatsoever, I demand your will and pleasure. O Quirites, what shall be done with the prisoners? The Commons after deliberation, gave their voices to the said bill in this form. Our will and pleasure is, that whatsoever of the Sicilians, who are set at liberty, or the like sort of you think good and advantageous, shall be sold for half a talent. Upon this grant or Act of the Commons, the Senate by a decree awarded unto *Oppia* *N* and *Clodia*, full their own goods and liberty: and moreover if they were desirous to crave further reward at the Senate's hand, they were left to repair unto *Annius*. For every family and several house of the Campanians, there were special laws and decrees made, all which to repeat and rehearse, would not quit the labour. Some had their goods confiscated: themselves, their Children and Wives were to be sold, excepting those their Daughters which were wedded before that they came under the subjection of the people of *Rome*. Others were to be kept up in Prison, upon further order were taken for them hereafter. Moreover, of those Campanians they made distinction by valuation of their wealth, whether their goods were to be confiscate or no. All their beasts and cattail which were taken, save Horses: all their bond slaves, but males fourteen years of age and upward, all moveable goods also which were not annexed, and allotted to the sell, they awarded for to be restored to the true owners. All Campanians, Arrians, Calatins, Sabellians, excepting those, who either themselves, or whose parents took part and sided with the enemies, they judged to be free: provided always, that none of them were either free-citizens of *Rome*, or of *Latium*. And it was enacted, that none of all them who had been at *Capua* whilst the gates were shut, should remain either in the City or territory of *Capua*, within a certain day prefixed: but should have a place for to dwell in, on the further side of *Tiber*, as it were not upon the very bank close unto *Tiber*.*

A *Tyber*. As for those that during the time of war had been neither at *Capua* nor in any other City of *Campania*, which revolted from the people of *Rome*, they should be removed to inhabit on this side the River *Liris*, between it and *Rome*; but such as were turned and passed to the *Romans* side, before that *Annus* came unto *Capua*, they should be transplanted on the hither side of *Fulturnum* the River: provided, that none of them should possess either house or Land within fifteen miles of the Sea. As concerning them who were displaced and confined to inhabit beyond the *Tyber*, neither they nor their heirs and successors for ever, should purchase and hold houses or Land in any place, but in the territory either of *Fai*, *Sutrium*, or *Nepesinum*; but so, as they exceeded not the limit of five hundred Acres of ground. As touching the goods and chattels of all the Senators, of such as had borne Magistracy in *Capua*, *Atella*, or *Calatia*, they awarded that sale should be made thereof in *Capua*. As for those that were free born, and whole bodies were to be sold, they should be sent to *Rome*, and there set a sale. Finally, the Images and Statues of brass, which were said to have been won and taken from the enemies, whether they were sacred or profane, they referred to the Colledge of the Priests and Prelates, to determine thereof at their discretion. Thus they gave the *Campanians* their dispatch, and sent them away much worse off than they were when they came first to *Rome*. And now they complained no more of the cruel proceedings of *Q. Fulvius* against them, but blamed the iniquity and unjust dealing of the very Gods, and their own cursed fortune together.

After the *Sicilians* and *Campanians* were dismissed, there was a matter taken: and when an army was levied and enrolled, there began some question and reasoning about the mariners and Rowers to furnish the Gallies. For the accomplishment whereof, when the Consuls could neither raise men enough, nor yet find money at that time in the Chamber of the City, for to press and hire them, and pay their wages withal: they published an edict, that private men according to the rate and proportion in the Subsidy book, out of all orders, degrees, and companies, should as aforetime find Rowers at their own charges, and maintain them with meat and money for thirty dayes. Upon which Edict and Proclamation, all men so grumbled and muttered, and were so highly discontented and angered, that they wanted an head and Captain, rather than matter and occasion of a mutiny and insurrection: giving out, That the Consuls had taken a course, and were in the very train to plague, undo, and destroy the Commons of *Rome*, like as they had already the *Sicilians* and the *Campanians*. For thus many years they have been pillaged, polled,

D "clean spent and consumed with exaction of tributes, and had nothing left them but the bare ground, and the same lying wast and untilled. As for their Houses upon their lands, the enemies had burned: their servants and bonds, such as should husband and till their grounds, the Common-wealth had bereaved them of: one while buying them up to the Sea to be Gally-slaves, for a thing of nothing. A man could not so soon get one brass farthing, or single silver denier before-hand, but it went by and by either for Gally-pay, or for yearly Tribute. And to give that now which they had not, they might never be brought by any force or for any mans commandment whatsoever. Let them sell and make an hand of their goods, imprison and punish their bodies too, when all is gone besides; seeing there is nothing left them to ransom and redeem: the same

E "again. These and such like words were not only muttered in huggermugger, but uttered also and given out in broad terms even in the market-place and before the Consuls; by the multitude that flocked and gathered together in exceeding great numbers: in such sort, as the Consuls were not able with all that ever they could do, to appease the mutiny, neither by sharp rebukes, nor fair words and comfortable speeches. Then they said, that they would give and allow them three dayes respite for to think and consider of these matters: which they themselves bestowed wholly and employed in taking a view and survey of their goods, and making dispatch and ridance thereof out of the way. The next day the Consuls called the Senate together to consult about the supply of Rowers and Gally-slaves: where, after much debating and arguing, that the Commons had good reason to make denial, at length the drift of all their speech was this: That

F "whether it were right or wrong, the burden must lye on private mens shoulders, there was no remedy: for seeing there was no money in the common chest, how should Mariners and Rowers else be gotten and levied? And without Armadoes, how possibly should either Sicily be held still in possession, or *Philip* be kept out of *Italy*? or the Sea coasts of *Italy* remain in safety and security? In these distresses and difficulties the Council being perplexed, and to seek for remedy, and while every mans wits were in the wan and so confused, as if they were benumbed and stone cold: Then *Levinus* the Consul, As the Magistrate (as he) went before the Senate in place of honor, and the Senate likewise before the common people in worth and dignity: so they sought in all difficulties and hard occurrences to undergo the weightiest burdens first, and be the Foremen and Leaders in all dangerous adventures whatsoever. For if a man would enjoy his

G "inferiors to bear some grievous and heavy load, let him first take it up himself, yes and impose the same upon his own train and company: all the rest then, will be more willing and obedient to follow after, and do the semblable. And never will they grutch at any cost or charges, when they see their Leaders and Rulers take more upon themselves, than they are well able to wield and sustain. To the end therefore that the people of *Rome* may be provided and furnished of a fleet rigged and trimmed, as our desire is, and that private persons may not think much, nor refuse to find Rowers thereunto: let us first that are here command our own selves: let us,

The speech of
Levinus the
Consul.

3 pound ster.
and two shil.
over, if *libra* be
centenaria.

19 pound 13
shil, 6 pence st.

"I lay, that be Senators, bring abroad in common all the gold, all the silver, all the brazen coin
"that we have, to us every man reserving only for himself, his wife and children: and a little
"tablet or jewel for his son; as a pendant to hang about his neck. Also let all them that have wives
"or daughters, retain still one ounce weight of gold; and one pound of silver. And as many as
"have been office of State, and sitten in the Ivory Chair, keep still the trappings and caparison of
"their Horses; and two pound weight a piece, the one of gold, the other of silver; for to have a
"Sale-sellar, and a little bell or cap, to sacrifice and offer unto the Gods within. As for the rest of
"the Senators, let us leave them but one pound weight of silver; and no gold at all, and five thou-
"sand *Aſes* in coin, to every household a piece. "All other gold, silver, and brazen money be-
"sides, let us forthwith bring abroad and present unto the Triumvirs or publick bankers, before
"that we make or enact any decree of Senat: to the end, that our good example in this volun-
"tary benevolence and contribution, and our earnest endeavour to help the Common-weal, may
"stir up and provoke the hearts and affections, first of those that are by calling Gentlemen and
"Knights of *Rome*, and then forward the rest of the Commons, to imitate and follow us with
"some emulation. This is the only means which we that are Consuls have thought upon and de-
"vised, after much talk and conference together. Set to therefore; my masters, in the name of
"God, and lead the way: God will bless your good beginnings. So long as the City standeth
"on foot, and holdeth up the head, no man need to fear his private state; but it shall do well
"enough. Go the weal publick to wreck once, and decay, let no man ever think to save his
"own. All the whole home liked so well of these motions, that not only they gave their accord
"and consent thereto, but over and besides, yielded hearty thanks unto the Consuls for their good
"advice and counsel. When the Senat was dismissed, every man for himself brought forth his gold,
"his silver, and brasse money, and laid all together in common; and that with such speed, striving
"as who could go before another, and have his name entered first in the publick Rolles and Regi-
"sters: so neither the fore-said Triumvirs were able to receive it fast enough, as it was tendered un-
"to them: nor the ordinary Clerks and Notaries to set it down in writing, and take note thereof
"accordingly. This consent and agreement of the Senators, the Knights and Gentlemen of *Rome*, in
"their place and calling seconded; and the commons for their parts were not behind: So without
"any constraint of law, without edict, without any exhortation made by the Magistrate, the com-
"mon-weal wanted neither Rowers for to furnish the armadoes, nor money to pay the Rowers.
"And thus when all things were provided necessary for the wars, the Consuls went forth to their
"several Provinces.

Never was there any time of this war, wherein Carthaginians and Romans together, had
"more tryal of the alternative and variable change of fortune: never hung they more in equal bal-
"lance, between fair hope and fearful danger. The Romans, in their Provinces tasted both of
"sweet and sour. In *Spain* on the one side, they sped ill and lost: in *Italy* on the other side, they
"sped well and won: so as their sorrow was interlaced still and mingled with joy. Also in *Italy*,
"the loss of *Tarentum* turned to their woe and damage: but the keeping of the Castle there with
"the garrison, beyond all their hope and expectation, brought them joy and comfort for their sor-
"row. Also, their sudden fright and fear, for the siege and assault of the City of *Rome*, was saved
"and cured again within a few dayes after, by the forcing and winning of *Capua*: and all that be-
"wines and mourning turned into mirth and gladness. The affairs also beyond Sea, were checked
"with interchangeable turns and counes. Philip became their enemy in an ill time; and when
"they had little need thereof. Contrary-wise, the *Stolians* and *Attalus* the King of *Asia* the less,
"proved to be their new friends and loving allies: whereby even then fortune, seemed to smile on
"the Romans, and by that overturn, promised as it were, unto them the Empire of the East.
"Sensibly the Carthaginians, as they lost *Capua*, so they won *Tarentum*, and made a strange
"game of it. In like manner, as they took no small pride and glory, in coming to the walls of *Rome*
"without resistance; so they were danted and dismayed again, that this their enterprise took no bet-
"ter effect in the end: and held themselves much disgraced and dishonoured, that whilom they
"sat themselves before one gate of *Rome*, there was an army of Romans led forth at another, and
"sent into *Spain*. And even in *Spain* also, the greater hope men had there, that upon the death
"of two so noble and valiant Generalls, and the desert of two as puissant armies, the war was
"come to a final end, and the Romans driven from thence for ever: the more spight it was, and
"the greater grief and vexation they conceived again, when by the valour of *L. Marcius* a mili-
"tary Captain, chosen in haste they knew not how, those former victories turned to vanities, and
"came to just nothing. Thus fortune was indifferent, and all things doubtful and wavering in so-
"spence; both on the one side, and the other. Their hope all one as it was at first: their fortune like
"still; neither more woe nor joy. So as between hope and fear, they faced, as if the war at this time
"were new to begin.

And above all other things, was vexed to the heart, that *Capua* being more boldly and
"eagerly assaulted by the Romans, than manfully and faithfully defended by him, had diverted
"and turned away the hearts of many States of *Italy* from him. For neither was he able to hold
"them all with sufficient garrisons, unless he would dismember into many small portions, and mangle
"by piece-meal his army: which to do then, was no good policy: nor he thought it safe and good,
"to withdraw his garrisons from thence, or leave the fidelity of his allies at liberty, either to depend
"upon sickle hope, or to sway with sudden fear. And (as he was by nature covetous and cruel-
"ly

A ly minded) he resolved at length upon this course, to make spoil of those Cities which he was not able to keep, and so to leave them wast and empty for the enemy. This designment was not so dishonest and shameful in the first enterprise, but it proved as bad and hurtful to himself in the effect and conclusion. For he lost the hearts clean, not only of those that were the parties grieved, and suffered these indignities, but also of all others besides. The present calamity and loss touched but some few: but the precedent and example reached to many more. Neither was the Roman Consul behind hand for his part, to sollicite and sound those Cities, from whence he saw some light appear, and any hope to gain them unto him.

There were in *Salapia* two noble men above the rest, *Dafius* and *Blasius*. *Dafius* was friend to *Annibal*, *Blasius* (so far as he might wish safety) affected and favoured the Romans. And by enterprise of secret messengers, had put *Marcellus* in some good hope of betraying the City; but without the help of *Dafius* the plot could not be compassed and effected. Wherefore, after much musing and long deliberation, after many staves and delays, at length he resolved (for want rather of better counsel, than upon any hope to speed) to address himself to *Dafius*, and acquaint him with the matter. But *Dafius* not only misliking utterly and abhorring the thing, but also carrying a secret enmity to the party himself, the only eye-sore and concurrent that he had, striving to be greater than he, disclosed all to *Annibal*. Whereupon, both were sent for, and convened peremptorily before him. As *Annibal* was sitting upon the Tribunal seat, giving audience and dispatch to certain other matters; and that he might anon the better attend unto *Blasius* and the action intended against him: whiles the plaintive and defendant stood apart by themselves from the rest of the people a good way. *Blasius* went in hand again with *Dafius*, and solicited him for to deliver the City to the Romans. With that, *Dafius* (as if the matter had been too too apparent) cried out and said, That he bashed not to break unto him and move him, even in the presence and sight of *Annibal*, for to practise treason and betray the City. *Annibal* and all they that were there present, gave little credit unto *Dafius*: and the more audacious the thing it felt was, the less likely hood it carried with it of a truth. Every man supposed verily, it was nothing but emulation, envy, and cankred malice, that caused *Dafius* to charge upon him that crime, which because there was no witness to the contrary, he might ntruly devise and more freely enforce against him. And so for that time, they were both discharged the court. But *Blasius* never gave over to follow still this bold enterprise, but beat still upon this one point, shewing how good and commodious the thing would be, both to themselves in private, and to their country in common, until he had wrought him so, and won him to grant, that the Carthaginian garrison, (and those were Numidians) together with the City *Salapia*, should be rendered unto *Marcellus*. But without much bloodshed they could not possibly be thus betrayed and delivered: for they were the most hardy and valiant horsemen by far, of all the Carthaginian army. Wherefore, albeit they were taken on a sudden unprovided, and had no use of Horses within the City, yet with such weapons, as in such a sudden tumult and uprore they could catch and come by, first they assayed and gave the venture to break through and escape away: and when they saw that they could by no means save themselves and get forth, they fought it out to the last manfully, even unto death: so as there were not of them above fifty left alive, and came into the hands of the enemies. And surely, the loss of this corner of Horsemen, was a greater damage unto *Annibal*, than the forgoing of *Salapia*: for never from that day forward, had *Annibal* the upper hand in cavalry, which was the only service whereby ever before he most prevailed.

Much about the same time the Castle of *Tarentum* was streightly distressed for want of victuals, and hardly could endure and hold out any longer. The only hope that the Roman garrison had, which lay there, and the Captain thereof *M. Livius* the Constable of the Castle, was in the provision sent out of *Sicily*. For the safe convoy whereof, along the coast of *Italy*, there rid at anchor a fleet welnear of twenty sail before *Rhegium*. The Admiral of this fleet appointed to wait these victuals from time to time, was one *Decimus Quintius*, a man of obscure birth and base parentage, howbeit, for many worthy acts and feats of arms, much renowned in martial glory.

At the first he had the charge but of five ships; whereof two of the greatest, which were three banked Gallies, were allowed him by *Marcellus*: afterwards, upon his good service, when he had born himself bravely in many conflicts, he had three more committed unto him, and those were of five banks of oars, until at last himself, by calling upon the confederat Cities, as *Rhegium*, *Velia*, and *Paflum*, for the ships due by covenant unto the people of *Rome*, he had made a pretty Armado, as is above said, of twenty sail. As this fleet had disanchored and was gone from *Rhegium*, *Democritus* with the like Armado for number of *Tarentin* ships, encountred almost five leagues from the City of *Tarentum*, at a port called *Sacripotum*. It fortuned at that time, that the Roman Admiral, little looking for any batel, came forth under sail only, but about *Crosone* and *Schapia*, he had furnished his ships with Rowers also, and so his fleet for the bigness and tainess of the Vessels, was well appointed, and sufficiently armed and manned. And even then it happened at one time, that both the boisterous wind lay, and the enemies also were within kenning, so as they had scarce time enough to fit their tackling, to make ready their Rowers, and to set in order their fighting men, against a skirmish that was so neer toward. There was not lightly seen a greater conflict, fought more hotly and fiercely between two royal Armadoes that affronted one another, than between these small fleets. For why, the batel was for a greater matter, than all

their ships came to. The Tarentins maintained the fight more eagerly, because they were desirous to recover their Castle out of the Romans hands, as they had done their City, after one 100 years almost, during which time, they had been out of the possession thereof: hoping thereby, if they could be masters of the Sea once by some fortunate and victorious battel, to cut off and intercept all hope of victuals from the enemies. The Romans on the other side bestirred themselves as lustily that by keeping the possession of the Castle, all the world might see, that *Tarentum* was not lost by force, clean strength and valour, but betrayed by stealth and treachery. So they sounded the battel from both parts, and ran affront one at another, with the beaks and stems of their prows, and neither said rowing again forward, nor suffered their enemy to part or go aside from them, until they closed and grapled their ships together, by the means of iron hooks like hands. And so near they buckled, in hot and furious fight, that not only they discharged shot aloof one against another, but also they coped together (as it were) foot to foot, at hand strokes with sword-fight. Their prows and fore-ships stuck graped together, while the poops and hind-decks were driven about with contrary oars of the adverse part. So near and so thick withal stood the ships, and within so narrow a room, that scarce one dart light into the water in vain, and did no harm. With their beak-heads they assailed one another, as it had been on land fight, and so close they were, that the souldiers might passe out of one ship into another, as they fought. Howbeit, two ships there were above all the rest, that maintained a notable fight, and in the vanguard and forefront of the battel, invetted one another most furiously. In that of the Romans was *Quintius* himself in person, and in the other of the Tarentins, was one *Nico*, surnamed *Perce*, a man not only odious unto the Romans, for the publick quarrel between both states, but also maliciously bent, upon a private spite and rancour, as banding with that faction, which had betrayed *Tarentum* to *Annibal*. This *Nico* espying *Quintius* both fighting and also encouraging his men withal, charged him at unawares, and ran him quite through with a partizan: who was not so soon fain forward headlong upon the fore-deck, armour and all, but the Tarentin following the train of his victory, and seeing the ship disordered and troubled for the losse of their leader, lustily came forward, and boarded her; laid about him manfully, and put by the enemies out of his way, until the Tarentins were masters of the prow and fore-castle. Whiles the Romans had much ado (so thrumbed they were and thrust together disorderly) to defend and keep the poop and hind-deck; with that, another gally of the enemies appeared on a suddain, and charged the hind-part. So the Roman ship in the midst between both, was boarded on every side, and taken. Whereupon all the rest were greatly terrified, seeing the Admirall-ship was won by the enemy: and they fled on all hands. Some were sunk in the deep Sea, some made hast with their oars, and scudded to the land, but anon were a prize and prey to the Thurins and Metapontins. But of the Hulks and Caricks, which were fraught with victual, and followed after, very few there were that fell into the hands of the enemies: the rest shifting and turning their sails cross, this wayes and that wayes, according to the inconstancy of the wind, recovered the main Sea.

But about *Tarentum* at the same time, their fortune was nothing so good. For whereas there went out of the Town upon a four thousand men a foraging, for to purvey corn, *Livius*, Constable of the Castle and Captain of the garrison, spying his time (as he waited ever for all opportunities) made out of the said Castle 2000 armed souldiers, under the leading of *C. Persius* a valorous and industrious man: who set upon the Tarentins stragling out of order, and disperied in wandering wife over the fields; and after he had followed a long time the execution, killing them here and there as he encountered them; the rest, which were but few left of so many, he chaled to the Town: for they made hast in great fear thither, and were let in at the gates standing half shut, for fear lest at the same randon the Town should have been lost. So the Tarentins and Romans, when they had made the reckoning, put up all on even hand. For the Romans were winners by land, the Tarentins at Sea: and both of them disappointed alike of their hope of corn, which was presented to their eyes, but they never tasted thereof.

At the same time *Lavinus* the Consul, after a good part of the year was gone about, arrived in *Sicily*, greatly expected and looked for, as well by the old allies as the new: and the first thing of all other and most important, he supposed, was together with this new peace, to settle and compose the State of *Syracusa*, so much disordered and out of frame. After that, he led his legions to *Agrigentum*, where only there remained the reliques of war; which City was kept by a strong garrison of Carthaginians. There fortune favoured his first designs. *Hanno* chanced to be the General over the Carthaginians, but he wholly relied and reposed all his hope in *Mutines* and the Numidians. This *Mutines* had raged all over *Sicily* at his pleasure, and raised booties out of the territories and Lands of the Roman associates, and by no force or policy could be intercepted of his passage back to *Agrigentum*, nor yet be pinned within the City, but that he would issue forth whensoever he listed. This glory of his, because now it checked (as it were) the fame and honour of the General, turned the man at length to displeasure and danger: so as, what good service soever was achieved, it was never well taken by *Hanno*, nor joyously accepted, in regard of the person, who was a prick alwayes in his eye. Whereupon in the end he gave away the Captainship of *Mutines* from himself, and bestowed it upon his own Son: thinking, that together with his government and command, he should lose all his authority and reputation also among the Numidians. But it fell out far otherwise. For the more that he was in disgrace and disfavour with *Hanno*, the greater grew the old favour and love of the Numidians toward him.

Neither

A Neither could he himself endure any longer the unworthy wrong and indignity offered unto him: and therefore in revenge he presently dispatched certain secret messengers unto *Levinus*, with credence, that he would betray and deliver *Agrigentum* into his hands. By the mediation of these intercouriers, there passed sufficient security and assurance between them: and the matter being concluded, the manner also of contriving the plot, was agreed upon. Whereas therefore the Numidians were possessed, and had the guard of that gate that openeth toward the Sea: after they had either driven out the old warders from thence, or killed them, they let in the Romans at the same gate into the City, who were sent of purpose, according to the former agreement. And when they marched up into the midst of the City, even to the market place, with banner displayed, and with great tumult and noise; *Hannib* supposing it was nothing else, but a seditious uprising of the Numidians (like as they had done sometimes before) came forth as to appease and stay a mutiny and commotion. But discovering a greater multitude afar off, than the Numidians were: and hearing withal the Romans to shout, with the manner whereof his ears had been well acquainted before time, he took him to his heels ere he came within the dart-shot. And bring let out at a back postern gate, taking with him *Epistides*, he recovered with some few other the Sea side, where, as good hap was, they light upon a small bark or pinnace; and so leaving *Sicily* to the enemies, for which there had been much strife so many years together, they passed over into *Affrick*. The multitude besides both of Carthaginians and Sicilians, without any skirmish either begun or intended, fled like blind men they wist not whither: and finding all wayes made up, and no passage forth, they were miserably slain and hewn a pieces about the gates. *Levinus* being possessed of the Town, caused all the chief men and rulers of the City, to be beaten with rods, and to lose their heads: all the rest together with the pillage he sold in port-sale, and the morny that was raised thereof, he sent to *Rome*.

When the news of this misfortune of the Agrigentins was blown over *Sicily*, all at once turned Roman, and *Annibal* lost all. For in short space there were 20 Towns betrayed and yielded, six forced by assault, and to the number of 40 voluntarily surrendered to the devotion and protection of the Romans. The principal noble men of which States, after that the Consuls had either rewarded or punished according to their several demerits, and compelled the Sicilians generally to lay by arms and weapons, and to take themselves to the plough, for to ear, till, and sow their grounds; to the end that the Island might bring forth fruit, not only to sustain and maintain the natural inhabitants thereof, but also to ease the price of corn and victuals in the City of *Rome*, and throughout all *Italy*, like as it had done many times before: he transported over with him into *Italy* a rabble and damned crew of unruly people from *Agatirna*. Some four thousand there were of them, a confused multitude of all sorts, a very mish mash and sink, dangle of vile and wretched persons, most of them Outlaws, Bankrupts, and notorious malefactors, in danger of death by the laws of their Cities where they lived. And being fled their countries, some for one fact, some for another, they chanced all upon like fortune to sort themselves (as commonly birds of a feather will flie together,) and at *Agatirna*, they made choise like outlaws, to live by robbing and spoiling: and this was their only profession and trade. *Levinus* thought it no good policy to leave behind him these good fellows in an Island, which began but now upon new peace to knit and unite again; for fear lest they would minister matter of innovation and change; and besides, there was some good use of them among the Rhegins, for to forage and rove about the Brutians country: for such they stood in need of, and had laid for a company which were acquainted with theeving and stealing. And to this year made an end of the war in *Sicily*.

P. Scipio L. Deputy and General in *Spain*, having in the prime and beginning of Spring put his ships to Sea and set them afloat, and by an edict summoned all the aids of the allies to repair to the Rendezvous at *Taraton*; gave order and commandment, that as well the ships of war as of charge and burden, should from thence set forward, and shew themselves at the mouth of the River *Iberrus*. And after he had given direction and charge, that the legions from out of their winter harbors, should there meet together, himself accompanied with five thousand of his allies put himself on his journey to his main army. Being thither come, he thought it good to make some speech to the old souldiers especially, as many as remained alive after so great defeats and overthrowes, and when he had assembled them all together to an audience, in this wise he spake unto them, "Never was there new General before my self, that could by good right, and in regard of desert, render thanks unto his souldiers, before he had employed them, and made trial of their good service. But as for me, before I ever came within sight of this Province, before I entered my government and saw the camp, fortune hath obliged me, and made me beholden unto you. First, for your kindness and zealous affection to my father and to mine uncle, both while they lived, and when they were dead. Secondly, in that when the possession of this Province was lost, after so great foils and overthrowes, ye have by your vertue and valour recovered the same again, and kept it entire to the behoof of the people of *Rome*, and myself, the next successor in place of sovereign rule and command. But so far much as our full purpose and present resolution is, by the leave, favour, and power of the Gods, not so much to hold the possession our selves and abide in *Spain*, but to dispossesse the Carthaginians that they may have no footing nor abode at all there: and since the thing that we go about, is not to stand keeping the bank of *Iberrus*, for to stop the passage of the enemy: but to give the attempt, & passe over our selves by force: yea, and therewithal to transport the war over with

The Oration
of P. Scipio to
his souldiers

"us into his own country, and to come home unto him. I fear me greatly, lest this will seem
 "unto some of you a greater designment, and more audacious enterprise of mine, than may ei-
 "ther suit and sort with the fresh remembrance of those late defeats, or stand well with my young
 "and unripe age. The soils and unfortunate foughten fields in *Spain*, can be of no man in the
 "World forgotten later than of my self, whose father, whose Uncle, were within the space of
 "30 dayes there slain, to the end that sorrow upon sorrow, funeral upon funeral, one mournful
 "death after another, should unfortunately be heaped upon our house and family. But as this de-
 "solate estate and defect almost of all my house and name (wherein I only, in manner, am left alive
 "of my race) woundeth my heart and makes it bleed, as often as I think of it: to the publick for-
 "tune and vertue of the Common-weale, reviveth my spirit again, and will not suffer me to de-
 "spair totally of the state of this Empire: considering the destiny and Providence of the Gods, I
 "whereby it is a thing given unto us, and our luck hath ever been, that howsoever we have recei-
 "ved overthrowes in all great wars and dangerous battails, yet in the end, we have gone away
 "with the victory. I omit to speak of old examples, of *Porfena*, of the Gauls, and Samnits: and
 "I will begin at the Punick wars. How many armadoes and fleets, how many brave Captains;
 "how many valiant and puissant armies were there lost and miscarried, during the former? And
 "what should I say of this in our dayes? In all the defeats and overthrowes, I was either present
 "my self in person; or if I were not in any of them, yet I am sure, I was he that felt the smart of
 "them, more than any man else whatsoever. The River *Trebia*, the mere *Thrasymenus*, the Town
 "*Canna*, what are they else, but the very sepulchres and tombs of the Roman armies there hewn
 "in pieces, and of their Consuls slain. And thereto, the general revolt of *Italy*, the rebellion of
 "*Sicily*, the falling away of the greater part of *Sardinia*. Moreover and besides, this last affright
 "and terror; namely, the Carthaginians camp pitched between *Anio* and the walls of *Rome*, and
 "*Annibal* seen well neer, as conqueror at the very gates of our City. In these so great ruins and
 "adverse distresses of our state, yet the vertue alone and valour of the people of *Rome* hath stood
 "upright, sound, and immutable: yea, and hath raised up again and set on foot, all that which lay
 "along on the ground. You only, my valorous souldiers, were the first, that after the discomfiture
 "of *Canna*, under the leading and good fortune of my father, withstood *Asdrubal* in his journey and
 "expedition toward the *Alps*, purposing to go down into *Italy*; who if he had joyned with his
 "brother *Annibal*, certainly by this day, there had remained no memory of the Roman name.
 "And in very truth, these affairs falling out so prosperously, made amends and recompence for all
 "the former losses. But now through the goodness of the Gods, all things prosper and go well
 "forward: and the affairs of *Italy* and *Sicily* both, mend daily, and are every day better than
 "other. In *Sicily*, *Syracuse* and *Agrigentum* are won and wholly ours: the enemies be driven
 "out of all the Island, and the state is reduced into the form of a Province, subject to the people of
 "*Rome*, and under their obedience. In *Italy*, the Town of *Arpi* is recovered by surrender, the
 "City of *Capua* is forced by assault. *Annibal* himself, having measured all the way, (but in fear-
 "full hast and in manner of a flight) as long as it is from *Rome* to the Brutians country (in high
 "*Calabria*), is there driven up into the furthest angle and corner thereof, nothing more wishing
 "and praying for at Gods hands now, than to be able to retire and get away safe out of his ene-
 "mies Land. What thing then were lesse becoming, my hardy souldiers, than this, If you who
 "have sustained and upheld the decaying and down-falling estate of the Roman Empire in this
 "Province, you (I say) together with my two parents (whom for the reverence that I owe to
 "them, give me leave to make equal, and to honour with that name) at what time as calamities
 "and losses, hapned suddenly one in the neck of another, and the Gods themselves seemed to take
 "part and stand with *Annibal*; should now let fall your courages and be faint-hearted, because in
 "those Provinces aforesaid, all things go well to our hearts desire and great contentment. As for
 "the late misfortunes and adversities which have hapned here, would to God they had passed over
 "without sorrow, as well of my part, as of yours. But for the present, the immortal Gods, Pro-
 "tectors and Governors of the Roman Empire, who inspired into the minds and hearts of all the
 "Centuries, to wish and chuse me to this place of soveraign honor, even the same Gods by augu-
 "ries and auspices, by all tokens of the birds either by flight or sight, yea, and by visions also in the
 "night season, do portend, signifie and promise unto me, all good speed and happy successe: yea
 "and mine own mind giveth me, (which ever hitherto, hath been to me the truest prophesie, and
 "never deceived me) that all *Spain* is ours: and that within short time the whole Punick nation
 "nation, being expelled and driven out from hence, shall fill all Seas and Lands with their shame-
 "full and dishonorable flight. That which my spirit and soul of it self presageth, the same doth rea-
 "son also conclude by most certain and infallible demonstration. The allies and subjects here of
 "the Carthaginians, oppressed and wronged by them, have humbly by their Embassadors craved
 "our aid and succour. The Captains General of their forces, being at difference and odds all three
 "among themselves, inso much as they had like to have departed and revolted one from the other,
 "have distracted and dismembered their forces into three parts, and bestowed them in three sever-
 "all countries, most removed and distant asunder. And no doubt, the like fortune is ready to fall
 "upon their heads, which lately was our undoing and overthrow, upon the same occasion. For
 "even as we before were forsaken of the Celtiberians, so are they now abandoned of their allies.
 "Besides, they parted and divided their armies asunder: which was the only cause, that brought
 "the utter ruin and destruction upon my father and uncle. And be ye sure, that their intestine
 "discord

A "discord and dissention, will never suffer them to joy a friendly and unite again in one. And thus singled as they are, they cannot possibly withstand our puissance. Now my souldiers, for your part, do but favour the mine of the *Scipio*: do but affect and love me, the issue and off-spring of your noble Generals, budding forth again (as it were) out of the old stock, cut down to the roots. "Go to, old souldiers, and renowned servants, with bold courage let over the River *Iberus* a new army and a new *Capitane* pass over with them into those Lands, which ye have often conquered, and wherein ye have achieved many valiant and memorable acts. And for my self, I will so endeavour and effect, that as ye now againe in me, the resemblance of my fathers and uncles visage and countenance, the same feature, proportion, and dimensions of the body: so I will thew and represent unto you, the true pattern and portraiture of their spirit, wit, faithfulness, and ver-
B "tue; even as the expresse and lively image taken and drawn from their own selves: in such sort, as every man may say; That *Capitane Scipio* is either risen from the dead, or new born again. Having by this Oration, incensed and inflamed the courages of his souldiers, and left *Scyllax* with a guard of three thousand foot, and three hundred Horse; for the defence of that coast; he transported over the River *Iberus*, all the rest of his forces, amounting to the number of five and twenty thousand foot, and six hundred Horsemen. There he was advised by some about him, seeing the Punick armies were departed into three countries so far remote and diverse shnder, to set upon and assaile that which was next: but he doubting and fearing lest by that means he should draw them altogether, and knowing that he was not able alone to march and make his part good with so many hosts at once, determined in the mean while, to be doing with new *Carthage*, and to besiege
C and assault it. This City, as it was rich and wealthy in it self, so it was full of all the enemies furniture and provision for war. There was their armour kept; there was their money laid up, there remained the hostages of all *Spain*. Besides, as it was leaved commodiously to cross over from thence into *Affrike*; so it stood upon a convenient and large haven, able to receive and harbour the greatest navy at Sea, and the only haven (if I be not deceived) of all that coast and tract of *Spain*, which boundeth next upon our Sea. But no man was made privy to his determination, or knew whether they should take their journey, five only *Lalio*. He being sent about with the armado, had direction so to transport and guide his course by sail and oar, that at one and the self same instant, both *Scipio* might present his Land forces in the view of *Carthage*, and the fleet enter the haven. So they departed from *Iberus*, and within seven dayes came before the City of *Carthage*, both by Sea
D and Land. His camp he pitched on the north side of the City: which he entrenched and fortified on that outward back part, that stood furthest from the City: as for the forefront, it was by natural situation of the ground, defended surely enough. For the site of *Carthage* is in this sort. There is a gulf or creek of the Sea, in the middle coast and river well neer of *Spain*, opposite most to the South-west wind, running & retiring in length within the Land half a mile, lying out in breadth somewhat more. In the very mouth of this creek, there is a little Island from the open Sea; which liveth thickets, and defendeth the haven from all other winds, but only the Southwest. From the inmost nook of this bay, there beareth out a promontory like a demy Island, which is the very Hill or Cape whereupon the City is built. The same on the East side and the South, is compassed with the Sea: from the West, it is enclosed with a lake or standing mear, which also spreadeth somewhat
E toward the North, of an uncertain depth: which stretcheth according to the tide, and as the Sea either ebbereth or floweth. Now, there is an elbow or bank of firm ground, somewhat lesse than a quarter of a mile over, that joyneth the City with the main or continent. To that side (notwithstanding it had been no great piece of work there to fortifie) the Roman General, call no trench, nor raised any rampier: either upon a brave and sturdy mind, to shew the enemy how confidently he trusted in his own strength; or because, whensoever he advanced to the walls of the City, as oftentimes he took occasion so to do, he might have open recourse and regrest again into the camp. But when the inner side, which required fortifications, was finished, he set the ships in order within the haven, making a row, as if he would besiege them also on the water side. And when he had gone through all his armado, and given the Captains of the ships in charge, to look well to their
F centinels and watches in the night (for that commonly enemies at their first besieging, make what attempts and adventures they can in every place) he returned into his camp. And because he would not only yeeld his souldiers good reason of this his designment, in that he began war first and principally with the besieging of that City: but also encourage them, and put them in good hope of the winning and conquest thereof, he assembled them together, and discoursed before them in this manner;

The situation of New Carthage.

The Oration of Scipio to his souldiers.

"My valiant souldiers and trusty friends, if any man here thinketh, that ye are brought hither to assault a City only, and there an end: he rather maketh reckoning of your present pain and travel, than considereth the profit and commodity thereof ensuing. For ye shall in very truth give the assault to the walls but of one City: but in that one City ye shall be masters and conquerors of all *Spain*. Here lie the hostages of all their Nobles, their Princes, and States. And no sooner shall ye be Lords of them, and have them in your rule and custody, but presently, all that
G "now is under the hands of the Carthaginians in *Spain*, will be surrendered unto you, and at your devotion. Here is all the money that the enemies have: without which, like as they are not able to maintain war, (as who wage and entertain all their armies for pay) so it will mightily
"stead us, if we light upon it, in gaining the hearts of the barbarous people. Here are their engines and artillery, here is their armour, here is their tackling and provision for their navy, and all
"other

"other munition and furniture for war: wherewith we shall both furnish our selves, and disarmish
 "the enemy. Gain we shall over and besides, not only right fair and beautiful, but also a most rich
 "and wealthy City: yes, and more than that, of right great importance and consequence, in re-
 "gard of a goodly and surpassing commodious haven: by means whereof, we may be provided
 "both from Sea and Land, of all things needful and requisite for the war. Which, as they will be
 "of great moment to us that shall have them, so they will be the greater loss to the enemy that
 "shall forgo them. This is their Castle for strength, their garner for corn, their treasury for money,
 "their armory, their arsenal, and in one word, their very store-houle of all things whatsoever.
 "Hither is the direct passage and freight cut out of *Africa*, here is the only port and harbor for
 "shipping, between the Islands of *Gades*, or *Gabrata*, and the mountains *Pyrenai*: from whence
 "all *Spain* overlooketh (as it were) and commandeth *Africa*. But knowing that you are well
 "appointed already, and prepared to the service, I will say no more but this: Now for the honour
 "of the Romans, let us go courageously to it, and with all our might and main assault new *Car-*
 "*thage*. And when they all with one accord cried unto him, so to do indeed, and that no other
 "thing was first to be done: then he advanced before *Carthage*, then he gave commandment to assail
 "it at once, by Land and Sea. *Mago* the Captain of the Carthaginians on the other side, when he
 "saw preparation made by Water and Land to give the assault, for his part ordered his forces and
 "dispoled them in this manner. To make head against the Romans on that side where they lay en-
 "camped, he opposed two thousand Towns-men: with a guard of five hundred souldiers he kept
 "the citadel: other five hundred he placed upon a little hill belonging to the City which looketh to
 "the East: all the other multitude whatsoever, he appointed to make resistance in other places, in
 "where any outcries, shouts, or suddain alarms should be given. Then having set open a gate, he
 "sendeth those forth, whom he had arranged in that street which leadeth directly to the camp of
 "the enemies. The Romans (according as they were commanded by their Leader himself) in the
 "beginning gave ground a little and retired, to the end, that during the time of skirmish and con-
 "flict, they might be neerer to the supply of succours, which were to be sent to second them from
 "behind. And verily at the first they stood to it stoutly on both parts, and there was no odds percei-
 "ved. But afterwards, the Romans being still freshly reenforced from out of the camp, not only
 "discomfited the enemies, and put them to flight, but pressed on them so hard, as they fled disordered
 "and out of array, that if *Scipio* had not founded the retreat, it seemed, that they would have inter-
 "mingled themselves pell-mell with those that ran away, and rushed into the City with them. With-
 "in the City throughout there was no less fear than in the battel. Many courts of guard and other
 "places were abandoned, the curtain of the walls was left naked, and every man made what shift he
 "could to leap down and escape. Which when *Scipio* perceived (who now was turned to a mount
 "which they call *Monte Taurator*) and namely, that the walls were void of all the defendants,
 "he commanded all his souldiers to issue forth of the camp, to set forward to the assault, and to bring
 "ladders to scale. Himself in person, defended with the shields of 3 tall lusty young men going be-
 "fore him (for by this time they let fly afresh from the walls a mighty volley of shot of all sorts)
 "approached the City. There he exhorted, encouraged, and commanded them to do what was re-
 "quisite in this service. And that which made most to enkindle the courages of the souldiers, he was
 "there personally as an eye-witness and beholder of each mans valour or cowardise. Whereupon
 "they stuck not to run upon the very shot, and to receive many a wound: and now nothing could
 "keep them back; neither the strength of the walls, nor the armed men that stood thereupon, but
 "they scaled striving who could mount upon the walls first. At the same time, that part of the City
 "also which the Sea beat upon, began to be assailed by the ships. But from thence, it should seem,
 "they made more ado with houting and hurrying, than effected ought by any forcible assault. For
 "whiles they came close to the walls with their ships, whiles they put forth their ladders and their
 "souldiers: whiles every man laboured to gain the Land, the neerest way he could: what with their
 "striving and hast-making, they hindered one another. And by that time *Mago* had filled the walls
 "full of armed men, who let fly arrows, Javelins, darts, and all kind of shot, wherewith they had
 "gathered together exceeding great store. But neither men, nor arrows and darts, nor any things else
 "defended the wall so much as the very wall it self. For few ladders they had that could reach up to
 "the top: and the longer any of them were, the more weak also they were. Whereupon, by rea-
 "son that they who were climed up to the highest rounds, could not gain the parapet and discharge
 "the ladder, and yet some or other still clambred up after, the ladders being overcharged with the
 "weight, brake in pieces. Some again there were, that notwithstanding the ladders under them
 "held still and stood unbroken, yet when they looked down from on high, their eyes so dazzled, and
 "were overcast with a mist, that they lost their sight, and fell from the top to the ground. But when
 "ladders here, and men there, came tumbling down, and the enemies upon their good speed grew
 "to be more barty and hardy, the retreat was founded: which gave to the besieged within the Town
 "not hope only of present rest and intermission of so great labour and toil, but also assured them in
 "manner, for the time to come, that the City was tenable against all escalades, although it were
 "invested therewith round about. And as for fabricks and mounts to be raised and planted against
 "it, they were not only difficult and hard to be performed, but also would ask some long time: and
 "Minister in the mean while, space sufficient for the other Generals of their own to come to the
 "rescue. But scarce was the first assault fully ceased, when *Scipio* commanded other fresh and
 "unfoiled souldiers, to take the ladders of them that were wearied already and wounded, and
 "with

A with greater violence to give a new Campaign. Himself, so soon as he understood that it was ebbe and low water, having been advertised by certain fishermen of Tarraco (who sometimes with light boats used to row, and other whiles when their vessels spotted the ground, to wade all over the lake upon firm ground) that men might easily wade to the walls on foot: rather to that place he brought all his soldiers to the assault. It was now almost noon-tide of the day: and besides that the water of it self naturally fell with the ebbe into the Sea, there was a good round northern wind arose, which drew the water out of the lake (which now was well full) after the tide, and discovered such shallows, that whereas in some places therof they went up to the navel, in some again they waded scarce knee-deep. Which their *Spies* knew well to be an ordinary thing in natural reason: and therefore with good intent had made provision accordingly to take that advantage, yet he turned it to a miraculous and prodigious accident, attributing all to the immediate handy-work of the Gods: as who an gulf passage and passage to the Romans, had turned back the course and current of the Sea, discharged lakes of their water, and opened ways unto them, that never before were troden with the sole of man's foot: and therewith he willed his soldiers to follow *Neptune*, the guide and Leader of the way, and to passe boldly through the midst of the lake close to the very walls. On the Land-side the assailants had exceeding trouble in standing under the walls: for not only they were hindered by reason that the custels was so high: but also as they went, they lay open and under their shot, and were wounded both waies, to wit their flanks and sides were more annoyed as they approached under, than their faces and fore-front of their bodies. But on the other part, as they were quietly and easily through the meere to the wall, so they climed forward as securely to the very top thereof. For neither was it strongly fortified with bul-warks, nor raised to any height by industry and art of man, so being supported by natural situation of the place, and the standing lake besides, strong enough and sufficiently defended: nor any guard of armed men were there in watch and ward, opposed against the assailants: whiles every man was busy, and wholly intended to help there, from whence some danger was seen. The Romans being thus entered the City over the walls without any skirmish, marched from thence with what speed they could, unto that gate, shott which all the night and day skirmish was already begun: for there not only all their minds were bent and united, but also their eyes and ears were occupied and possessed: whiles some fought, others looked on and encouraged the fighters: in such sort, that there was none of them all once perceived or perceived how the City was taken and surprised behind them, before the darts flew about their ears too high upon their back parts, and when they had the enemies both before and behind. Then not only the walls were taken (when the defendants upon a twofold feat, were driven to abandon them) but also the great town withinforth and without, began to be broken down: and anon, after continual running and beating against it, the leaves thereof perforce flew aspeere, because there might be nothing to impeach or let them in their entrance: then the armed soldiers broke in most furiously. Many already had leaped the walls, and got over, but they turned and betook themselves every where to massacre and make havoc of the Townsmen. But the main host, which entered in at the gate with their Captains, orderly by companies and files in their array, marched forward through the midst of the City to the market place. From whence *Spies* might see the enemies fled waies, some to the fortresse upon the hill aforesaid, which standeth in the East, and was kept with a guard of five hundred soldiers: others into the citadel, into which *Mago* himself, with all the armed men in a manner, who were driven from the walls, had retired and fled for to save himself. Whereupon he drew a part of his forces to win the said Hill, and himself in person led the rest to the Citie. And as he fort upon the Hill was taken at the first assault and shot given, to *Mago*, after he had a while made some means to defend the Citie, seeing all places full of enemies, swimming every where, and no other hope, yielded himself, the Citie, and the garrison. Until the Citie was surrendered and given up, there was nothing but murdering and killing all over the City, and not one spared that seemed to be of any use or use, and as if they came in their way. But then, upon the threat of *Emperors* the execution ceased, and the conquerors fell to forage and pillage, which at all forth of the night by torch-light. Of five hundred that were of male sex, there were taken prisoners eleven thousand. Then, so many of them as he found to be natural citizens of Carthage, he dismissed and let go free, and reduced unto them not only the City, but also their own goods, which the first fury and rage of war had broken and scattered. These rest of *African* and *Libyan* men, some two thousand, which by an oath he promised to be his, and as he had, thus he employed, to serve the Common-wealth of the people of Rome: yet with some hope, that finally they might obtain their freedom again, in case they performed good service, and showed themselves diligent in battles and offices of war. The rest of the multitude of inhabitants, such as were able and young lusty men, as also the stout and sturdy bondsmen, he awarded them to the ships, for to furnish up the number of Galley-slaves and Rowers, and with the eight ships of war, which he took captive in the haven, he increased his own Armado. Besides all this multitude, there were also the hostages of the *Spaniards* above mentioned, of whom he took as great care, and as good regard, as if they had been the children of *Alors* and associates. A mighty deal of warlike artillery and ordinance was there found and seized on. Of Catapults of the greatest size 20 of a lesser sort 23. Balists some greater, some smaller of them 33, of these 12. Of Scorpions and Cross-bows without number, as well great as small, and likewise of defensive armour, and offensive weapons a huge deal, and a most glorious quantity. Military ensignes 74. Of gold and silver there

New Carthage
forced by Scipio;

The first con-
queror and
conqueror of
Carthage.

A and a third comes with his two thousand, and no more. I meet with one record which reporteth, that there were 10000 taken prisoners: and another, that there were above 25000. Of Scorpions or Crosbows, great and small, I should say there were gained some 60, if I would take for mine another *Silennus*, a greek writer: but if I follow *Valerius Antias* and go by him I should tell you a tale of six thousand of the greater sort, and thirteen thousand of the smaller. See how little rule they had of their tongues to over-reach, or stay of their pens to set down so loud lies upon record. Nay, they are not well agreed so much as upon this point, who were the great Captains and Commanders. Most of them say, that *Lulius* was L. Admirall: there be again that would have *M. Junius Syllanus* to be the man. And *Armet* was Captain of the Punick garrison, and yielded to the Romans, if ye list to beleeve *Valerius Antias*: but by the testimony and credit of others, it was *Mago*. Moreover, the records accord not about the number of ships that were taken, nor of the weight of gold and silver, nor yet of the sum of money that was raised of the pillage. To conclude, if we must needs beleeve some one or other, the mean between is the best, and carrieth most likelihood of the truth.

B But to return again to *Scipio*: "When he had called forth the hostages into his presence first he had them all in general to be of good cheer: for why? they were now in the hands of the people of Rome, who ever desired to bind men unto them by favours and good turns more than to awe them with feare and dread: and to have forraign nations knit and joyned in faithful amity, rather than held in subjection by heavy servitude. Then after he had taken the names in writing of their severall Cities, he also reviewed the number of the prisoners, and counted just how many belonged to every State. Which done, he dispatched messengers home into their countries, willing their parents and friends to come and receive every man their own. Happily any Embassadors of their Cities were present, he restored unto them their own hostages without delay: for all the rest, he gave expresse charge to *C. Flaminius* the Treasurer to see unto them in all kind, courteous, and liberrall usage. Whiles he was busie in taking this order, there happed to come from among the hostages, even out of the midst of the company, an aged gentlewoman, the wife of *Mandovius*, brother to *Indibilis*, a Prince and great Lord of the Ibergetes. She shed tears, and fell down prostrate at the feet of the L. General: and withall began to beseech him most instant-ly, to give a more special charge, concerning the custody of the women-lex, and to recommend them to their keepers, for to be guarded with a careful eye, and to be kept and attended on more tenderly. Why? quoth *Scipio*, I warrant thee good woman, they shall want for nothing that is meet for them. Then replied this Dame again, We stand not so much (quoth she) upon these terms: for a little thing, God wot, may serve and content them in this poor estate and low condition: my care is for another matter, when I consider and behold the young and tender age of these maidens here. As for my self, I am now past date, and without danger of that injury, which our sex is subject and exposed unto. Now there stood about her the daughters of *Indibilis*, virgins in the fresh prime and flower of their age, and passing fair and beautiful withall: besides some other Ladies as nobly born as they: who all honoured her as their natural mother that bare them. Then *Scipio*, "I would (quoth he) in the ordinary course as well of mine own discipline as of that which is established by the people of Rome, have a respective consideration, that no one thing among us should suffer abuse, which elsewhere in any place of the world is held inviolable: this would I do, I say, for mine own credit, and for the honour of Rome: but to have a more special eye that way, your own vertue also and worthiness bindeth me: who in the midst of these your calamities and miseries have not forgot your womanly carriage and the honour of your sex. And thereupon he delivered them over to the custody of a man of approved honesty and integrity, commanding him to guard them with no less reverence, modesty, and continency, than if they were the wives or mothers of their nearest friends that gave them entertainment. After this, there was presented unto him by his souldiers a damoel and virgin of ripe years, taken also prisoner: but so well favoured and surpassing in beauty, that wheresoever she went every mans eye was upon her, in admiration of so rare and perfect a creature. *Scipio* having enquired of her country where she was born, and the wife of what parents she was descended: among other things learned, that she was espoused and affianced to a young Prince of the Celtiberians, whose name was *Allucius*. Postwith he sent home to her parents and foresaid spouse, for to repair unto him: and in the mean time he understood that her husband that should be was wonderfully enamoured of her, and ready to die for her love. So soon as the young Gentleman was come, *Scipio* entred into a more familiar speech with him, than he did either with the father or mother of the maiden, and in these terms he entertained him: "I am a young man (quoth he) as well as your self. Come on therefore, let us young men both devise and commune together more freely, and not be too nice, coy, and bashfull one to the other. After that your espoused wife, taken captive by my souldiers, was brought unto me, and that I heard of the exceeding fame and affection that you cast upon her, I beleeved it full well for her singular beauty deserveth no less. Now forasmuch as my self, it might be allowed to use the pastimes of youth, (I mean no other wise than in honest and lawful love) and were not called away by the Common weal, & employed wholly in other affairs of state, I would think to be pardoned and held excused, if I had an extraordinary liking to a spouse of mine own, and loved her extremely. I must therefore needs favour and tender your love, which is the thing I can, considering that I may not the other in any wise. Your sweet heart and best beloved I have entertained as well, and as respectfully, as she should have been

The rare continence and courtesie of *Scipio*.

"been with your father and mother in law, who are her own kind and natural parents. Referred
 "the hath been kept for you alone, that you might receive her at my hands, unspoiled and un-
 "touched, and a present becoming me and you both. In lieu and recompence therefore of this
 "hoon and gift, which I now bestow upon you, I require at your hands again this only pro-
 "mise and faithful covenant, that you will be a friend and well-willer to the State of Rome. And if
 "you take me indeed to be a good and honest man, such as these nations and people here have
 "known my father and uncle to have been before me; know you thus much, that in the City of
 "Rome there are many more like unto us; and that there cannot at this day a nation in the world
 "be named, which you would wish less to be an enemy to you and yours, or desire more to en-
 "tertain as your friend. The young Gentleman being abashed for very modesty, and yet right
 "glad and joyfull withall, held *Scipio* by the hand, called upon all the gods, and besought them in his
 "behalf to thank and recompence him therefore, since it lay not in his own proper power, in any
 "proportion or measure to be thankful and make requitall, either as himself could wish, or as *Scipio*
 "had deserved. Then were the parents and kinsfolk of the maid called for: who seeing the damo-
 "sell freely rendered and given them again, for whose ransom and redemption they had brought
 "with them a sufficient sum of gold, fell so intreating and requesting *Scipio* to vouchsafe for to ac-
 "cept the same at their hands, as a gift and token of their good will: assuring him, that in so doing,
 "they should take themselves no less bound and beholden unto him, than for the restoring and
 "delivering of the virgin untouched and undefiled; *Scipio* seeing them so earnest and importunate,
 "promised for to receive it, and withall, commanded that it should be laid down at his feet: and
 "calling *Allucius* unto him, "Here (quoth he) over and besides all your other dowry which your
 "father in law must pay you, have from me thus much more money to mend your marriage with;
 "take this gold therefore to your self, and keep it for your own use. And so after this rich reward
 "given, and great honour done unto him, he was dismissed; and departed home with much joy and
 "hearts content: where he made report unto his countrymen and people of the praise-worthy
 "vertues of *Scipio*, and the favours from him received; saying moreover, there was come into Spain
 "a young man resembling the immortal gods in all respects: who as well by bounty, liberality,
 "and bestowing benefices, as by martiall prowes and force of arms, is in the very way to win and con-
 "quer all. So when he had assembled and mustred all his vassals and tenants, he returned within few
 "daies, accompanied with a train of fourteen hundred of the best and most choicest horsemen of his
 "country.

Scipio keeping *Lalins* still with him, until by his advice and counsel he had disposed of the cap-
 "tives, hostages, and other prizes and pillage: after he had serled all in good order, appointed a
 "Galiace of five banks of oars, wherein he embarked the prisoners, with *Magus* and some fifteen
 "Senators besides, who together with him were taken, and sent them to Rome with a messenger to
 "carry tidings of this victory. Himself determined to sojourn a few daies in Carthage, which time
 "he spent in training and exercising his souldiers, as well of land service as at sea. The first day he
 "caused the Legions to run to and fro in their armour four miles out in length. The second day he
 "commanded them to scout and furbish their harness and weapons before their tents. Upon the
 "third day they joyned and encountered in battell-wise, and practised to fight with blunt wasters
 "and bastons; yea, and lanced one at another darts and javalins, rounded at the point end with
 "balls in manner of foils. The fourth day they rested and reposed themselves. On the fifth day again
 "they ran at turnament as before, armed. This order they kept, exercising, labouring, and resting
 "by turns, so long as they abode at Carthage. And thus much for the Legionary souldiers. The
 "sea-servitors and mariners used in calm water and still weather to row up onto the sea, and there
 "to make triall of the nimbleness and agility of their ships, representing shewes of sea-fights and
 "skirmish. Thus without the City, they endured their bodies, and quickned their spirits and coura-
 "ges both on land and water. Within the town there was nothing heard but preparation of war-
 "furniture. All the publike shops and work-houses full of smiths, engineers, and all other artifi-
 "ers for the purpose of their work, and never going from it. The General himself, as supervisor
 "with equall and indifferent care oversaw all. One while he would be with the *Amado*, in the har-
 "bour; another while, he conversed among the Legions, and surveyed with them. At times he would
 "set by foot to visit the works about the walls, and see how they went forward. Other whiles he
 "would be in the shops aforesaid, among the multitude of the Carpenters, and Smiths, and other
 "Artisans, viewing what they did there; and in the arsenal and ship-docks, observing and marking
 "how much they went forward day by day, striving by way of emulation as they did, who would do
 "most and quit himself best. Having thus set them a work, repaired the walls which he had battered
 "and shaken, and placed certain guards there, for the defence of the City, he took his journey to
 "Tarragone, and all the way he was visited and plied with sundry embassages. Some of them he an-
 "swered and dispatched as he was in his journey; others he put off, to give their attendants at Tar-
 "ragone; for thither he had summoned all the allies and confederates, both new and old, to meet
 "him. And in manner all the Cities and States on this side *Leuras*, and many also of the farther Pro-
 "vince of Spain, there assembled.

The Carthaginian Captains and Commanders at the first of set purpose, suppressed and stop-
 "ped the rumour of the winning of Carthage. But when the thing was too too apparent, it could
 "not be hidden and smothered, they used all the words they could to elevate it, and make the mat-
 "ter less than it was. To wit, "That by a hidden invasion and expedition of the Romans in one day

A " (as it were) by stealth, it chanced that one of the Cities of Spain was surprized; that the insolent and foolish young man bearing himself prodigally proud, and jocund beyond all measure, would seem to make up the measure or so small a catch that he had got, with a great shew of a brave victory: but when he shall hear once that there are three Generals coming toward him, and three victorious armies of enemies, he will soon pull in his horns: he will then tell us another story when presently he shall call to remembrance with grief of every vain in his heart, the death of his father, of uncle, and other progenitors. These and such like speeches they gave out among the people and common sort, knowing in their own conscience what a blow they had caught, and how much their strength was decayed by the loss of new Carthage.

The seven and twentieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the seven and twentieth Book.

C **C**NEUS Fulvius the Pro-Consul, was slain, and with his army utterly defeated by Annibal at Herdonea. But Cl. Marcellus, the Consul, had better fortune in a battell against him before Numistro. From whence Annibal distoged and departed by night. Marcellus pursued after him, and ever as he fell off, followed him hard still, until he gave him battell. In the former fight Annibal had the victory, but Marcellus in the later. Fab. Max. the father being Consul, had the Tarentines yield up unto him by treason. In Spain, Scipio fought a battell with Asdrubal the son of Amilcar, at Batula, and won the field. Among others there was a boy taken prisoner of royal blood, and of incomparable beauty: whom he sent with rich gifts unto Masaniella his uncle by the mother. Claudius Marcellus and T. Quinctius Crispinus the Consuls, who chanced to go out of their Camp so disorderly, as espials, the country, were forelaid by an ambush of Annibal, and entrapped. Where Marcellus was slain, Crispinus fled. This book containeth a so the wars and exploits achieved by P. Sulpicius the Praetor, against Philip and the Achaens. The Consuls held a solemn survey and numbering of the Citizens, and purged the City, for which survey there were found of Roman Citizens 137168. By which account it was seen how many the people of Rome had lost, by the adverse fortune of so many battels. Asdrubal, whom with his army had passed over the Alps for to fight with Annibal, was slain, and with him 56000 men besides, by the conduct of M. Livius the Consul, but without the equal good service of Cl. Nero the other Consul: who being appointed to make head against Annibal, left the Camp so, as the enemy was able to thrust in with an little power of hardy men, environed and enclosed Asdrubal about, and so defeated him.

The seven and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

E **T**hus stood the affairs in Spain. In Italy the Consul Marcellus having recovered Salapia by composition, won by force two towns from the Samnites, Minturne and Minturne. Where there were slain three thousand of Annibal's soldiers, who had been left there in garrison. Some good portion of the pillage was shared among the soldiers. Of which booty there was found there 12000 measures called Modii, and of bulley 100000. But the joy from hence was not so great as the loss and damage received within few daies after, not far from the City Herdonea. C. Fulvius the Pro-Consul lay there encamped upon hope to regain that City, which after the defeat at Clunia, had revolted from the Romans. He was neither fortified in a place of safety, nor yet well furnished and manned for defence. The Captain thereof (En. Fulvius aforesaid) was by nature ever negligent, but grew much more so this now, presuming upon a vain hope that he had of them within, in that he perceived how the townsmen already began to fail in their devotion and faithful allegiance to the Carthaginians: especially, after they heard that upon the loss of Salapia, Asdrubal was departed out of those parts into the Lucanian country. Annibal had intelligence of all this brought unto him from Herdonea by secret messengers, which, as it caused him to have a carefull eye to the saving and keeping of a friend City, so it ministered good hope unto him for to surprise his enemy in unawares and unprovided. Whereupon with his army highly appointed, he took long journey, and made haste to Herdonea, so as he prevented almost the time and breath of his coming. To And to strike the more terror into his enemies, he thither marched in battell array. The Roman Generals, as adventures and bold as he every way, having nothing at all to possesse, nor so strong brought his force forth in more haste than good speed, and gave him battell. His fifth legion, and the left wing of corner of Cavalry began the skirmish, and charged hotly. But Annibal had given his horsemen direction, that when the Infantry was in the midst of skirmish, with mind & eye wholly occupied that way, they should wheel about and fetch a compass, and while some of them assailed the

the Camp, the rest should play upon the back of their enemies: himself iterating chibons unto the name of *Cn. Fulvius*, for which sake, because two years before in the very same quarter he had vanquished another *Cn. Fulvius*, who was Praetor also, assured them of the like success in this conflict. And verily this conceit and hope of his proved not vain and frustrate. For when at in close fight and skirmish of the footmen many of the Romans were slain down and slain, but so, as yet the ranks stood unbroken, and the ensignes upright, behold a sudden fresh charge of the horsemen on their back, and a great shout of the enemies with all decried and heard from the camp, first discomfited the first legion, which being marshalled in the second battailon, had been put in disarray before by the Numidians, & then the fifth, & so consequently even those that fought in the forefront of the vanguard before the ensignes. Some fled amain, others were killed in the midst between, where *Cn. Fulvius* himself with twelve Tribunes of Knight marshals were left dead in the place. Of Romans and Allies how many died in that conflict, who is able to set down for certain: seeing in some records I find the number fifteen thousand, and in others not above seven thousand?

The conqueror *Annibal* was Master likewise of the Camp and all the pillage there. As for the town *Herdonia*, because he understood for truth, that it minded to have revolted unto the Romans, and would not continue fast in their fidelity, if his back were once turned: after he had conveyed away the multitude of the inhabitants to *Metaurum* and the Thuriens, he set it on fire and burnt it quite. The Nobles and principall Citizens, who were known to have had secret talk and conference with *Fulvius*, he put to death. The Romans, who out of so great an overthrow escaped, made shift by divers and sundry waies to flee, half naked as they were, to *Marcellus* the Consul into *Samnium*. But *Marcellus* nothing dismayed and affrighted at this so great defeat, addressed his letters to the Senat at *Rome*, with advertisement of the loss of the Captain Generall, and the army at *Herdonia*: giving them yet to understand how himself even he who after the Cannan field had tamed and danted *Annibal*, as lusty and proud as he was upon that victory, was minded presently to encounter him, and make him take no long joy and pleasure, wherein he now so wanted and exalted himself.

And at *Rome* verily as they mourned much for the loss past, so they feared as greatly the future dangers. The Consul having passed out of *Samnium* into the Lucans country, laid down before *Metaurum*, in the very sight of *Annibal*, and there in a plain encamped himself, notwithstanding the enemy was possessed before of the hill, and had the vantage of the ground. And for to make more show of his own confidence, and how little he feared, he first brought forth his men, and marshalled them in order ready to bid battell. *Annibal* so soon as he saw the ensignes advanced forth of the gates, said not behind. And they arranged their battels in such manner, as that the Carthaginians with the right wing took up part of the hill, and the Romans displayed their left wing in length, to the very walls of the town. After they had continued fight from the third hour of the day unto night, and that the vanguard on both sides were weary with maintaining of skirmish so long: then the first legion of the Romans, with the right wing of their horsemen the Spanish souldiers also of *Annibal* his part, the Balazian slingers likewise, together with the Elephants, began the fight, while the rest were already in hot conflict, and close together. For a long time the fight shrank not of any hand. The first legion of the Romans was seconded with the coming in of the third: and among the Carthaginians there came in new souldiers that were lusty in place of the soiled and wearied. Whereby, of a lingering and long skirmish there began all on a sudden a new hot and cruel battell, by reason that the Carthaginians were first slain their bodies in heart. But the night parted the fray and left the victory doubtful in the midst. The morning after the Romans from their right hand arranged in the field would it was far day: and seeing none of the enemies appare and show themselves, they fell to gathering up the spoils by leisure, and heaped upon one place all the bodies of their own men that were slain, and made one great fire, and burnt them to ashes. The night coming *Annibal* dislodged secretly without any noise, and departed into *Metaurum*. And *Marcellus* so soon as day light discovered the flight of his enemy, leaving his horse and wounded people at *Metaurum* with a small guard, and *Publius Fulvius* a Consul to be their Captain, followed him by his steps, and at *Teramo* overtook him. There fourteen daies passed for battles from the guards of both armies, while both horse and foot and with another rather made flight, skirmishes, than any set battels: and lightly the Romans had always the better hand. From thence the armies were conducted through *Apulia*, with many memorable fight at all, by reason that *Annibal* in the night season ever set forward, seeing some opportunity of forelaying and entrapping his enemy: and *Marcellus* never followed but abroad day light and sent out his spies before to clear the coasts.

In this mean while *Flaminius* spending the time at *Arpinum* in making port-forts for the problems goods, and in setting and letting out so far as the land which was confiscate and taken to the common wealth of *Rome* (and all for a rent of seven) there happened a new complot and practice which lay hidden for the time, as he detected and made it light, to the end that he might never want due matter or other to take occasion for to plague and torment the Campains. He had taken order that his souldiers should remove out of the houses within the town, partly for that as well the retirement of the said town within as the lands without should be cleared forth and partly for that the spreading pleasant and desirable seat of that City should effeminate his army, as it had done the host of *Annibal* before times: and commanded them to build themselves about

The seven and twentieth Book of T. Livius

the Consul, called by the foresaid letters of the Senate, after he had received the charge of the Province and the Army unto *Carthage* the Prætor, and sent *M. Fulvius* *Mellior* the Admirall of the Navy, with a certain number of ships into *Africa*, as well to fetch in prizes as to spy and learn what the people of *Carthage* did and went about: himself with ten sail took the seas, and having a prosperous fore-wind cruised at *Rome*. And being come presently he assembled the Senat, where he declared what acts and deeds he had performed in his Province, namely, "Whereas for the space almost of threescore years there had been war in *Sicily* both by land and sea; and the same oftentimes fringed with great loss and many deaths: that he now had brought those troubles to an happy end, and set the Province in quiet. That there was not in all *Sicily* one Carthaginian left; nor one Sicilian, of all them that for fear had been chased and driven out from thence, but was returned and there replanted: that they were all brought home again to their own Cities to inhabit, to their own lands, to plough and sow: that now at last the fore-let and waste ground was husbanded again, and made fruitful not only for the profit and commodity of the occupiers and owners thereof, but also for the most assured relief and sustentation of the people of *Rome*, both in war and peace. After this, *Mellior*, and the rest who had deserved any thing well of the City of *Rome*, were brought into the Senat: unto whom, both all and some (for the credit of the Consul, and to disgrace him of his promise unto them) there were rendered all sorts of honorable monuments. *Mellior* also was enrolled Citizen of *Rome*, and a Bill was preferred in that behalf to the people, by the Judgment of the Commons, and with the grace and authority of the Senat.

During these affairs at *Rome*, *M. Fulvius Mellior* arrived in *Africa* with a fleet of 50 sail, and being landed on morning before day, first shewed and answered to the people of the country, made a rode into the territory about *Sicca*: and having foraged it far and near, taken many men and women prisoners, and reaped a great booty of all sorts of things besides returned to the Armado, and cruised the seas back for *Sicca*, and arrived again at *Leptis* upon the thirteenth day after he loosed from thence, and took the fort last. On the twentieth (after straight examination) he learned how much (which also he set down exactly in writing) and sent unto the Consul *Laevinus*, that he might be acquainted likewise with the state of the affairs in *Africa*, namely, "that there were in *Carthage* five thousand *Numidians*, under the conduct of *M. Juba* the son of *Gilva*, most forward young men, and a right valiant warrior: that there were other souldiers also throughout all *Africa* waged and hired *Numidians*, ready to be transported and sent over into *Spain* unto *Asdrubal*, so the said king by such a most puissant power might with all speed pass over into *Italy*, and to the conquest of *Rome*: that in the executing of this designment the Carthaginians were chiefly persecuted, whose numbers, moreover, that there was a mighty party of rigging and decking for so many ships again, and as they truly thought, it should pass the fear very hardly.

These news being read by the Consul to the Senat, and directed the Senat, that they thought there was no tarrying for the ordinary session of *Magistrates*, summoned and called by the Consul, but that they should assemble a Dictator of purpose, to assemble that solemn Session, and the Consul immediately to return again into his Province. The business grew some debate and question for a time, while the Consul said, that he would nominate and create Dictator *M. Fulvius Mellior*, who was then in *Sicily*, and *Quintus Fabius* of the first line the LL. replied again and said, that a Dictator might be elected ordered without the Territories of *Rome*, and those were all within the limits and number of *Latin*, but that *Quintus Fabius* (a Tribune of the Commons) had put this controversy to question before the Senat for debate, and decided by their opinions: then the Senat granted audience. Then the Consul before he departed from the City, should put up a bill or supplication unto the body of the people, that it would please them to elect a Dictator, and whatsoever they by the Dictator should be pronounced and declared for the Dictator, and in case the Consul refused to do so, then the Prætor of the City should propose the same unto the people: and if he be worthy, that the Tribunes should propose it unto the Commons. But when the Consul stood forth before the people, being a thing meetly belonging to his authority and place, and likewise expressly forbade the Prætor to do so, then the Tribunes of the Commons took the matter upon them: whereupon the Commons decreed, that *Q. Fabius*, who then was in *Capua*, should be nominated Dictator for the next day: that very day that this assembly of the Commons was to be holden, the Consul departed *Rome*, and took his journey toward *Sicily*. The Nobles thus being disappointed and distressed, thought good to send letters unto *Marcellus*, for so had his father's hand now unto the Commons, well thus forsaken and abandoned by his College, and to declare him for Dictator, whom the people had by their voices elected. So *Q. Fabius* was pronounced Dictator by *Marcellus* the Consul, and by verue of the said act of the Commons, *P. Lucius Crassus* the Arch-Prelate, was by *Q. Fabius* nominated Generall of the Cavalry.

The Dictator after he was come to *Rome*, sent *C. Sulpicius* *Blasus* his Lieutenant, whom he had at *Capua*, to the Army into the Province of *Herratia*, in stead of *Q. Calpurnius* the Prætor: whom by his letters he moved to take the government of *Capua*, and his army there. And himself sent out precepts for the solemn elections of Consuls, against the first Comitial day that he might by Law. But by reason of a contention that grew between the Tribunes of the Commons and the Dictator, it could not pass and be performed. For the Century *Galeria* of the younger sort,

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as I am not ignorant, that some there be, who have affirmed that it hapned the next year following. But methinks, it was an unlikely manner, that *Scipio* should spend one whole year in *Spain*, doing just nothing.

Now when *Q. Fabius Maximus* was Consul the fifth time, and *Q. Fabius Pictor* the third time, on that very day upon which they entered their office (which was in the Ides of March) both of them by decree of the Senat, had the government of the Province *Italy*: but so, as their jurisdiction was set out by the countries: so as *Fabius* should was about *Tarentum*, and *Fabius* in the *Lucans* and *Brutians* countries. *M. Claudius* continued still in government one year longer. The *Pretors* had their Provinces parted between them by lot, unto *C. Calpurnius Tribulus* fell the jurisdiction over the *Citizens*, unto *L. Metellus* *Phil.* over *Carthage* together with *Galla*, *T. Quinctius Crispinus* ruled *Greece*, and *C. Anthonius* governed *Sardinia*. The armies were divided among the Provinces in this wise: unto *Fabius* were assigned the two legions which *M. Fabius* *Levinus* had in *Sicily*: unto *Q. Fabius*, those in *Italy*, which were commanded by *C. Calpurnius*. The City army was appointed to follow those Legions in *Italy*: and *C. Calpurnius* was ordained to sit in the government of that Province, and to have the leading of that army which *Q. Fabius* had. It was agreed moreover, that *T. Quinctius Crispinus* should be Consul of *Spain*, and have the charge of the army there. And that *C. Calpurnius* should receive the jurisdiction of *C. Anthonius* the *Pro. Pretor*, over the province of *Sardinia*: and with his army, unto *M. Marcellus* the same legions were allowed, whereunto he had wanted to formerly when he was Consul, unto *M. Fabius* *Levinus* and *L. Cincius* (for they also continued one year more) got out in *Sicily* with the army remaining after the battle of *Canusium*: and they were commanded to supply and make up all the companies thereof, out of the numbers that were left of the legions of *C. Fabius*. For the Consuls caused them to be brought one and gathered together, and sent them into *Sicily*: and discharged them with the Army that kind of *Immunis* soldiers, in which the *Carthians* learned: as also those who remaining of the army of *C. Fabius* the *Pretor* had been therewith sent by order from the Senat, for wages and discharges: that they should be at the call. Unto *C. Anthonius*, the same legions were given by decree in *Sardinia*, whereunto *P. Manlius* *Vulso* had ruled and governed that Province. And *P. Scipio* having his government prolonged for one year longer, was commanded to sit in *Macedonia* with the same legions, unto *M. Fabius* *Levinus* the Consul. With the rest of the Army it was agreed and ordered in deed, that *M. Fabius* *Levinus* should have himself put over two *Legions*: for the *Carthians* and the *Libyans*, unto *L. Cincius* *M. Fabius* *Mezala*, whether of them he would have the government of, so that there was no alteration, save only this, that *Scipio* and *Metellus* should continue in *Spain* one year, and for a year at the next, till such time as they should be called from thence by order from the Senat. Thus were the Provinces divided, and thus were the years followed in the next.

Among other things of great consequence, the *Electors* of the high *Curia*, or chief magistracy, who were to be chosen in the month of *May*, were divided into two parties, and at last got again an old contention between themselves, which was for the *Patricians* and the *Commons*. *Jun. Brutus* (who was the only man of the *Commons* that stood for it) was eligible, and thereunto he was elected: forasmuch as never any before obtained that honorable dignity, but one of the *Senators* calling. The *Tribunes* being called upon for their assistance refused the matter to the Senat. And the Senat put it unto the people, who were divided by them. So *C. Manlius* *Metellus* was the first *Comitatus* that ever was created *Magistratus* *Curie*, i.e. the grand Independent over all the *Comitatus* of the *Legion*. And *P. Manlius* the *Arch. Bishop* of *Carthage* was created *Comitatus* for his virtues and ceremonies, and for his services instead of *Q. Manlius* *Scipio* in last Decade. The cause and occasion of instituting this *Magistracy* by contract and composition I would willingly have considered and inquired of, but that the ill hour, wherein I was, turned me forward to good thoughts. This *Placuit* for his case, look and observe decreed in his youth in regard of which his court of law he was witness to his own natural brother *L. Flaccus*, and other his kinsfolk, was for the same cause chosen *Flamin* by *P. Manlius* the *Arch. Bishop*. This man, so soon as his mind was employed about Church duties and religious ceremonies, so he lived all at once changed his life, and cast off his old behavior, that there was not one of all the young men in *Rome* more accurate and careful, nor better loved of the chief of the *Magistracy* and *Legion* of the Senat, as well those of his own house and kind, as others that were strangers unto him. And when he saw himself grown generally into that good opinion and reputation among men, he began to have a very good opinion of his own mind and worthiness, inasmuch, as he brought up an old custom again, and was so bold as to take his place in the Senat House (a thing, which for many years space had been intermitted and discontinued in regard of the base unworthiness and insufficiency of the former *Flamins*.) When he was entered into the Senat chamber, *C. Licinius* the *Pretor* willed him to go forth, as being no place for him, and therewith drew him out: whereupon the *Flamine* called for help of the *Tribunes* of the *Commons*, pleading the ancient right and preeminence of that *Pacifice* dignity, and alleging that *C. Flaminius* in times past enjoyed that place, together with the pall, or embroidered rich robe, and the Ivory chair. The *Pretor* on the other side came upon him again, and said, *Thy right was not grounded upon old examples past all date, sought out of Chronicles time out of mind:*

but

A but he would needs have it to be carried by the most fresh practice of the newest and latest custom; affirming, That by prescription of the time, either of our fathers or grandfathers daies there was no Flamin of *Jupiter* usurped that privilege. The Tribunes, who were to moderate this question, gave their judgment thus, That if a thing were foretold and discontinued through the supine negligence of some Flamin, it was worst for themselves and they deemed it no reason, that it should hurt or prejudice the whole priesthood. Whereupon the Prætor himself forced not greatly upon the point, nor stood much with him, and so they admitted the Flamin into the house with great consent of the Nobles, as well as of the Commons. And all men thus conceived of it, That the Flamin had obtained the thing, rather in regard of his sanctimony and holiness of life B than in the right of his sacerdotall dignity.

The Consuls before that they went into their Provinces, enrolled two legions of Citizens, for to supply and make up sufficiently the defect of all the other forces. The old City army *Fulvius* the Consul committed unto *C. Fulvius Flaccus* his Lieutenant; (and brother he was besides to the Consul) for to be led into *Hetruria*; with direction, that the Legions already in *Hetruria* should be brought to *Rome*. And *Fabius* the Consul caused the residue of the army of *Fulvius* to be sought up and rallied, which arose to the number of 5936: and commanded his son *Q. Maximus* to lead them into *Stilly*, unto *M. Valerius* the Pro Consul, and of him to receive the charge of two Legions, and the thirty galliaces aforesaid, bearing five ranks of oars. The withdrawing of these Legions out of the Island, nothing diminished nor abridged the garrisons of that

C. ing of these Legions at the Inland, nothing examined nor lodged the garrisons of that Province, either in strength or show. For besides the two old legions, well and sufficiently filled and furnished, he had a great power, as well horse as foot, of Numidians, such as were fled from the adverse part unto the Romans: and took up and levied besides for new souldiers, even those Sicilians also, who had been of the army of *Epicides* and the Carthaginians, men of approved valour, and skillfull warriors. These forrain aids, when he had put to each of the Roman legions, he kept still the form of two compleat armies. With the one he gave order to *L. Cincius* to defend that part of the Island which had been the Realm of King *Hiero*; with the other he maintained the rest of the Island, divided sometimes by the confines of the Roman and Punick dominions. There was a fleet also rigged and trimmed, consisting of seventy ships, for to guard and defend all the maritime coasts, along the tract of the sea side. Himself in person, with the horsemen of *Martines*, rode about all the Province, for to visit the lands and grounds, and to take note which were filled and well husbanded, which lay forelet and untilled, and to commend or chastise and rebuke the landlords and owners thereof accordingly. The care and regard of corn, thus far forth did good, that the Province was able both to send good store to *Rome*, and also to convey unto *Carthage* sufficient to maintain the army that was to lie in standing Camp that summer about *Tarentum*.

But the soldiers who were transported over into *Sicily* (and for the better part they were Latines and other Associates) were like to cause a great rising and commotion: whereby we may see, that of small occasions and beginnings oftentimes arise great matters of important consequence. For the Latines and Allies in all their Diets and Councils at home, began to mutter and grumble. That now for ten years space they were with continuall musters and payments of soldiers wages consumed and spent, that there was not a year in manner went over their head but it cost them some great loss and overthrow in battell. Many were slain in the wars, other died of diseases. So that a Citizen of theirs, if he were taken and prest once by the Romans; for every soldier was more sure to perish, than if he were taken prisoner by the Carthaginians: for the enemy sent their captives back again *gratis*, and without ranfome, home into their country: the Romans bored and picked them away out of *Italy*, as confined to a place of banishment (I so speak truly) rather than appointed to serve in warfare. For, how the soldiers, remaining after the field of *Enna*, have continued there, and waxen old these eight years already, and no doubt there were they like to lay their bones before that the enemy (who never so distressed, nor was so strong as now) would depart from thence. In case then that old soldiers returne not into their country, and new still be chosen, within a while there would be none left behind. And therefore be it were for them, before they were come to extreme poverty and destitution, presently to weary the people of *Rome*, that, while some what is left, which shortly they must be driven to do of very necessity when all is gone. And if the Romans see their Allies once agree together, and take this counsel, they will then verily be like themselves, and grow to some terms of making peace with the Carthaginians. For otherwise be sure as long as *Anni-*
ba hath a day to live *Rome* will never be clear of wars. These and such like speeches passed in their Diets above said. There were at that time thirty Colonies of the people of *Rome*: and whilst the Embassadors from them all were at *Rome*, twelve of them denied the Consuls strictly, and said they were not able any longer to find either men or money. And those were these, *Ar-*
dea, *Arifia*, *Sutrinum*, *Chorin*, *Alatrin*, *Corfick*, *Stessa*, *Sora*, *Verulan*, *Calat*, *Narnia*, *Intervallum*. The Consuls amazed at this strange and unexpected accident, being desirous to drive them out of their mind, and to keepe them from a desperate resolution; supposed they should prevail more by chafing and rebuking, than by fair and gentle dealing: and therefore told them a gain, that they had presumed to speak thus unto the Consuls, which they again were abashed and could not find in their hearts to deliver and relate in the Senat-house. For surely (say they) this is not a refusal of soldiery and war service, but a very meer revolking from the people

"of *Rome*, and no better than an open rebellion. Therefore they were best to return again speedily
 "into their several Colonies, and to consule with their neighbors & countrymen, whiles the mat-
 "ter remained yet all whole, as men who had rather let fall some words rashly at adventure, than
 "resolved indeed to attempt and commit so hapious an act: yea, and to tell them, and put them in
 "mind, that they themselves were neither Campani nor Tarentini, but meer Romans, from them
 "descended, and of their race: from thence sent as Colonies into the lands that were won by
 "conquest, for to breed, increase, and multiply; and to admonish them, That whatsoever duties
 "children owe to their parents, the same they owed unto the Romans, if there remained in them
 "any kind and naturall affection, any remembrance of their ancient native country: and to ex-
 "hort them to consider better of the matter, and to lay their heads together anew. Forasmuch as
 "those designments of theirs tended to betray the State and Empire of *Rome*, and to deliver the
 "victory of all unto *Annibal*. When the Consuls one after another had dealt and been in hand
 "with them a long time in this manner: and the Embassadors nothing moved with their words,
 "made answer again, That neither they knew what other message to bring home; nor their Senat
 "what new counsell to take: since that they had not any more men to be mustred for souldiers,
 "nor money to be paid for wages: the Consuls seeing them so stiffly and obstinately bent, made re-
 "lacion thereof before the Senat, whereupon every man was stricken into so great fear and trouble
 "of mind, that many of them gave out, that the Empire of *Rome* was come to an end. The like, say
 "they, will the rest of the Colonies do, and surely all our confederates and allies are combined and
 "agreed to betray the City of *Rome* unto *Annibal*. But the Consuls comforted the Senat, and bid
 "them be of good chear, saying, That all the other Colonies besides would continue loyall and fast
 "in their duty and alleageance: and even those also which had failed in their obedience, if there
 "might be Embassadors sent amongst them, to rebuke and chastise them, and not to speak them
 "fair and entreat them by way of prayer, would no doubt have a respectue reverence of the majes-
 "ty of the Roman Empire. Now when the LL. of the Senat had committed the ordering of this
 "matter wholly unto them for to manage and handle, according as they should think good for the
 "weal-publike: after they had thoroughly sounded the hearts and minds of all the rest of the Colo-
 "nies, they called and cited all the Embassadors, and demanded of them whether their souldiers
 "were in readines, according to the capitulations of the covenant. Then *M. Sextilius* of *Fregella*
 "made answer in the behalt of eighteen of them, "That not only their souldiers were ready ac-
 "cording to the form of the covenant, but also if more were needful, more they would allow, and
 "whatsoever else the people of *Rome* imposed upon them, and wished them to perform, the same
 "would they strain themselves to do to the utmost: for, as yet they had people store, and a purse
 "good enough: and as for their heart, it was much better than their ability. The Consuls after
 "they had made a short speech unto them by way of a preamble, saying, that they thought it not
 "sufficient for their desert to be commended from their mouth only, unless all the LL. generally
 "in the Senat-house gave them condign thanks with one voice and common accord, willed
 "them to follow after them thither. The Senat having thanked them in as honourable terms as
 "they could possibly devise, and entertained them with most gracious words, gave order to the
 "Consuls, to bring them forth also in the face of the whole people of the City: and before them,
 "among other singular favors and kindnesses which they had shewed both unto them and also un-
 "to their ancestors, to make rehearsall of this late good desert of theirs, which they afforded un-
 "to the Common-wealth: to the end, that now also, after so many ages and lives of men past they
 "should not be forgotten and buried in silence, nor defrauded of their just praise and due com-
 "mendation. And these were they that remained true hearted and fast unto the City of *Rome*:
 "The Signini, Nolani, and Norbani: the Saticulani, Brundisini, and Fregellani; the Lucani;
 "Venusini, and Adriani; the Firmans, and inhabitants of *Ariminum*. And from the other side
 "the Pontiani, Pestani, and Costani: and of mid-landers, the Beneventani, Esernini, Sulmini,
 "Placentini, and the Inhabitants of *Cremuna*. Upon the aid and succour of these Colonies, the
 "Roman State at this time rested and stood maintained: and these all were highly praised
 "both in the Senat, and in the assembly of the people. As for the other twelve Colonies, which
 "had refused to do their obedience, the LL. of the Senat gave expresse commandment that they
 "should not be so much as once minded or named: and that the Consuls, should neither give
 "them their dispatch, nor retain them still, nor so much as speak unto them. This silent kind of
 "rebuke without word giving, seemed to stand most with the majesty and grandeur of the people
 "of *Rome*.

While the Consuls were diligent in providing and making ready all other things requisite and
 meet for the wars, it was thought good to bring abroad the *vicefinary* gold [to wit, the twen-
 "tieth part of all their tributes and revenues] which had been laid up and reserved apart in a more
 "secret closet of the City-chamber, against an hard winter (as they say) to serve for what need so ever
 "the Common-wealth should stand in. So there was taken forth four thousand pound weight of
 "gold, whereof three hundred pound was given to the two Consuls apiece, and so likewise to *M.*
Marcellus, and *P. Sulpicius* the Pro-Consuls: and to *L. Volumnius* the Praetor, unto whole for the
 "Province of *France* befell. And *Fabius* the Consul had in addition besides himself above the rest of
 "one hundred pound weight of gold for to be carried into the Castle of *Tarentum*. The rest of the
 "gold they disbursed for to make ready payment down upon the nail unto them that undertook to
 "provide apparel for the army in *Spain*, which to their own fame, and the honour of their General,
 "served there in the wars.

Moreover, it was thought good, that before the Consuls departed into their Provinces the prodigious tokens should be purged and expiate. On the Alban mount there were smitten with fire from heaven the Image of *Jupiter*, and a tree standing near unto the Temple: likewise the lake at *Hoffia*, the wall at *Capua*, and the Church of *Fortuna*: and at *Sinuesa* the wall and gate of the town. These, I say were, blasted with lightning, and smitten with thunderbolts. There were some also brought word, that the water at *Alban* bloud. And at *Rome* within the sanctuary of the chappel of *Fortuna*, a little image that stood upon her coronet, fell of its own accord from the head of the goddess into her hands. And at *Priverium* it was for certain reported and known of a truth, that an Ox spake, and that a Vulture or Grue flew into a shop in the market place, wherein it was full of people. And at *Sinuesa* there was an Infant born of doubtful sex, between male and female, (which the common sort call *Androgynoi*, as for the most part greek names, admit more easie composition of two words than the Latine) and there it rained milk, and a man-child was born with an Elephants head. These strange and fearfull signs were expiate, and satisfaction made for them with greater sacrifices: and a solemn procession in all the Churches and Chappels, with prayers and supplications was proclaimed for one day. Besides, a decree was granted, that *C. Hostilius* the Prator should vow and set out the games and plaies of *Apollo*, in such manner as of late years they had been vowed and set forth.

About the same time *Q. Fabius* the Consul held an assembly for the creation of Censors, and elected Censors were *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, and *P. Sempronius Tuditanus*, who neither of them had ever had been Cens. And by a grant or commission from the Senat, there was a bill preferred unto the Commons, and the same passed, that these Censors should set, and to farm let the territory of *Capua*. The review of the Senat and choice of new Senators was hindered and laid by reason of a contention between the two Censors, who should be the president of the Senat. Now the choosing of him lay in *Sempronius* his hand. Howbeit *Cornelius* alledged, that the custome and tradition of fore-fathers should be followed, namely, to elect him for President, who of all them that were now living, had both first the office of Censor. And that was *T. Manlius Torquatus*. *Sempronius* replied again, and said, that as the gods had given him by lot the first place, so they had granted him free liberty to choose whom he would. And therefore he would elect *Q. Fabius*. *Manlius* whom at that time he was able to prove to be the principal man of all the City, without exception, and take *Annibal* himself for the Judge. After much variance and contesting of words, at length *Sempronius* by relenting and permission of his Collegue elected *Q. Fabius* *Man.* the chief Senator. Then the Senat was changed, and new Senators chosen, and eight were overpassed and left out, among whom was *L. Caelius* *Metellus*, he that gave the infamous and shameful counsel, to abandon *Italy* after the defeat at *Cannae*. In doing likewise and disgracing the Knights and Gentlemen, the same cause was considered of, and took effect, but very few there were of them that were touched with that shame: but all those horsemen belonged to the *Cannian* legions who were in *Sicily* (and no small number there was of them) had their horses taken from them. And to aggravate this sharp punishment and note of disgrace, they were plagued also with time of long warfare, for so many of them as had served with horse allowed by the City, should not reckon upon the years passed already, but were to follow warfare ten years forward, and find themselves horses. Moreover, these Censors after diligent search and survey found out and met with a great number of those that ought to have served on horseback: and look how many of them were fifteen years old and upward at the beginning of the war, and had not been employed in the wars, those all they dismissed, and made *Erarii* or contributaries. After this, they obtained by the great for the repairing and re-edifying again of those edifices which had been consumed by fire about the *Forum*, for market place, namely the seven shops, the *Latin* *Stables*, and the *Kings* *Hall*, or *royal* gallery.

Thus when all things were finished which were to be done at *Rome*, the Consul set forward to the wars. And first *Fabius* went before to *Capua*: and some few daies after *Fabius* followed, who belonged both his own Collegue by word of mouth most earnestly, and also *Marcellus* by eff. *Annibal* letters, to make sharp war upon *Annibal*, and to keep him occupied, while he assailed *Tarentum*. Which City, he were once taken from the enemy he were then driven out of all, & having no place to put his head in, nor which he might make account to stand fast and trusty unto him, he should have no reason at all once to stay in *Italy*. He dispatched also a messenger to *Therunt*, upon the Captain of the fort and garrison, which by *Leontius* the Consul was there placed against the *Bruttii*, and there were eight thousand men. The greatest part of them were of these good fellows, and that damnable crew, whereof we spake before, who used to live by robbing and stealing, and were brought thither from *Acathia* out of *Sicily*. Unto whom there were adjoynd many of the *Bruttii* and natives from thence, and as good as themselves every way, both for audaciousness, and also for readiness to let down any bold adventure whatsoever. This power of men he commanded should be sent to watch and upon the *Bruttian* country first, and then to lie against the City *Canusium*, and to assault it. They having performed this service, not only willingly & cheerfully, but also with greediness: having also chased away and rided the husbandmen and peasants of the country, and the City with all forcible means. *Marcellus* stirred up and provoked by those letters of the Consul: and having a good opinion of his own that of all the Roman Captains there was not one so able to match *Annibal* as himself, left his wintering standing Camp, so soon as ever there was forage and grain in the country, took the field: and encountered *Annibal*

ANNOT. C. ad T.
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as Cannus. Now was Annibal in hand with the Cannusins, and sollicitied them to revolt. But hearing once that Marcellus approched, he dislodged from thence. The country thereabout was plain and open, without any covert places to bestow an ambush, and to lay trains in: therefore he began to retire himself from thence into the woodland parts. Marcellus tracked him still, and followed him hard at heels, and encamped close unto him: and ever as he had fortified and entrenched himself, he brought forth his men into the field, ready for battel. Annibal entertaining small skirmishes with certain Cornets and troops of horsemen, and with light appointed footmen, that lanced darts and javelins, thought it not necessary yet to come unto a pight set battel, and venture all upon one throw. Howbeit he was drawn to a fight, maugre his head, howsoever he laboured to avoid it. For being gone afore one night, Marcellus overtook him upon a plain and open ground: and as he was pitching his tents he kept him from fortifying, by charging his pioneers and labourers on every side. Whereupon they came to a very battell, and fought with all the forces they had on both sides: and when it grew toward night, they departed asunder on even hand: but before it was dark they had encamped not far one from another, and in great haste made shift to fortifie themselves. The next morning by day light Marcellus came forth into the field with all his power: neither refused Annibal the challenge, having with many words comforted and encouraged his souldiers to remember *Thrasymenus* and *Cannas*, to cut the comb and bear down and tame this fell stomach and lusty courage of the enemy: who presteth still (quoth he) and seeketh upon us, not suffering us to march on quietly in our journey, nor to pitch our tents: giving us no leave to breath our selves, nor time to look about us. There is not a morning, but so soon as the sun is up in the horizon to give light to the world, the Roman army is out in the field to give us battel. If we could draw blood of him once, and set him out of the field with blood about his ears, he would for ever after fight more quietly, and take better leisure with him. With these and such like comfortable words and effectual remonstrances they were well animated; as also provoked seeing themselves thus molested by the enemy, who day by day never ceased to challenge and brave them still: whereupon they began a fierce and cruell battell. They had now continued fight above two hours, and then began the Roman Cavalry from the right wing, and the extraordinary souldiers that flanked the main battell, to give ground and dismarsh. Which Marcellus perceiving, he brought forward the eighteenth legion in the vanguard. And while some retreated back fearfully, others come forward but slowly, the whole battell was put out of order, and disarrayed; and so at length it was discomfited; and for that fear unmounted shame, they turned their backs and fled away again. Slain there were in the conflict and in the rout together some 2700 Citizens and Allies: with another, among whom, there were four Roman Centurions, and two Colonels, *Marcius Licinius*, and *Martius Fulvius*. Of military engines, there were four lost of that right wing which first shrunk and lost ground: and two others of that legion which came to succour their fellows that gave back and retreated. Marcellus after that he was returned into the Camp, welcomed his souldiers with such a bitter and sharp Oration, that the very words of the Generall in his anger and wrath were more heavy and grievous unto them, than the conflict it self, which they had unfortunately endured all the day long before. "I yield praise yet, and render thanks to the immortall gods, (quoth he) as I may in such a case, that our enemies having vanquished & conquered you in the field, and driven you in so great fear to run headlong within your trenches & gates, came not with all at once to assaile the camp. For surely in the same fearful fright that you forsook battel, you would likewise have abandoned your tents & pavilions. What fearfulnes is this? Whence cometh this terror? What means this oblivion of yours? How cometh it to pass, that ye should so forget all on a sudden, both your own selves, and them with whom ye have to fight? Why surely, they are the same enemies & no other, whom the summer past, you did nothing but either vanquish & overcome, or else pursue & follow in chase: whom for these certain daies past, ye have been ready to tread on their heels as they fled, and run away before you both by day & night: whom in light skirmishes ye have discomfited, whom no longer ago than yesterday, you suffered neither to march forward, nor to pitch their camp. I forbear to speak, and I pass in silence those things which in good right ye may stand upon & make your boast. I say nothing of that whereof ye ought to be ashamed & displeased with your selves, namely now but even yesterday ye brake off the fight on even hand, and retired out of the field, when the enemy had got no advantage? What hath this one night, or what hath one day done to you off? Are either your forces in this meantime abridged & diminished, or your enemies augmented & encreased? Now surely, me thinks, I speak not to mine own army, nor to Roman souldiers. Only ye carry about you the same bodies & armour that ye were wont. For if ye had but the same minds and hearts with you, should the enemies ever have seen your backs: should they have taken either banner from any company, or ensign from cohort, and squadron? As yet the enemy never vanted and made boast of the defeat of our Roman legions. You are the very first that this day have given him the honour of discomfiting and putting to flight our army. Then they all cried out, and besought him to pardon that daies default, and to make trial once again of his souldiers courages when and wheresoever he would. Mary, and that I will (quoth he) my souldiers: I will put you to it: even to morrow I will bring you abroad into the field, and after ye have got the victory ye shall obtain that pardon which ye now crave. So he gave order, that those cohorts which had lost their ensignes should have the allowance of barley in stead of wheat: and as for those Centurions of the bands or companies, whose banners were

The Oration
of Marcellus to
his souldiers.

A were left, them he degraded in this manner: He caused them to be disarmed, and their skins to be drawn naked and taken from them, and so let them go and shake their ears. And withal, he made proclamation, that the next day they should all present themselves in readiness, as well footmen as horsemen; which done, he dismissed the audience; and they all confessed and acknowledged, that they were justly and worthily thus checked and rebuked: and that there was not that day one man in the Roman army, setting aside the General himself only, but he was bound to make amends and satisfaction, either with spending heart's blood, or achieving a noble victory. The morrow after they all shewed themselves unto him in their armor, and well appointed, according to his commandment. The General commended them for their forwardness: and gave them to understand, that he would set those in the forefront of the vanguard, which the day before began to run away; as also those cohort likewise that lost their ensigns. And now he gave them warning, and charged them all to fight it out lustily, to win the field: and to endeavour and strain themselves both all and some, that the news of yesterday's flight came not to Rome before, and prevented the fame of this day's victory. Then he willed them to go to their meat and to strengthen their bodies: that in case the fight should hold long, they might be able to endure to the end. Now when all was said and done, that might encourage and stir up the hearts of soldiers, they went out & advanced their ensigns into the field. *Annibal* being advertised hereof, "Now believe me (quod he) we have to deal with an enemy indeed, who is of that nature, that he can neither brook his good fortune, nor away with bad. If he hath won at any time, he pursueth those whom he hath vanquished, cruelly. Contrary-wise if he have lost, he beginneth to fight with the conquerors again right freshly. Then he commanded the trumpets to sound, and brought forth his power in battal array. A field was fought there on both hands more sharply a good deal, than the Carthaginians strived to keep the honor and reputation of yesterday's service: the Romans strived to wipe away the ignominy and shame of that day's foil. On the Romans side, the Cavalry of the left wing, and those cohorts which had lost their ensigns, fought in the vanguard; and the twentieth legion was marshalled and ranged in the right point of the battel. *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *C. Fabius Niger* had the leading of both these wings. *M. Marcellus* himself commanded the main battel, and withal his personal presence encouraged them, as a witness of their valour and courage. Now, when as the fight had continued long, and the victory inclined no ways, *Annibal* commanded the Elephants to be put forth upon the very forefront of the battel, as if that object might possibly work some terror and confusion among the Romans. And as the first they disordered the ensigns, and troubled the ranks, so as partly by treading under foot, and partly by scattering their for fear, that were all about, they had laid naked and open the battel in one place, and in more places than so: had the Romans fled, but that *C. Decimus Flavius*, a Colonel, having from the first band of the Hannibals, caught up the banner in his hand, commanded the company thereto belonging to follow him; and thither he led them where the foresaid Elephants were gathered round, and made fouler work, and charged them to fling their darts and javellins at them. All this short light sure, and missed them not, yes, and some stuck in them: and no marvel, for the beasts were near at hand, the bodies great and standing thick in a plump together. But as they were not all wounded so they that had the darts stuck in their backs and sides, were as ready (such is their nature, dangerous to meddle withal) for to hurt their own matters, as the enemies: and all turned upon their fellows, that were unthrust, and drove them back. So as now, not that entire band only, but every soldier else for his own part, who was able to reach the herd (as it were) of the Elephants, as they fled, did his best to lance javellins and short darts at them. And so much the more furiously ran the beasts upon their own, and made a far greater havoc there, than they had done among the enemies. By how much more fiercely fear and fright let them agitate and sent them forward, than the will of their masters that lay upon them, was able to rule and restrain them. The Roman footmen perceiving this advantage, came forward with their ensigns and banners upon that battail too, which was put in dismay by the running to and fro of these untuly dumb creatures, and without much ado and further skirmish, put them to flight, after they were once broken out of their ranks, and let in a flight. Then *Marcellus* sent his Cavalry after them, to pursue them as they fled, and to follow the chase, and never gave they over huncing and coursing them, until they had lodged them in great fear within their camp. For besides all other things, which made them thus feared and affrighted, there chanced two Elephants to fall down in the very gate to entrance thereof, so that the soldiers were forced to rush into it over the trench and rampier. In that place was the greatest slaughter made of the enemies. For there were slain eight thousand men, and five Elephants. Neither was the Romans a bloodless victory of it: for of the two legions there died full upon 1700, and of the allies more than 1200. Besides many a citizen and confederate were wounded. And *Annibal* the next night dislodged and departed. *Marcellus* although he was desirous to follow upon him, yet he could not for the multitude of his hurt men. Theophilus that were sent out to pursue him in his march, brought word back the next day, that *Annibal* took his way into the Brittain country. Near about the same time, the Hispanians, Lucians, and Volscents, after they had delivered up the garrisons of *Annibal*, which they had in their Cities, yielded themselves also to *Q. Fulvius* the Consul, and were received to mercy with great clemency by the said Consul, after some rebuke given them in words, only for their trespass and error past. The Britians also had the like hope of pardon, when *Q. Fulvius* two brethren, of the noblest house of that nation, came from them

them to sue for the same condition of yielding and surrendering themselves, which was granted unto the Lucans.

Q. Fabius the Consul, won by assault a Town in the Salernine countrey called *Munduria*; Prisoners were taken there 4000, and some good store of other pillage. From thence he went to *Tarentum*, and in the very mouth of the haven, lay against the City. Those ships which *Fabius* had for to wait the convoy of victuals, he partly charged with engines, and other ordnance to assault Towns withal, and partly furnished with artillery, with stones, and shot of all sorts: the ships of burden likewise, and not the Gallies only which were guided by oars; to the end, that some might bring Engines and Ladders unto the walls, and others aloof from out of the ships wound and hurt those that defended the City. These ships were ordained and appointed from the open Sea to assault the City. And clear was the Sea of all danger from the Punick navy, which was sent unto *Coraera*, at what time as *Philip* minded to assail the *Ætolians*. In this mean while, the assailants of *Canusio*, a little before the coming of *Annibal*, for fear lest they should be surpris'd betook themselves to a little hill; which as it was (for the present danger) a place of safety, so it wanted all things else. *Fabius*, as he lay at siege about *Tarentum*, was much helped to achieving of a matter of great importance, by a trifling thing to speak of, and of small moment in itself. The *Tarentins* had a garrison of the *Brutians*, sent from *Annibal* to defend the City. The Captain of this garrison was greatly enamoured and ready to die for the love of a woman, who had a brother that served in the army of *Fabius* the Consul. He being certified by letters from his sister, of this new acquaintance that she had with that forrainer and stranger, so wealthy and so honorable a person among his country-men; conceived some hope by means of his sister, that her lover might be brought to any thing, and wrought as they would: and so acquainted the Consul with his conceited hope. And this seemed no vain imagination. Whereupon the young man was sent to *Tarentum* in habit and quality of a fugitive, and by the mediation of his sister, grew into some favour with the Captain aforesaid: and at first practis'd secretly to understand and sound his mind, and afterwards seeing the weakness and inconstancy of the man, he prevailed with him so much, through the flattering speeches and allurements of the woman, as to betray the keeping and guard of that place whereof he had the charge. After that the manner how, and the time when this plot should be put in execution, was agreed upon, the said souldier was let out of the City closely by night in a place between the *corps de guard*, and informed the Consul what was done already, and in what sort every thing was to be done. *Fabius* at the first watch, after he had given a token and watchword to them in the Castle, and to those likewise that had the keeping of the haven, himself set a compass about the said haven and lay as closely as he could to that part of the City which lieth to the East. Then all at once the trumpets sounded from the Castle, from the haven and ships, which in the open Sea rid neer at hand. Great shouting there was, and much ado on her purpose from all these quarters, whereas indeed there was least danger or none at all there. In the mean season the Consul kept his men in. Whereupon *Democritus*, who had beforetime been Admiral of the Armado, and whose chance it was to have the guarding of that place, against which the Consul lay close, seeing all thereabout quiet enough, and no stirring at all, and hearing all other parts to ring again and resound with such alarms as otherwhiles it seemed the City was taken and won, and fearing lest if he sat still and bestirred not himself, the Consul would make some Camisado, and give the assay to enter the City with banner displayed; withdrew his guard toward the Castle, from whence was heard the greatest and most terrible noise. *Fabius* when he perceived once by guessing at the time, as also by the silence it self in that place (for where but a while before they kept much ado, raising up one another, and calling to arm, there now all was hush, and not a word) that the guards were beat away from thence, he commanded that the ladders should be brought to that side of the wall where the brother & broker both of the treason, had brought word that the cohorts of the *Brutians* were quartered and kept their guard. Thus on that part was the wall won by the means of the *Brutii*, who were ready to help and take them up, and so they got over into the City. Then was the next gate broken open, that the army might come by companies under their several colours. Whereupon they set up a shout, and slide before break of day they marched as far as into the market place, and met with none to make head against them, and caused all them that fought at the Castle and the haven, to turn upon them. There, in the very entrance of the market place, began a great skirmish, rather fought hotly than maintained thoroughly. For the *Tarentin* souldiers were nothing comparable to the *Romans*, either in courage of heart, or goodness of armour; in skill and knowledge of war, or in lustre and strength of body. And therefore when they had only shot their darts, even before they came to hand strokes, they turned back and slunk away through the lanes of the City, where with they were well acquainted, some to their own home, and some to their friends houses. Two of their Captains, *Nico* and *Democritus*, fought manfully, and were slain. *Philomenus*, who was the principal head that wrought the revolt unto *Annibal*, fled out of the skirmish as fast as ever his horse would carry him: but a while after his empty horse was seen & known wandering astray in the City, but his body could never be found. It was commonly believed, that he flung himself headlong from his horseback into a certain open pit. As for *Carthago*, Captain of the Punick garrison, he cast away his armour and weapon, and as he was coming to the Consul with a goodly tale, recounting and remembering his fathers friendship and intertainment to the *Romans*, there hapned a souldier to meet him and strike off his head. Then by some or other in every place, the *Carthaginians* and *Tarentins*

showed his revolt and running from the adverse part upon confusion and necessity, this made
 heart of searching and embracing the passage shone upon the first opportunity presented. I
 know full well (quoth he) that the very name of a fugitive is odious and detestable
 to old Allies, so is it suspicious to new. And I cannot greatly blame the manner of men in so
 doing, in case it be not the best chance, but the double dealing that causeth the hatred. Then he
 reckoned up his own good turn and doings done unto the Carthaginians on the one side, and
 recounted their civilities and justice on the other side together with their injurious dealings
 with himself and his people. And therefore, quoth he, this body of mine only hath converted
 among them until this day, but my heart and affection hath long since been with them, where
 I believe verily, that right, justice and religion is regarded and maintained: for even so do we
 sit, as suppliants in humble manner to the Gods almighty, when we can no longer endure the vio-
 lence and wrongful outrages of men. Beseeching *Scipio* this one thing, which that this misfor-
 tune from the enemy, and ranging with him, he would neither blame and condemn presently as
 a transgression, nor honor and commend as a good desert of his, but as he should find both him
 and the rest, by good proof from that day forward, even so to make reckoning of them accor-
 dingly, and not otherwise. *Scipio* made answer again, That in truth he would so do: neither
 would he take them for fugitives and runaways, who judged that they were not bound in con-
 science to maintain the society and alliance with their as good and lawful, who made no count
 at all to observe inviolable, any promise or duty, to God or man. Then were their two wives and
 children brought forth into their sight, and delivered unto them, whom they received, and shed
 tears abundantly for joy, and so for that day they were had to their lodgings. The morrow after,
 which was plight and contracted between them, and the same confirmed by covenant: and they
 were dismissed to bring their forces, and to shew them before him: and so they quartered and
 lodged in the same camp with the Romans, until by their guidance and direction they came unto
 the enemy. The army of the Carthaginians next unto them was under the conduct of *Asdrubal*,
 near unto the City *Dinwile*. Before his camp, he kept certain standing guards of horsemen. Upon
 them the light sones for loss hope of success and dangers of the Roman host which went before
 the battail to skirmish, likewise they of the forefront and winguard, charged forcibly with their
 shot, yet so contentedly, and in scornful wise, even presently upon their travail in journey, and
 before they had chosen a place of ground to encamp in, that it was soon seen what heart there
 was in both parts. For the Cavalry of the enemies fearfully fled, and were driven into the camp:
 but the Romans advanced with better confidence, had in the very gates, and so for that day their
 stomachs were only up and provoked to fight, and then the Romans pitched their tents. *As-
 drubal* in the night retired his army to a covert, which in the top had a broad plain. Behind this
 hill there ran a river, the fore from the rock and the sides all about the skirts were compassed with
 were, with a steep bank standing plumb upright. There lay under this hill top another plain lower
 than the other, which also was enclosed round about with the like bank, as difficult for access as
 the former. The next day *Asdrubal*, after he saw the enemies standing arranged before their
 camp, sent down his Numidian horsemen, the light armed slanders also of the Balears, and like-
 wise the Africans. Then *Scipio* rode about all the regiments, ensignes, and ranks of his army,
 marshalled as they stood in battail wise, and shewed unto them their enemies, how they de-
 parted afore-hand to fight on equal and even ground, how they taking the vantage of the hills,
 braved and shewed themselves, presuming and trusting upon the place, and not upon their own
 valour and strength of arms. Howbeit (quoth he) *Carthage* had higher walls, and yet the Ro-
 man souldiers were able to scale and get over: neither Hills nor Castle, no, nor the very fort,
 stood in their way then, nor stopped them of their entry. And as for these high places which
 the enemies are possessed of, they haply may serve their turns well, when they shall see their
 flight and leap from off the steep banks and run down hill apace, and so get away. But I know,
 I shall order them there, and lay a block in their way on every side. Whereupon he com-
 manded two squadrons, the one to keep the heights of the valley, through which the river runneth:
 the other to beset the passage that leadeth from the City into the fields, and crosseth over with
 the hill side above said. Himself led the light appointed vancurriers, who the day before had dis-
 combed the guards and wards of the enemies, to assist the light armed souldiers, that were
 quartered in the necker brow of the hill. And first they passed through the roughs, and were not
 impeached nor hindered otherwise than by the difficult passages. But afterward, when they were
 come within shot, as the very first they were welcomed with a mighty volley of all sort of stones
 (as it were) like hail upon them. Himself answered them again, and recharged upon them, firing
 drive and discharging the stones which lay strewed all over the ground, and were such a manner
 all, as might be welded and sung from them with ease. And not only the souldiers, but lictors
 and boye-boys, as such as followed the camp, were encompassed among the armed companies.
 And albeit the ascent up the hill was hard, and they were pelted and almost overwhelmed with
 darts and stones, yet being so injured as they were to climb walls, and resolve withal, they mounted
 up first to the top, and so soon as they had got forth a vantage ground, where they might have free
 footing, they found the enemy, (who was light and nimble, and able both to run and to fight
 himself, and thus well when he was far off, all the time that they skirmished aloof, and plied upon
 one another with light shot) now that they came to close fight, and at hand strokes, was able to
 stand his ground: and so they drove him from his place, and with great slaughter chased him and

A for him back to the very battel, that stood upon the highest hill. Then *Scipio* having given commandment to these, for to follow on the train of their victory, and to enter up still upon the main battel of the enemies, parted the rest of his forces, together with *Laelius*, willing him to coast along and wheel about on the right hand of the mount, until he found some way of easier ascent himself on the left hand, fetched no long circuit and compass, until he came cross overthwart the flank of the enemies. Hereupon first began their battel to be disordered, while they were desirous to turn their wings, and to oppose their ranks and squadrons against the noises and shouts which rang every where about them. In this tumultuous trouble, *Laelius* also was got up; and while the enemies drew backward and gave ground, because they would not be charged behind on their back, the vanguard of their part was displayed and lay open; and so the Romans even of the middle battel also, had a late and spacious room to get up and enter upon them: who never had been able to have gained the ground, and won the plain above, (considering the disadvantage of the steep bank) so long as the ranks had stood unbroken, and the Elephants were opposed against them before the Ensigns, in the forefront. Down went the enemies now on every side, and were pitcously killed: and *Scipio*, who with his left wing encountered the right, charged and plaid especially upon the naked sides of the enemies. And so by this means they had no way left them to flee and escape clear. For the Roman guards on both hands, as well on the left as the right, had beset all the passages. And as for the gate of the camp, the General himself, and the other Captains and officers of the Camp, had taken it up as they fled that way: besides the combersome trouble of the Elephants, whom being now affrighted, they feared no less then their enemies. So there died of them 8000. *Asdrubal*, who before the conflict had made sure work with all the money, and taken it with him, sent the Elephants before, and having rallied as many as he could, of them that fled and escaped out of the camp, he made haste along the river *Tagus*, toward the mountain *Pyrenaeus*. *Scipio* being now master of the enemies camp, after he had given to the soldiers all the pillage and spoil, but only the prisoners, such as were freemen: when he came to take the number of the captives, found they were ten thousand footmen, and two thousand horse. Of which number, as many as were Spaniards he set at liberty and sent them home without ransom. But as for all the Africans, he commanded the Treasurer to make money of them. Then the whole multitude of the Spaniards, as well those that before had yielded themselves, as they that were taken prisoners the day before, saluted him with great content and general voice, by the name and title of King. Whereupon *Scipio*, after silence made by the crier, said, "That he took the name of 'L. General or Commander, to be the greatest of all other names, by which his own soldiers used to call him. As for the title of King, howsoever in other places it was great and honorable, at Rome surely it was odious and intolerable. For his own part, he minded indeed he carried of a King, and if they deemed it to be the highest honour that can fall to the nature of man, let them judge so in their own hearts secretly, and please themselves with that title: only he wished them to forbear the word and term thereof. These very Spaniards, as barbarous as they were, perceived by this speech how haughty and magnanimous he was, who in the height of spirit contemned that as a base thing. Whereat in admiration only of the very title, all mortal men besides are amazed and astonished. After all this, he bestowed upon the Princes and great Potentates of the Spaniards, sundry gifts. And of the horses, whereof he had taken in the field and camp great store, he gave *Indebilis* the choise of three hundred where he would. When the treasurer was selling the Africans, according to the General his commandment, he hapned upon a young springall and stripling, of rare and singular beauty: and hearing that he was of royal blood, he sent him to *Scipio*. And when *Scipio* demanded of him who he was, and what country-man, and wherefore at those years he was in camp among rude soldiers: "I am (saith he) a Numidian born, and with that his eyes stood full of water; and in my country they call me *Masani*. Being left and orphan and fatherless, I was brought up with my grand-father by the mother side, *Gala* the chief of the Numidians. And with my uncle by the mother, *Masani*, who was lately come with a power of horsemen to aid the Carthaginians, it was my hap to fall over into Spain. And never to this day, have I been in any danger, by reason that *Masani* would not in regard of my tender age, suffer me in any hand to go to the wars. Howbeit that very day when the battail was fought with the Romans, unwares to my said uncle, I secretly got in horse under me, and ambur upon my back, and went forth into the field: where my horse chanced to fall, and cast me down headlong on the ground, and so it was my fortune to be taken by the Romans. *Scipio* gave order that this Numidian youth should be kept safe, and so proceeded to finish matters that were brought before him, as he sat upon the Tribunal in martial court. And after he was come back from thence into his royal pavilion, he called the party before him, and asked him, whether he were willing to return again to his country. Whereat the tears gushing out of his eyes for joy, yes, full faith (saith he) and with all my heart. Then after he had given the young gentleman a ring of gold, a coat embroidered with purple, and with a Spanish souldier's cap, a golden clasp or button, of a brave colour, with all the furniture or caparison thereto belonging, he sent him away, and commanded certain horsemen to follow and accompany him to far as he would himself. Then *Scipio* fell to consult about the war. Some there were that advised him presently to pursue *Asdrubal*, but he supposing that to be a dangerous course, for fear lest *Masani* and the other Numidians should joy their forces to him, he sent only a good guard to keep the passage of the hill *Pyrenaeus*, and employed the rest of the Numidians, in receiving homage and fealty of other States of Spain.

Within few dayes after the battell at *Batula*, when as *Scipio* in his return to *Taracum*, was gone past the chafe or forest of *Cistula*: *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco* and *Mago*, the two Generals, arrived out of the farther province of *Spain* unto *Asdrubal* the son of *Amilcar*. But they came a day after the fair, and too late to help an overthrow past already: yet in very good time, to give counsel for the managing and executing of the war behind. There, as they conferred together concerning the disposition of the Spaniards, and how they stood affected in the countries of each province, only *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco* was of opinion, and periwaded, That the utmost tract and coast of *Spain*, which lieth upon the Ocean and *Gades*, was hitherto unacquainted with the Romans, and therefore fast enough and sure to the Carthaginians. But the other *Asdrubal* and *Mago*, were of another mind, and agreed in this, That *Scipio* with his favours and benefits had possessed the affections and hearts of all men already, both in general, and also in particular, and that there would never be an end of sliding from them, and siding to the Romans, before that all the Spanish souldiers were either removed into the farthest parts of *Spain*, or conveyed over into *France*. And therefore albeit the Senar of the Carthaginians had not granted out any such aid and commission, yet there was no remedy, but that *Asdrubal* must go over into *Italy*, where *Annibal* was the head of the war, and in whom lay the main chance of all: by which means also he might withdraw out of *Spain* all the Spaniards, far enough from the naming and hearing of *Scipio*. For *Asdrubal* his army, as well by daily falling away and revolting to *Scipio*, as also by the late defeat much empaired, was to be replenished again with new souldiers. Moreover, that *Mago* should deliver his army to *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco*, and himself in person cross over into the *Baleares* Islands, with a great sum of money, to wage new aids and succours from thence. And that *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco*, with his army should retire farther up into *Portugal*, and not encounter the Romans at all in any hand. And that out of all the Cavalry there should be chosen out the very flower and strength, to the full number of 3000. for *Masaniissa*, and that he should range and overrun all the higher Province of *Spain*, partly to help the distressed Allies, and partly to spoil the enemies towns, and forrage their lands. After these orders and directions let down, the Generals departed shunder to the execution of their determined designments. Thus yeice what were the affairs and occurrences of *Spain* for that year.

At *Rome* the fame of *Scipio* grew greater every day then other. *Fabius* for the winning of *Tarentum*, albeit he gat it rather by craft and policy, then by force and vertue, was glorious therefore. The name of *Fulvius* began to age and decay. *Marcellus* grew also into an ill name and some obloquy, both for that at first he had a foil, and also because he suffered *Annibal* to range over *Italy* at his pleasure, and himself at mid-summer had retired his souldiers to *Venusia* to take up there (as it were) their winter quarters. He had a fore adversary in the City, one *C. Publius Bibulus*, a Tribune of the Commons: who from the very first time of that discomfiture, with continual speeches and Orations brought *Claudius* into hatred and animosity with the common people, and now was in hand with them to deprive him of his government. Howbeit, the friends and kinsfolk of *Claudius* obtained thus much, That *Marcellus* leaving his Lieutenant at *Venusia*, should repair to *Rome* for to make his purgation, and acquit himself of such crimes as his adversaries objected and laid against him: and that during his absence, they should not treat nor debate about his deprivation.

It happened much about one time, that both *Marcellus* came to *Rome* (to meet with the shameful slander that ran on him, and to save his honour) and also *Q. Fulvius* the Consul, about the new election for the year following. The question touching the government of *Marcellus*, was debated and handled in the lists or *Circus*, called *Flaminianus*: and a great assembly there was, and much concourse of the Commons, and of people of all degrees and calling. The Tribune accused not *Marcellus* only, but all the nobility: by whole fraudulent practise, and by whole cold and deloyal proceedings, it was come to pass, that *Annibal* now these ten years had remained in *Italy* (as it were) in his province continually, where he had had led a greater part of his life, then at *Carthage* in his native country. And now (quoth he) the people of *Rome* taste the fruit, proceeding of presuming and continuing of government still in one person. For see what is come of it: *Marcellus* his army hath been twice defeated and fallen upon the enemies sword, and now, forsooth, is housed in *Venusia* for sun-burning. But *Marcellus* to confuted this acculatory speech of the Tribune, by recounting his own worthy noble acts: that not only the Bill preferred for the deposing him out of his room, was disannulled, and the neck of it broken, but also the next day after, all the Centuries with one general voice created him Consul. There was joined with him companion in government *L. Quintius Crispinus*, who then was Pretor. The morrow after were the Pretors chosen, to wit *P. Lucius Calpurnius Piso*, who was at that time the Arch-bishop, *P. Licinius Stans*, *Sex. Julius Celer*, and *Q. Claudius Flamen*.

During the time of this solemn Parliament or Session for the election of Magistrates, the City was much disquieted for the revolt of *Hetruria*: *C. Calpurnius* who ruled that province as Pretor, had by his letters given notice that the beginning thereof arose from the *Aurunci*: and therefore immediately *M. Marcellus* the Consul elect, was further sent with commission, to look into the matter, and (if he thought it requisite) to lend for his forces, and to translate the war out of *Apulia* into *Umbria*. For fear whereof, the *Umbrians* paid in their hearts, and were quiet.

The Tarentine Embassadors made suit for peace, and that together with their freedom they might enjoy their own laws. And this answer was returned by the Senar, That they should come again when *Fabius* the Consul was returned to *Rome*. The Roman Games, and also the plays called

For none
might be Tri-
bun or Edile,
whose Father
was living.

A called *Plæbii*, were exhibited that year, and renned one day speece more then ordinary. The Ediles of the chair were *L. Cornelius Caudinus*, and *Servilius Sulpicius Galba*; but those of the Commons were *C. Servilius*, and *Q. Cecilius Metellus*. As for *Servilius*, it was denied, that he had been Tribun of the Commons before, or now Edile by right and order of law, because it was now for certain known, that his father (of whom the opinion went currant for ten years that he was slain by the Boians about *Mutina*, at what time as he was Triumvir for the divilion of lands) was now living, and in the hands of the enemies in slavery and bondage.

In the eleventh year of the Punick war, *M. Marcellus* entered his consulship the fifth time (to you reckon upon that Consulship which he never bare through, because there was an error committed in his creation) and with him *T. Quintius Crispinus*. To both Consuls the Province of *Italy* was assigned, and both armies of the Consuls the former year. There was a third army then at *Venusia*, whereof *M. Marcellus* had the conduct. Of these three, they were to chuse two, which they would; and the third remaining, was to be committed unto him, who was by lot to have the government of *Tarentum*, and the *Salernins*. The rest of the Provinces were thus divided amongst the Pretors. *P. Licinius Varus* had the jurisdiction civil, and *P. Licinius Crassus* (then Pontifex Max.) that of the fortaignets, and to go whither soever the Senat should think good to send him. Unto *Sex. Julius Caesar* befell *Sicily*, and to *Q. Claudius Flamen* the City of *Tarentum*. *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* had his commission renewed, to continue in government for one year longer; and he was appointed to govern *Capua*, which had been the charge of *T. Quintius* the Pretor, and to have under his hand the command of one legion. Likewise *C. Hostilius Tubulus* remained still in office, and that as Pro-pretor he should succeed *C. Calpurnius*, and have the conduct of two legions. Moreover, *L. Veturius Philo* had his authority & government confirmed to him anew, that as Pro-pretor he should sit Lord Deputy in the same province of *France*, and have the same two legions as before, when he was Pretor there. The like decree that was granted for *L. Veturius*, passed also in the Senat for *C. Aurunculeius*, and a bill was propounded unto the people for the proroguing and continuance of his office, who as Pretor ruled the Province of *Sardinia* with the strength of two Legions. And for the defence and guard of the said Province he had an addition of fifty ships of war, which *P. Scipio* had sent out of *Spain*. *P. Scipio* likewise and *M. Syllanus*, held still, by vertue of a decree, their provinces of *Spain*, and commanded the same armies for one year longer. As for *Scipio*, he had direction to send over into *Sardinia* fifty ships, out of those eighty which he had under his hand, either taken with him out of *Italy* or won from the enemy at *Carthage*, because there ran a rumor, that there was great preparation at *Carthage* for a navy that year, and that the Carthaginians would take up, and fill all the sea coast of *Italy*, *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, with an Armado of two hundred sail. In *Sicily* the government was divided in this manner, *Sex. Julius Caesar* had the leading of the Cannian army, *M. Valerius Messius* (for his government also was confirmed for a year longer) the charge of that fleet of seventy ships, which rid about *Sicily*: with commission to add thereto those thirty ships which the former year lay before *Tarentum*; and with this Armado consisting of one hundred sail, to put over into *Africk*, if he thought so good, and thereto forrage and fetch booties. Over and besides, *P. Sulpicius* was for one year longer to continue in office, and to govern the provinces of *Macedonia* and *Greece*, with the force of the said Navy which he had before. As touching the two legions which remained about the City of *Rome*, there was no alteration. Only the Consuls were permitted to levy, and enroll a new supply as need should require. Thus the Empire and State of *Rome* for that year was maintained with the power of 21. legions. *P. Licinius* for the Pretor of the City, was charged to repair those thirty old ships, which lay at *Holstia*, and to furnish them with new hulk, with sailers and mariners, that with this Armado of fifty sail he might be able to defend all the sea coast neer unto the City of *Rome*. *C. Calpurnius* was forbidden to remove his place from *Arretium*, before a successor came in his place. The same order was given to *Tatius*, and to have especially a vigilant eye, that no commotion arose from thence. And then the Pretors went into their provinces.

F As for the Consuls they were troubled, inward and made some scruple of conscience to go to their provinces, upon the report of some prodigious and ominous signs; and because also in their sacrifices they found not the gods to be propitious and favorable unto them. For out of *Campania* news came, that in *Capua* two Temples, one of *Ferens* and *Mens*, and also some Tombs and Sepulchers, were haunted with lightnings, and besides (beside on win, and preposterous superstition, impute even the least trifling thing to the hand of God) that certain Mice, forsooth, in a Chappel of *Jupiter* gnawed the gold. Also that in *Capua*, a great swarm of Bees settled in the very market place. Moreover, that the Walls and roof of the Gates of *Holstia* was blasted and stricken with lightning. That in *Arretia* a Gripe fell into the Church of *Jupiter*. That at *Holstia*, there was a Pool flowed with blood. In regard of these strange and wondrous tokens, there was a devout supplication for one day. And for certain days together, greater beasts were killed for sacrifices, without any good token; and for a long time the grace and favour of the gods could nor be obtained. For yet the fortune of the Commonwealth stood still upright, and all this anger and mischief was moved by those monstrous sights upon the head of the Consuls alone; and their death executed all the rest. The Playes called *Atellares* in the year of *Q. Fulvius* and *Q. Claudius* Consuls had been by *A. Corneli*, *Sulla* Pretor of the City, first exhibited; after whom all the Pretors, even after did the like. But they moved them a year before, and performed them on a day uncertain. The same year happened a grievous plague both in the City and in the Counties about, which

yet

yet in the end turned rather to long and chronick diseases, then to sharp and deadly maladies. For this pestilence there was not only toleman going in procession, in all the high streets, carters, and cross ways throughout the City: but also *P. Lucinius Varrus* Pretor of the City, was commanded to propound unto the people, that the Playes above said should be vowed for ever against a set and determinat day. Himself therefore was the first that vowed them, and exhibited them upon the third day before the *Nones* of July, and the same day ever after was observed and kept holiday for that purpose.

5 day of July.

As the rumor of the Aretins revolt encreased dayly greater, so the L.L. of the Senat were careful about it every day more then other. Letters therefore were sent unto *C. Hostilius*, that he should without delay take pledges of the Arentines: and *C. Terentius Varrus* was sent with commission, to receive the said hostages at his hands, and to bring them to Rome. He was no sooner come, but *Hostilius* presently commanded that one legion, which lay in camp before the town, should enter the City with banner displayed, and there he put sufficient guards in places convenient. Then having called and summoned the Senators to appear in the market place, he demanded of them hostages. And when the Senat requested but two days respite to consider of the matter, he made proclamation, that either they should deliver them presently, or else the next day he would seize upon all the Senators children every one. Then he commanded the Colonels, the Captains of the Allies, and the Centurions, to ward the Gates, that none might go forth of the City by night. But this was Hackly and negligently executed, for seven principal Senators, before the warders were set at the gates, escaped forth with their children before night. The morrow morning by break of day, when the Senat began to be cited into the Common Hall, these parties were missed, and their goods confiscat, and sold in port-sale. Of the rest of the Senators, their children were taken hostages to the number of 120. and were delivered to *C. Terentius*, for to be conveyed to Rome: who when he was come into the Senat, made such relation of the matter, that the suspicion of their revolt was much more pregnant then before. And therefore, as if some insurrection had like presently to grow from *Tuscany*, *C. Terentius* himself was commanded to conduct one of the two legions about the City of Rome, unto *Aretium*, and there to lie in garrison with it for to keep the town in order. And it was thought meet that *C. Hostilius* with the army besides, should survey and visit the whole Province, and to be careful and circumspect, that no occasion nor opportunity might be given unto them, that were minded to seek alteration and to rebel. *C. Terentius* so soon as he was come to *Aretium* with the legion, when he called unto the Magistrates for the keys of the gates, and they made answer that they were but miscast aside and could not be found: supposing that they were rather carelessly laid out of the way for the nonce, than lost by negligence, caused other keyes and locks to be made, and set upon every gate and took as great heed and care as he could, to have all under his own hand. He gave especial warning also to *Hostilius* as touching the Tuscans, and told him, that he should never hope to rest in security, that they would not rebel, unless he took order with them beforehand, that they possibly could not rebel.

After this, there was much debate and contention in the Senat about the Tarentines, even before *Fabius*, whilst himself excused and defended them whom he had conquered and subdued by force and arms: but others were mightily offended with them, yea, and most of them gave out plaint, that they were full as faulty as the Campanians, and deserved no less punishment. And so there was an act of the Senat granted according to the opinion and advice of *M. Acilius*, that the town should be held with a garrison, and all the Tarentines kept from stirring out of the City: and that the matter should further be debated and decided when another time, when the state of Italy stood in better terms of peace and quietness. And the like contention and variance was among the L.L. of the Senat touching *M. Lepidus* Constable and Captain of the Castle of *Tarentum*, whilst some were of mind to condemn him as in great fault, because through his carelessness and folly, *Tarentum* the City was betrayed to the enemy: others again awarded him good consideration and reward, for that he kept the fort so well by the space of five years, and by his means especially and by none else *Tarentum* was recovered. But some were of opinion between these and that, that the discussing and determination of that matter pertained properly to the Censors and not to the Senat: of which judgement *Fabius* also himself was. And this moreover he said withal, that he must needs confess, that true it was, which *Lepidus* his friends in the Senat stood so much upon, and iterated so often, namely, that he was the only man that *Tarentum* was recovered: for in good faith, quoth he, it never could have been regained, if it had not once been lost before.

T. Quintius Crispinus one of the Consuls, went to the army which *Q. Fabius Pictor* had with a new supply into the Lucans country. But *Marcellus* still was laid behind, upon occasion of new scruples of conscience, and sundry objects that troubled his mind, and kept a hammering in his head one after another. Amongst which, this was one, that having vowed in the Gauls war at *Clasidium*, a Temple to *Honor* and *Fortus*: the dedication of the said Church was hindered by the Bishops, who said, that one Chappel, by right and according to their ceremonies, served but for one Saint, and could not be consecrated unto more. For in case it should be blasted and smitten by fire from heaven, or otherwise some prodigious token hap therein, hardly could the right expiation and purging thereof be performed, because it might not be known, to which of the saints or gods the sacrifice should be done: for by order one sacrifice could not serve twain, unless there were some particular and especial gods named. So there was said to be another Chappel built

A halibot *Pharus* and great haff there was made for the rearing thereof, and yet it was not his for-
 antecover to bedicate those chappels. So at length he set forward and put himself on his journey
 with a supply unto the army which he had left the year before at *Venusia*.

When *Crispinus* minded to assault *Locri* in the country of the Brutians, because there went a
 great name of *Fabi* for the affailing and winning of *Tarentum*, he sent for all kind of artillery
 and engines out of *Sicily*, and ships also were brought from thence, for to batter that part of the
 City that lieth to the Sea side. But the enterprize went not forward, because *Annibal* had remo-
 ved, with all his forces to *Lucinium*. And besides, the news went that his colleague had already
 brought out his forces from *Venusia*, with whom he was desirous to joyn. And therefore he re-
 turned out of the Brutians country into *Apulia*: and so between *Venusia* and *Brutia*, the Consuls
 encamped severally, within three miles one from the other. *Annibal* likewise was retired into

the same country, considering that the war was turned from *Locri*. There the Consuls (hot men
 of nature both) almost every day led forth their men into the field, not doubting but if *Annibal*
 once met them (having two Consular armies joyned together) to make a dispatch of the war once
 for all. *Annibal* because the year before, he had twice affronted *Marcellus*, and both given and
 taken the foil: like as he had great reason, as well to fear as to hope, if he were to encounter and
 fight with him alone: so he thought verily, that he was never able to make his part good with
 both the Consuls together. And therefore laying off his Lyons skin, he took himself wholly to
 his old Foxes coat, and sought all means and opportunities to lay a train for to encamp them. How-
 beit there passed some light skirmishes between both their camps, with variety of fortune and

interchangeable success. By which, the Consuls thinking that they should hold out and keep
 the enemies play, during the summer season, and yet nevertheless be able to assault *Locri*, wrote
 unto *La Cincius*, that he should take the Seas, and cross over with his fleet out of *Sicily* to the
 City of *Locri*. And to the end that the Town might be likewise assailed from the Land side, they
 commanded part of the army which lay in garrison at *Tarentum*, to be conducted thither. *Annibal*
 having intelligence afore-hand of these things, by certain *Thurins*, sent forth certain of his forces
 to bely the wayes from *Tarentum*. And there under the side of the *Petelian* mount, he bestowed
 secretly in ambush two thousand horse, and three thousand foot. Upon whom the Romans
 (marching without their espials sent afore them) chanced to light, and were slain to the number
 of two thousand, and upon twelve hundred taken alive: the rest were scattered and fled over
 the fields and forests back to *Tarentum*. Now there was a little hill between both the camps of

the Carthaginians and Romans, and the same all overgrown with wood, which at first was pos-
 sessed and kept, neither by one nor other: because the Romans knew not the situation of that
 side which lay toward the enemies camp: and *Annibal* supposed verily that it was a place fitter
 for to lay an ambush than to encamp in: and therefore he sent by night for that purpose, certain
 troops of *Numidians*, and bestowed them closely in the mids of the wood, and nor one of them
 stirred all the day long out of their standings, for fear lest either their armour or themselves might
 be espied afar off. In the Roman camp, every man generally was of mind, and let not to say, that
 the said hill was to be seized and fortified for their use, with a good fortress built upon it, for fear
 lest if it were first gained by *Annibal*, they should have the enemy as it were over their heads, re-
 dy to annoy them. And *Marcellus* himself was of the same opinion: whereupon, Why go not

we ourselves in person (quoth he, to his colleague) with some few horsemen, to view and con-
 sider the place, where our eyes shall be our judges: and seeing the ground once, we shall resolve
 more certainly what course to take. *Crispinus* liked well of the motion: and so they went forward
 accompanied with two hundred and twenty horsemen of which forty were *Fregellans*, the rest all
Tuscan. There followed after them, *M. Marcellus*, the Consul his son, and *Aulus Manlius*, two
 Colonels: also *L. Arminius* and *M. Aulus*, two Captains of the allies. Some Authors have set
 down in writing, that *Marcellus* the Col. sacrificed that day: and when the first beast was killed,
 the liver was found without an head: howbeit in the second, all things appeared that were wont
 to be seen. But in the head of that liver there shewed I wot not how, a kind of extraordinary ex-
 crecence: which the Soothsayer had no liking to, because after those inwards which seemed be-
 fore short, unperfect, and misliking: now those again were seen too well fed and overgrown. But

the Consul *Marcellus* was so hot and desirous to fight with *Annibal*, that he thought himself ne-
 ver encamped near enough unto him. And even then also as he went forth out of the camp, he
 gave order to his soldiers to be ready at a short warning, and have their eye upon the place: that
 presently, if he liked the hill, for which they went to view, they should dislodge, truss up bag and
 baggage and follow presently. Now there was a little flat and plain ground before the camp, from
 whence the way that led unto the said hill, was on every side very open and evident to the eye:
 where that day a scout or spie, set of purpose to discover any of the enemies gone far from the
 camp, straggling and ranging abroad either for fowel or forage, that they might be intercepted: and

nor for any hope of so great effect as fell out. This fellow gave sign unto the *Numidians*, that all at
 once they should arise out of their lurking & hiding holes. And they that from the top & ridge of
 the hill were to rise & show themselves a front, never appeared & made head, before that they had
 set a compass about for to strike up the passage at the back of the Romans. And then from all parts
 they began to start up & with a main shout charged & ran upon them. The Consuls now were in that
 valley, from whence they neither could possibly get up to the witch of the hill, possessed aforehand
 by the enemy, nor had any place of safe retreat behind, for that they were environed & hemmed in

on every side. Now but they might have maintained skirmish and held once good while, but that the Lucani began to run away and put all the rest in a bodily flight. Yet the Patullians followed as they were of the Tuscans, gave not over but fought manfully. (So long as the Consul stood on foot unhurt) & received the charge of the enemies, encouraging their people, and fighting themselves right valiantly. But when they saw once both their Consuls wounded, and Marcellus also run through with the push of a lance, and falling from his horse ready to die: then they were (and few of them God was remained alive) together with the Consul *Crispinus* (who was wounded with two javelins) and young *Marcellus*, who was himself also fore him, fled away and escaped. There were slain in this skirmish, *A. Manlius* a Colonel, of the two Captains of allies, *M. Anibal* was killed out-right and *L. Arminius* taken prisoner. As for the Lieutenants belonging the Consuls, five of them then fell alive into the hands of the enemies: the rest were put to the sword, or escaped with the Consul. So there were three and forty horsemen died either in the conflict, or in the flight, and eighteen taken prisoners. In the camp there was much ado, and crying out for to go and succour the Consuls, when they saw one of them, and the other his son grievously hurt, and the poor remnant of that unfortunate expedition coming toward the camp. The death of *Marcellus* was much pitied, and lamented in many other respects, but for this especially: that he, a man of this age (for he was now above threescore years old) and who should have had more wit, an old Captain and Leader (I say) that should have had more wisdom and foresight, so unadvisedly had brought both his colleague together with himself, and also in manner the whole commonwealth into so desperate a danger. I should make much circumstance, and fetch many turns and compasses about one point, if I would rehearse all that writers have diversely set down, as touching the death of *Marcellus*. But to let all others go, *L. Calpurnius* delivereth the thing three manner of ways: the one by hearsay only, and a general report: the other extant in an Oration of the praise of *Marcellus*, penned by his own son, that was himself present at the action: the third, which *Calpurnius* himself adderth upon his own knowledge, and after diligent enquiry into the matter. But howsoever the voice and fame varieth in some circumstances, most of them jump in the narration, That he went forth of the camp to view the place: and all agree of the event, That he was encompassed and so slain. *Anibal* supposing that the enemies were mightily terrified, as well by the death of the one Consul, as the hurt of the other: because he would take all advantage, and omitted good opportunity offered, forthwith removeth his camp, and pitcheth upon the very hill where he had fought. There he found the corps of *Marcellus*, and caused it to be entombed. *Crispinus*, affrighted both at the death of his companion in government, and also at his own hurt received, dislodged in the dead time of the night following, and in the very next morning that he could come into, encamped and fortified himself upon an high ground, and fairly taxed on every side. There the two Generals of both parts beat their brains, and occupied all their wisdome, the one to lay trains, and the other to avoid them. *Anibal* together with the body of *Marcellus*, had gotten his ring or sign manual. *Crispinus*, fearing that *Anibal* might produce some crafty fetch, and beguile some body by the means of that signet, sent messengers to all the Cities next adjoining, giving them notice, that his brother Consul was slain, and that the enemy had gotten his seal ring, and warning them, that they should give no credit to any letters written in his name, or signed with his seal. This message was not so soon brought to *Salapia*, but straight after that came letters thither from *Anibal*, framed and indited in the name of *Marcellus* to this effect. That he would the next night that immediately followed that present day, be in person at *Salapia*: willing the garrison soldiers to be in readiness, for to be employed in some service that should be thought needful. The *Salapians* perceived whereabouts he went, and supposing that it was a perillous plot, whereby *Anibal* sought some opportunity to be revenged of them and to punish them; for anger, not only that they were revolted from him, but because they had killed his horsemen: they therefore sending the messenger back again, (who was a Roman fugitive and renegade, and had fled from them to *Anibal*) to the end, that their soldiers might effect that which they were minded to do, without the knowledge of the messenger, and not be eased by him, bestowed all the Townsmen along the walls and in sundry convenient places of the Town, to keep a standing corps *de garde*. The watch and ward they tended that night very carefully, and about that gate where they supposed the enemy would come, they appoyled the strongest and most able men of all the garrison. *Anibal* near about the time of the relief of the fourth watch came to the City. In the vanguard marched certain Roman Rebels and Renegates, with Roman armor upon them: who when they were come to the gate, called up the watch, and bade all to let in upon them, willing them to let the gates open, for that the Consul was come. The watchmen making semblance as if they were roused and awakened at their call, began to beat it themselves, to make hast with much ado, as busy as ever they might be. The Port-cullis which had been let down a good yet that, then they began somewhat to heave and to weigh it from the ground with levers & poles, whereto draw it up with ropes unto that height, that men might go upright under it. The passage was scarcely made open, as yet wide enough, when the fugitive traitors came rushing in at the gate upon them, having who might come first. And when there were almost 600 of them got in, thereore made to go, at which the port-cullis hung as it fell down with a mighty noise. The *Salapians* then coming upon the fugitive Romans, shewd laid carrying their armor loosely and foolishly, having upon them no orderly, as well as their own faring soldiers in a peaceable country of their friends, so that the turn of the game putted the traitors with stones, & pushed them with

A with punction poles, or with darts and javelins flew them. So *Annibal* caught in his own snares, was fain to depart.

He went from thence to *Iery* and raise the siege before *Locri*, which Town *Cincius* beleaguered streightly, and assaulted most forcibly, having raised fabricks about it, and planted all kind of engines, artillery, and ordnance against it, which were brought thither out of *Syrily*. *Mago* who began already to distrust that he should not be able to defend and keep the City, conceived now the first hope of better, when he heard once of the death of *Annibal*. And then there came also a messenger with news, That *Annibal* having sent afore him the horsemen of the Numidians, followed after himself in person, as fast as he could, with the power of the footmen. And therefore so soon as he perceived, by a sign given from the hill tops, that the Numidians approached, himself at once let the gate open, and suddenly sallied forth upon the enemy with great violence. At the first the skirmish was doubtful, more because he came upon them at unawares, than for that he was equal to match them in strength; but afterwards, when the Numidians charged them besides, the Romans were so terrified that they fled here and there in every place to the sea and their ships, leaving their fabricks and engines wherewith they had shaken and battered the walls. So by the coming of *Annibal* the siege brake up before *Locri*.

Crispinus, after he was advertised that *Annibal* was gone into the Brutians countrey, commanded *Marcus Macellus* a Colonel or knight Marshal, to lead a way unto *Venusia*, the army which had been commanded by his Colleague now deceased. Himself went to *Capua* with the legions, scarce able to endure the thogging and shaking of the horse-litter, for pain and grief of his wounds.

C From whence he wrote letters to *Rome*, giving notice, That his brother Consul was dead, and in what danger himself was. Signifying also, that he could not himself come unto *Rome* against the election, because he thought he should not be able to endure the travel of the journey: and besides, he was in great care for *Tarentum*, lest *Annibal* from out of the Brutians countrey would turn thither with all his power. Moreover, he gave the Senat to understand, that it was requisite there should be sent as Embassadors or Agents unto him, men of wisdom and discretion, whom he might confer with, and acquaint with his will and mind, as touching State-matters. The reading of these letters, caused them much to lament and mourn for the death of the one Consul, and greatly to fear what would become of the other. Therefore they not only dispatched *Q. Fabius* the son, unto the army in *Venusia*, but also sent unto the Consul three commissioners, *Sex. Julius* *Caesar*, *L. Cincius* *Pellio*, and *L. Cincius* *Alimentus*, who but a few days before was returned out of *Sicily*. These had in commission to signify unto the Consul from the Senat, that in case he were not able himself to come to *Rome* against the Election, he should nominate within the Roman territory a Dictator for to assemble the people for the said Election: also that their pleasure was, in case the Consul went to *Tarentum*, that *Q. Claudius* the Pretor should withdraw his legions from thence unto those parts, whereas he might defend most Cities of the Allies.

In the same summer *M. Valerius* took the Seas, with a fleet of a hundred sail, and from *Sicily* passed over into *Africa*: and having disembarked and landed his men near the City *Clupis*, wasted the countrey all about, and met no armed men, so speak of, to make head and withstand his invasion. Then these rovers and foragers retired in hast unto their ships, because on a sudden there was a rumour blown abroad, That the punick Armado was coming, consisting of 83 sail. The Roman Admiral fought fortunately with them not far from *Clupis*. And after he had boarded and taken eighteen of their ships, and put the rest to flight, he returned to *Lilybauni*, with a rich Land-booty, and much pillage found in the ships.

The same summer *Philip* also sent aid to the *Achaes*, that earnestly besought his help: whom not only *Macellus* the Tyrant of the *Lacedaemonians*, grievously afflicted with war upon their confines, but also the *Aetolians*, who having crossed the Straights or narrow Sea, between *Thrace* and *Asia*, (which the inhabitants there call *Rhinus*) and lay over a power of armed men, had spoiled their territory. Moreover, there went a great rumour and speech that *Attalus* King of *Asia* the less, would fall over into *Europe*, because the *Aetolians* in their last Parliament or general Diet had conferred upon him the sovereignty, magistracy and rule of their nation. For these causes

F *Philip* came down with a power into *Greece*, and at the City *Lamia*, the *Aetolians* encountered him with their Captain *Phylax*, who for that year was created Pretor together with *Ninus Attalus* in his absence. They had in their army certain aid from *Asius* and almost a thousand Romans one of the Roman Armado sent from *P. Scipio*. Against this Captain and these forces *Philip* fought two battails with prosperous success, and in both slew very many of his enemies: and when the *Aetolians* were driven for fear from thence, into the City of *Lamia*, and within the walls thereof saved themselves, *Philip* retired his army into *Phalera*. This is a place situate in the gulf of *Asolus*, sometimes much peopled, and frequented for the passing fairhaven, and many good harbours, and safe roads for ships, besides other special commodities as well of Sea as Land. Thither

G repaired sundry Embassadors from diverse parts, to wit, from *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, from the *Rhodiens*, the *Athenians*, and inhabitants of *Chios*, and also to treat about a pacification, to take up the war between *Rome* and the *Aetolians*. And of neighbour-borders there was in the behalf of the *Aetolians* as peace-makers, *Antiochus* King of the *Asians*. All of them were not so careful and earnest for the *Aetolians*, who were more fierce, stout and imperious than the Nation of *Grecians* naturally is: as they laboured this point, that *Philip* with his Kingly sovereignty, to the prejudice of their liberty hereafter, should not be interested, nor meddle in

in the affairs and State of Greece. As concerning peace, the consultation was put off and referred to the general Council of the *Achai*: and for the said Diet or Council, was a place appointed, and a certain day set down and published. And in the mean space, a truce obtained for thirty dayes.

Then the King departed from thence, and through *Thessaly* and *Boeotia*, came to *Chalcis* in *Euboea*, for to put by *Atalua* (whom he heard there to be coming with a navy for *Euboea*) from arriving in any haven, or landing in any place on the sea coast. Then leaving a guard behind for to withstand *Atalua* (if haply in the mean season he should chance to pass over) he marched himself forward with some few horsemen and light armed footmen, and came to *Argos*. There by the suffrages and voices of the people, the honour of exhibiting and celebrating the solemn games, called *Herae* and *Nemeae*, was recommended unto him, because the Macedonian Kings give out & say, that they are descended from that City. After he had performed the solemnity of the *Herae*, presently he went from the very games and pastimes to the Council of his allies long before proclaimed, as is above said. Much debate there was for a small end of the *Aeolians* war, that neither the Romans nor *Atalua* might have any occasion to come into Greece. But the *Aeolians* marked all this before the time of the truce was well expired: by occasion that they heard, that *Atalua* both was come to *Egina*, and the Roman navy anchored at *Nausipetum*. For being called into the Council of the *Achai*, in which the same Embassies were, who before at *Phaleria* had treated for peace, first they complained, that some things had been done, during the time of the truce, against the faith of the covenant and accord. But at last they flatly denied and said, That there could not possibly be an end of wars, unless the *Achai* rendered *Pylus* unto the Messenians; and peace were granted and restored to the Romans, and likewise to the *Achaeans*, to *Scerdilatus*, *Plaurinus*, and *Archides*. Whereat *Philip* was very wroth, and thought it a foul indignity, that conquered persons should take upon them to article and capitulate with him their conqueror. "But neither heretofore (quoth he) gave I audience to the treaty of peace, nor yielded consent to truce up: many hopes I had, that the *Aeolians* would ever be quiet: but to this end, that all comederate friends might bear witness, that I sought means of peace, and they sought occasions and pick quarrels for war, so without conclusion of any peace, he dissolved the Diet: leaving four thousand soldiers for the defence and guard of the *Achaeans*, and receiving of them five ships of war, (which if he had joyned to the armada of the *Carthaginians*, rarely left unto him, and also to those ships which were coming out of *Bithynia* from King *Prusias*, he determined to assail the Romans with ship fight, who had a long time been mighty masters of the Seas) himself presently from that Council departed back to *Argos*: for now the time drew neer of the games *Nemeae*, which he was desirous to celebrate and honor with his presence. When the King was occupied in the preparation of these games and pastimes, and placed himself during these festival holidayes, with more liberty of mind and repose, than he should in time of war; *P. Scipio* having loosed from *Nausipetum*, arrived with his fleet between *Sicyone* and *Corinth*, and wasted that goodly territory, most renowned of all other for fruitfulness of all things. The noise and rumor of this occurrence awakened *Philip*, and caused him to leave his disports: and so he took his Cavalry with him in haste, and set forward, having given order that the Infantry should follow freighted where he found the Romans stragling here and there all over the country, laden with booty and prizes, (as who feared nothing in the World less) set upon them, and drave them to their ships. Thus the Roman fleet nothing well appaid for the booty they had gotten, returned to *Nausipetum*. And *Philip* greatly augmented the solemnity and magnificence of the games that were behind, by the same of a victory over the Romans at that time, how much or little (as it is now) And with great joy and mirth were those holy dayes kept: and so much the more, because the King for to please the people withal, laid aside the disdem of his head, put off his purple robes and other princely and royal habitation, and in outward port bare himself equal to others, and so better passing right acceptable and pleasing to free States, as nothing can be more. By which deed of his, he had given great and undoubted hope unto all men, of liberty and freedom: but that he stained and marred all again with his intolerable lust and foolishness of life. For he used to go ranging up and down with one brewer of his favorites in company, and did nothing else but haue suspected himself by the sea side, and in other dissipated manner. And thus by debasing himself to the meanest use of a private person, the less he was suspected and known, the more dissolute he grew: and whilst he pretended unto others a vain shew of freedom, he abused all to his own lasciviousness. Neither paid his parts for all his pleasures, nor with flattering persuasions and fair speeches obtained he his desires: but to accomplish his wickedness, he used oftentimes forcible violence: and dangerous it was both to husbands and parents, to be any thing freighted, and make it good by tedious delay and unreasonable severity, to seem but to stay the unbounded lust and appetite of the King. From one of the Priests also of the *Acheans* named *Aratus*, he took his wife away called *Polyaratus*; and upon hope and tokens of marriage with the King, drew her away with him into *Macedonia*. Having thus with these lewd and wicked pranks passed the time of the solemnity of the *Nemean* games, and some few dayes over and above, he went to *Dyme* for to visit the garrison of the *Aeolians*, which they had sent for and received into the City [of *Dyme*] from the *Diars*, *Cyclades* (who was the Governor or chief magistrat of that state) and the *Achaeans* the King at *Dyme*: who as they hated the *Eleans*, because they differed from the rest of the *Achaeans*, so they were maliciously bent against the *Aeolians*, whom they were persuaded,

above all others by many degrees, *C. Claudius Nero* excelled and was the only Paragon. But a H
 cooperation with him in the government they were likewise to seek for. As for him, his friends,
 they deemed him a singular man and brave Captain; but yet more forward and eager, than the
 quality and occasions of his war required, or to be matched with such an enemy as *Antiochus* was.
 And therefore they thought good to join with him for his colleague, a sober, wise, and prudent
 man, who might temper and qualify that fierce nature and disposition of his. Now *M. Livius*,
 many years ago had been upon his Consulship condemned by the judgement of the people. Which
 ignominy and reproach he took so grievously to the heart, that he departed into the country,
 and for many years together, forsook not only the City, but to converse and keep company with
 men. And almost eight years after his condemnation aforesaid, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and
M. Valerius Laevinus the Consuls, reduced him again into the City. But he used to go in old and
 worn apparel, letting the hair of his head and beard grow long, carrying in his very countenance
 and array, the fresh and notable remembrance of the disgrace before received. But *D. Brutus*
 and *P. Scipio* the Censors, compelled him to cut his hair, and lay away his vile and unkempt
 weed, to come into the Senate, and to meddle again in civil matters and Affairs of State. And yet
 in so doing, he would never proceed further, than to say Amen to other men's opinions, and speak
 but one word, yea and nay; or else nothing at all, but shew his mind by passing on his feet to one
 side or other. Until such time as a business of his own, *M. Livius Marcius*, being in trouble,
 and his name and honour called in question, caused him to stand up in the Council-house and de-
 liver his opinion. And when after so long discontinuance, he was seen and heard once to speak,
 he turned every man his eye upon him, and ministr'd occasion also of speech in these terms, name-
 ly, "That the people had done the man exceeding great wrong, yea, and hurt the common weal-
 " much, in that during the time of so dangerous a war, there had been no employment of so wor-
 " thy a person, either for his travail and pains, or his advice and counsel. But to return again to
 the Lords of the Senate, they knew well, that neither *Q. Fabius*, nor *M. Valerius Laevinus*,
 could possibly be joynd as companions in government to *C. Nero*: forasmuch as it was not law-
 full that both should be chosen out of the Nobles of *Patricians*. And the same was *T. Manlius* his
 case also. Besides that, as he once refused the Consulship when it was offered unto him, so no
 doubt he would not accept thereof the second time if it were tender'd unto him. But if they
 should sort *Manius Laevinus* and *C. Claudius* together, there would be an excellent example of Con-
 suls indeed. Neither stood the people at this assurance, thus moved first by the Lords of the
 Senat. The only man in the whole City, that denied it, was the very party himself, unto whom
 this dignity and honourable place was pretended. Who much blamed the levity and inconstancy
 of the City, saying, "That they had no pity of him, when it was, namely, while he was in ex-
 " sile and exiled, and during the time of his trouble wore poor and simple garments: for now
 " against his will, they asked him a glittering, white robe suit'd for a Consulship. This (saith
 " he) they punish and deprecate, they also hope to advance the same person. If they took me
 " for a good and honest man, why condemned they me as I did, for a wicked one and a guilty?
 " If they found me naughty and faulty, what cause have they to trust me with a second Consulship,
 " who used the former so badly, which was committed unto me? As he argued and made com-
 " plaints in this wise, the Lords of the Senat reproved him, and replied again: setting before his
 " eyes the example of *M. Fannius*, who in times past was called home out of exile: and when the
 " state was decayed and lying along, set it upright again in her former place and pristine glory.
 " And like as the cruelty and rigor of punishment, is to be mollified by pity, even so the hard-
 " and shrewd dealings of a mans country, is to be dulced and mitigated by bearing and sufferance.
 So they all stuck close together, and chose *M. Livius* Consul, with *C. Claudius*. Three dayes after,
 they went to the election of the Pretors. And there were created Pretors, *L. Porcius Cato*,
Caius Manlius, *A. Hostilius*, and *C. Hostilius*, both *Cato's*. When the election was finished, and
 the games celebrated, the Dictator and General of the Cavalry surrendered their places, *C. Teren-
 tius Varro* was sent into *Hispania* as Pro-pretor, to the end that out of that province, *C. Hostilius*
 should go to *Tarentum*, unto that army which *T. Quinctius* the Cons. had. That *L. Manlius* should
 go beyond Seas as Ambassador, to see how the world went there: And whilst considering this in
 summer, there were to be solemnized the famous games at *Olympia*, which were celebrated with
 a most frequent resort and meeting of all *Greeks*, in case he might safely and without impeachment
 of the enemy, he should visit that great assembly: to the end that if he could light upon any *Hel-
 lians*, who were fled and banished their country, or any citizens of *Tarentum*, confined in their and
 sent away by *Antiochus*, they should repair home again into their own countries; and know, that
 whatsoever they were possessed of, before the wars began, the people of *Rome* would restore the
 same, and make good again unto them.

Because it was like to be a right dangerous year, and no Consuls were invested fully in the
 Common weal, all men depended upon the Consuls elect, and were desirous that they should with
 all speed, call lots for their Provinces: and every man was willing to know beforehand, what Pro-
 vince each one should rule, and what enemy he was to deal withal. Moreover, a motion and
 speech there was in the Senat-house, that the Consuls should be reconciled and made friends,
 and *Q. Fabius Max.* propounded that first. For there had been notorious enmity and variance
 between them aforesaid, and the calamity of *Livius* made the same more grievous and un-
 portable unto himself; in regard that he was perswaded, how in that misery of his, he was
 despised

A despised of his adversary. Whereupon he grew to be more implacable of the twain, and worse to be intreated. "There needs (quoth he) no reconciliation neither is it material and to any purpose. For they will do all with more diligence and better spirit, who ever stand in fear that their adversary and concurrent shall grow great and be advanced by their default. Yet the authority of the Senat baze such a stroke with them, that they laid aside all malice and old grudge, and with one mind, consent and counsel, admitted the affairs of the common weal. Their Provinces were not intermingled, nor their government extended into one another's country, as in former years, but, distant asunder and divided by the remote frontiers and farthest marches of Italy. For unto one of them were assigned the Brutians and Lucans country against *Annibal*: unto the other, *Gallia* against *Asdrubal*: who as the rumour and bruit went, was come forward neer unto the *Alpes*.
 B Of those two armies which were in *Gallia* and in *Hetruria*, he whose fortune was to go into *Gallia*, was to chuse which army he would and have besides that other of the City. And he whose lot should be to go into the Brutians country, besides the new legions entolled of citizens, was to take unto him, the army of whether Consul he list, of the former year. Also *Quintius Fabius* the Pro-consul had the charge of that army which the Consul refused: and his authority was renewed for one year longer. As for *C. Hostilius*, whose Province *Tarentum* they exchanged for *Hetruria*, they altered his Province again, to wit, *Capua* instead of *Tarentum*. Unto him was allowed that one legion which *Fulvius* the last year commanded.

Now increased their care every day more than other, concerning the coming of *Asdrubal* into Italy. And the Embassadors of the Massilians had brought news hirt, that he was passed over into *Gallia*: and that the minds of the Gauls were mightily cheered up by his coming, because the speech went, that he had brought a huge deal of gold with him, for to hire and wage souldiers for aid in the wars. Then afterwards, *Sax. Amisius*, and *M. Ravius*, who were sent Embassadors back with them from *Rome*, for to see whether it were so indeed, had made relation unto the Senate, that they had sent certain of purpose guided by the Massilians, who by means of their especial friends, the Princes and Lords of the Gauls, might learn the trnth, and bring word back accordingly. By whose report it was for certain known, that *Asdrubal* having levied already a puissant army, was minded the next spring to passe over the *Alps*: and that there was nothing else staied him, but that it had been done already, saving only the passages of the *Alps*, which were closed up with the winter snow.

D In the room of *M. Marcellus*, *L. Aquilius Patus* was created Augur, and so consecrated. And likewise *Cn. Cornelius Dolabella* was inaugurat or installed King of the sacrifices, instead of *Marcus Manlius*, who died two years before. In this very same year the City was purged, and there was a general survey and numbering of the people, by the Censortaken, *P. Sempronius Tuditanus*, and *M. Cornelius Cethegus*. There were reckoned and entred into the Censors books of Citizens, 137108. A smaller number by much ods, than before the war. It is recorded in the Annals, that this year first after that *Annibal* came into Italy, the Comitium was built over head and covered. And that the Roman Games were once renewed by the Ediles of the chair, *Q. Metellus*, and *C. Servilius*: and that the other Games called *Plebeii*, were renewed two dayes by *Q. Manlius*, and *M. Caecilius Metellus*, Ediles of the Commons: who also offered three images and let them up in the Chappel of *Ceres*. And the solemn festival dinner of *Jupiter* was celebrated by occasion of those Games.

Then *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Livius* the second time, entered their Consulship: who (because while they were but *Cossi*, elect, they had cast lots for their Provinces) commanded the Pretors to do the like. And to *C. Hostilius* fell the jurisdiction over the citizens, who had that likewise over strangers and foreigners: to the end, that the other three might go forth into their Provinces. To *A. Hostilius* was allotted *Sardinia*: to *C. Manlius*, *Sicilia*; and to *L. Porcius France*. In sum, the legions were in number three and twenty, divided into the Provinces in this sort: to wit, the Consuls had two apiece, Spain four. The three Pretors for *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *France* each of them twain. *C. Terentius* in *Hetruria* commanded two. *Q. Fulvius* in the Brutians contry, other two. *Q. Claudius* about *Tarentum*, and the Salentins conquered twain: and *Caius Hostilius Turbulus* at *Capua*, one. Last of all, two were entolled for the City. In the four first legions, the people chose all the Colonels or Marshals; but to all the rest the Consuls sent new, to make up the defect.

Before the Consuls went forth there was a Novendial sacrifice celebrated because at *Vest* it had rained stones from heaven. And after one prodigious sight was once minded and spoken of, there were (as it is commonly seen) others also reported: namely, that in *Minerva* the temple of *Jupiter*, and the sacred grove of *Maria* was smitten with lightning: and at *Atella* the wall and gate likewise, was blasted with fire from Heaven. The men of *Minerva* spake also of a more fearful and terrible thing than that, to wit, that there ran a river of blood in their very gate. Last of all, at *Capua* a Wolf entred the gate at night, and worried and dismembred one of the watchmen.

C These wonderful signs were expiate with sacrificing of greater beasts, and a supplication was holden for one day, by virtue of a decree from the Prelats. Then was the Novendial sacrifice once again renewed, because it was seen, that in *Arministrum* it rained stones. And mens minds were no sooner freed of one religious scruple, but they were troubled again with another. For word was brought, that at *Frusino* there was an infant born as big as ordinary a child is at four years of age. And the thing was not so strange for the bigness of the body, as for

* The same that *Circé*.

that it was born doubtful, whether it were male or female, like as two years before, at *Sinuessæ*. The wifards that were sent for out of *Hetruria*, said, that this of all other was a foul and filthy monster, and that it should be had forth of the Dominion of *Rome*, and drowned in the deep, so as it might touch no ground: Whereupon they put it alive into a coffer, and when they had carried it a good way into the Sea, they flung it in. Moreover the Prelats made a decret, that certain Virgins in three companies, having nine apiece, should go through the City, and sing certain Canticles. And whiles in the Temple of *Jupiter Stator*, the Maidens were a learning their song by heart, devised and framed in verbe by *Livius* the Poet, the Temple of *Queen Juno* in the *Aventine* hill, was stricken with lightning from Heaven. And when the *Aruſpices* had declared that this prodigious token touched the matrons and dames of the City, and that the goddess was to be pacified with an oblation: they were (by vertue of an edict granted out by the *Adiles* of the chair) called all into the *Capitol*, as many as had any house, either in the City of *Rome*, or within ten miles every way. And they among themselves chose five and twenty, into whose hands all the rest should put some small portion of their dowry. Of which there was made a fair and large golden basin, for to be presented unto *Juno*: and it was brought into the *Aventine*; and withal, the dames offered unto her purely and chastly their sacrifices. And straight after the *Decemvirs* proclaimed a day for another sacrifice of the same goddess, the manner and order whereof was this: There were two white heifers led from the Temple of *Apollo* into the City, through the gate *Carmentalis*: after them were carried two Images, representing *Juno*, made of *Cypres* wood: then went there seven and twenty Virgins in long ſide garments, chanting hymns and songs to the honour of *Juno*. These songs in verbe were peradventure commendable, and passed for good with those rude and groſs wits then living: but if they should be rehearsed now a dayes to our fine heads, they would seem but simple stuff, and composed without rime or reason. After this row of Maidens, followed the *Decemvirs* deputed for sacred Ceremonies, with chaplets and garlands of Baies, clothed in vesture and robes embrodered with purple. From the gate above named, they passed by the street *Jugarius* into the Grand-place, and there rested this solemm pomp and train. Then these Virgins taking hold of a cord, which went through all their hands, sung a song, and danced the measures, footing it artificially according to the note. From thence they went by the *Tuscan*-street and *Pelabrum* through the beasts market, and so forward into the *Clivus Publicus*, until they came to the Temple of *Juno*. There the *Decemvirs* sacrificed two beasts, and the Images of *Cypres* wood were offered and set up in the Temple. When the Gods and Goddesses were duly pacified, the *Consuls* took musters more ſtreightly and with greater preciseness, than any man could remember in former years. For both the fear of the war was two-fold, by reason of a new-come enemy into *Italy*, and also there was less store of youth, out of which the souldiers should be enrolled. Whereupon they compelled the inhabitants of the Colonies by the Sea side, who were said to have an especial immunity of warfare (by a sacred law) for to find souldiers: and when they denied, and stood upon their priviledge of exemption, they set them down a certain day, upon which every man should repair into the Senate, and shew what cards they had for their immunity and vacation. Upon the day appointed there presented themselves before the Senat these Commonalties following, to wit, of *Hostia*, *Alſia*, *Antium*, *Anagnin*, *Minturna Sinuessæ*, and *Sena* from the upper Sea. When every one of these States exhibited and read their charter of immunity, there was none of all them dispensed with, but they of *Antium* and *Hostia*, in regard the enemy abode in *Italy*: and so the young and serviceable men of those Colonies, were put to their oath and ſware, that not above forty of them should lie one night forth of the walls of their Colony, so long as the enemy continued in *Italy*.

When all the LL. of the Senat were of opinion, that the *Consuls* were to go forth to the wars with all speed possible (for that both *Asdrubal* was to be encountered coming down the *Alps*, for fear he should sollicite the Gauls on this side the *Alps*: and the *Tuscans* likewise who hoped and looked every day for a change and alteration: and also *Annibal* was to be kept occupied in his own war, that he might not go forth of the *Brutians* country, and meet with his brother) only *Livius* made some stay and drew back, as reposing but small trust in the armies belonging to his own Provinces. And as for his Colleague, well he wist, that he had the choise of two notable Consular armies, and of a third, whereof *Q. Claudius* had the charge at *Tarentum*. Whereupon he had made some motion of calling the *Volones* [or voluntaries] again to their colours, and to serve in the wars. The Senat granted the *Consuls* a large and free commission, both to make supply from whence soever they would, by chusing out of all the armies whom they pleased, and to make exchange with whom they would, yea, and to draw out of the Provinces whomsoever, according as they should think it good for the Common-weal. And all this was executed with the exceeding concord and unity of the *Consuls*. The *Volones* were enrolled into the nineteenth and twentieth legions. Some Authors have written, that *Scipio* sent unto *Livius* from out of *Spain*, a strong power of auxiliaries for that war, to wit, eight thousand of Spaniards and Frenchmen, two thousand legionary footmen, and eighteen hundred men of arms, partly *Numidians*, and partly Spaniards: and that *Marcus Lucretius* brought these forces by Sea: also that *C. Manlius* sent out of *Sicily* four thousand archers and slingers.

The fear and troubles in *Rome* were much increased, by occasion of letters sent out of *Gallia* from *L. Porcius* the Pretor: purporting thus much, That *Asdrubal* was removed out of his wintering harbours, and was passing over the *Alps*: that there were eight thousand *Ligurians* levied

A levied and ready in arms, to joyn with him so soon as ever he was come into *Italy*, unless some one were sent against the *Ligurians*, to prevent and keep them otherwise busied with war. As for himself, he would with that weak army that he had, go forward, as far as he thought he might with safety. These letters caused the Consuls to dispatch the musters in great hast, and to go forth into their Provinces, sooner than they had purposed: with this intent, that both of them as well the one as the other, might in his several province keep the enemies occupied, and suffer them not to joyn, and lay their forces together. And verily the thing that helped them most in this their designment, was an opinion and persuasion that *Annibal* had: For albeit he was assured that his brother would that summer pass over into *Italy*, yet when he called to remembrance what a toil he had himself, and how much trouble and travail he endured in the passage, one while of the river *Rhodanus*, another while of the mountains of the *Alps*, and how for the space of five moneths together, he was forced not only to fight with the people, but struggle also with the difficulties of the places, he never looked that *Asdrubal* could so easily and so speedily pass over as he did: which was the cause that he dislodged out of his wintering places so much the later. But *Asdrubal* found better expedition, and all things more easy and speedy than either himself hoped for, or others expected. For the *Arverni*, and other nations (by their example) both of *France* and also about the *Alps*, not only received and entertained him, but also accompanied him to the war. Over and besides, as he conducted his army by those passages which were prepared and made open by his brothers journey, and had been afortime unpassable wilds and craggy fags: so against his coming, the *Alps* were much more easy, by reason of twelve years continual passage to and fro those wayes: and the nature of the peasants more civil and tractable. For the people before, being not used to any strangers and aliens, nor accustomed to see passengers or travellers coming into those parts, were in manner unfociable, savage and wild, and could not away with the society of men. And at the first not knowing whether *Annibal* intended to go, they supposed that he came for to surprize their holds in caves and rocks, to take their fortresses, and to drive away their people and carry all as booties. But afterwards, the same that went of the *Panick* war (wherewith now twelve years *Italy* was plagued and vexed) had taught them sufficiently, that the *Alps* were nothing but the way for the *Carthaginians* to travail through. And by this time well they knew, that two most puissant Cities and States, divided and removed one from another by a great space of Land and Sea between, strived together and warred for their greatness and Sovereignty. Upon these occasions, *Italy*, the *Alps* were open and passable to *Asdrubal* with ease. But look what time he gained by speedy journey, the same he lost again by stay about *Placentia*, while he lay there in vain, rather besieging than assailing it. He was carried away with a persuasion, that the Town seated upon a plain and champaign country, might soon be forced and won: and the great name that went of that noble Colony, induced him to believe, that by the overthrow and rasing of that City, he should strike a terror to all the rest. But in lying against that Town, he not only hindered himself much, but also staid *Annibal*, who having heard that he was passed over the *Alps*, and come down into *Italy*, so much sooner than he looked for, was upon the point to dislodge out of his standing wintering camp, for he considered and cast in his mind, not only what a long and tedious piece of work it is to besiege and assault Cities, but also well remembered how himself after his victory at *Tekia*, assailed to force that colony in his return from thence, but might not prevail.

The Consuls being departed from the City, and gone divers wayes as it were for two hundred wars at once, distracted mens minds with many cares and troublous imaginations, as well in remembrance of those losses and overthrows, which they had received at *Annibal* his first coming: as also in thinking, what gods should be so propitious and favourable to the City and empire of *Rome*, as to prosper the affairs of the State and Common-wealth, at one time in both places. For until then, their success had been variable and alternative; and their prosperity always delayed with temblable adversity: and again, their losses were recompensed with equal gains. For when in *Italy* the Common-wealth of *Rome* went one way downward headlong to the ground at *Thrasymenus* and *Cannae*: the fortune wars another way in *Spain*, let it upright a gain. Afterwards, when in *Spain* one overthrow and defeat happened in the neck of another, at what time as two noble Captains were slain, and two valiant armies in part destroyed, the happy and lucky hand in *Sicily* and *Italy*, made up those breaches, and set the reeling state on foot again. For why? the very distance of the place so far remote (because one of the wars was maintained in the farthest part of the World) yielded time and respite to breath themselves and gather new strength. But now, two wars at once are entertained within *Italy*, two most brave warriors and renowned Captains enclose between them the City of *Rome*: all dangers come huddle together, all the heavy load and whole burden beareth upon one and the self-same place: and no doubt, but whether of those two Captains first shall get a victory, he will within few dayes after joyn his forces to the other. The fresh and lamentable remembrance also of the very last year, wherein two Consuls lost their lives, mightily strighted the hearts of the people. So as, in these perplexities and troubles of mind, they accompanied the Consuls as they departed and went into their several Provinces. It is more over in some records found, that when *Q. Fabius* advised and warned *M. Livinus* being upon his journey toward the wars, not rashly and hand over head to give battail to the enemy, before he knew his nature and qualities, he full of anger still and discontentments with his fellow citizens, made this answer, That so soon as ever he could have a sight of his enemies army, he would fight: and being

asked again, why he would make such hast? Mary (quoth he) either shall I by victory of mine H
enemies win singular honor and renown: or by the overthrow of my fellow Citizens gain some
hearts: ease and contentment; if not honest in all respects, yet at least-wise such as they have de-
served.

Before that *Claudius* the Consul was come into his Province, *C. Hostilius Tubulus* accompa-
nied with certain cohorts lightly appointed, encountred *Annibal* as he led his army and matched
by the utter confines and marches of the territory of *Lavinum*, which leadeth to the *Salentins*;
and charging upon his disordered army, put them to great trouble, slew four thousand of his men,
and carried away nine Ensigns. *Q. Claudius* who had certain garrisons planted in all the Cities
of the *Salentins* country, hearing of the enemies coming, had removed out of his wintering camp
and therefore *Annibal*, because he would not fight with two armies at once, by night dislodged
out of the territory of *Tarentum*, and withdrew himself into the *Brutians* country: and *Claudius*
turned with his army to the *Salentins* again. *Hostilius* in the way to *Capua*, met with the Con-
sul *Claudius* at *Venusia*. There, out of both armies, the Consul picked forth forty thousand choise
Footmen, and 2500 Horsemen, for to war with *Annibal*. The rest of the forces *Hostilius* was
commanded to lead unto *Capua*, and to deliver them to *Q. Fabius* the Pro-consul.

Annibal having assembled his forces from all parts, as well those which he had in camp du-
ring winter time, as those that lay in garrison in the *Brutians* country, came as far as *Grumentum*
in the territory of the *Lucans*, upon hope to recover the Towns, which for fear, had re-
volved to the Romans. Unto the same place the Roman Coss. making out his espials before to
discover and clear the wayes, marched from *Venusia*, and about a mile and half from the enemy, K
encamped himself. The Carthaginians had fortified themselves, and cast a trench close in a
manner to the walls of *Grumentum*: and between the camp and the Romans was some half
mile. A plain lay in the midst: and on the left hand of the Carthaginians, and the right hand of
the Romans all along between, the hills overlooked them, bare and naked, and of neither part
suspected, by reason that they had no wood growing upon them, nor any lurking places to hide
an ambush in. Into the plain between they used to put out certain bands and companies from
the Corps de guard of both sides, and made light skirmishes not worth the talking of. And it
seemed that the drift of the Roman Consul was to keep the enemy in, and not to suffer him to go
his wayes. But *Annibal* desirous to be gone, entered the field with all his power in order of bat-
tail. Then the Consul borrowing a little of his enemies cunning, for that in so open hills there
was less fear and suspicion of ambush, gave order that five Cohorts and Horsemen, reinforced
with as many bands of footmen, should by night get over those hills, and in the Vallies behind,
sit down closely: with direction to *T. Claudius Asellus* a Colonel of footmen, and *P. Claudius*
a Captain of allies whom he sent to conduct them, as a certain time to arise out of ambush, and
to charge the enemy: himself by day light led forth all his whole power as well foot as Horse into
the field. Within a while after, *Annibal* likewise put forth the signal of battail: and all the camp
over they let up a cry, running all about to their armour and weapons. Then Footmen and
Horsemen both rushed apace out of the gates who could be soonest forth; and scattered as they
were all over the plain, made hast to the enemies. Whom when the Consul saw thus disorder-
ed, he commanded *C. Aurunculeius* a Tribū or Colonel of the third legion, to put out the Ca-
valry belonging to that legion, for to charge the enemy with all the violence he could: for that
like sheep they were to spread over the plain without all form and fashion, and might be surpris-
ed, discomfited, and beaten down, before they could be brought into array and set in order of bat-
tail. *Annibal* himself was not come forth of the camp, when he might hear the noise of them
fighting together and hard at it: and excited with this tumult, he led in great hast all the rest of
his forces against the enemy. By this, the vanguard and forefront of his battail was frighted
with the Horsemen of the enemies: yes, and the first legion of the Infantry and the Cavalry of
the right wing began to charge. The Carthaginians disordered as they were, fought at a ven-
ture, as they chanced to meet either with Footmen or Horsemen. The conflict grew hotter,
by reason of new supplies and fresh succours, and increased still by the number of them that
continually ran out to the fight. And surely *Annibal*, notwithstanding this tumult and trouble-
some fear, had set and marshalled his men in good order as they were fighting (which had been
no easy thing to do, but that the army was of old soldiers, and their Captain well experien-
ced and beaten to it) if it had not been for the shout of the cohorts and bands above-said, which
they heard at their backs, as they from the hills behind ran down upon them: and set them in
great fear, lest that they would thrust in between them and home, and so shut them out of
their camp. Hereupon I say they were affrighted, and began to flie here and there. But the
slaughter was the less, because the camp was neer, and far they had not to run thither and save
themselves in this their fearful flight. For the Horsemen plaid upon their backs still, and gave
not over: the cohorts from the open Mountains ran easily down the hill, and charged crosse
upon their sides and flanks. Howbeit, there were slain more than eight thousand men, and
above 60 taken Prisoners: nine Ensigns won and carried away: of Elephants also (whereof
there was little or no use) in a sudden and tumultuary skirmish four were killed, and two gotten
alive. Of Romans and Allies, there died two hundred. The next day after, *Annibal* lived
nor. The Roman Consul having brought his army forth into the field, and seeing none to come
abro d and make head against him, commanded the slain enemies to be disarmed and despoiled,

the spoils to be gathered up, and the bodies of his own men to be brought together into a place and buried. For certain dayes after continually, he pressed so hard at the camp gates, that he wanted but little of entering thither with banner displayed. In so much as *Annibal* at the third watch of the night, leaving behind him many fires burning, and divers tents standing, on that side especially which looked toward the enemies, and some few Numidians, to make a shew upon the Rampier and at the gates; dislodged, and purposed to go into *Apulia*. The next morning by day light, the Roman army embattailed, approached the trench and rampier. The Numidians of set purpose shewed themselves in the gates and upon the rampier: and when they had a good while dallied thus and played with the enemy, they mounted on Horseback, and spared no Horse-flesh until they had overtook their fellows. The Consul perceiving that all was quiet within the camp, and seeing not so much as those few appear any where, who in the morning betimes had walked their stations, sent forth two Horsemen into the camp as espials. After he understood for certain that all was safe, and the coasts clear, he commanded his ensigns to make an entry. And staying no longer there, than whiles his souldiers ran up and down to pill and spoil, he sounded the retreat: and long before night, brought his army back again. The next morrow after, he set forward by the dawning of the day, and with long journeys, following his enemies by the voyce of the country, and tracing them by their footstepps, he overtook them not far from *Venusia*. There also was a kusling skirmish between them, and not so few as two thousand Carthaginians slain. From thence *Annibal* ever marched by night, and journed through the mountains, because he would give his enemy no vantage of sight, until he came to *Metapontum*. From whence *Hanno* (for he was Captain of the garrison there) was sent with some few in his train into the Brutians country, to levy a new army. And *Annibal* after he had joynd those forces to his own, returned again to *Venusia*, by the same way that he came from thence; and so forward he marched to *Cannusum*. *Nero* never left the enemy, but was ready to tread on his heels, and as he marched himself toward *Metapontum*, he had sent for *Q. Fulvius* to repair into the Lucans country, because those parts should not be disurnished of defence.

In this mean space, there were four French Horsemen, and two Numidians, sent to *Annibal* with letters from *Asdrubal*, after he was removed from the siege of *Placentia*: who having travailed in manner all the length of *Italy*, through the mids of the enemies, whiles they follow after *Annibal* in his retire unto *Metapontum*, missed of their way, and light upon *Tarentum*: where they were encountered by the forragers of the Romans that ranged about the fields, and by them were brought before *Q. Claudius* the Propretor. At the first they entertained him with slim flams, with doubtful and intricate answers: but when the fear of the rack and other tortures, had forced them to tell a truth, they confessed, that they had letters about them to deliver from *Asdrubal* to *Annibal*. With those letters sealed as they were, they were committed unto *L. Virginius* a Colonel, for to be conveyed unto *Claudius* the Consul. And two troops or Cornets besides of Samnit Horsemen were sent to guard them. So soon as they were come unto the Consul, and the letters read by an interpreter, and some examination taken of these captives: then *Claudius* considering that the common weal was not now in that good case, nor the occasion such, that each Governor needed no more, but to make war by the ordinary course of commission, within the compass and limits of his own Province, with the help of his own army alone, and against an enemy assigned unto him by the Senate: but that some unlooked for adventures must be enterprised, some new designments and unexpected put in execution, which when they are begun and attempted, might make no less wonder and fear among their own friends, that terror among the enemies: and being once performed and done, might turn the former fear into as great joy and gladnes: sent the letters of *Asdrubal* to the Senat at *Rome*: and withal, himself acquainted the Lords of the Senate what he intended to do. And forasmuch as *Asdrubal* wrote unto his brother to meet him in *Umbria*, he advised them to send for the legion at *Capua* to *Rome*, to take musters also at *Rome*, and to oppose that army of the City, against the enemy at *Narnia*. Those were the contents of his letters to the Senate. He dispatched likewise messengers before, through the territories of the *Latinats*, *Marucins*, *Ferentins*, and *Prentians*, (by whom he meant to lead his army) for to give notice, that all the inhabitants of those parts, should out of their Villages and good Towns, provide and bring forth victuals into the high wayes, for to refresh his souldiers: also to come with their Cart-horses, draught-oxen, and other beasts for carriage, together with wains and carts, that the wearied souldiers might ease themselves thereby. Himself out of his whole army, as well of citizens as allies, chose forth the stout and most picked men of all, to the number of six thousand foot, and one thousand horse, and gave it out openly, that he minded to surprize the first City that he came next unto in the Lucans country, and withal, the garrison of Carthaginians that lay there: and therefore commanded them to be ready for the journey and expedition. Thus when he had set forward in the night, he turned his way into *Picennum*. And the Consul made no more ado, but with long journeyes highed him as fast as he could, and led his army directly to his colleague, leaving *Q. Titius* his Lieutenant, to guard and command the camp.

At *Rome*, they were no lesse terrified and troubled, than they were two years before, at what time as the Carthaginians were encamped before the walls and gates of the City. And men wist not well, what to make of this adventurous and audacious journey of the Consul, whether they should

should praise or dispraise it. And it seemed that they would measure it and report thereof according to the event, than which surely there is nothing more unjust and unequal. But thus they whispered, "That the camp was left with an army, and without their General, near unto the enemy *Annibal*; yea, and the same gilded of all the strength and flour thereof: that the Consul pretended an expedition into the Lucans country, when indeed he went toward *Picenum* and *Gallia*; leaving the camp by no one thing more safe and secure, than by the error and mistaking of the enemy, who is altogether ignorant, that the General is gone from thence, and part of the forces with him. But where would they be then, and in what taking should the camp be, in case that were known abroad; or if *Annibal* would either with his whole army follow after *Nero*, being gone with no more than six thousand? or assault the camp, lest as it were for a prey unto him, without forces, without conduct, and without the fortune and good luck of the General to protect it? The old defeats received in this war, the fresh remembrance of two Consuls slain but the last year, increased mens fear. All which misfortunes hapned, when there was in *Italy* but one Captain General, and one single army of the enemies. Now, of one war of the Carthaginians there are made twain: and two *Annibals* (as a man would say) be both at once in *Italy*, right valorous and renowned warriors. For even *Asdrubal* also, was *Amilcar* his son as well as *Annibal*, as valiant and redoubted a Captain every way: as who for so many years together in *Spain*, hath been exercised in the Roman wars, and born the name of achieving a twofold victory, and defeating two armies, with two most noble and famous commanders: and as for expedition and speed in his voyage out of *Spain*, and for raising the Nations of *France* up in arms, he may make his boast much more truly than *Annibal* himself. For even in those very places, where *Annibal* had lost the greater part of his souldiers, with hunger and cold, (which kind of death of all others is most miserable) this *Asdrubal* hath levied a power of armed men. Moreover, they that knew *Spain* well, and the affairs which had passed there, said besides, That he had not to deal with *Nero*, as with a warrior whom he knew not already; for why? he had when it was, made a Child of *Nero*, by a good token, That when *Asdrubal* was by chance in a wood, and could not get out, was put to his shifts; but whiles he trifled out the time with *Nero* in booking deceitful conditions and capitulations of peace, he shewed him a coufening Carthaginian call, gave him the fair slip, and escaped out of his hands. And to conclude, in all their discourses at *Rome*, they magnified every thing on the enemies part above all truth, and debated all their own means of help beneath all reason: both was their fear, which interpreteth and construeth all to the worst.

The speech of
Nero to his
souldiers,

Nero when he had now gained so much ground, and was gone so far from the enemy, as it had not mattered much if his designs had been revealed and made known unto him, for any danger that might ensue thereof; called his souldiers before him, and spake some few words to this or the like effect. "Never was there designment (quoth he) of any General in the field, in outward shew more dangerous, in deed and truth more safe and secure, than this of mine. I lead you to a certain and assured victory, even to that war, unto which my colleague would not go before the Senate had allowed him to his full contentment, a greater power both of foot and Horse, and the same better fer out and more furnished, than if he should have gone against *Annibal* himself: and therefore whatsoever small posse and addition of forces you bring thereto, you shall sway thereby the whole, and as it were weigh down the ballance. For when the enemies ready embattailed to fight, shall hear (and before that time, I will take order I know, that they shall not hear) that another Consul and another army is come, no doubt the day will be ours, and they shall yeeld us the victory. For it is a fame & name only, that fighteth the field & determineth battails. And small matters many times carry away the game, and cause mens minds both to stoop for fear, and to rise with hope. And verily, of a well fought field you are they that shall reap the fruit & gain the glory. For alwayes it is seen, that a little help that cometh last, is more than all besides, & seemeth to effect the whole. And you see your selves, with what concourie, with what admiration, with what affectionat favour all men do entertain & regard you by the way. And in very truth, as they marched along in their journey, it was a world to see, how both men & women flocked out of all the villages of the country to see them, how they sorted themselves into companies & degrees to welcome them, and how as they passed as it were in a lane through them, they made vows in their name, they poured out their prayers in their behalf, & dealt praises among them: calling them the very guard & defence of the Common weal, the saviours & redeemers of *Rome* & the Roman Empire: acknowledging that the lives and liberties of themselves and their children, lay in their right hands, and depended upon the force of their arms: praying to all the gods and goddesses, and to all the holy halows of Heaven, to vouchsafe them a lucky journey, a fortunate fight, and a speedy victory over their enemies: wishing heartily, that they might be bound and condemned (as it were) to pay and perform their vows, which in their name they had undertaken & promised: desiring earnestly, that as now they went along, & accompanied them with careful minds for fear of the peril which they went unto, so after few dayes they might meet with them upon the way with joyous hearts, as they return with Triumph for their victory. Every man for himself in particular invited them friendly, offered them frankly, entreated and besought them importunately, that all things whatsoever they stood in need of, either for themselves or their beasts, they would receive at his hands especially, as being ready to afford them all most liberally, heapful, and with the better. The souldiers again, for very modestly strove to take no more than was very needful and necessary.

no

A no stay they would make with any, nor one jot depart from their colours. Their meat they took by the way as they went, journeying night and day, and scarce allowing their bodies rest and sleep to content their weak nature that looked for it. Now had *Nero* sent afore-hand to his brother Consul certain Courriers, to give him advertisement of his coming, and to know again from him his mind, whether he should come openly or secretly, by day time or by night, and lodge in one camp with him, or in another apart by himself. *Livius* his advice was, and he thought it the better of the twain, to enter into his camp, closely in the night season, and had given a watch-word, and made it known throughout all the camp, that every Marshal and Colonel should lodge a Marshal or Colonel, every Centurion entertain a Centurion, every knight or man of arms receive a knight or horseman, and every footman take unto him a footman into his pavilion and cabin.

B For it was not expedient that the camp should be enlarged and set out wider, for fear that the enemy might take knowledge of another Consul coming: and so much the more easily might many of them be bestowed in the streight room of their pavilions, because the army of *Claudius* had brought in manner nothing with them in this expedition, save their armour only. Moreover, in the very way as they came, the company was well mended and much encreased; by many voluntaries that offered themselves willingly of their own accord, as well old souldiers, such as had served out their years, as young and litty men: whom *Claudius* perceiving so to strive for to have their names entered if he saw them personable and strong of body, and like to do good service, had enrolled into the muster book. The other Consul lay encamped before * *Sena*, and * *Senagaglia*, *Asdrubal* some half mile from him. And therefore *Nero*, being now approached and come neer, far him down close among the mountains, because he would not put himself within camp before night. And when they were comethither they were welcomed every man according to his degree, by them of their own place and calling, and brought into their tents and pavilions, and with a general joy of all friendly entertained as their loving guests. The next day following they assembled together to counsel: at which meeting, *L. Porcius Licinius* the Pretor was present: who was himself encamped close unto the Consul's leaguer. He before their coming, by leading his army over the high places, and one while keeping the narrow streights of the Forrest to impeach and stop the passages, another while charging upon the flanks and sides, or else upon the back and rail of the enemy, had by all the devices and policies of war, mocked him and kept him play. This man, I say, was at the foresaid counsel. Many men there were of opinion, that the day of battel should be deferred for a time, whiles *Nero* might have some few dayes respite, both to refresh his souldiers, wearied with long travail and much watching, and also to know the quality somewhat better of his enemy. *Nero* not only persisted still to perswade, but also began most earnestly to intreat, "That they would not by long delay make that design of his to seem rash and dangerous, which speediness in execution had made safe and secure. Considering, that whiles *Annibal*, upon ignorance and error (which is not like to continue long with him) lay still asleep and benumbed, neither once thought upon it, to assail the camp left without a General, nor put himself upon the way, to make pursue after me; now before he once stir, I may (quoth he) defeat the army of *Asdrubal*, and return again into *Apulia*. But he that by deferring still, giveth the enemy time and respite, betrayeth asmuch as lieth in him, the camp unto *Annibal*, and laieth the way open for him into *Gallia*, to joyn with *Asdrubal* at his good leisure and pleasure. Nay (quoth he) the signal of battel must be given forthwith, and we must into the field. We must, I say, take the vantage and make the best of the error and ignorance of our enemies, both absent there, and present here: that neither they with *Annibal* may know that they are to deal with fewer: nor these again beware, that they are to fight with more in number, and stronger in power. Thus the counsel brake up, and the signal of battel was put forth, and presently they went into the field. The enemies were already advanced in battel array, and stood with displayed ensignes. The only stay of joyning in fight was this, That *Asdrubal* riding out with some few Horsemen before the ensignes, chanced to mark some old targets of his enemies which he had not as yet seen, and their Horses more lank and lean, than earst before. And (as he guessed) the number also was greater than ordinary and usual. Suspecting therefore, that which was indeed, he founded the retreat in all haste; and sent out presently to the river where they used to water, to see if they might either light upon some & catch them prisoners, or at least while take good marks by their eye, whether any of them haply were higher coloured, or looked snoburnt, presently upon their late travel. Also he gave them commandment to ride aloof about their camp, and to spie whether the rampier were enlarged or set out farther in any place, and to listen attentively whether the trumpet sounded single or double within the camp. When all other circumstances besides were related in order affirmatively, only the not enlarging of the camp, put them by their hint, and gave the occasion that they were beguiled. Two severall camps they were, like as before the coming of the Consul: the one belonging to *M. Livius*, the other to *L. Porcius*. And in neither of them were the rampiers and trenches set out any jot, whereby they might put up more tents, and quarter themselves in larger room. But this one thing troubled this old experienced Captain, and acquainted so well as he was with the Roman enemies, that his espials brought word, how in the Pretors camp they sounded the trumpet once, and in the Consuls twice. For surely that was an evident argument that two Consuls were there. And in thinking how the other Consul had departed from *Annibal* & given him the slip, he mightily tormented himself. And he could not suspect & imagine that, which was indeed the truth, namely, that

that *Annibal* was deluded and mocked in a matter of so great moment, as to be ignorant what was become of the General, or of the army, to which he lay so close and neer entangled. Surely (thought he) and without all question, he hath received no small foil and overthrow, and in this fright dares not make after and follow the enemy. Nay, he feared much, lest all were lost and gone, and that he should not come time enough to help and succour him: and that the Romans had gotten already the same good hand in *Italy*, which they had before in *Spain*. Otherwile he was perswaded, that his letters never came to *Annibal* his hands, that they were intercepted, and so the Consul made hast to prevent him, and give him the foil by the way. Being perplexed with these careful cogitations, he caused the fires to be put out, and at the signal given at the first watch, to truss up bag and baggage, and to dislodge, and be gone. In this fearful haste and mighty tumult, the guides while they were slenderly looked unto, and small heed was taken of them, one of them sat down and rested close in a secret lurking hole which he had before detected in his mind; the other waded over the river *Metaurus*, through the floods that he was well acquainted with, and so got away and made an escape. So the army left at random without their guides, first wandered over the fields, and then diverse of them being weary and sleepy with overwatching, laid them down along here and there, and left their colours with few about them. *Annibal* commanded them to march along the bank of the River, and to follow it, until the day light might direct them the right way: and so going a compass in and out according to the winding reaches and cranks of the River, wandered a great while, and gained but a small ground forward. Now when day light once appeared, he purposed to spie out the first place for convenient passage, and there to get over. But finding no fords, by reason that the farther he was from the Sea, the higher were the banks from the water that kept in the River, he spent all the five long day, and gave the enemy time to follow after him. And first *Claudianus Nero* came with all the Horsemen, then *Porcius* followed hard after with the van companies, and light armed footmen. While they made offer to charge their enemies in their march, every way, and plaid still upon them, in so much as now *Asdrubal* leaving to journey forward (wherein he seemed rather to flee than march) was desirous to take a little hill along the river side, and there to encamp and fortify. *Livius* was come also with all the main power of footmen, so armed and so orderly appointed and marshalled, as they were not only provided to march in journey, but ready also presently to give battail. But when they were all joyed together, and arranged in battail array, *Claudianus* had the leading of the right wing, *Livius* commanded the left, and the Pretor took the charge and conduct of the main battail. *Asdrubal* seeing no other remedy but to fight, never fortified his camp; but in the fore-front before the vanguard, and in the very mids, placed his Elephants: about them in the left wing he opposed the French against *Claudianus*; not so much trusting upon them, as supposing verily that the enemy was afraid of them: and in proper person he took up the right wing against *Livius* for himself and the Spaniards, in whom (being old beaten soldiers) he reposed his most hope. The Ligurians in the mids were bestowed behind the Elephants. But the battail was rather drawn out in length, than stretched forth in breadth. The Frenchmen were defended with the hill that bare out over them. The front which the Spaniards kept, encountered with the left wing of the Romans. And all the battail of the right side, which bare out from the conflict, stood still and fought not. The hill that was opposite against them, was the cause that neither afront, nor as flank, they could charge upon the enemy. But between *Livius* and *Asdrubal* there was an hot fight begun already, and cruel bloudshed on both sides. There were both the General Captains: there was the greater part of the Romans, as well foot as Horse: there were the Spaniards, old and experienced soldiers, skilful also in the Roman manner of fight: there were the Ligurians, a tough nation, and hardy in fight. Against this battail were the Elephants turned; who at the first shock and onset troubled and disordered the vanguard, yea, and began to force the ensigns to give ground. But after upon the noise that grew greater, and the battail that waxed hotter; they began to be unruly, and travers between both battails, as it were doubtful to whether side they belonged, much like to ships left hulling and floating without their pilots and steers-men. Then *Claudianus* cried out estoons to his souldiers: To what end, quoth he, made we such post haste, and took so long a journey? But seeing that he laboured in vain to advance his banners and mount up against the hill opposite unto him, and perceiving that way how it was impossible to come unto the enemy and to enter upon him, he drew forth certain cohorts out of the right wing where he saw they were likelier to stand still than to fight, and wheeled about behind the enemies battail, and so unwares not only to the enemies, but also to his own men, he charged upon the left flank of the enemies: and he bestirred himself so nimble, that when he had shewed himself on the sides, presently he plaid upon their backs: in such sort, that now on all hands, affront, behind, and on their flanks, down went the Spaniards and Ligurians, and were hewn in pieces, yea, and the execution reached to the very French. There with them was least ado; and smallest fight of all: for a great many of their fellows had abandoned their colours, and being slip away in the night, lay asleep all over the fields: and such as were there, weary with travail and watching (as having bodies that of all things cannot away with labour and pain taking) were scarce able to bear their corselets on their backs. Besides, now it was high noon: and what with drought & heat together, they stood gaping for air, & yielded their bodies either to be massacred, or taken captive. As for the Elephants, there were more of them killed by the hands of the governors and guides that fate upon them, than by the enemy that fought against them. For their

to their utterance was to have about them a Carpenters chisel and a mallet, and when the heads began once to rage and to run upon their own fellows, their mallets would let the said chisel between their ears, even in the very joint where the nape of the neck and the head meet together, and with his mallet to drive it as hard as he could: this was found to be the readiest and most speedy way to kill so mighty and huge a beast, when they were put all hope to rule them and keep them in order. And the first inventor and practiser of this feat was *Asdrubal*, a famous and memorable Captain; as to many other respects, so especially for this battail. He it was that held on to the end, exhorting his soldiers to fight, fighting also himself, and adventuring all dangers: he it was, that when his men were weary and drew back (by reason of long toil and labour) invited them again, one while by fair words and intreaty: another while by sharp checks and rebukes: he reclaimed them again when they were running away: he renewed the fight in divers places when it flaked and gave over. And at the very last, when he saw evidently that the enemy had the honor of the day, because he would not remain alive after so great an army defeated that followed his standards, and were induced by the reputation and name that went of him, he set spur to his horse, and rode among the squadrons of the Roman Horsemen: and there, as he seemed *Antiochus* son, and *Antiochus* brother, fighting right manfully, was slain. Never during the time of this war in one field were there so many enemies killed: and it seemed now that for loss of Captain and overthrow of an army, they might well cry quitance with them for the defeat at *Cannae*. Slain there were 36000 enemies: 2400 taken prisoners: and a rich booty and pillage gained of all sorts, besides gold and silver. Moreover, there were recovered of Roman citizens above four thousand, who had been taken prisoners, and were among the enemies. That comfort they had to make amends for the soldiers that died in this battail: for they won not the victory without bloodshed in this field, wherein to the number almost of eight thousand Romans and allies together, lost their lives. And the Conquerors themselves had so much their fill of blood and slaughter, that the next morning, when word was brought unto *Livius* the Consul, that divers *Cisalpine* Gauls, and *Ligurians*, which either were not at the battail, or escaped out of the execution, and were going away in one company all together, without a certain Leader, without *Ensigns*, without any order or command, and might all be put to the sword and utterly destroyed, if there were but one corner of Horsemen left out after them, "Nay, quoth he, let some remain alive to tell the news both of our enemies losse and ruin, and of our own vertue and valour." And *Nero* the very next night after the battail, marched with more speed backward, than he came thither, and within six dayes returned again so far as to his standing-leaguer, and the enemies. All the way as he marched, he was not indeed so resorted unto and frequented by so many men, by reason that there went no harbingers or messengers before: but his coming was welcomed, with so great gladness and mirth, that for very joy, the people were welcoter besides themselves. As for *Rome*, it cannot be uttered and expressed in words sufficiently, how men were affected the one way or the other: neither how pensive the City was in doubtful expectation of the event, nor how joyous and jocund again, upon the news and tidings of the victory. For never one day (after the rumour once was blown thither, that *Claudian* the Consul was gone forth in his expedition) from the sun-rising unto the setting, departed either Senators out of the Council-chamber, from attendance upon the Magistrats, or the people out of the Common-hall. The dames of the City, because other help they could yeeld none, betook themselves to their beads and devotions, and in every Church went up and down, and plied all the Gods with prayers, with vows, and humble supplications. As the City was thus perplexed and in suspense: first there came some flying news, that two Horsemen of *Narnia* were come out of the battail, and returned to the camp, which lay to guard and keep the streights and passages of *Subura*, who had brought word thither, that the enemies were defeated. At the first, they rather lent their ears to hear these tidings, than bent their minds to entertain the same, as being greater than they might in heart conceive, and more joyful than they could assuredly believe: and the exceeding swiftness of the rumor hindered the credit thereof, because it was reported without, that the battail was fought but two dayes before. Then were letters brought from *Jo. Manlius Acidinus*, sent out of the camp, which confirmed the arrival of those Horsemen of *Narnia*. Those letters were brought through the common place, unto the Tribunal of the Pretor: whereupon the Lords of the Senat were sent for out of the Council-house. But the people kept such a bustling and thronging about the doot of the Senat, that the messenger could not passe thither, but was halod and pulled by the people, questioning with him, and calling hard upon him, that the letters should be read at the market cross, and in the *Rostre*, before they were opened in the Senat. But at the last, they were restrained by the Magistrats and caused to void, and hardly could the joy be contained among so many people, who had no measure nor rule of their affections. Well, the letters were first read in the Senat, and therein the assembly of the people: and there, according to the diverse dispositions of men, some took joy and contentment of mind, as upon a certainty: others would give no credit, before they either heard the messengers speak directly from the Consuls, or saw their letters. After this word came, that there were Embassadors themselves at hand. And then indeed, there ran to meet them, of all sorts, young and old, every one desired to be the first, to see and to hear these so glad tidings. And they went out so far as the bridge *Murcia*, and all the way along, was full of people. These Embassadors or messengers, were *Jo. Marcus Philo*, *P. Lucius Furius*, *Q. Cestius Massius*. Who being accompanied with people

of all degrees and qualities, that flocked about them, came as far as to the city on when a feast was questioned with themselves, others enquired of their train and retinue, what news and how the World went. And as any one had caught an eed from them, that the army and Camp of the General of the enemies was slain, or the Roman legions safe, and the Consul alive, such as he would immediately impart his joy unto others. Muchado had they to come into the City, and more also there was, to keep out the multitude, that they were not mingled among the Lords of the Senate. But at last the letters were read in the Senate. From thence were the Embassadors brought into the general assembly of the people. And *L. Claudius* after he had read the letters, explained himself from point to point in order, how every thing was done with great applause, and afterwards with a general shout of all the assembly, who hardly could conceive in their minds a greater joy. Then they ran divers ways, some to the Temples of the Gods to render thanks, others to their own houses, to communicate with their wives and children to lucky and fortunate tidings. And the Senat decreed a solemn procession for three dayes together. Inasmuch as *M. Claudius* the Consul, with the safety of the legions had vanquished the enemies, killed their General, and put their army to the sword. This procession *C. Fabius* the Pretor published in the open assembly of the people: and it was celebrated and solemnized both by men and women. All the Temples for three dayes fully, were likewise replenished with the people, and the order. For the Matrons and Dames of the City, in their best apparel together with their children yielded praise and thanks to the immortal Gods, as if now they had been freed from all fear, and the war come to a final end for ever. This victory altered the very face and course of the common weal, so as from that time forward, as in time of settled peace, men durst make contracts, buy and sell, borrow and lend, yea, and pay debts to their creditors.

C. Claudius the Consul, so soon as he was entered into the camp again, caused the head of *Arabal* (which he had preserved with great care and brought with him) to be thrown out before the Corps de guard and Nations of the enemies, and that the African captives should be showed bound as they were in chains: and two of them to be sent loose upon *Arabal* to desire and recount in order, how every thing happened. *Arabal* having at once received this double blow, mourning as well for the publick losse of the state, as for the calamity happened in his own house, fetched a deep sigh (by report) and said: Ah, how well the hard fortune of *Carthage* and dislodging from thence, because he would bring together all his forces (which being dispersed and under, he was not able to hold and maintain) into the utmost angle of *Italy* (the *Rutinas* country) he brought thither as well the *Merapontins*, even the whole state of them, who abandoned their own Towns and Cities, as also the *Lucans*, as many as were subject unto him, and under his obedience.

The eight and twentieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the eight and twentieth Book.

THE prosperous affairs in Spain, under the conduct of *Syllanus* the Lieutenant of *Scipio*, and *U. Scipio* his brother, achieved against the *Carthaginians*: as also the acts performed by *Publius* the Pro-consul, and *Attalus* the King of Asia [the last] in the quarrel and battles of the *Seleucians*, against *Philip* King of the *Macedonians*, are reported and set down [in this book]. In this story a triumph decreed and granted unto *M. Livius* and *C. Claudius Nero* by *Cornelius* the Dictator, because he had performed the exploit in his own Province, made in a chariot drawn with four steeds: and *Nero*, because he came unto the Province of his colleague, to help forward the victory, rode after him mounted on horseback: His belt every where, in this habit and manner of triumph, he carried the way to port, and reverence: for so by merit, in this war he had done more good for the state than his brother Consul. The fire went out in the chapel of *Vesta*, by negligence of a Virgin, who had the lamp and tending thereof, and looked no better unto it. The same Virgin was well whipped. *P. Scipio* finished the war in Spain against the *Carthaginians*, when he had served fourteen years, and in the fifth year after that he went from the City of Rome. And having disarmed the enemies, gave of the possession of Spain, he recovered it wholly for the Romans. From *Tatemon* the husband of *Arabal*, who failed into Africa unto *Syphax* King of the *Nomians*, with whom he concluded a league. *Narbal* the son of *Carthage*, for there with him at one table, and they supped together. He exhibited a game and pastime of sword playing at new Carthage, in the honor of his father and uncle: and the game was not performed by common fencers, and sword-players hired servants, but by such as were for the honor of their Country, or to determine some controversy, gave defiance one to the other, and were the lists in combat. Among whom were *Lili* of the country, who were brothers, fought in day for the sovereignty of the Kingdom. When the City of *Alapa* was besieged and assailed by the Romans, the Townsmen caused

A cansted a mighty pile of wood to be made, and set on fire, and when they had killed their wives and children, they threw themselves headlong into the fire after them. Scipio himself, whilst he lay grievously sick, and there hapned by occasion thereof a mutiny to arise in one part of his army, when he was amended once, made an end thereof: and compelled the States of Spain (that remained) to come in and yield obedience again. There was likewise an amity and society concluded with Masinissa, King of the Numidians: who also promised him his aide, in case he would come over into Affrick: With the Gadians also, after the departure of Mago from thence: who had received letters from Carthage, that he should pass the seas into Italy. Scipio, after he was returned to Rome, was created Consul. And when he made sure to have the Province of Affrick, Q. Fabius Maximus withstood him: and so he had the government of Sicily: but with commission to sail over into Affrick, in case occasion should be it good for the Common-weal. Mago the son of Amilcar from the lesser Balearic Island, where he had wintered, took the seas and sailed over into Italy.

The eight and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

VVhen it seemed that Spain was eased as much of war, as Italy charged therewith, by the voyage of Asdrubal thither: behold, all of a sudden there arose other troubles there, equall to the former. And as for the Provinces of Spain at that time, they were possessed between Romans & Carthaginians in this manner. Asdrubal the son of Gisco, was retired with his power far within the country, even to the Ocean and Gades. But the coasts bordering upon our sea, and in manner all Spain bending toward the East, was held by Scipio and subject to the Roman Empire. Hanno the new General, being passed out of Affrick with a fresh army, and entered into the room of Asdrubal the Barchine, joyned with Mago: and when he had put in arms within a short time, a great number of men in Celtiberia, which lieth in the midst between the two seas: Scipio sent forth against him: M. Syllanus made ten thousand foot, and five hundred horsemen. This Syllanus made such speed by taking as long journeys as possibly he could (considering how much hindered and troubled he was, both by the roughness of the waies, and also by the straights, environed with thick woods, and Forrests, as most parts of Spain are) that notwithstanding all those difficulties, he prevented not only the messengers, but also the very fame and rumour of his coming, and by the guidance of certain fugitive revolts out of Celtiberia, he passed forward from thence to the enemy. By the same guides he had intelligence, and was for certain advertised (being now some ten miles from the enemy) that about the very way where he should march there were two camps: namely, on the left hand the new army above said of Celtiberians, to the number of more than nine thousand lay encamped, and the Carthaginians on the right. As for this Leaguer, it was well defended and fortified with corps de guards, which watch and ward both night and day, according to the good order and discipline of war. But the other was as much neglected, disolute, loose, and out of order, like as commonly barbarous people and raw souldiers are, and such as fear the less, by reason they are at home within their own country. Syllanus thinking it good policy to set upon them first, gave commandment to march under their ensigns and colours, and bear toward their left hand as much as they could, for fear of being discovered in some place or other by the guards and Sentinels of the Carthaginians. And himself in person, having sent before certain vint-courriers and espials, with his army advanced apace directly toward his enemy. Now was he approached within three miles of them unespied, and not descried at all. For why? a mountain country it was, full of roughs and crags, overspread and covered with woods and thickets. There in a hollow valley between, and therefore secret for the purpose, he commanded his souldiers to sit them down and take their refection. In this mean time the espials came back and verified the words of the fugitives aforesaid. Then the Romans, after they had piled their packs, their trusses and baggage in the midst, armed themselves, and in order of battell set forward to fight. When they were come within a mile of the enemies, they were discovered by them, who began suddenly to be affraid. Mago at the first outcry and alarm, set spurs to his horse, and rode a gallop out of his Camp to succour. Now there were in the army of the Celtiberians, four thousand footmen targettiers, and two hundred horse. This Troop being in manner the flower and very strength of the whole army, and as it were, a full and compleat legion he placed in the vanguard: all the rest, which were lightly armed, he bestowed in the rereward for to succour and rescue. As he led them forth thus ordered and arranged, they were not well issued without the trench, but the Romans began to lance their javelins and darts against them. The Spaniards to avoid this volley of shot from the enemies, conched close under their shields, and defended themselves, and afterwards they rose up at once to charge again upon them. But the Romans standing thick, as their manner is, received all their darts in their targets, and then they closed man to man, and foot to foot, and began to fight at hand with their swords. Howbeit, the ruggedness of the ground, as it nothing availed the swiftness of the Celtiberians (whose guise is to run to and fro in skirmish and keep no ground) so the same was not hurtfull at all to the Romans, who were used to a set battell, and to stand to their fight: only the straight room, and the trees and shrubs growing between parted their ranks and files asunder, so as they were forced to maintain skirmish, either singly one to one, or two to two at the most, as if they had been matched to cope together even. And look what thing hindered the enemies in their

their flight, the same yielded them, as it were, bound hand and foot unto the Romans, for to be killed. Now when all these targettiers wel-near of the Celtiberians were slain: their light armed souldiers, and the Carthaginians also, who from the other camp ran to succour, were likewise disarraid, discomfited and hewn in pieces. So there were two thousand footmen, and not above, and all the horsemen (who scarce began battell) fled with *Mago* and escaped. As for *Hanno* the other Generall, together with them who came last, and to the very end of the fray, was taken alive. But *Mago* fled still: and all the Cavalry, with as many as remained of the old footmen followed after, and by the tenth day arrived in the Province of *Gades*, and came unto *Asdrubal*. The Celtiberians, that were but new souldiers, slipt into the next woods out of the way, and so from thence fled home.

* Andalusia.

This fortunate victory hapned in so good a time, not so much stilled the present war in the very birth, as it cut off the matter and maintenance of future troubles, in case the enemies had been let alone, and suffered to sollicit and stir other nations to take armes, like as they raised the Celtiberians already. Whereupon, *Scipio* having highly commended *Syllanus*, and conceived great hope withall to dispatch quite, and make an end of the wars, in case himselfe lingered not the matter, and made long stay: pursued the remnant behind, and set forward into the utmost Province of *Spain* against *Asdrubal*. But *Asdrubal*, who hapned then to lye encamped in * *Betica* for to keep his Allies in obedience and faithfull allegiance, all on a sudden dislodged, plucked up standards, and away; and more like one that fled than marched, led his army farther into the country, even as far as the Ocean, and to *Gades*. But supposing, that so long as he kept his forces all together, himselfe was the only mark which the enemy would shoot at, before that he cut over the straights of *Gibraltar* to *Gades*, he brake up his whole army, and sent them away here and there to their severall Cities, both to save themselves within the walls, and to defend the walls by force of arms. *Scipio*, so soon as he perceived that the war was thus divided into sundry parts, and that to lead about his forces from City to City, was rather a long and tedious peece of work, than either difficult or much availeable, retired back. But because he would not leave that country clear in the hands of the enemies, he sent his brother *L. Scipio* with 10000 foot, and 1000 horsemen, to assaile the mightiest and wealthiest City in those parts, which the barbarous people call *Oringis*. This City is seated in the confines of the *Melessi* (a nation meer Spaniards) the soil fruitful, and the inhabitants there find silver mines. This was the fortress of *Asdrubal*, and his place of safe retreat, when he made outroads all abroad into the midland countries of the main, and spoiled the people. *Lucius Scipio* having pitched his Camp under the said City: before that he entrenched and blocked the town, sent certain to the gates, who by parading near at hand, might feel and sound the dispositions of the Citizens, and periwade with them to make triall of the Romans friendly alliance, rather than their forcible violence. But perceiving by their answers no mind at all nor inclination to peace, he cast a trench, and raised a double rampart about the town, and divided his army into three parts, to the end that one of them should ever follow the assault, whiles the other twain took rest and ease. And when the first troop and regiment of them began to give a camisado, there followed a fierce, cruell, and doubtfull skirmish. For they could not easily either come under the walls, or bring scaling ladders to set to, by reason of the shot that light upon them. And such as already had reared up ladders to the wall, some of them were pushed off with certain forks provided for that purpose, others were caught hold of with iron hooks from above, and were in danger to be hung up in the air, hoisted aloft, and fetched over the walls. *Scipio* seeing that the conflict was unequal, by reason of the small number of assailants, and that the enemies had the advantage besides, in that they fought from the wall top: caused that first regiment to retire, and with the other twain at once gave a fresh assault to the town. This stroke so great a fear into them who were already wearied with fighting, that not only the townsmen suddenly abandoned the walls and fled, but also the Carthaginian garrison souldiers, for fear lest the City was betrayed, forsook also their stations and places of guard, and gathered themselves into one place. But then the townsmen were afraid, lest if the enemies put themselves within the City, they should be massacred every where as they came in their way, without respect and difference who were Carthaginians, or who were Spaniards. Whereupon they set one gate open on a sudden, and in great numbers ran out of the town, bearing their targets before them, against the darts that were shot afar off, and shewing aloft their naked right hands, in token that they had laid aside their swords. But whether the enemy could not well discern them so far off, or whether they suspected some crafty and deceitfull practice, I wot not, but they fell upon them that fled and yielded unto them, and slew them downright, as well as if they had affronted them in the face of a battell, and at the same gate entered the City with bloody banners. In other parts likewise they fell to hewing down the gates with axes, and to break them open with crowes of Iron. And as every horseman got into the City, he rode amain (according to the direction given by the Generall) into the market place, to be possessed thereof. And to these horsemen were assigned the *Triarii* for aid and assistance. The Legionary souldiers besides ran over all the other parts of the City, spoiling and killing all that ever they met, save such as defended themselves with their armour. All the Carthaginians were taken prisoners and committed to ward, likewise of townsmen about three hundred, such as had shut the gates; but unto all the rest the town was rendred again, and each man had his own goods delivered and restored unto him. There were slain at the assault of that City, of enemies almost two thousand: but of Romans not above fourescore

A fourscore and ten. As by the winning of the town, they that were employed there took great joy and contentment: so in their return to their General himself, and the rest of the main army, they made a goodly shew as they marched with a mighty multitude of prisoners led before them. *Scipio* having praised his brother in the most honourable terms that he could devise, and namely, for this exploit of forcing *Orinx*, making him equall in glory to himself for the conquest of *Carthage*: because winter drew on, that he could neither give the attempt upon *Gades*, nor yet follow at once upon the army of *Asdrubal*, so dispersed as it was in sundry parts over the Province, conducted his forces back again into the Province of *Spain*, that lieth on this side *Iberia*: and when he had dismissed his legions into their severall standing campe to winter in, and sent his brother *L. Scipio* to *Rome*, together with *Hanno* the General of the enemies, and other Gentlemen prisoners, he withdrew himself to *Tarcon*.

B In the same year the Roman Armado being set out under the conduct of the Admiral *M. Valerius Levinus* the Pro-Consul, made a voyage from *Sicily* into *Affrick*, and foraged all over the Territories of *Utica* and *Carthage*, inso much as they drave booties out of the very utmost Confines of the Carthaginians, and even about the walls of *Utica*. As they sailed back for *Sicily*, they were encountred by the Carthaginian fleet, consisting of seventy long ships of war, whereof seventeen were boarded and taken, four sunk in the deep sea, the rest were put to flight and dispersed. Thus the Roman Captain *Kalerius*, after victories achieved both by sea and land, returned with rich prizes of all sorts to *Lilybaeum*: and hereupon by reason that the seas were open, and cleared of the enemies ships, great store and abundance of grain was brought to *Rome*.

C In the beginning of that summer wherein these things shapned, *P. Sulpicius* the Pro-Consul, and King *Antalus*, after they had wintered in *Agina*, as is above said, with a joint navy passed over from thence into the Island *Lemnos*. The Romans were twenty five Gallies of five ranks of oars, and the King had thirty five. *Philip* for his part because he would be ready at all allies to meet with the enemy either by land or sea, went himself in person down to the sea-side, as far as *Demetria*, and made proclamation, that all his forces should by a certain day meet together at *Larissa*. Upon the same that went of the Kings coming, there repaired sundry Embassies from the confederate States of all parts unto *Demetria*. For the Etolians having taken heart unto them, as well for the society with the Romans as upon the coming of *Antalus*, wasted and spoiled their borderers. And not only the Acarnanians and Boeotians, and they that inhabit *Euboea*,

D were in great fear, but also the Achaeans: whom over and besides the war from the Etolians, *Macchidas* also the Lacedaemonian tyrant, terrified, who encamped himself not far from the confines of the Argives. All these States made report what perils were like to ensue both by sea and land to their severall Cities, and besought the King his aid. Moreover there came unto him out of his own Realm no good tidings of peace and quietness, for that *Scordileus* and *Pleuratus* were gone out and rebelled, and of the nations of *Thrace*, the *Medi* especially were ready to invade the frontiers adjoining upon *Macedony*, in case the King should fortune to be busied and occupied otherwise in any long war. The Boeotians likewise themselves, and other nations inhabiting the more inland parts of *Greece*, had given intelligence, that the passages of the forest

E *Thermopylae*, where as the narrow gullet of the streights yieldeth small passage, were stopped up by the Etolians with a trench and pallado, that it might give no access at all unto *Philip*, for to come and defend the Cities of the Achaes. Thus many troubles coming fast and thick one upon another, had been like to have roused and awakened even a sleepy and slow Captain, and made him to look about him. These Embassadors he dispatched and sent away, promising every one of them help and succour, as time and occasion would permit, and willing them each one for the present to provide those things that were most urgent and important. Then he sent a garrison unto that City from whence news came, that *Antalus* having passed with a fleet from *Lemnos* had wasted and foraged all the territory about it. And he sent *Polysperches* with a small power unto *Bentia*, and *Menippus* likewise, one of his own Captains and Councillors, unto *Chios*, with a thousand targetters, called *Peltai*, (now the *Peltai* are certain small bucklers of targets, nothing unlike unto the Spanish *Corymbes*) unto whom were joyed five hundred Romans,

F that they might be able to guard all the parts of the Island: himself in person went to *Scorff*, and there he appointed the *Renaevones*, that in the forces of the Macedonians should be brought thither from *Thrace*. News came unto him there that the Etolians had summoned and proclaimed a general Diet or Council at *Stactea*, and that King *Antalus* would repair thither to consult about the managing of the whole war. And with an intent by his sudden coming to trouble this solemn assembly and meeting of the States, he took great journeys in his march, and led his army toward *Stactea*: but the Council was newly dissolved when he arrived thither. Howbeit, he destroyed all the standing corn, which was near-hand ripe,

G especially in the vale along the Gulph of the Achaes, and so reduced his army back again to *Scorff*, and there leaving his whole power, he retired himself to *Demetria*, attended only with his royal guard. And because he might from thence be ready to meet with all sudden invasions of the enemies, he sent out men on purpose into *Phocis*, *Euboea*, and *Thrace*, to chuse out certain high places for beacons, from whence the fires might be seen afar off. And himself set up one watch tower upon *Cissa*, (a mountain the top whereof is of an exceeding height) that upon the signal of the beacons on fire from afar, he might in the minute

* Larissa, or
Larissa

* Nigropontes
* Lemnos, Nigd
or Saragum,
Castalio.

* Strabo de
Sigeoponte.

of an hour have intelligence, so soon as the enemies went about any trouble whatsoever. But the Roman General and King *Attalus* called the seas from *Peparethus* to *Nicea*, and from thence sailed with their Armado to *Euboea*, unto the City *Oreum*, which as a man beareth his countenance from the gulph of *Demetrias* to *Chalcis* and *Enripus*, is the first City of *Euboea* that sheweth itself upon the left hand. And thus it was agreed between *Attalus* and *Salpurgus*, that the Romans should give the assault from the sea side, and the King with his forces on the land. Four daies after the fleet was arrived, they presented themselves before the City to assault. For that time between was spent in secret talk and conference with *Plator*, who was appointed by *Philip* governor and Provost of the City. The City had within it two Citadels, the one commanding the sea, the other situate in the very heart and midst of the town. From thence there is a way under the ground that leadeth to the sea: at the end whereof there stood a fabrick or tower five stories high, a singular bulwark and place of defence. There at first began a most sharp and cruell conflict, by reason that the turret was well furnished with all kind of shot and artillery: and likewise from out of the ships there was planted much ordnance, and many engines bent to impeach and assault the same. Now when every mans mind was amazed, and eye fixed upon this hot and eager fight, *Plator* received and let in the Romans at the gate of the other Citadel that stood over the sea, and so in the turning of an hand it was surprized and won. The townsmen being expelled and chased from thence, retired and betook themselves into the middle of the City unto the other fortrels. But certain souldiers were set of purpose there to shut the gate upon them: and so being excluded they were killed and taken prisoners in the midst between. The garrison of the Macedonians stood round together under the Castle wall, and neither fled openly again nor yet began to fight, as if they meant to stick to it unto the end. For whom *Plator* obtained pardon of *Salpurgus*, and having embarked them, brought them to *Demetrium* of *Phibum*, and there let them ashore, and himself returned to *Attalus*.

Salpurgus bearing himself bold for this to good and speedy success, immediately sailed with his victorious Armado against *Chalcis*. Where the event in the end answered nothing unto his hope and expectation. The sea lying broad and large on both hands, gathereth in that place to a narrow room, so as at the first sight it maketh a shew of a double peece or haven opening upon two divers mouths, but in very truth there is not lightly to be found a worse harbour, and a more dangerous rede for ships. For not only for the exceeding high hills on both sides of the main, the winds arise suddenly and blow blustering, but also the very straight it self of *Enripus* which nor and flower seven times in the day, as the voice goeth, at certain and ordinary hours: but without all order, as the winds drive, the sea turneth and rolleth hither and thither, working up and down, and like a flowing stream smiteth forcibly and with great violence, as it were, down a steep hill: so as neither night nor day the ships that ride have any rest and repose. Hence the Roman Armado was thus engaged, with so dangerous a rede: so the town of the one part was environed with the sea, and on the land side surely fortified, besides the defence of a strong garrison there, and the assured loyalty of the Captains and principal heads and rulers: whereby it was chiefly guarded, which at *Oreum* was but vain, *Enripus* and *Chalcis*, by means whereof it was senable and impregnable. The Roman General in this case, considering how he had begun a rash enterprise, and seeing many difficulties on every hand, wrought wisely yet in this one point, that he soon gave over, because he would spend no time in vain, and passed over with his fleet from thence to *Cymus*, a town of Merchandise belonging to the City of *Oreum*, situate a mile from the sea. *Philip* had warning by the beacons on fire that appeared from *Oreum*: but by the fraud of *Plator*, the other were with the least loss a burning from the watch tower above said. And forasmuch as he was not strong enough at sea, he could not with his navy have any access unto the Island. So that service was delayed and altogether neglected. But he desired himself quickly to the succour of *Chalcis*, so soon as ever he perceived the fire from the beacons. Forasmuch as *Chalcis* it self be a City of the same Island, yet it is divided from the Continent by so narrow an arm of the sea, that there is no more but a bridge between it and the land: and on that side it hath more easie access than by water. *Philip* having dispersed the garrison here, cut down the fort and discomfited the *Enripus* who kept the straight passage of *Chalcis*, came from *Demetrias* to *Chalcis*, from whence he departed at the third watch: and when he had taken and chased the enemies in great sort to *Hemelia*, himself in one day reached to *Enripus*, where he found above four miles. The very same day in manner the City of *Oreum* was taken by *Attalus* and put to the sack. The whole pillage thereof *Salpurgus* had granted to the King, in regard that some a few daies before was spoiled and rased by the Roman souldiers, and the Kingmen had no share with them. Now was the Roman Armado retired to *Oreum*, and *Attalus* not aware of their coming, spent time in exacting monies from the chief and principal Citizens. But to sudden and unexpected was this accident of his approach, that had not certain *Creteans* by good hap gone forth a foraging far from the City, and detected the march of the enemies, a great way off he might have been overtaken and surprised. *Attalus* unarmed and out of order as he was made haste again to the sea side for to recover the ships. And even as he and his men were going from the land and anchoring into the sea, *Philip* came, and from the very shore put the number and sailers in great fear. From thence he returned to *Oreum*, crying out upon God and man, and blaming his ill luck, that he had missed so narrowly the opportunity of to great an exploit, and let it go, as it were, watched out of his very eyes. In the fit of anger he reproved and rebuked

A the Opuntians for that being able to hold out the siege untill his coming, so soon as they saw the enemy they presently had yielded themselves in a manner voluntary into his hands. When he had set things in order at *Opus*, and thereabout he took his journey to *Tarentum*. *Attalus* at the first retired himself to *Oreum*: but upon the news arrived, how *Prusias* the King of *Bithynia* had invaded the frontiers of his kingdom, he left the Roman affairs and the *Ætolian* war, and from thence sailed over directly into *Asia*. *Sulpicius* also retired his navy unto *Ægina*, from whence in the beginning of the spring he had departed and taken his voyage. And *Philip* forced and won *Torone*, with a small ado as *Attalus* before had taken *Opus*. That foresaid City *Torone* was inhabited by certain that were fled and driven out of *Thebes* in *Phthiotis*. For when the City was taken by *Philip*, and they fled for protection unto the *Ætolians*, (to whom they recommended and commended themselves) the *Ætolians* gave unto them that place to seat themselves in, being a City wasteful and in manner desolate by the former war of *Philip*. Then *Philip* having recovered *Torone* again, as is foresaid, departed from thence, and won *Tricnemum* and *Drymas*, two small and base towns of no account in *Doris*. From whence he came to *Elaium*, where he had given commandment, that the Embassadors of *Ptolomeus* and the *Rhodians*, should give attendance untill his coming. Where, as they were treating about the making an end of the *Ætolian* war (forasmuch as those Embassadors to the same effect had lately presented themselves at *Heraclea*, in the Council and assembly of the Romans and *Ætolians*) tidings came, that *Machanidas* purposed and determined to set upon the *Eleians*, as they were preparing to exhibit the solemn *Olympian* games. *Philip* supposing it good to prevent that, courteously answered the Embassadors and gave them their dispatch: saying that as himself was not the cause of that war, so he would not hinder and stay the conclusion of peace upon any equall and reasonable conditions. And so with a power lightly appointed he marched through *Boeotia* to *Megara*, and from thence went down to *Corinth*: where having furnished himself with victuals, he marched forward to *Phlius* & *Pharus*. And being now come as far as to *Ereia*, and hearing there that *Machanidas* upon the rumour of his coming, for fear was fled back to *Lacedaemon*, he returned to *Ægium*, unto the generall Diet and Council of the *Achaes*: supposing withall, that he should find there the *Punic* armado, which he had sent for to come thither, because he might be able to do some what also by sea. But some few daies before the *Carthaginians* had sailed over into *Phocaea*, and from thence were gone to the havens of the *Acarnanians*, so soon as they heard once, that *Attalus* and the Romans were departed from *Oreum*, fearing that they would make out after them, and lest they should be overtaken and surprised within *Chelone*, which is the very mouth of the *Corinthian* gulph. *Philip* verily grieved hereat, and was wonderfully troubled in mind, seeing what haste soever he made himself in all his enterprises, yet he came too short and effected nothing in due times: as if fortune in taking all things out of his very eye-sight, had deluded, disappointed, and mocked all his speedines and expedition. Howbeit, in that solemn Diet and assembly, he dissembled his grief, but in his passionate affections, and thus with an haughty mind he spake and said, "That he called both God and man to witnesses, that he had forlet no opportunity of time nor vantage of place, but when and wheresoever he heard but any meddling of the enemy, and the least rustling of armour, thither he had made all haste that possibly he might: but he could hardly devise and conceive, whether himself were more venturous in seeking war, than the enemy humble and quick in avoiding the same. So *Attalus* at *Opus*, *to Sulpicius* at *Chalcedon*, and so the other day *Machanidas* escaped out of his hands and got away. But surely (quoth he) his running away will not alwaies prosper and speed well: neither is that to be counted a dangerous war, wherein a man may be sure (if he but meet his enemy once) to have the upper hand. That which is the principall point of all, thus much have I got yet at the enemies hands, that they confess thereby, how they are not able to make their paragon good with us: and I doubt not, but shortly I shall achieve the victory of them, and the event and fortune of their fighting with me, shall be no better than their present hope. The Kings allies were glad to hear him speak thus. Then he retired unto the *Achaes*, *Ereia*, and *Triphylia*, and delivered again *Aliphera* unto the *Megalopolitans*: for that they proved by good evidence, that it belonged by right to their territory and confines. Thus having received of the *Achaes* certain ships, to wit, three Gallies or Carvels of four banks of oars, and as many gallies of two ranks, from thence he cut over to *Ambracia*. And then with seven Carvels of five ranks of oars, and more than twenty barks besides, which he had sent into the gulph of *Corinth* to joyn with the *Carthaginian* navy, he made sail to *Erythra* in *Ætolia*, near unto *Eniphaea*, and there disembarked and landed his men. But the *Ætolians* were advertised beforehand of his arrival and coming ashore: for all the people that inhabited either the country towns and villages, or the Castles near to *Panopolis* and *Apollonia*, were fled into the mountains and woods. As for the Citell, which in that hurry and haste that they made could not be driven away with them, those they preyed upon and brought them to the ships. With these and all the rest of the booty he sent *Meias* the Pretor of the *Achaes* to *Ægium*, and sent forward to *Corinth*: and from thence he commanded that the land forces should be conducted and march by land through *Boeotia*: whilst himself sailing from *Eniphaea* along the coast of *Attica*, above the point or cape of *Sunium*, passed even through the midst of his enemies armados, and arrived at *Chalcedon*. Then after he had commended the Citizens there for their fidelity and verne, in that neither fear nor hope was able to change and turn their resolute minds, and exhorted them for the time to come, to continue stedfast in their alliance and allegiance, if they made more reckoning of their own fortune, and loved it better than the condition

A new year: likewise that the Consuls for the time being confirmed this prerogative choice and election of those gentlemen, with their own office and authority the morrow after in a frequent assembly before the people, giving honourable testimony of the valiant and faithfull service of those foretold Lieutenants in that war.

Now the time drew near of election of new Magistrates: and when it was thought good by the Senat that a Dictator should call that solemn assembly for the said election: *C. Claudius* the Consul nominated for Dictator his Colleague *M. Livius*. And *Livius* named *Q. Caelius* General of the householders: so there were created Consuls by *M. Livius* the Dictator, *L. Furius* and *Q. Cecilius*: etc. he who then was General of the Cavalry. After this, they went to the election of the **B** Prætors, and chosen there were *C. Servilius*, *M. Cæcilius Metellus*, *T. Claudius Asellus*, and *Q. Manlius Thurius*, who then was *Edile* of the Commons.

When these elections were finished, the Dictator having resigned up his office and dismissed the army, by vertue of an act of the Senat took his journey into the Province of *Tuscan*, to be in commission and make enquiry, what States either of the *Tuscans* or *Umbrians* intended and plotted to revolt from the Romans, and to turn to *Asdrubal* at his coming into those parts: and who they were that had assisted him either with auxiliary souldiers, or with victuals, or with any aid and help whatsoever. And these were the acts for that year, as well at home as abroad in the wars.

The great *Roman Games* were wholly renewed and set out again three times by the *Ediles* of the chair *C. Servilius*, *Gaius* and *Serv. Cornelius Lentulus*. Likewise the pastimes and plaies, called *Phœbæ*, were once fully renewed and exhibited again by *M. Sempronius Mætho*, and *Q. Manlius Thurius*, *Ediles* of the Commons.

In the thirteenth year of the second *Punic* war, when *L. Furius Philo*, and *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* were Consuls, both of them were appointed by the Senat to make war upon *Annibal* in the Province of the *Bruttii*. Which done, the Prætors cast lots: And to *M. Cæcilius Metellus* fell the jurisdiction of the *Citizens*; to *Q. Manlius* of the *foreigners*. *C. Servilius* his lot was to govern *Sicily*, and *T. Claudius Sardinia*. As for the armies, they were divided in this manner: one of the Consuls had the conduct of that which was under *C. Claudius* the Consul of the year before. The other Consul had the leading of that, namely, two full legions, which *C. Claudius* the Pro-Prætor before **D** commanded, *M. Livius* Pro-Consul, whose government was prolonged for another year, received the charge of two legions of voluntaries in *Hibernia*, at the hand of *C. Terentius* the Pro-Prætor. And *Q. Manlius* was appointed by a decree of the Senat to deliver over his jurisdiction to his Colleague, and to take the charge of *Gallia* with the forces there: whereas *L. Porcius* the Pro-Prætor was Captain, and he had in commission to make the lands of those Gauls who were revolted to the Carthaginians upon the coming of *Asdrubal*. *Servilius* was assigned with the power of the two *Cannian* legions to defend *Sicily*, like as *P. Manlius* had before. Out of *Sardinia* the old army was withdrawn, which was under the government of *M. Hostilius*: and the Consuls enrolled one new legion, for *T. Claudius* to sail over with, *Quintus Claudius*, and *C. Hostilius Tubulus*, had both of them their commissions newly sealed for one year longer, the one to govern *Tar-* **E** *tania*, and the other to rule *Capes*. *M. Valerius* the Pro-Consul, who also was Admiral for the sea-coast and ever along *Sicily*, was commanded to give up thirty of his sail unto *C. Servilius*, and with all the rest of the Navy to return to the City of *Rome*.

As the City was in famine and flood doubtfull for the variable extent of so great a war, attributing the causes of ill-will and woe, of prosperity and adversity, to the gods: behold many prodigious tokens were reported to have happened. Namely, That in *Tarracina* the Temple of *Jupiter*, and at *Sorvium* the Chappell of the goddess *Minerva*, were blasted with lightning from heaven. And the inhabitants of *Sorvium* were to last terrified with two serpents that were crept into the temple of *Jupiter* at the very doors. From *Ariminum* there was word brought, that the harvest folk as they were reaping, spit out in ours of iron bloodily. At *Cor* there was a sow that farrowed a pig with two heads, and in *Ardea* yett a lamb both male and female. It was reported also, that at *Alatrinum* were two suns seen, and at *Fregellæ* by night the day-light appeared. Also in the territory of *Ardea*, by report, as *Sisypheus* and the altar of *Nephtis* within the Cirke *Flaminia* brake out into much sweat, and the Temples of *Ceres*, *Saturnus* and *Quirinus* were blasted and smitten from heaven. The Consuls were advised to mollify and purge these fearful sights with sacrificing of greater beasts, and to make supplication some day, which was done according to the decree of the Senat. But above all the wonderfull sights, which were reported from abroad, or seen at home, the minds of men were put in fear for the going out of the file in the Chappell of *Vesta*. For which cause the *Castell* Virgins who had the charge that night to look unto it, was by the commandment of *P. Licinius* the Bishop well and thoroughly scourged. And albeit this hapned by humane negligence, and that the gods portended nothing thereby, yet it was thought good that an expiation thereof should be made with greatest sacrifices, and a solemn supplication held in the Chappell of *Vesta*.

Before that the Consuls went forth to the wars, they were put in mind by the Senat to take regard and order for the Commons, and to procure their reducing again into the country, and placing them in their lands and farms. For seeing that by Gods goodness the war was removed far from *Rome*, and *Livius* the country towns might be without fear of danger inhabited and frequented again, neither was it meet thing, that they should have more care to inhabit *Sicily* than *Italy*.

Italy. But the matter was not easily to be compassed and effected by the people, for that many of the free-holders were consumed up in the wars and great sterility there was of servants and hives to till the ground: besides, the castell was driven away in bootie, and the manor houses were either ruinate or burned. Howbeit, a great sort were compelled by the authority of the Consuls to repair again into their country habitations. The motion hereof was first occasioned by the Embassadors of *Placentia* and *Cremona*: who made complaint, that their territories were much dammified and wasted by the incursions and rodes of the Gauls their near neighbours bordering upon them: and that many of their own naturall inhabitants were fled and gone away, so as their Cities were not well peopled, and their country lay waste and desert. Whereupon *Marius* the Prator had commission to defend and guard the Colonies from the enemy. And the Consuls by vertue of an act of Senat made an Edict and Proclamation, that all Citizens of *Cremona* and *Placentia* should by a certain day return into their Colonies. And then, they themselves in the beginning of Spring took their journey, and set forward to war.

Q. Caelius the Cos. received the army of *Cl. Nero*: and *L. Veturius* of *Q. Claudius* the Pro-Prator, and made up the full number of all the companies with those new souldiers whom he himself had enroled. The Consuls led their army into the territory of *Consentia*, and having foraged and spoiled here and there, and being heavily laden with good booties, they were in a narrow and streight passage much troubled by the *Bruttii* and the Numidian archers: insomuch as not only their prizes were in danger to be lost: but they themselves that were armed in some jeopardy. Howbeit, the alarm was greater than the skirmish, and the booty being sent before, the legions escaped safe into places of security. And so from thence they went into the Lucans country. All that nation without any fight returned under the obedience of the Roman Empire. With *Annus* that year was nothing done: for neither he himself made offer of war, upon the fresh hurt and loss received as well in publike as private, nor did the Romans provoke him as long as he was quiet. For they were all of this judgment, that there was such mettal and valour in that one commander, although all things else about him went to wrack, that they held it no good policy to provoke him, and wake a sleeping dog. And verily I wot not what to make of him: whether he were more to be wondered at in adversity than in prosperity. For why? warring as he did in his enemies land for the space of thirteen years, so far from home, in much variety of fortune, with an army not consisting of naturall Citizens and subjects, but mingled of a confused riff-raff and medley of all nations, having neither the same laws, nor manners, and customs, nor language: differing in fashions, in habits, in apparell, in armour, in rites, in religion, nor serving, as it were, the same gods: he had so knit and united them in one link and streight band, that they mutined neither among themselves, nor against their General, notwithstanding oftentimes there wanted money for pay, and victuals in their enemies country: for default whereof, in the former Pompey war, many outrages were committed both among Captains and souldiers. But when *Alfred* the Captain together with his army was defeated and overthrown, in whom they reposed all their hopes of victory, and when they were faine to quit, as it were, all *Italy* besides, and to retire themselves into an angle and corner of *Bruttium*: who would not think it a marvellous matter, that there was no stir nor commotion in his Camp? considering that over and besides all other difficulties, he had no means nor hope else to maintain his army, but out of the *Bruttians* country: And say, that it were all wholly tilled, sowed, and well husbanded, yet a small thing it was to find and feed so huge an host. Moreover, a great part of their youth was far away from the tillage of the fields and grounds, and wholly employed in warfare: to say nothing of the naturall guile and corrupt usage of that nation, which in time of war was wont to live and maintain the same by robbing and thieving. Neither had he any succour at all sent from home out of *Carthage*: whiles they all were studious and carefull only to keep *Spain*, as if all had gone well with them in *Italy*.

In *Spain* the fortune was in some respect all one and the same, in other far unlike and different the same, in regard that the Carthaginians being defeated in a fought field, and having lost their Captain, were driven to the utmost coast of *Spain*, even as far as the Death sea: different, in that *Spain* is a country more apt and commodious to the reparation of new war, nor only thin land, but also than any land in the world, as well for the site of the region, as for the nature of the people. For although it were the first nation of all the main and continent, that the Romans first in hand withall to reduce into the nature of a Province: yet it was the last of all others that was subdued, and but lately in our daies even under the conduct and happy fortune of *Augustus Caesar*. There at that time *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco*, the greatest and noblest Captain in all these wars (next after the Barchinonise) returned from *Gades*, and hoping by the help of *Mago* the son of *Amilcar*, to wage war afresh, took musters throughout the farther part of *Spain*, and armed to the number of fifty thousand foot, and 4500 horse. And as for the Cavalry, all writers in manner do agree: but for the Infantry, some write, there were 70000 brought unto the City *Silpis*. There upon the open plains fate these two Carthaginian Captains down, because they would not seem to fall off and refuse battell.

Scipio, when news came unto him of so puissant an army levied, supposed that neither with the Roman legions he was sufficient to match such a multitude, unless he opposed the aids of the Barbarous nations, if it were no more but for shew and outward appearance: nor yet was to repose such assured confidence in them, as in the fundamentall strength of his army, that in case they should

A should give him the slip when the time came, (the only occasion of the overthrow of his father and uncle) they might on such hurt to the main chance and total ruin of all. And therefore he sent *Scipio* before him, to order the levy of eight and twenty towns for to receive of him those horse and foot which he had promised to levy in the winter time. *Scipio* departed from *Lycia* and gathered some small aids of his allies that inhabit along the way as he marched, and so came to *Callis*. *Flaccus Sallustius* brought also certain auxiliaries to the number of three thousand foot and five hundred horse. From thence he went forward to the City *Banta* being in all of Citizens and Allies, with footmen & horsemen together, one with another 4500 strong. As they were pitching their tents and encamping, *Mago* and *Masani* with all their Cavalry set upon them: and no doubt, had troubled them mightily as they were making their defence, but that certain troops of horsemen hidden behind an hill, whom *Scipio* kept for the purpose had there bestowed, suddenly at unawares ran upon them and recharged them as they were wholly taken forward without order and array. There had not well been skirmish with them, but they discombed the forward of them, and such especially as engaged themselves near to the trench to impeach and annoy the pioneers and labourers at work: but with the rest that kept to their colours, and went orderly in their ranks, the fight was longer, and for a good while continued doubtful. But when the squadrons which stood ready appointed in their guards and stations, were now brought forth, and after them, the soldiers also from their work and fortifications were willed to take arms; and still more and more continually came fresh and in heart, in place of those that were wearied, so as now from all parts of the Camp there was gathered together a full power and up to the battell, then the Carthaginians and Numidians turned their backs plain and fled. And at the first they went away by troops and companies, keeping their order and array full, and not dishonoured for haste or fear. But afterwards, when the Romans began on a more eagerly to play upon the hindmost of them, so as now their furious violence could no longer be resisted, then without all regard of ranks or files they forgot their array, and ran on all hands by heaps seeking every man the best way he could to escape. And albeit by this skirmish the Romans were more encouraged a good deal, and the enemies hearts much daunted, yet for certain daies ensuing they never ceased excursions and buckings maintained by the horsemen & those that were lightly armed. Now when by these small skirmishes they had made sufficient trial on both sides of their strength, *Alarbal* first led forth his forces into the field, & then the Romans likewise came forward ready to receive them. But when both armies stood without their Camp, arranged in battell, neither of them gave the charge, when the day drew toward sun setting, *Alarbal* first retired with his men into the Camp, and after him the Roman General likewise. Thus continued they for certain daies together. *Alarbal* was evermore the first that came abroad, and the first again that sounded the retreat to his soldiers, wearied with long standing. But of neither side they made out to skirmish or discharged any shot, or gave alarms, and let up a cry. Of the one part the Romans on the other the Carthaginians, together with the Africans, stood in the main battell: and the allies of either side kept the wings, and those were Spaniards as well in the one army as the other. But in the front of the Carthaginian battell were the Elephants placed, who afar off made a show as if they had been Cities. And throughout both armies this word went for current, that when the time came, they would so fight as they stood day by day arranged: namely, that the main battell of the Romans and Carthaginians, between whom was the quarrel & occasion of the war, within the compass of heart and force of arms would encounter and cope together. *Scipio* perceiving this once to go no good, & to be fully misled in their opinions, altered all on a purpose against the day that he minded indeed to give battell. And over night he gave a watch word and tokens throughout the camp, that both horse and man should take their dinner before day, and that the horsemen in the morning should hold their horses tided and bridled. Now before it was broad day light he sent out all the Cavalry together with the light armour, to charge upon the Carthagean and standing watch of the enemies. And himself straight after advanced followed with the whole strength of the legions armed at all pieces. And clean contrary to the conceived opinion and expectation both of his own men, and also of his enemies, he strengthened the wings with Romans, and marshalled the main battell with the allies. *Alarbal* raised with the clamour and shout of the horsemen, came forth from his pavilion, and perceiving a tumultuous alarm and fearful stir of his own men before the rampart and trench, and seeing afar off the glittering ensigns of the legions, and all the plains over spread with enemies, presently made forth all his Cavalry against the forward horsemen. Himself with the battell of footmen issued out for the Camp, and made no change nor alteration at all in the marshalling of the battallions, or better than he used the daies past. The horsemen continued the fight a long time doubtfully: neither could it be determined by which, because evermore, as any of them were put back (which happened on both parts in manner by turns) they retired lately into the battell of footmen. Now when as the battell were not half a mile asunder one from another, *Scipio* founded the main and opened his ranks, and received all the horsemen and light armed soldiers within the middle ward, and having divided them in two regiments, he bestowed them for succours and himself behind the wings. Now when the time was come to join in skirmish, he commanded the Spaniards (and those were the main battell) to take the footing and go steadily together: that he himself with the right wing (for that point he commanded) dispatched a messenger to *Saturnus* & *Alarbal* willing them to stretch out that wing on the left hand, like as they saw

him to draw it at length on the right: with direction also unto them, that they together with the light horsemen and light appointed footmen should encounter and close with the enemy, before that both battels might meet and joyn together. Thus having enlarged out at full their wings, they with three squadrons of footmen and as many corners of horsemen together with the light armed skirmishers, advanced with full pace directly against the enemies whilst the rest followed sideways across. Now there was a void piece of ground in the midst between, by reason that the Spaniards engines went but slowly forward: and the wings had been in conflict already, when the flower and strength of the enemies battell, consisting of old beaten Carthaginians and African souldiers, were not yet come within the darts shot, neither durst they put in to succour them that were in fight, for fear they should open the main battell for the enemy that came directly against them. Their wings were much distressed in the fight on every side: For the horsemen, the light armed souldiers, and the skirmishers, having wheeled about and set a compass to environ them, ran upon them on their flanks. The cohorts of footmen charged upon them afront, and strove to break off their wings from the body of the battell. And as now in every respect the fight was unequal, so the rabble of camp-followers, Balear Islanders, and raw untrained Spaniards, opposed against the approved Roman and Latine souldiers, pulled down aside. The day went on still, and *Asdrubal* his army began to faint: and no marvel, for they were surprised and taken on a sudden, besides in the morning, & were forced in haste to enter into the field & go to battell before they had refreshed and strengthened their bodies. And to that purpose *Scipio* had drawn the day on length, & trilled out the time, that the battell might be late. For it was the seventh hour (or one a clock after noon) before the ensign of footmen charged upon the side points. And a good deal later it was ere the main battels fought and joynd together: so that the heat of the noon sun, the pain of long standing in armor, and hunger and thirst came all together to enfeeble and spend their bodies, before that they came to hand-strokes and to buckle with their enemies: which was the cause that they stood leaning and resting themselves upon their shields. And over and besides all other troubles, the Elephants also affrighted and maddened with this tumultuous and disordered manner of fight of horsemen, skirmishers, and light armed souldiers together, ran from the wings upon the main battell. The Captains therefore themselves, being thus tainted, as well in courage of heart as in bodily strength, gave ground and retreated. Howbeit they still kept their armies, as if the whole band had retired whole and sound by the commandment of their General. But when the winners and conquerers on the other part were so much more forward to charge upon them more heely on every side, because they saw them to lose their ground and shrink back, so as their violence could not well be endured: then albeit *Asdrubal* held them still together, and did what he could to stay their flight, crying oftentimes aloud unto them, that these were hills behind them, and places of safe retreat, if they would retire in good sort, moderately, and in order: yet when they saw their enemies press so hard upon them, killing and hewing in pieces those that were next unto them, fear was above shame, and so immediately they threw their back parts, and ran away in a once as fast as they could. Yet at first, when they came to the foot and foot of the hills they began to make a stand, and rally the souldiers again into order of battell, seeing the Romans to make some stay of advancing their ensigns up the hill. But afterwards, when they perceived them to come lustily forward, they began again to flee afeeth, and so in fear were forced to take their Camp. Neither was *Scipio* himself far from their trench and rampier, but in that very brunt had been master thereof, but that immediately upon the hot gleams of the sun, when he shined in a watery sky full of black and rainy clouds, there poured down such a store of showers and tempests, that hardly could he himself after his victory recover his own camp. And some there were, who that made it a scruple and matter of conscience to attempt any more for that day. The Carthaginians, although they had great reason to repose themselves, and take their necessary rest, so wearied as they were with travell, and sore wounded, especially seeing the night was come, and the stormy rain continued: yet, because their fear and present danger wherein they stood gave them no time to loyter and slack their busshels, against the next morning that the enemies should enter their Camp, they gathered up stones from out of the vallies near about them, and piled them one upon another, amended the height of their rampier, purposing to defend themselves by the strength of their fence, seeing small help and remedy in force of arms. But the falling away of their Confederats was the cause that their departure and flight from thence, seemed more life than their abode there would have been. This revolt was begun by *Asdrubal*, a great Lord of the Turdetans: for he with a great power of his followers and retainers fled from the Carthaginians to the adverse part. Whereupon two strong walled towns together with their garrisons, were yielded by the Captains unto *Scipio*. *Asdrubal* therefore, fearing lest this mischief might spread farther, now that their minds were once set upon rebellion, dislodged about the midnight following, and removed. *Scipio* so soon as he was adverted at the break of the day, by those that kept standing watch in their stations, that the enemies were gone: having sent his horsemen before, commanded the standards and ensigns to be advanced, and led so speedily a march, that if they had gone straight forward and followed their tracks directly, they had no doubt overtaken them: but believing certain guides, that there was a shorter way to the river *Baris*, they were advised to charge upon them as they passed over. But *Asdrubal* seeing the passage of the river stopped against him, turned to the Ocean: and even as the first they departed in great haste, as if they fled, which was the cause that they got the start of the Roman legionary footmen, and won a good space

A space of ground before them. But the horsemen, and light appointed footmen, plaid one while upon their tails, flayed another while their sides, and by this means, with charging and recharging they wearied them and raised their march. And when as upon many of these troubles by the way, their engines were faine to stand, and forced to maintain skirmish, some time with the horsemen, and sometimes with the light javeliers and auxiliary footmen beheld the legions also camp on space and overtook them. Then there was not so much fighting and resistance, as massacre and slaughter of them: down they went with them and killed them like sheep, so long, until their Leader himself began to flee, and escaped into the next mountains, together with 7000 half naked and unarmed. All the rest were either slain or taken prisoners. Then the Carthaginians began to encamp, and fortifie in all haste, and immediately sent upon the highest mount they could find: from whence (by reason that the enemies had assaid in vain to get up the hill, having so difficult an ascent) they had not so much ado to defend themselves. But, the place being bare and naked, and disurnished of all commodities for their relief, they were not able to hold out the siege for a few daies. And thereupon the soldiers fell apace to forsake their own Captain, and to go to the enemy. So that at the length the General him self in the night season abandoned his army, and having got shipping (for the sea was not far off) he embarked and fled to *Gades*. *Scipio* being advertised that the Captain of his enemies was fled, left with *Syllanus* ten thousand footmen, and a thousand horsemen to continue the siege of the Camp. Himself in person with the rest of his forces within seventy daies returned to *Tarraco*, for to examine and hear incontinently upon his arrivall the causes of the Princes and States: that upon the true estimate of their defects they might be rewarded or chastised accordingly.

After his departure, *Masissa* having had secret conference with *Syllanus*, about inducing his people also to be pliable, and to hearken unto a change, passed over into *Affrick* with some small retinue. At which present time verily the occasion of his sudden alteration was not so evident and apparant, as after wards his most constant truth and fast allegiance observed unto his dying day was a good proof and argument, that even then he entered not into this designment and action, without good and important cause. Then *Mago*, in those ships that *Asdrubal* had sent back, passed over to *Gades*. The remnant, thus forsaken of their Captains, some by way of voluntary yielding and ranging themselves to the adverse part, others by flight, were scattered among the next Cities, and no troop remained of them behind of any mark and reckoning to speak of, either for number or strength. In this manner, and by these means especially were the Carthaginians driven all out of *Spain*, by the conduct and happy fortune of *P. Scipio*, in the thirteenth year of the war, and in the fifth of *Scipio* his government in that Province and command of the army. And not long after *Syllanus* returned to *Tarraco* unto *Scipio*, and brought word that the war in *Spain* was fully ended. And *L. Scipio* was sent with many noble persons captives, as a messenger to carry tidings to *Rome* of the conquest of *Spain*. And when all other took full contentment and infinite joy at these news, and abroad in all places highly magnified the glory of this service, he alone who was the man that did the deed (as one who had an insatiable desire of vertue and true honour) made but small reckoning of the recovery and winning of *Spain*, in comparison of those matters that he hoped for, and conceived in that high and magnanimous spirit of his, which he carried with him. For now he cast in mind and aimed at the conquest of *Affrick* and great *Carthage*: and therewith, to make perfect and consummate that glorious war to his own immortal honour and renown. And therefore, supposing it was now a good time to begin the way to those high exploits, and to lay plots, to prepare beforehand, yea, and to win unto him the hearts of the Princes and nations, he determined first of all other to sound and assay King *Syphax*. This *Syphax* was King of the *Masessy*, a people bordering upon the *Mobes*, and abutting upon that part of *Spain* especially where new *Carthage* is situate. At the same time the King was in league with the Carthaginians: which *Scipio* supposing that he would observe no more surely and precisely, than commonly the Barbarians use, (whose fidelity dependeth upon Fortune) sent *C. Lelias* with rich gifts and presents, as an Orator to treat with him. The barbarous Prince was glad hereof, both because the Romans then prospered every where; and also the Carthaginians in *Italy* lived by the loss; and in *Spain* went down to the ground, where they had nothing left: and thereupon he condescended to entertain the friendship of the Romans. But for the confirmation of this amity, he neither would give nor take assistance, but only in the personall presence of the Roman General himself. So *Lelias* having obtained the Kings royall word and warrant that *Scipio* might come unto him with safe conduct and security, returned unto *Scipio*. Now for him that aspired to the conquest of *Affrick*, it was a matter of great consequence and importance in all respects, to make himself sure of *Syphax*, the most mighty and puissant King of all that Land, who had aforetime made proof what the Carthaginians could do in war, and the confines and marches of whose kingdom lay fully upon *Spain*, and but a small arm of the sea between. *Scipio* thinking it therefore to be a matter worth the adventure with great hazard, (for otherwise it might not be) leaving for the defence and guard of *Spain* *L. Marcius* at *Tarraco*, and *M. Syllanus* at new *Carthage*, (whether he had travelled by land from *Tarraco*, and taken great journey) himself and *Lelias* together loosed from *Carthage* with two great Catvels of five banks of oars, and passed over into *Affrick*, through the calm and still sea, most of all rowing, and otherwile also making sail with a gentle gale of wind.

Haply it so fell out that the very same time, *Asdrubal*, driven out of *Spain*, was entred the ha-

ven with seven galleies of three courses of oars, and rid at anchor near unto the shore far to be set a land. When he had a kenning of the two Carvels aforesaid, which albeit no man doubted but they were enemies, and might have been boarded by them being more in number, before they could gain the rode: yet hereupon ensued nothing else but a tumult and hurly among the mariners and souldiers together, in vain preparation of their ships and their armour. For the wind being somewhat big and high, drave the Carvels with full sail out of the main sea into the haven, before that the Carthaginians had any time to weigh anchor: neither durst any of them proceed to further dealing within the Kings Rode. So *Asdrubal* first set a shore, and within a while *Scipio* and *Lutius* landed, and went all to the Court. *Syphax* took this for a great honour done unto him (as indeed it was no less) that there were come to him at that time, and in one day two Generall Captains of two most mighty and puissant States, to sue for peace and amity with him. He invited both of them friendly, and gave them entertainment: and since it was their fortune to enter under one roof, and the same house for to be lodged in, he endeavoured to draw them to a parley, and to make an end of all quarrels, grudges, and controversies between them. But *Scipio* denied flatly, that either there was any private malice or hatred between him and *Asdrubal*, that should need an end with conference and speech: and as for State-matters, he might not treat with a "professed enemy as touching them, without express warrant and commission from the Senate. But when the King laboured greatly with him, that he would find in his heart and not think much to bear *Asdrubal* company at meat and meal (because he would not seem to exclude either of them from his board, he yielded thereunto, and was content. So they supped both twain together with the King, and *Scipio* and *Asdrubal* sat both at one table in one mess, and upon one bed, for so it was the Kings pleasure. But so courteously *Scipio* behaved himself (as he was a man that naturally knew how to carry himself with a grace and dexterity in all things, and in every place wheresoever he came) that by his fair language and eloquent speech, he won not only the favour of the barbarous Prince *Syphax* (who before was not acquainted with the Roman fashions) but also the good will and love of *Asdrubal*, a most malicious and mortall enemy: who seemed to have him in more admiration upon this one meeting and communication in presence personal, than for all his feats of arms achieved in war, and made no doubt but reckoned fully that King *Syphax* and his Realm would presently be at the devotion of the Empire of Rome. Such a singular gift had that man to win love and favour. And therefore the Carthaginians were not so much to seek how Spain was lost, as to consider and think how they might keep and hold *Affrick*. For thus they conceived, That this noble Knight and worthy Roman Captain was not come thither wandering at a venture, nor as a traveller to see countries, and to solace himself with walking along the pleasant and delectable coasts, leaving the Province which he had newly subdued, leaving his armies which he commanded, sailing thus with two ships only into *Affrick*, and committing himself unto an enemy country, and into a Kings hands, of whose fidelity and protection he had no experience: but no doubt upon some great hopes to compais the conquest of *Affrick*. And this was it that long since *Scipio* had in secret purpose and designment, this was it that openly he fretted and stormed at, namely, that he warred not himself as well in Spain, as *Annibal* in Italy. Well, *Scipio* having concluded a league with *Syphax*, departed out of *Affrick*; and notwithstanding he was tossed upon the sea with variable winds, and those for the most part boisterous and raging, yet upon the fourth day he arrived at *New Carthage*.

As Spain generally was at peace and rest for any Carthaginian war, so it was well known, that certain particular States, in regard that they were touched with the guilt of trespasses committed, were quiet for fear, rather than for any loyall allegiance. Of which the most notorious, as well for their own greatness and power, as for their fault and transgressions, were *Iliturgum* and *Castulo*. The *Castulonians* had been Roman Confederates in time of prosperity, were revolted unto the Carthaginians, upon the defeat of the two *Scipios* and their armies. The *Iliturgians* besides their revolt and rebellion, added this wickedness, in that they betrayed and murdered the Romans who fled unto them for succour after that overthrow. These two nations, if *Scipio* at his first coming had proceeded in rigour to revenge (whiles the States of the country stood in suspense) he should have regarded their desert more than his own good and commodity. But when all troubles were composed and reduced to quietness, he thought it then a convenient time to punish and chastise them accordingly. And therefore he called *L. Martius* from *Taracum*, with a third part of his forces, and sent him to assail *Castulo*. Himself with the rest of the army marched toward *Iliturgum*, and within five daies presented himself before it. The gates he found shut against him, and all preparation and furniture for defence and to withstand the assault. For their conscience bade them witness what they had deserved, and there needed no other defiance or intimation of war against them than the privy of their wicked fact. Hereupon *Scipio* took occasion to exhort his souldiers, and began in this wise. "The very Spaniards themselves, quoth he, by shutting their gates declare plainly what they justly are to fear: and therefore ye ought to war with them in more hostile malice and deadly hatred than with the Carthaginians. For with them the quarrel was maintained, as it were, without anger and rankor, only for sovereignty and glory: but of these men ye are to take vengeance for their disloyall treachery, for their cruelty and wicked villany. And now the time is come, to revenge not only the unworthy death of your fellow souldiers, but also the like falsehood prepared for your selves, in case your hap had been to have fled for refuge thither at any time: yea, and to shew exemplary justice, to teach all posterity,

Scipio to his
souldiers.

A posterity, that no man here should be so hardy as to meet any Citizen or Soldier of Rome, in what
 H poor estate he was, without fear of condign punishment. Upon this exhortation and com-
 fortable words of the General, they belimed themselves and divided the scaling ladders amongst
 chiefe men out of every company. And having prepared them, they bestowed them, that *Laetor* the
 Lieutenant had the conduct of the one half, they gave assault with more courage upon the City in
 in two places at once. But neither any one generall captain, nor many principall Citizens en-
 couraged and heartned the townsmen manfully to defend their City, but only their own fearful
 and full conscience for they well and remembered, yet had put one another in mind, that it was
 their punishment, and not glory that the Romans sought for. And as for themselves, since they
 were to lose their lives, this was the only point that they were to consider upon, namely, whether
 B they were best to die within the City, and in the field (where the fortune of battail was common)
 and oftentimes lived, on the conquered, and put down the conqueror) in either their City burnt
 and railed, to yeeld up breath in the light of their wives and children taken captive, and shew
 mens of whipping and hard iron, when they had endured all villanie and indignities. Wherein
 upon not only the serviceable youth for war, not only men, but women also and children, at
 ven above the bodily strength of that age, on courage of the sex, were ready and prepared them-
 selves to defend the walls. Some brought weapons in the defendants, others carried stones up to
 the walls unto them that were fortifying and repairing the breaches. For why? they stood going
 on their liberty alone, which was better the Romans of valiant and generous men only, but they
 C fer before their eyes all extremities of torments and punishment, and the shamefullest death that
 that could be desired: and their hearts were incited to undergoe all paines and pain, by driving
 awie together, and seeing one another to hazard themselves. In so much, as they stood to it, and
 fought so resolutely, that even that noble army which had subdued all Spain, and the republicke
 times at the hands of the youth of one City, was driven from the wall, and finally in that breach
 received some foil in fight and began to fear. Seeing seeing that, and doubting lest upon a mans
 bootlesse attempts the enemies might take heart, and his own soldiers be tainted, thought good to
 enter himself personally into the action, and to take part in that dangerous battle. Having then
 barked therefore his men for their cowardise, he commanded the ladders to be brought and fixed
 threatening that himself would scale the walls, if the rest were holding and that day back. Which
 D that he made no more ado, but approached under the wall in great peril of his person. Whereupon
 on the soldiers, respecting the dangerous state of their General, and fearing greatly with
 half, let up a shout on all hands, and began to rear ladders in many places at once. And in
 on the other side, the assault and gave not over. Then at last the townsmen, after all their
 some resistance, were overcome, the defendants overthrowen and taken, and their
 and the walls possessed by the enemies. The castle also on the side which was thought impossible
 was in that place and tumultuous. For there were certain soldiers serving them among the
 mans (led before the enemy) who whiles the townsmen were wholly turned, and
 those places that seemed to be exposed unto danger, and the Romans climbing and entering where
 they could, espied one part of the City much higher then the rest, which because it was compassed
 E about with an exceeding high rock, was guarded fort with bulwarks, and inclosed
 with an extraordinary all, and being man, as they all are light and agile of body, and ready
 M by reason of much practice and exercise, they climbed up the rock where they could meet with
 by and by to hear out unequally from the rest, and to yeild them hold and footing: but when
 they came to a place, might keep place, and where the cliff was even and smooth, they fell back
 certain great iron spikes and nails which they carried about with them of purpose, and stuck them
 a pretty distance asunder, like graces and signs to climb upon, and even the furthest place high
 up by the hand that followed next, and the hindmost heaved up those that went before them, until
 they were come up to the top, and then they ran down with an outcry into the City, which
 was already won by the Romans. Then it was well seen that they forced this City from virgins.
 F From that time and deep hatred. There was no thought of taking any prisoners alive, there was
 none that was minded any pillage, notwithstanding all lay open unto them for to be ravished
 N and railed. And down they went with the unarmed as well as the armed, killed men and women
 one with another: nay, their cruel mood was such, as they passed over the sucking babies, if
 they let fire on their houses, and when the fire moved they railed and pulled down: in canered
 in mind they had, and so being they were on leave on monuments and tokens of such City, and thereby
 to abolish and root out the memoriall of the Romans.
 After this, some led his army against Carthage. This City was defended not only by Spaniards
 who rather were repaired on their weapons, but also by the reliques of the Carthaginians
 which were scattered abroad in their flight, and thither fled. Before Scipio was come before the
 G town, they had heard the names of the most celebrated and destruction of the Hannibals by
 on whereof they were all terrified and in a state of amazement, and it fell out in fashion,
 O that of Carthage did deter every man from going to this City, himself the best he could, without
 regard of his neighbour. And yet they began to have a fear of Carthage, and Carthage
 the, but afterwards they broke out to open rebellion: in which the Carthaginians and
 Spaniards divided themselves, and parted hands. Carthage, for only advised the Carthaginians
 perished with them, in the end. *Himilco* was the Captain over the Amilings, Carthaginians,
 but the Spaniards were led by *Hasdrubal*. *B* by *Hasdrubal* led by *Hannibal* but the

within *Gerubellus* (upon promise secretly before hands and protection granted) betrayed together with the whole City besides, into the Roman hands. This victory was pursued with less cruelty, for neither was the officer on their behalf committed to bondage; and the heat and cholour of the Romans was well cooled and allayed, by reason of their voluntary surrender. From thence was *Marius* sent against others of the barbarous people, to reduce unto subjection and obedience, as many as yet were not fully subdued.

Scipio returned to *new Carthage* to pay his vowes unto the gods, and to exhibit and set out a spectacle of sword-pierces sharp, which he had prepared for the honor of his father and uncle deceased. This pallie and solemn show was not performed by those kind of men, out of which numbers of sence use ordinarily to make choice; namely, such as were picked out of bondslaves and freed men, but only to make shew of their blood for money, but all those that he imported in companies were such as offered themselves and their service voluntary and without hire. For some were sent unto him from the LL. of the country, to make shew & proof of the valour ingrafted naturally in that Nation; others of their own accord professed to fight, for the love of the General himself, and to shew their pleasure; and some there were again, who upon emulation of glory were drawn to make challenge, while others that were deterred refused not, but strove to get the victory. There were also those that determined those controversies by the sword, which by arguing & pleading they either were not able or not willing to end, having agreed amongst themselves that the matter in question should follow that which needed to have the upper hand. And those were no mean persons of his degree and condition, but of noble descent and famous houses: as namely, *Carthage* and *Orsus* his brethren, *Publius* germain by the father side; who differing and being at variance, about the principality of a City and State which they called *Iber*, made passion to the title as shadowed by kind of words. *Carthage* was the elder of the twain; but *Orsus* his father had been the last Prince before, and received that Seignory after the death of his elder brother. And when *Scipio* was very desirous to debate and decide the matter with words, and to appease their anger and rage, they both made answer and said, that they had denied to the common folk of either party, and that they would have no other god nor man to be their judge, but only *Uranus*. Both of them were fierce, the elder presuming of his strength of body, the younger looking himself upon the stoutness of his free youth; wishing rather to die both twain in fight, than to be made subject to the domination of the other. In conclusion when by no means possible they could be reconciled from this furious rage of theirs, they became a goodly shew and payment to the whole army, and singular example to prove what achievements might be wrought in the love of lordship, and the desire of sovereignty. The elder, through practice of his weapons and marching forth in the wars, became the foot hardiness and stoutness of the younger. After this pathos of words and signs, followed the martial games and dances, which were for some space made by according to custom and use of the province, or the nature of the country. In this manner they shewed their business and valour, according to their custom: for *Marius* having passed over *Carthage* (which the persons of that composition, with him any think. Now there was another City called *Asapa*, which ever had with the *Carthaginians* was yet it deserved not to meet anger and indignation in that respect, as for that, having since the necessity that it follow, it never bare a special hatred against the Romans, as it was the town either for natural situation so strongly fortified, or by art and industry so fully fortified, that it was inhabitable, whereon should be more than, or presume the rather to be so strong and bold. But the natural disposition of the people delighting in warlike, moved them to make wars and invade the territory of the allies of the people of Rome bordering upon them, and to catch and take prisoners as any soldiers, strikers, leaders, and followers of the camp, or marchings of the Romans, whom they could light upon ranging abroad. Yet, and when there happened a company of them together, together through their misdeeds and confusions, for in no wise were they allowed in safety, they were surprised by an ambuscade laid for them, and being taken in a place of disadvantage, were slain every man. When the army was come before this town so fortified, the commanders carrying a guilty conscience for offences committed, thought it not themselves to be themselves, to yield and give up the place to the enemies whom they had so often gloried against them, and seeing no hope will to save their lives, either by the fire of their walls, or force of arms, they resolved to execute upon themselves, and those things that were necessary death, to whom, a foul, terrible, and cruel fate. They first and appointed a company of gods that they had upon which they would have their wives and children to, and then they pitched upon like bills of wood, and laid upon, of many young twigs. And after this manner they made a fire, and put the goods of those persons upon the fire, and then they themselves, and the City, so the power to be lost, they from then were well and be assured, that they would have their lives in that very place, and in that place. And thereupon they brought them in the name of the gods both celestial and infernal, to be mindful of their liberty, which that day was to take an end, either

Pratres ja-
smells.

- A "either by honourable death or shameful forbearance: and to suffer nothing to remain, upon which the enemy in his furious anger might triumph: he considering they had both fire and sword in their hands to do the deed, as he thought, and fought with confidence and dispatch the things which were sure to be lost and perished, rather than the proud enemies should overcome them and make a scorn of them. To these exhortations they adjoined a fearful and terrible curse: to as many as either for hope of life, or upon timorousness of heart & fear of death should alter their mind and resolution. Whereupon all at once they rushed out of the gates far wide open, and with a mighty tumult and shout, made a rally. Now there was no fear and flinching of any face opposed to resist them, because the enemies feared nothing less, than that they should utter ifue forth of the gates. Some few troops of horse, and the light armours, of a sudden were sent out of the camp to make head, and they encountered them. Between whom there was a skirmish hotter and sharper in regard of courage and violence, then ordered by any skill and good government. And therefore the horsemen were discomfited, that first presented themselves against the enemy, yet & put the light armed footmen also in great fear. And surely they had proceeded to have fought even under the very rampier, but that the main strength of the legions, who had but very small time to be marshalled and arranged, put themselves in array and came into the field. And yet for all that, they were distressed for a while about their signs, by reason that they ran as blind men in their furious fire, & as bold as witless fools for want of sense, even upon the sword and their own deaths. But afterwards, the old experienced soldiers, having slowly stood out against the first rash brute and violent shock of the enemies, yet, and killed the foremost, braved and braved the rage of those that seconded them: and when they assailed with in a while after, to enter forward themselves to break in upon them, & saw none of them to give one foot of ground, but every one resolute to die in the very place where he stood, they opened their battell in the midst (a thing that they might easily do, considering the multitude of the soldiers) encompassed and entombed the wings of their enemies, who fighting round in a ring, unto the last man were slain every one. Thus was they that were in arms and made resistance manfully, dealt withall by their enemies according to the rigour of war, and in the angry mood of soldiers: and such was their end. But within the City there was fouler work, and a more cruell butchery and slaughter committed, when the feeble unarmed and naked multitude of women and children were murdered by their own neighbours and citizens, who having let the forecast pile of wood on fire, set to massacre them, and flung their bodies when they were half dead, into the light fire under them: so as their streams of blood gushing out of their sides, were ready to quench the flame beginning to burn fast. And in the last, when they themselves were even wearied with the pitifull slaughter of their own friends, they left them in the armour and all into the midst of the said fire. When this massacre was done and ended, the Romans entered the City with riches. And at the first sight of this monstrous object, they wondered for a while and stood astonished. But afterwards, when they saw the gold and silver glittering within the heap among other goods, they were ready and desirous (as the nature of men is greedy of such things) to rake and pull the same out of the fire: but some of them were caught with the flames and burnt; others flamed and half frozen, with the hot steam of the vapour and breath issuing from the light fire, such I mean, as were for most, & could not raise themselves back, by reason of their exceeding presse behind, that thrust them still forward. Thus *Asps* was destroyed by fire and sword, and yielded no pillage to the enemies. And when *Merius* had all the rest of the country yielded unto him for fear of force, he led back his victorious army to *Carthage* into *Sipont*.
- About the very same time there came from *Gades* certain fugitive Carthaginians, promising to betray the garrison of the Carthaginians lying there, and likewise the captain of the garrison, together with the navy. Now had *Marcus* relied there after his flight, and having gathered together the ships in the Ocean, landed and raised certain aids, as well beyond the narrow fast through the coast of *Africa*, as also out of the parts of *Spain* next adjoining unto him, and all by the means of certain *Romans*. When as between the *Romans* and these fugitives, there had passed faithful promises and assurances, both *Merius* with his fortifications with certain squadrons and companies of his own, and also *Labeo* with 7 Triremes [of these kind of ships] and one great galley of his, for to come jointly together by common counsel, as well by sea as land, *Scipio* himself lay wait at a convenient place, but much worse to report then it was, by reason that every one as men commonly have a desire & delight to follow, so multiply numbers for the most part, ever forgetful of the own head, and not of the rest of the news that he heard: whilst brought the province out of frame and caused great disorder, especially in the most remote parts thereof: whereby it was well seen, what a world of mischief would be caused, should some calamity indeed, when a vain man only, was able to mislead honest men and ministers: for neither the *Allies* continued loyal in their allegiance, nor the army faithful in their vowed obedience. *Asps* and *Labeo*, who made full account of the whole kingdom of *Spain*, and that the Carthaginians were driven out and expelled, being so long as they had their hope and expectation, and assistance, disappointed of their design, raised parties and inhabitants of their own country (as *Scipio* was then) were then sent to the youth of the *Carthaginians*: the country also of the *Spaniards* and *Bedones*, that were enemies to *Rome* with the people of *Spain*, they conducted all manner of hostilities. Besides, there was a civil conspiracy and rebellion within the camp itself: where there lay eight thousand soldiers, and guard and garrison for the maintenance of the camp on the side of *Rome*. Whole hands were set a work, and began to be busy not as they should be, in the service of *Rome* on the side of *Rome*, but as they should be, in the service of *Rome* on the side of *Rome*.

when doubtful & suspicious rumours were spread of their General, how he was in danger of death, but long before, upon a licentious course of life that they had taken to, and so much the rather, for that now in time of peace they were told in, more frequently and openly, who before were used in their enemies land, during the war, to break out in more loose manner, and to live upon rapine and robbery. At the first they began to mutter and whisper secretly these and such like speeches: If there be war still in the province of Spain, what do we here among peaceable people? And if the war be ended, and the time of the commission come out and expired, why are we not had again back into Italy? Then they proceed to demand their pay very malapertly, and more haucily than might stand with the duty and modesty of soldiers: yea, and the Sentinels and *corps de guard* would not stick to give reproachfull terms and railing words to the Tribunes or Marshalls, when they went the round: and some of them made no bones to enter by night into the peaceable territory about them, for to sack in booties and prizes until at length openly at noon day, they departed from their colours without passport and licence. All things they did as transported away with lust and self-will of soldiers, not guided by the order and discipline of warfare, nor directed by the commandment of their captains and rulers. Nevertheless, there was retained still a form of Roman camp among them: and that upon this only hope that the soldiers had of the Tribunes aforesaid: whom they supposed in time would come to the bent of their bow, enter into the same furious cources, and have their hand in the mutinies, and follow them in their rebellion: and therefore they were well content with them to sit judicially in Marshall court, in the usual place of *Principis*, to minister law and execute justice: also to call for the watchword and signal of them; yea, and orderly to go to their watch and ward in their course and due times. And whereas in very deed they had cast off all reverence and obedience of government, yet they would seem to shew a kind of loiall and dutifull diligence, in that (forsooth) they would be commanders of themselves, and keep some order without constraint. But in the end the mutiny broke out into open sedition: namely, when they perceived once, that Tribunes disliked and reproved their doings and endeavoured to cross their designs, yea, and denied flatly and openly to take part with them in their follies and furious outrages. Whereupon they disfigured the Tribunes of their judiciall places in the *Principis*, yea, and dispossessed them quite of all room in the camp, and by a generall consent conferred the sovereign rule on two common soldiers, the captains of the their seditious commotion, *Albius Calpurnius*, and *C. Arrius Pabulus*. Who not contented with the marks and ornaments of the Tribunes, were to bold as to handle the rods and axes, even the very roiall ensignes of sovereignty: never thinking how those kniveths of rods, and axes sticking within them, which they caused to be borne before them to the fear of others, were ready to light upon themselves, to lousge their backs and sides, and to chop off their own heads one long after. The supposed death of *Scipio*, whereupon they vainly built, was it that blinded their wits and minds: upon the rumour whereof, being already misled abroad, they had no doubt, but as was generally would be up in armes. In which garb and hubbub, they made reckoning that they might levy monies of the confederate Senes, and spoil and pill the Cities near unto them. And amidst these troubles, when all were in uprore, and every man would venture to do every thing at his pleasure, then they lepposed their own deeds and actions would be less eiesied and marked. Now when as they looked every day still to hear fresh newes, not of his death only, but also of his funerals; and seeing there came none at all, but rather, that the former tidings were checked, and proved but a flying tale without head or foot, then they began to make semblance of enquiring after, & seeking out the first authors who raised those false reports: then they seemed to be angry also and offended with them, to the end, that they forsooth might be thought rather to have bettered things inconsiderately, than to have devised such a matter themselves purposely. Their leaders and captains thus disappointed and abandoned, began now to dread and stand in horror of their own ensignes of magistracy that were carried before them, and in stead of that imaginary rule which they usurped, they feared greatly, that the very edge indeed of the axe and lawfull power of authority would be shortly turned upon them. As the sedition was thus dashed, by occasion, that it was credibly and for certain reported, first, that *Scipio* was living: and when a while after, that he was recovered and in health: there came seven Tribunes or Colonels, from *Scipio* himself. At whose first arrivall at the camp, the soldiers grew more angry and wrathful then before: but anon upon fair words and speeches, whereunto the Colonels entertained those of their acquaintance, with whom they had communication, they were well contented and appeased. For first they went about to their pavilions from one to another, and afterwards to the *Principis* and the *Pretorium*, where they disputed to private knots of soldiers together, and talking one with another, and so spoke unto them, as if they rather questioned with them what the cause should be of their anger and sudden commotion; then blamed them, or laid any action to their charge. The cause commonly pretended was this, that their wages was not duly paid at the day. Besides, they alleged, that whereas at the same time, when upon the trecherous fact of the Illirians, there followed the loss and death of two Generals, and the defeat of their two armies, they by their virtue had defended the Roman name and honour, and likewise kept the province to their behoof, the Illirians had not lacked received condign punishment for their offences and trespasses: that there was none that had requited and recompensed them for their good services according. Believe me (say they again) your complaints are just and requests reasonable, and we will make relation thereof to the Lord Consul: and glad we are in our hearts, that it is no worse, and that the case is no more incurable then it is: for

* Certain officers or sergeants going before them with vine rods

A for God be thanked, *Scipio* and the common-Weal, are both sufficient and also willing to make you amends for all.

But *Scipio*, a man though used to the wars, yet altogether unacquainted with storms of soldiers mutinies, was much troubled in spirit and perplexed, for fear the army might exceed measure in wronging itself or himself past his bounds in punishing; for the protest he thought good to deal gently with them still, as he had begun, and sent abroad the collectors about the Tributary Cities to gather up the revenues, thereby to put them in good hope of pay, and that with speed. And there-upon there went out an edict and proclamation, that they should repair to *Carthage*, there to call for their wages, either by companies apart one after another, or altogether in general, wherether they would themselves.

B And now by this time, the sudden pacification of the Spaniards that were about to rebel, filled the sedition of the soldiers quite, which of it self began to cool and stink already. For *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, after it was reported that *Scipio* was alive and well, gave over their enterprise, and were retired again within their confines. So as now the soldiers had neither Citizen nor foreigner to take part with them in their folly & furious rage. And when they had cast all about what course to take and what shift to make, they found no other evasion, but the most common refuge and retreat of all low counsels and bad designments, even to commit themselves either to the just wrath of their General, or else to his clemency and mercy, whereof they were not past all hope, and in utter despair. For why? he had not pardoned even the very enemies, with whom he had fought in battell. And as for their mutiny, it was as yet without bloodshed, and no hurt done: and as it self was not cruel and outrageous, so it had deserved no extreme and rigorous punishment. Thus reasoned they and comforted themselves, as naturally men are too prompt and eloquent, to excuse, to palliate and clove their own faults, more I wot, then they should. This was their only doubt, whether they were better to go by cohorts and squadrons, or all at once to command their pay. In the end they were of opinion, that the safer way was to go all in one train.

C At the very same time, whilst they among themselves laid their heads thus together in the camp, there was a council held at new *Carthage* about them, and much dispute there was, and variety of opinions, whether they should proceed against the heads and Captains only of the sedition (who were in number not above five and thirty) or by cutting off the greater sort to punish this to others example and prevent of a rebellion rather then slaying. But the milder sentence took place, namely, that from whence the offence began, there the punishments should rest. And for the multitude, some chastisement and rebuke was sufficient for their correction. When the Council was dismissed and broken up, to the end that it might be thought abroad that they sat about nothing else but this, which they pretended, they published an edict throughout all the army in *Carthage*, for an expedition or journey against *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, and gave commandment to make provision of victuals for certain days. And those eleven Tribunes, who had before gone to *Serra* for to appeale the mutiny there, were now sent to meet that army again: and having five names appointed given them of the principal authors of the foresaid mutiny, they had a direction unto certain discreet persons for the purpose, to shew them good countenance, to speak fair unto them, and courteously to invite them home to their houses, and afford them kind and friendly entertainment.

D And after they had made them good cheer and brought them to bed, to take them being fast asleep upon their libellal drinking of wine, and to bind them sure hand and foot. Now when they were not far off from *Carthage*, they understood by those whom they met and encountered upon the way, that all the whole army, was the next day following to set forth against the *Lacians*: which tidings not only rid them of all fear, which secretly surprised and possessed their minds, but also made them exceeding glad and joyous, for that they supposed their General being now left alone with their forces, they might do with him what they would themselves, rather then be at his commandment and devotion. And about sun-setting they entered the City, and perceived that other army providing and making all ready for the voyage above named. Received they were and welcomed with gentle words, devised and framed on purpose: namely, that the L. General took great joy and contentment for their coming, for that they were come so just before the setting out of the other army: and so they went to repose and make much of themselves. And without any fear and mistrust at all, the ringleaders of the sedition, were by the means of those Tribunes entertained and lodged in the houses of certain persons of good behavior and meet for that purpose, and there apprehended and imprisoned. At the relife of the fourth watch, the carriages of that army, whose expedition was provided, began to set forward on the journey: and somewhat before day the standards and ensignes advanced, but the whole army was detained and staid at the gates, and certain warders sent to keep all the passages and ways, that no man should go forth of the City. Then were those soldiers who came the day before summoned to an audience: and they ran boldly into the market place to the Tribunal of the General, (as if

E with their outcries and clamours they would have put him in some fear and dread of them. And at one time both the Lord General himself in person ascended up the Tribunal, and with all the armed soldiers were brought again from the gate, and enclosed round about at their backs the armed multitude gathered together to hear an Oration. Then were they daunted, as lusty as they were before, and all their courage cooled: and as they confessed afterwards themselves) nothing terrified them so much, as the stalwart strength and fresh colour of the L. General beyond all their expectation, whom they thought verily to have found sick and cratic: yes, and his countenance

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tenance and face so vigorous and countenances, as they never remembered to have seen him so lusty in any battell before. For a while he sat still and said never a word, untill he was advertised that the Captains of the mutiny were brought into the place and all things else in readiness. Then after silence made by an *Oy* of the cryer, in this wise he began and said.

"I would never have believed that I should have wanted words and proper language unto mine own army: not because I have exercised my self at any time rather to make eloquent speeches then to manage valiant actions, but for that being always from mine infancy almost trained up in the camp, I have been acquainted with the natures and humours of soldiers. But in what manner I should speak unto you, neither my wits will give me advice, nor my tongue afford me utterance: you, I say, whom I wot not so much as by what name to call. Should I term you Citizens, who have revolted from your native country, or soldiers, who have renounced your General, refused to be under his command, his charge and government, and made no conscience to break the oath of your allegiance? Last of all, should I give you the name of enemies? Now surely, me thinks I agnise the bodies, the faces, the apparel and habit of mine own natural Citizens: but contrariwise, I see plainly the deeds, the words, the intents and minds of arrant enemies. For what have ye wished and hoped for else, but the llergers and the Lacerates have done the like? And yet I must needs say, that they had to follow for their captains in their outrages, *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, two Princes of royall blood: whereas you imposed the sovereign command & government upon *Publius Arrius*, & *Cilnius Albinus*, two base companions. Denie it now hardly if you wil, that you either were in the action, or willing in the intention. Verily I can easily believe you in so disavowing, and namely, that all this proceeded from the folly of some brainfick fellows among you. For the transgressors committed are of that quality and consequence, that if the whole army were therein culpable, the expiation & purging thereof could not be procured without great sacrifices, and exquisite punishment. Full against my will I touch these points, as sores and galls that will not abide the rubbing: but unless they be touched and handled too, they cannot possibly be cured and healed. I assure you, for mine own part, I thought verily that when the Carthaginians were driven out of *Spain*, there was neither place nor person throughout the whole province that had envied my life and health: such hath been my carriage, and so have I demeaned my self not only with Allies but also with enemies. But see how much I have been deceived! even in mine own camp the news of my death was not only received with joy, but expected also with a longing desire. I speak not this, that I would have any man to imagine that I conceive how all in general are guilty of this fact (for I were not I swayed in my mind, that my whole army wished my death, I would here die presently before your eyes: for what good would my life do me, repined of my soldiers and fellow Citizens?) But the multitude of every people is like the sea in nature; which of themselves are unmovable and sit not as the winds blow, as the gales go and come, so are they either calm or troublesome and unquiet: and even so the cause and source of all this fury and outrage, is in some few heads and leaders. As for you, ye have caught the infection from them, and played the fools with them for company. Surely I am thus persuaded of you this day, that ye know not yet to what enormous height of folly ye have proceeded; what mischievous acts ye were entered into against mine own person: what you attempted against your native country, your wives and children; what you enterprised against the gods and witnesses of your loyall oath; what ye have done against the sacred auspices and happy fortune, under which ye have served in warfare; what ye have committed against the custome & law of war, against the discipline of your ancestors; & finally, how prejudicial and offensive your designs have been against the sovereign majesty of the Roman empire. As for my self, I am willing to say nothing: content I am to think, that ye either gave credit to my death rashly and inconsiderately, then hearkned thereto willingly and credulously. And it may be, that I have so behaved my self, that no wonder it is, if mine army be wary of me and of my government. But what harm hath your country deserved at your hands which to betray, ye should complot with *Mandonius* & *Indibilis*? How hath the people of *Rome* offended you, that you have deprived the Kn, Marshals and Colonels created by the voice of the people, of their lawfull rule and authority, and conferred the same upon private persons? And being not therewith contented, to have and a knowledge them for your Colonels, ye even you the army of the Romans, have taken the knitches of rods, belonging only to the General, and bestowed them upon those that never kept so much as a bondslave of their own to command. *Albinus* and *Arrius* forsooth, let up their pavilions in that chief place and there in the camp, where the sovereign magistrat ought to quarter: with them the trumpet sounded: from them the signall and watch-word was demanded, they sat as judges in the Tribunal of *Scipio* the Pro-consul: upon them the Licitors and Sergeants attended: for them they made way & voided the place, against they should go forth & march in their state: and before them were the rods born, and the axes withall. When it raineth stones, when thunderbolts are shot, when lightnings flash from heaven, when beasts bring forth strange, uncouth, and monstrous young ones, contrary to the course of nature, you take them for prodigious signs and fearful tokens. Nay, this is a monstrous sight and wonder in deed, which by no sacrifices of beasts, by no supplications and prayers, can be purged and expiated, without the blood of them that have committed so hainous a fact. And albeit, no wicked crime can be founded upon any reason, yet would I gladly know of you (as in a case that indeed should not be once named and remembered)

A "what was in your mind? what imagined you? and what was your designment? There was in times past a legion sent to *Abgium*; there to lie in garrison. Treacherously and villainously they murdered the principal citizens there, and for ten years possessed and kept that wealthy town to their own behoof. For this notorious and bloody fact the whole legion, even four thousand men and no fewer, were in the market place of *Rome* beheld every one. Add yet that as the first followed not for their captain *Atrius Puer*, one little better than a leader, stullian, and follower of the camp, a man of an unlucky and unfortunate name, but *Corius* *Isbellus* a Tribune or Kn. Marshall; neither joined they with *Pyrrhus*, nor with the *Saturnis* and *Lucans*, professed enemies of the people of *Rome*. Whom yet these plotted in council, and meant to have banded in arms together with *Abduntians*; but adding their purpose was to have seized themselves for ever in *Abgium*, like as before them the *Campanians*, who took *Capua* from the *Tuscan*, the old inhabitants; and the *Mamertins* likewise, who possessed themselves in *Sily* of *Messana*, and never minded to molest and make war citizens upon the people of *Rome*, or any of their allies and confederates. But tell me I pray you, intended ye to have made your continual residence, and to have dwelt at *Sueret*: where if I your General at my departure out of the province, when my time and commission was expired, should have left you behind me, ye might have cried out upon me, and called for vengeance to God and man in regard of hard measure and wrong offered unto you, in that ye might not be permitted to return home to your wives and children. But alas, wife and children were eternally excluded out of your mind: & yet thought no more upon them, then of me or of your native country. Well, I will follow him still, and discourse upon your plot and designs, wicked and ungracious though they were yet hid; not altogether so foolish & foolish in the highest degree as may be supposed, imagined ye being eight thousand men in number, (and say that ye were all of better account & fashioning then *Albani* & *Atrius* are under whom ye submitted your selves) to have been able for to defeat the people of *Rome* of the province of *Spain*? so long as I lived, and the other army stood sound and strong: where with in one day I forced new *Carthage*, with which I discomfited, put to flight, and chased our *Spain*, four brave Generals, and as many puissant armies of the *Carthaginians*? But let that go by, and to say aside my name, and to speak of no more abuse but this, that ye were very credulous and quick: by believed that I was dead. How then? what if I was departed this life and gone indeed? Had the common-wealth together with me yielded up her ghost? Would the universe and empire of *Rome* have fallen to the ground with me at once? Forsooth (*O Jupiter*, almighty and most gracious), she ever a City founded first most happily, with the approbation of the gods, built eternally for ever to endure, should be compared and made but equal with this frail and mortall body of mine. *Antimachus*, *Pentus*, *Gracchus*, *Epistaphaneus*, *Albani*, old *Marcellus*, *T. Quintus*, *Cicero*, *Scipio*, *Ca. Fabius*, two *Scipios*, my father and uncle both, so many noble warriors and captains have been slain in this one war: and they are dead and gone: yet the people of *Rome* continue both on foot and on liveth them, yea, and shall still, when a thousand more of them shall die, either upon the edge of the sword, or upon some schisme or other. How should then the state of the people of *Rome* be entered & buried with the dead corpse of me, but one man and no more? Even you yourselves (to go no farther to seek examples) therein *Spain*, when my father and uncle two Generals were killed whole *Sepimius*, *Marcius* for your captain, to lead against the *Carthaginians*, being in the ruff and jollity of their frisks and late victory. I speak now, as though if I had miserrand *Spain* had been left destitute and without a Commander and General. *M. J. L. L.* who was sent, with me in the province, joined in the last commission and of equal authority. *L. Scipio* my brother and *C. Laelius*, both Lieutenants generall: would these have left it all and done nothing? would these have failed to maintain and recover the majesty of our empire? What could ye have compared army for army, captains for captains with them? was either your reputation and credit or your mutual and close comparability and suppose that in all these respects, ye have been superior and given the advantage; would ye indeed with the *Carthaginians*, have a horn some against your native country against your fellow citizens? would ye in very truth, that *Carthage* should have commanded Italy and *Carthage* the City of *Rome*? And for what domestic and great misdeeds I pray you, that your country had committed *Antisthenes* long ago being wrongfully condemned and unworthily himself taking himself to live a miserable cruel man, was moved to take arms and to turn against his country to assail it. A private regard of love and natural kindness, reclaimed them from such a parricide. But what grief of heart, what fit of anger, hath incited and provoked you? Set out your wages as paid later by some duties, whilst your General lay sick, was there sufficient cause for you to give defiance to your country & proclaim open war against it? was that enough to cause you to revolt from the people of *Rome*, and turn to the *Carthaginians* and to part no law of God and man, but to break all and make shipwrack of conscience and common honesty? now surely, soldiers, ye were out of your wits, and foolish ye were in the highest degree. I was not myself farther out of frame and sicker in body, then ye were in your mind and understanding. I tremble to think upon it and to rehearse, what folk be-leave, what they hoped, what they wished. Let all be forgotten and buried in oblivion, if it be possible: if one let us not speak of it yet, howsoever we do, but make it up in deep silence. I cannot deny, but my words have seemed sharp and bitter unto you, and all this my speech very rigorous. But how much more cruel think ye are your deeds, then my words tart and sour? And if ye deem it reasonable that I should hear & put up with things that ye have done, will ye not abide then

* *Atrius Puer* alluding to *Aster*, black and *Umbra* a dark shadow.

and take in good part, and patiently to hear me to tell all that I can say. But these men will
 lay no more in your debt from henceforth; ye shall be checked no more for them. Would God ye
 could as soon forget them, as I will put them out of my remembrance. And therefore as touching
 you all in general, if ye repent and be displeased with your selves for your fault and folly, I shall
 be content and think you punished to the full. But as for *Albion Calenus* and *Arrius Pater*, with
 the rest of the authors of this cursed and detestable mutiny, they shall amende for their
 trespasses and transgressions, even with their heart-bloud; and they shall surely die for it. The
 spectacle of their exemplary punishment ought not to seem unto you grievous and odious, but
 rather a pleasant and delectable sight, if ye have any grace in you, and be come again to your right
 ways. For their intent was, to have and demolish unto no man alive, more then to your selves.

He had scarce made an end of his speech, when all at once, according to the order given before,
 hands there was presented to their eyes and ears a terrible and fearful object on all sides. For the
 army which had environed the assembly round about clattered their swords & bucklers together.
 The common crier was heard to cry by name all those that were condemned there, in the presence
 of the whole audience. Stripped they were naked, and haled forth in the mids of them all, and
 every thing brought out at once for to accomplish the execution. Thus were they bound to the
 stake, whipped with rods, and their heads chopped off. So benighted they were all and affrighted
 for fear, that were present at the sight thereof, that there was not heard amongst them all one
 shrewd & hard word; in mistaking the rigor of the punishment, no, not so much as one grove or
 secret sigh. Then their bodies were all drawn at one side, the place was made clean, & purged & all
 the soldiers were called by name & before the Colonels & Kn. Marshalls, swore allegiance, and
 to be true soldiers unto *Scipio*. And every one according as he answered to his name, had his wa-
 ges truly paid. This was the issue and final end of the soldiers mutiny, which began at *Surre*.

At the same time, Captain *Hannibal* by *Mago* from *Gades* with a small power of Africans,
 solicited the Spaniards about the river *Batis*, for money, to rebel and put in arms upon a four thou-
 sand able men. But afterwards he was forced by *L. Asdrubal* to quit his camp, and having lost the
 greatest part of his men in the very tumult of taking the camp, yet some in the flight, when
 the horsemen pursued in chase and flew as they ran, dragging himself with few others escaped a-
 way. Whiles these things passed about the river *Batis*, *Lalio* in the mean time having sailed
 through the straits into the main Ocean, arrived with his navy at *Carrisa*. This is a City stand-
 ing on the sea coast bounding upon the Ocean, even in the mouth of the river, where it first open-
 eth from the straits into the broad sea. Now there was some hope (as hath been observed) to
 gain the City of *Gades* without any assault, by treachery, for as much as there could be seen the
 Roman camp, that of themselves made offer and promise thereof. But the traitors being forth-
 soon and was revealed before it was ripe, the conspirators were all apprehended; and sent by *Ma-
 go* unto *Asdrubal* the Protector, for to be conveyed to *Carthage*. And *Asdrubal* having gathered
 those traitors in a Caravel or Gallion of five hundred oars, and sent her afore, because she was
 swifter of sail than those of three hundred; himself with eight hundred galleys, followed a pre-
 ty way after. The said Caravel of five hundred oars, was not so soon entered the straits, but
Scipio also being embarked in another Caravel of the same sort, made out of the haven of *Carrisa*
 with seven Gallies of three hundred oars and invaded *Asdrubal* and the foresaid Gallies. Im-
 posing verily that the enemies Caravel being taken tardy in the very current, was not able against
 the tide to retire. *Asdrubal* being thus surprised on the sudden, for a while stood in fear and doubt
 what to do; whether he had best to follow on after his own Caravel, or turn the prow and
 beaks of his galleys, and make head against the enemy. Thus while he stood at a baylinging, he
 lost the opportunity of shifting and avoiding a battell: for now they were come within the dart
 shot, and the enemies on every side were ready in charge. And the current was so strong, that
 they were not able to rule and manage their ships as they would. But the manner of fight was ad-
 vancing at all like to a sea-battell, for as much as they could do nothing to their mind, nothing by all
 and dexterity, nothing by counsel and advice. The nature onely of the narrow sea, the violence of
 the current was all in all, and ruled the conflict, driving the ships one against another, as well up-
 on their own fellows as upon their enemies: notwithstanding they rowed and laboured what they
 could to the contrary. So as one while ye thought for a ship that fled and scudded away, whisked
 about back again with a witte by the waves, upon those that had her in chase; and likewise
 another that seemed to follow and pursue after her enemies, if she hapned once into a contrary
 course of billows, to turn top and tail, and seem to flee. And in the very conflict it befell, that
 when as one vessel ran with her beak head full butt upon another, she was forced by waves to
 turn her side, and receive in her flank the push of her enemies. And contrariwise, when as one by
 with her flank opposite to the enemies, suddenly all at once she should wind and whirle again
 upon her prow. As the galleys fought thus doubtfully together, hap hazard, as the pleasure and
 will of Fortune; the Roman Caravel (where because of her weight she was able to stand more
 ready against the surging billows, or by reason that she had more ranks of oars than the waves,
 and so was more easily ruled) changed to sink two of the smaller Gallies of the enemies; and run-
 ning fast by one with a forcible violence wiped away clean all the oars of one side, and had no
 doubt spoiled and marred all the rest that she would have involved and charged upon, but that
Asdrubal, with the other five made sail, and got over into *Africa*. *Lalio* having sailed back
 to *Carrisa* with victory, and heard what had been done at *Gades*, namely, how the complot of
 betraying

A betraying the flock was disclosed, the conspirators laid hold on *Carthage*, and consequently all their hopes frustrated and turned to nothing upon which they came to *Carthage*, dispatched messengers to *Massilia*, giving them to understand, that unless they went that same day before *Carthage*, trifling away the time and doing no good, the best way was to return into *Spain* the King *Carthage*: and so with the consent of *Massilia* both of them with few ones repaired to *Carthage*. On whose departure *Massilia* was not only a little to be sorry, but also being that the *Carthaginians* were resolved, conceived some hope to recover *Spain* again, and addressed his countrymen to the Senate at *Carthage*: who by relating not only the evil which they wrote in the *Carthage* against the rebellion of the confederates (and also the way of compunction and restoring every thing to the highest degree) should encourage and exhort them to send aid to regain the possession of *Spain*, left unto them by deficient was their intention, *Massilia* being so far off, who were retired for a time into their country, until they knew how the *Carthage* stood, and what was the success of the *Carthage* in its independence. For if the *Carthage* citizens did their duty, they made no doubt themselves but they might be pardoned also. But when it was published abroad how severely and sharply they were punished, they being guilty of a crime, which was a crime of the highest nature, solicited their own people against the *Carthage*, and thus having revised and amended the same power of aid which they had before, they passed into the *Carthage* country, where at the beginning they lay in a standing camp, being in all 3000, and 300 horse strong.

C *Scipio* after he had been reconciled and was again the heart of his countrymen, as well as making true payment of their wages, the safety and innocent state, as also by the way a loving countenance, and giving his words into all hands, before that he departed and removed from *Carthage*, he first of all went to the *Carthage*, where he was received with a great and joyful manner, and as for the *Carthage*, they were so glad to see him, that they were ready to receive him with the same joy, as if he were their own brother. *Scipio* after he had been so received, he first of all went to the *Carthage*, where he was received with a great and joyful manner, and as for the *Carthage*, they were so glad to see him, that they were ready to receive him with the same joy, as if he were their own brother.

Scipio to his soldiers.

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And

A he possid into Spain, which four general captains and four victorious armies: and now had not left one Carthaginian in all those parts. Yet for all these noble deeds, he rather assaid what hope he might have of a triumph, than made any hot or earnest suit therefor: because it was never seen to that day, that any one had triumphed who made war, being himself no principal Magistrate. After the peace was made, he dismissed his army the City, and caused to be carried before him into the Chamber of Raim, of silver in bellion, 12342 pounds weight: and in coin besides, a great quantity. Then *Scipio* and *Philus* held the solemn assembly for creation of Coss, and all the Centuries in general, with exceeding favour and affection elected *P. Scipio* Coss, and for to be his companion in government, *P. Licinius Crassus* the Archbishop was joyed unto him. But this assembly (as we find in records) was celebrated with more frequency of people, than ever any had been known during this war. For they repaired and met from all parts, not only to give their voices, but also to see *Scipio*: many they ran in great numbers to his house, and into the Capitoll, when he sacrificed: and drew as hundred oxen to sacrifice for the honour of *Jupiter*, according to his vow which he had made in *Spain*. And all men minds were taken, and they were assuredly persuaded in their hearts, that as *L. Lucullus* finished the former Punick war, so *P. Cornelius* would make an end of that which was now in hand: and like as he had driven all the Carthaginians forth of *Spain*, so would *Scipio* drive them out of *Italy*: and every man in his conceit wished and assigned unto him the Province of *Affrick*, as if the war in *Italy* had been fully brought to an end. Then ensued the election of the Prators. And two were created that were then Judges of the Commons, to wit, *P. Lucullus* and *Q. Ottavius*: and of private persons, *Cn. Servilius Scipio*, and *L. Aemilius Paullus*. It is the fourteenth year of the Punick war, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, and *P. Licinius Crassus* entered their Consolships: And unto the Consuls were the Provinces appointed: namely, unto *Scipio* was *Spain* granted without opposing law, and that with the content and good liking of his Collegue, because he being the Archbishop, was by vertue of that dignity kept still in *Italy* for to see to the sacrifices, divine service, and Church matters: and unto *Crassus* the country of *Britain* was assigned. Then the provinces for the Prators were put to the lottery, and the civil jurisdiction within *Rome* fell to *Q. Servilius*: and *Q. Ottavius* for (which they called *Gallia*) unto *Sp. Lucretius*: *Sicily* was allotted to *L. Aemilius* and *L. Lucullus* to *Cn. Servilius*.

The Senat assembled in the Capitoll, where *Publius Scipio* propounded an Act, and it was confirmed by the authority of the house. That out of the money which himself brought into the common treasure, he might be allowed to defray the charges of those places and games that he had vowed in *Spain* during the time of the Soldiers mutiny. Then he called the Embassadors of the Saguntines into the Senat house: and the most notable man amongst them spake in this wise:

"Although right honourable, it be not possible to find any more miseries & calamities than we have endured already in the maintenance of our faithful allegiance unto you even unto the end, yet such have your desires been to us ward, & so many favours have we received of your captains Generals, that we think not much nor repent of any damage or loss, that we have sustained in that behalf. For first ye entered into the quarrel, & began the war for our sake: and having once begun to, ye have continued therein for the full space of 14 years: and that with such resolution and stoutness, as ye have plunged your selves into extreme peril & danger, so ye have engaged no less the State of the Carthaginians. For at what time as ye had within *Italy* a cruel and bloody war, to wit, that your mortal enemy, ye sent forth your Coss, with armies into *Spain*, as it were to gather up the broken reliques of our shipwrack. *Publius* and *Cn. Cornelius* the two brothers from the first time that they came into the Province, never ceased to devise and do whatsoever might either advantage us, or endamage our enemies. For first and foremost they restored unto us our towns again: then having made enquiry throughout all *Spain*, where any one of our Captains were sold as slaves, they delivered and redeemed them out of miserable servitude, and recovered for them their former freedom. But see! When we were well near come to this good pass, that from our poor & pitiful state we were raised up to a wished for and desirable fortune, when *Publius* and *Cn. Cornelius* your Generals suddenly died: whose death hapned in manner more lamentable and dolorous than can be said unto you. For then we thought verily thus of our selves, That we were reduced from remote & distant places unto our ancient habitation, for this purpose, that we should forth once again, and see a second overthrow and destruction of our native country: knowing thus much, what far to work our utter confusion there needed not a Carthaginian captain, nor any to be the instrument and the means: for even the *Turdetans* alone, our most ancient enemies, who were the cause also of our former ruin and undoing, were able with their own forces to rout us out clean, and extinguish our name. But behold, whiles we were in these perplexities, almost fully beyond all our hope and expectation, ye sent amongst us this noble *Scipio* here in place. In whose behalf we count our selves of all Saguntines most happy, because we have seen him declared Coss, already, and shall be able to report the news unto our neighbours. And fellow Citizens, that we have beheld with our own eyes, even our whole hope, our help, our health and safety: who having forced & won very many Cities and towns of your enemies in *Spain*, at all times and in all places, yet the Saguntines apart from out of other prisoners & captives, and sent them home again into their own country. Finally, as for *Turdetania*, a nation so adverse and so dangerous to our enemies, that if it should continue still in prosperity, *Saguntum* could not possibly stand upright: he hath by force of arms so quelled and tamed it, that neither our selves, nor be it spoken without arrogance, any of our posterity hereafter need stand in

The Oration of the Saguntine Embassadors in the Senat of Rome.

"fear of any danger from thence. We see before our eyes their City raised, at whose instigation & whom for to gratifie. *Saguntum* before had raised *Saguntum* and out of their lands now we gather
 "sons and revenues which contenteth our hearts in do so much for profit & gain, as for quitance
 "and revenge. In consideration and regard of these benefits and good turns which be such a great
 "as we cannot hope nor wish for in the hands of the immortal gods the Senat and people of *Rome*
 "have sent us here in *Embrassie* unto you for to give you thanks in their name with
 "all to rejoyce and congratulate in your behalf for the happy hand ye have made, and the fortunate
 "exploits ye have achieved these last years past, as well in *Spain* as in *Italy*; namely, that ye
 "have subdued, and do hold in possession all *Spain*, not only so far as to the river *Ithrus*, but even
 "to the lands end, and the utmost point lying upon the Ocean sea. And as for *Italy*, ye have left no
 "more ground in it for *Anniball* and the *Carthaginians*, than they empace within the compass of a
 "trench and rampier. Moreover, we have in special charge, not only to render thanksgiving there-
 "fore to almighty and most gracious *Jupiter*, the patron of the founts and Castle of the Capitol,
 "but also to offer & present unto him, if it might stand with your good grace and liking, this golden
 "crown; and to let it up in the Capitol in token and memorial of Victory. Which we hum-
 "bly beseech your HH. of your favour to grant unto us; and moreover, if it please you, to raise
 "and confirm for ever by your authority and approbation all those benefits, franchises, and privi-
 "ledges, which your Generals have of their goodness purchased to endow us with."

The Senat made this answer to the *Saguntin* Embassadors, "That both the raising and also the
 "rearing again of *Saguntum* should be a memorable example to all nations, of the faithful forie-
 "ty and alliance, observed both of the one part and the other inviolate. And whereas their Gene-
 "rals had re-edified the City of *Saguntum*, and delivered the Citizens thereof from servitude and
 "bondage, they had therein done well and truly, and by direction, according to the will and plea-
 "sure of the Senat. And whatsoever else was performed by them to the good and benefit of the
 "Saguntins, the Senat stood willing and contented therewith; and gave order therefore. As for
 "their present and oblation, good leave they had to bestow it solemnly in the Temple of the Ca-
 "pitol. After this order was given, That the Embassadors should have their lodging appointed
 "them, and presents sent unto them, and all other entertainment at the charges of the City; yea and
 "by way of a reward or allowance of, no less than ten thousand *Ases* apiece."

Then were the other Embassadors admitted into the Senat-house, and audience given them.
 "Also the request of the *Saguntins* was granted to go and see *Italy* for their pleasure, so far forth as
 "they might with security of their persons; and certain guides were assigned to conduct and accom-
 "pany them, with especial letters also directed unto all Cities and towns, for to receive the Spani-
 "ards friendly and give them courteous entertainment."

These things done, the Senators sat in consultation about the state and commonweal, & treated
 "concerning the levying of new armies, & the distribution of the Provinces. Now when as the com-
 "monbrute went that *P. Scipio* was declined & named to a new province of *Affrick*, & all men gave
 "out with open voice, that he was the man to be sent thither directly, without casting lots for the
 "matter; and himself besides not resting content now with mean glory, said openly, that he was
 "declared *Cof.* not only for to maintain war, but also to finish and make an end thereof once for all;
 "which could not be effected by any other means, unless himself in person made a voyage with an
 "army into *Affrick*; protesting moreover, That if the Senat crossed and gainsaid this design of his,
 "he would propound it to the people, and carry it away clear by their voices; whiles the principal
 "LL. and ancients of the Senat were nothing pleased with this resolution of his, but durst not say a
 "word and speak their minds, either for fear, or for counting of him, in hope of preferment; only
 "*Q. Fabius* being demanded his opinion, spake to the matter in question to this effect:

The Oration
 of *Q. Fabius*.

"Right honourable and my LL. of the Senat, I know full well, that many of you here assembled
 "are of this mind & verily perswaded, That we are set this day to no purpose, but even to consult
 "and debate of a matter clearly determined; & that in vain he shall spend words, who shall deliver
 "his advice of the Province of *Affrick*, as of a point as yet doubtful & not resolved upon already.
 "For mine own part, first I cannot conceive neither will it enter into my head, how *Affrick* can
 "possibly now be accounted as a Province & assigned certainly unto your *Cof.* (let him be a man
 "right hardy, & of as much valour as may be) considering, that neither the Senat unto this day hath
 "judged it, nor the people ordained & assigned it to any person in the nature and name of a Pro-
 "vince. Furthermore, if it were so indeed, without all peradventure, then in my judgment the
 "Cof. hath done amiss, who in making semblance to put a matter for to be debated, which is al-
 "ready agreed upon, hath deluded and mocked the whole Senat, and not the Senator, who in his
 "course delivereth his opinion of the thing in question. But I am assured, that in gainsaying and
 "crossing this hasty voyage into *Affrick*, I shall incur the snifter opinion & surmise of two things:
 "the one is of my usual lingring and slow proceeding in all mine actions (a course that naturally I
 "am given unto) which young men may term at their pleasure, timorousness and laziness; but so
 "long as I have no cause to repent therefore, I pass the less. For surely hitherto the advices of others
 "have ever at the first sight made a goodlier shew, and seemed more honourable; but by experi-
 "ence mine own waies have sped better, and been found in the end more effectual. The other is,
 "of backbiting detraction, and envying at the glory and reputation of, the *Cof.* a man of singular
 "prowess (I must confess) & whom I see to grow from day to day in greatness and honour. From
 "which jealousy and suspicion, if neither my life passed and the carriage of my self; if neither my
 "Dictator-

- A "Dictatorship with five Consulships, nor so much glory which I have acquired as well in managing the affairs of war abroad, as of civil policy at home (that a man would think I should rather be glutted therewith than desire any more) be able to clear and assuage me; yet my years at least will free me very well. For what concurrence and emulation can there be between me and him, who is not of equall age with my very son? When I was Dictator, in the vigour and flower of my strength, in the very course and train of my greatest and bravest exploits, no man either in Senat or in the assembly of the people, heard me to refuse and deny, That my own General of Cavalry, who could not afford me a good word, but ever railed at me, (a thing that was never heard before) should be made equall with my self in command and government. And yet
- B "by good deeds rather than by fair words, I effected and gained thus much in the end, that he, who in the judgment of others was matched with me and made my fellow, confessed within a while himself to be my inferior. Let's reason have I then now, after I have gone through all degrees of honors and dignities, to enter into contention & emulation with a young gentleman, of all others at this day most flourishing in the eyes of the world: unless forsooth it be a likely matter that I (a man weary not only of managing affairs, but also of this world, and of this life) should look to have the Province of *Affrick* offered unto me, if it were once denied him, Nay verily, I have enough already: in that glory I am content to live and die, and seek for no more. It was sufficient for me to hinder *Annibal* from attchieving the victory; to the end that by you, who now are gallants in the best of your strength, he might be vanquished & overcome. Meet it
- C "is then and great reason, O *P. Cornelius*, that you should bear with me, and hold me excited, if I, who never in regard of mine own self set greater store by the fame and opinion of people, than of the good of the Common-weal, prefer not now your glory before the weal-publike. And yet I will not say, but in case there were no war at all in *Italy*; or the enemy of that quality, as by conquering of whom there were no credit & honour to be gotten: then he that would seek to keep you still in *Italy*, were it never so much for the good of the State, might seem to go about to disappoint and frustrate you (in putting you by the charge of the war) of the very means and matter of your glory and renown. But seeing that *Annibal* is your object, seeing he is our enemy, who with an entire army still holdeth *Italy* as it were besieged now these fourteen years will you not, O *P. Cornelius*, hold your self well contented with this honour and reputation. That you being
- D "Consul, should drive that enemy out of *Italy*, who hath been the cause of the death of so many brave men of ours, and of so many foils and overthrowes that we have received: that, like as *C. Lucatius* had the name of finishing the former Punick war, so you may win the title of ending this other also. Unless that a man would say that *Amilcar* was a warrior and Captain worthy to be preferred before *Annibal*; or that war of more importance than this; or that victory greater and more honorable than this is like to be, in case it happen that we may be conquerors under your conduct, and whiles you are Consul. Whether would you chuse rather to have drawn *Amilcar* away from *Drepanum* & the mountain of *Eryx*, than chased and hunted the Carthaginians and *Annibal* out of *Italy*? Nay surely, even your own self (howsoever you embrace glory already won, than hoped for hereafter) would not take more joy & contentment, and triumph rather for freeing and delivering of *Spain* than *Italy* from the wars. *Annibal*, I wot, as yet is not come to that low ebb, nor so down the wind, but that he which made choice of another war, may seem well in so doing to stand as much in fear and dread, as in contempt of him. Why then address you not your self to effect this imprese, and leave building these Castles in the air, and hope by fetching these reaches and this compass, & going the longest way about, that when you are passed over into *Affrick*, *Annibal* will follow you thither: and not rather go the next way to work, and fight with *Annibal* where he is, and make no more ado? Are you willing indeed and desirous to win this honour of dispatching quite the Punick war? Why, it is the course of nature to defend and make sure your own before you go in hand to assail the dominions of others. Let us have peace first in *Italy*, before we make war in *Affrick*; and let us first rid our selves of feare ere ever we take occasion to put others in fear; unless we had some greater quarrel. And
- F "if by your conduct and fortunate government, both these may possibly be effected: conquer *Annibal* here, and then go thither to assail *Carthage*: a Gods name. But if the one or the other of these victories must needs be left for new Consuls to attchieve: as the former of the twain will be the greater and more memorable, so it will open the way, and give the overture unto the other ensuing upon it. For at this time, over and besides that our treasure, and all the revenues and finances of our state, are not able to maintain and wage two sundry armies both in *Italy* and in *Affrick*: besides, I say, that we want the means to keep two Armados afloat, and have nothing left sufficient wherewith to furnish them with victuals and munition: who seeth not, I pray you, how far we engage our selves in peril and danger by this enterprise? *P. Lucinius* shall war in *Italy*, and *P. Scipio* in *Affrick*. What will ye say if *Annibal*, (which God forbid, & my heart even dreads to presage, but that which once hath happened may happen full well again) upon the train
- G "of some new victory, fortune to go forward and assail the City of *Rome*? Where are we then? Shall we have time then to send for you our Col. out of *Affrick*, as we did for *Q. Fulvius* from *Campania*? And what say you to this besides, That the fortune of war is doubtfull & uncertain even in *Affrick*, as well as in other places? Call to mind, and learn betimes by the examples of your own home and family, by your father and uncle, who within 30 daies were slain, & their armies defeated: even there, where for certain years space they had performed both by sea and land most

*He meaneth
Alcibiades.

"noble exploits: and highly renowned among tarrain nations both the Roman people, and also
 "your own name & family. The time will not serve, if I would do all this day do nothing else but
 "reckon and recount unto you, how many Kings, Emperors, & General Captains there have been,
 "who have centred rashly into their enemies countries, and received many foyle and overthrow
 "thereby, as wel in their own persons, as in their whole armies. The Athenians, a most prudent &
 "politicke State, having left the war at home in their own country, and following the counsel and
 "suggestion of one * young man, as hardy & valiant in arms, as noble in birth & parentage as your
 "fell (none dispraised) sailed into *Sicily* with a brave and puissant navy; and there in one battell
 "fought at sea, overturned and ruinated for ever their most flourishing City & Common-weal.
 "But why seek I forrain examples of strangers, and stories of times too far past, and over-long ago.
 "Let even this same *Affrick*, and *M. Asilius*, serve as a notable example of both fortunes for our
 "instruction & learning for ever. Now surely *P. Cornel*, when you shall once discover *Affrick* with
 "in your view from the sea, you will think then that your Provinces of *Spain* were matters of sport
 "in comparison of it. For what semblable proportion is there between them? When you were in
 "your voyage for *Spain*, you sailed in the calm sea peaceably along the coast of *Italy* and *France*,
 "and arrived at *Emporia*, a friend City and Confederat: and when you had landed your men, you
 "led them in security through all places to the friends and allies of the people of *Rome*, even as far
 "as *Tarracon*. From thence ye journeyed all the waies by Cities and towns, furnished with Roman
 "garrisons. About the river *Iberus* you found the armies of your father and uncle, which remained
 "upon the loss of their Generals more fierce and fell for the calamity that they had received than
 "before. You met there *L. Martius* their Captain and Leader, chosen (I must needs say) I know
 "not how in a hurry by the souldiers themselves for the time: but otherwise I assure you, if no-
 "bility of birth and the titles of dignities which he justly deserved had graced him, he was in all
 "feats of arms and martiall knowledge, comparable to the very best warriors & noblest Captains.
 "After this you assaulted *Carthage* without any empeachment, and took your time at your own
 "pleasure, even when there was not one of the three Carthaginian armies to aid & defend their
 "affociats. As for all the exploits besides (without offence be it spoken & not to debase any good
 "service there) they are in no respect to be compared with the *Affrican* war: where we shall find
 "no haven open to entertain our Armado, no Country peaceable, no City confederate, no King
 "friendly, no place at all either to sojourn and rest in, or to march forward and pass through with
 "safety. Which way soever you cast your eyes, nothing but hostility threatening danger and perill
 "unto us. Do you indeed trust *Syphax*, or rely upon the Numidians? Well, let it suffice that once
 "ye trusted them. Rash adventures speed not alwaies best. And oftentimes we see, that fraud see-
 "meth faithfull, and maketh way of credit in small things, that in matters of greatest importance,
 "and when the time serveth it may pay home and work a mischief with a witness. The enemies
 "overcame not your father and uncle by force of arms before that the Celtiberians, our Allies
 "over-raught them by falshood and treachery: neither were you self in so much danger from
 "*Mago* and *Asdrubal* the chief Captains of your enemies, as from *Indibilis* and *Mandonius*, your
 "new friends and confederates. Can you repose any confidence in the Numidians? You say that
 "have experience of your own souldiers mutiny, and have seen them rise against you: As for *Sy-*
 "*phax* and *Masanissa*, as they had rather themselves be the sovereign & most mighty in *Affrick*,
 "than the Carthaginians should; so surely they wish the Carthaginians to be the highest above
 "all others besides their own selves. Now at this time there is some emulation and heart-burning
 "among them, and all occasions of quarrell whet them on to maintain sides and factions, so long
 "as fear of forrain enemy is far enough off. Shew them once the Roman arms and forces, let
 "them see an host of strangers once, they will run I warrant you altogether, then as it were to
 "quench a common scatchfire. You shall find that the very same Carthaginians will far otherwise
 "stand to the defence of the wals of their Country, their Cities, the Temples of their gods, their
 "Altars and private houses, when going to battell they shall have their fearful wives to bear them
 "company, their small children to go afore them in their eye; you shall find them, I say, stick bet-
 "ter to it than they did in the quarrell and defence of *Spain*. But what and if the Carthaginians,
 "finding themselves strong enough upon the confidence of the generall concord of *Affrick*, of
 "the fast fidelity of the confederate Kings, of the strength of their own wals, should fortane
 "themselves, when they shall see *Italy* destitute of your help, and disurnished of their forces, ei-
 "ther to make out a fresh army from *Affrick* and send it into *Italy*, or else give order and dispo-
 "sition to *Mago* (who as it is well known for certain, is departed with his navy from the *Balkan*
 "Islands, and lyeth floating and riding continually upon the Alpine Ligurians) for to joyn his
 "power with *Annibal*: It is a clear case, that we shall be in as great trouble, and as much trou-
 "bled then as we were of late, when *Asdrubal* mounted over the Alpes, and came down into
 "*Italy*. *Asdrubal*, I say, whom you (that will with your army compass not only *Carthage*, but also
 "all *Affrick*) let go out of your hands, and suffered to pass over into *Italy*. But you will say, that
 "you have vanquished him. Say you so? I would not for any thing, not only in regard of the love
 "I beare to the Common-weal, but also of the affection that I carry toward your self, that a van-
 "quished man could find the way by you into *Italy*. Be content & suffer us to attribute all things
 "that have gone well with you or the Common-weal, during the time of your government, to
 "your wisdom and policy; and contrariwise, whatsoever hath fallen out cross and adverse, to im-
 "pute and assign the same to nothing else, but to the variable events of war, and to sickle fortune.

The

under their hand: & decreed it was that they two, namely *Lucius Corneli* & *Quintus Caelius*, should sithe.
 The better and more valiant that you are, the more need hath your native country, yes, and all
Italy besides, to keep you still at home with them, to brave a captain, & rare a Protector. You
 cannot your own self discomble the matter, but confesse, That wheretoever *Annibal* is, there is
 the very head, the fort & strength of all this war; for as much as you pretend, that the only cause
 why you would passe into *Africk*, is to draw *Annibal* thither after you. Well then, be it here or
 be it there, with *Annibal* you must have to deal. Tell me then, whether we you like to be stronger
Africk, your self alone, or here where your own forces and the power of your Collegues shal be
 joyned together? Is it possible that even the late example of *Lucius* and *Claudius*, so fresh in
 memory, should not inform and teach us, what difference there is between the one and the o-
 ther? In whether place I pray you, will *Annibal* be more strong in men and munition; here in the
 utmost corner & angle of the Brutians country, where this long time he hath waited in vain for
 aid from home; where he hath sent for succour and gone without; or neer unto *Carthage*; and in
 the midst of *Africk* among his friends and allies? What kind of policy is this of yours, there to de-
 cide the quarrell and try the whole matter, where your own forces are lesse by a halfe moiety, and
 the power of your enemies much greater and stronger; rather then here, whereas you may
 fight with the power of two armies against one, toiled out of heart in so many battels, and wear-
 ed with long warfare, so tedious and grievous withall? Consider with your selfe, what confor-
 mity and resemblance there is, between your designs and your fathers. He, as Consul having
 made a journey into *Spain*, to the end that he might encounter *Annibal* as he come down the *Alps*,
 returned out of his own province into *Italy*; and you, when *Annibal* is in *Italy*, purpose to a-
 bandon and leave *Italy*. And why? forsooth not because you judge it good for the common weal,
 but because you think it an enterprize that may import you in great honour and glory: like as
 when you being captain General of the people of *Rome*, left your province at random and your
 army at six and seven, without warrant of law, without order or act of Senat, hazarded in two
 bothome the whole state and majesty of the Empire of *Rome*; which at that time together with
 the danger of your life, incurred the perill and jeopardy of the maine chance. To conclude, for
 mine own part (my LL. of the Senat,) am of this mind; and this is my conceit, that *P. Cornelius*
 was not created Col. privately for himself and his own behoof, but for the good of the common-
 weal and us all: and then the armies were levied and enrolled, for the guard of the City and de-
 fence of *Italy*; and not for the Col. in their proud self-conceit & overweening of themselves.
 D After the manner of absolute KK. to transport & lead into what parts of the world they list them-
 selves. When *Fabius* by this oration (premeditated and framed to the time) had through his authori-
 ty and the long settled and confirmed opinion that men had of his wisdom, drawn unto his side
 a good part of the Senat, and especially the ancients; inso much as the greater number commended
 and the grave counsell of the old man, above the lusty and youthfull courage of the other gallant;
 then *Scipio* by way of answer made these remonstrances, and spake in this wise. "My lords of the
 Senat, even *Fabius* himself in the beginning of his oration, said very well, that his opinion which
 he was to deliver, might be suspected of detraction and envy. Of which note, verily I durst not
 my self tax and accuse a man of his quality and reputation so much, as me thinks is not so well
 cleared as it ought to be the very suspicion it self: and I wot not whether it be by a default of his
 speech & oration, or that the thing it self is so pregnant. For in such maner he extolled with good-
 ly words, and magnified his own dignities and renowned deeds, and alse quench the jealousie
 and crime of envy: as if my self was to fear the danger of emulation and concurrence of some
 companion of the basest degree and condition, and not of him, who because he far surpasseth other
 men, which height and pitch of honor I deny not, but I endeavour my self to reach unto) would
 not in any hand, that I should compare with him. So highly hath he advanced himself in regard
 of his old years: considering that he hath gone through all ranks and honours; and so low debased
 me, and put me down even under the age of his own ion; as though the desire and love of glory,
 should passe no farther then the length of mans life, and the greatest part there of extended not
 to the memory of posterity and the future time. This I hold for certain, that it is a thing inci-
 dent to the most magnanimous men and of greatest spirit and courage, to have a desire for to
 match themselves not only with them that live in their daies, but with most famous & excellent
 personages, that ever were or might be in any age. And surely for mine own part, O *Q. Fabius*,
 I will not make it goodly, but frankly bewray my mind that way, namely, that I would full faine
 not only attain unto your praise-worthy acts and commendable vertues; but also (with your good
 leave be it spoken) if possible I can, even to excell and surmount the same. Therefore let us not ex-
 tray this mind, either you towards me, or I to those that are younger then my self, to be unwilling
 and think much, that any one citizen among us, should prove equall to our selves: for in so do-
 ing, we should offer wrong and do hurt not only to them whom we have envied and maligned,
 but also prejudice the common weal, in manner the whole state of all mankind. And thus much
 G to yourself. He hath now (my lords) requested, to what great perils I should enter into by the A-
 frick voyage in such sort, as he would seem not only to have a careful regard of the common-
 weal and the army, but also to pity me and tender my case and fortune. Whence cometh it, that
 you should all on a sudden take to great care for me; when my father and uncle both were slain,
 when their armies both twain, were utterly almost defeated and put all to the sword; when
Spain was lost; when a number of *Carthaginians*, and 4 Generals, held all in fear by force of
 armes; when there was a captain sought for to undertake that war, and no man durst be seen to put

"put himself forward, no man so hardy as to present and offer his service, but my self: and when
 "the people of *Rome* had committed the charge and government of *Spain* to me a young man
 "but four and twenty years old: how hapned it that no man then took exception at my age, made
 "mention of the enemies force, discouraged of the difficulty and danger of the war, or laid abroad
 "the late and fresh defeat and death of my father and uncle? I would demand and gladly know
 "whether we have sustained now lately, some greater calamity and loss in *Africk*, than we re-
 "ceived at that time in *Spain*? or if the armies at this present in *Africk* be more puissant, or the
 "captains more in number, or better in valour, then they were in *Spain* at that time? or whe-
 "ther mine age then, was more ripe and sufficient to manage wars, then now it is? Last of all,
 "whether it be better, more commodious & easie, to maintain war with the Carthaginian enemy
 "in *Spain*, then in *Africk*? After that I have discomfited and put to flight four hosts of Cartha-
 "ginians: after I have either forced by assault, or reduced under mine obedience (for fear) so ma-
 "ny Cities: after I have vanquished and subdued all, even as far as to the Ocean sea, so many
 "princes and potentates, so many fierce and cruel nations: after I have so fully recovered *Spain*, as
 "there is not remaining to be seen there, so much as the footing and bare token of any war: an
 "easie matter it is, and all one to elevate and deprecate the acts past that I have achieved: as also
 "par-die it will be, when I return with conquest out of *Africk*, to debate and make nothing of
 "those very things, which now to keep me back from thence, and to make them appear strange,
 "are amplified with great words, & stretched upon the tainters to the full. He holdeth that there
 "is no access, no entrance into *Africk*, nor havens open to receive an armado. He telleth us and
 "allegeth that *M. Atilius* was taken prisoner in *Africk*, as if *M. Atilius* forsooth at his first arriv-
 "all in *Africk*, had caught that harm and heavy misfortune. But he never remembereth and cal-
 "leth to mind, how that even the very same captain, as infortunate as he was, yet found the haies
 "open enough into *Africk*: and the first year bare himself right valiantly and gloriously: & for
 "that of Carthaginian captains, continued invincible to the end. You shall never therefore
 "fear me with the example so much, (were it so, that the calamity you speak of, hapned in this
 "war, and not in the former: of late, and not forty years ago) that I should give over my intend-
 "ed purpose, and not sail into *Africk* now, because *Regulus* there was taken prisoner: as well as
 "I passed before into *Spain*, whereas the *Scipio* chanced to be killed. Or that I shall infer, that
 "*Zanthippus* the Lacedemonian was born into this world more happy for Carthage, then my
 "self for Italy: but rather, that thereby I should think the better of my self, considering that the
 "virtue of one only man can be of such consequence and so great effect. But we ought (you say)
 "to consider the example of the Athenians, who leaving the war at home in their own country,
 "passed over into *Sicily* unadvisedly. Seeing you are at so good leisure, to tell tales and report
 "false fabulous stories of *Greece*: why discourse you not rather of *Agathocles* the king of the Syracu-
 "sans? who seeing that *Sicily* a long time was troubled & vexed with the Punick war, sailed over
 "into the self-same *Africk* whereof we speak, and withdrew the war thither from whence it
 "came? But what need I to instruct and teach you by rehearsing old and forrain examples, how
 "materiall a thing it is and important, to begin with an enemy first and put him in fear: and by
 "bringing another in danger, to remove the peril from our selves. Can there be a precedent found
 "more pregnant more present and fresh in memory to prove and enforce this point, then *Anni-
 "bal* himself? A great difference there is between the wasting and pilling the lands of others, and
 "seeing of our own burnt and destroyed. And he which giveth the assault to endanger another,
 "is ever of more courage then he that standeth upon his own guard and at defence only to save
 "himself. Moreover, the fear and dread is alwaies greater of things unknown unto us: but so
 "soon as a man is entered into the confines of a forrain country, he may behold and see at hand (as
 "well the good as the bad) what may advantage and what may endanger the enemies. *Anni-
 "bal*
 "would never have thought and hoped, that so many States in Italy would have revolted unto
 "him as they did upon the overthrow at *Cannae*. How much lesse account then may the Cartha-
 "ginians make of any thing in *Africk*, to remain fast and assured unto them: who are fickle al-
 "lies to strangers without all truth and fidelity: proud lords & intolerable tyrants over their
 "own subjects, full of wrath & cruelty? Over and besides, we albeit (we were forsaken and aban-
 "doned of all our confederats) stood alwaies upon our own forces & maintained our selves with
 "more Roman souldiers: whereas in *Carthage* they have no strength of naturall citizens: the
 "souldiers that they have, are mercenaries all & waged for money partly Africans and partly Nu-
 "midians, the most unconstant nations of all others by nature, and aptest to entertain changes &
 "innovations. Let me have no stay and hindrance in this place only: ye shall hear news at one
 "time that I am set over in *Africk* that all the country there is up in a broil: that *Anni-
 "bal* is re-
 "dy to dislodge and remove out of these parts: & also that *Carthage* it self is besieged. Expect you
 "daily out of *Africk* better and luckier tidings, yea, and oftner then ye heard out of *Spain*. These
 "hopes of mine, I ground upon the fortune of the people of *Rome*: upon the justice of the gods
 "witnesses of the league broken by the enemies upon *Syrax* and *Masaniassa*, both Kings, whose
 "truth and fidelity I will trust so far forth as I find them, and ever stand in fear and doubt of their
 "falseness and treachery. Many things they are now, that by distance of place appear not, which
 "war once begun will soon discover. And this is a special point of a man indeed, & of a good cap-
 "tain, in no case to be wanting unto fortune when she offereth herself, but to take all yamages
 "that she giveth: and those accidents and occurrences which fall by chance, so make use of them
 "yes,

A And by wisdom will contrive to secure them on his own purpose and designs. True
B is, O Father, I shall have *Annibal* to be heard and to match me as a soldier, I count; as
 well as my own self; but I will not draw him after me, than he shall keep me back
 at home. Forcibly I will fight in his own country; and *Carthage* shall be the price of my vi-
 ctory, either then the domes, towers, and last ruin, port-castles of the *Bruttii*. Only provide, O
 Father, that in the mean time whyles I am at sea in my voyage, whyles I am landing mine ar-
 my in *Africa*, whyles I approach *Carthage* with a running camp, the Common-weal suffer no
 harm and damage at home. Soe to this, I say, and be well advised, that it be not a shame-
 full reproach to say, that *Lucius* the Consul, a man of singular valour (who because he is the
 high Priest, and by vertue ther of, not to absent himself from the solemn celebration of sacrifices
 and divine service, was content and willing, that the charge of so distant a province should
 not befall unto him by calling lots) is not able to perform that, now when *Annibal* is half de-
 feated, and his heart almost broken, which your self was sufficient to effect when *Annibal* was
 at the height, and braved all *Ash* like a conqueror. But let the case, and suppose I say, that by this
 course, which I mean to take, the war be never the sooner brought to an end: yet surely it
 were for the honour of the people of *Rome*, and for the reputation and name which they have
 among foreign princes and States abroad, that they might see and know, that our hearts are as
 not only to defend *Ash* but also to offend *Ash*, and that it might neither be thought, nor be-
 lieved nor spoken nor noised abroad in the world, how no Roman captain durst adventure that
 which *Annibal* hath already dared and done: and when as in the former Punic war, when all
 the guilt was for *Rome*, our armies and armados so often assailed *Ash*: now that *Ash* is in
 question, *Ash* should be still, and be at rest. Nay, rather let *Ash* be at repose and quiet, now
 at last, after so long travail and affliction, and let *Ash* in her turn be fired and foraged and
 then while, Let the Roman camp be pitched rather under the very walls and gates of *Carthage*,
 then we see once again, that our wars the trench and rampier of our enemies, to invest our
 city. Let *Ash* be the scene place and seat of the war, let flight and flight, foraging and harrying
 of countries, revolt and rebellion of allies, and all other inconveniences and enormities that
 follow war, which have lien heavy upon us these 14 years, turn from us thither. It shall content
 and suffice us to have spoken as touching State matters to the common weal of the war presen-
 tly in hand: and concerning the provinces and their government now in question and consulta-
 tion, for it would require a long and tedious discourse, and the same importunate altogether un-
 to your self. O Father, hath debated and depraved mine age in *Spain*; so I likewise should dil-
 grate mine and diminish his glory, and for out my self and mine own reputation with goodly
 and magnificent words. But my life, I will do neither one nor the other. And if in nothing else,
 yet in this wise, you may as I am, I will in modesty and government of my tongue go beyond
 mine old and ancient personage as he is. Thus have I lived, and thus have I carried my self in
 all mine actions; that without blasing of mine own praises, I can soon content my self with
 the good opinion which you of your selves have conceived and entertained of me. *Annibal*
 had audibly given him, with little indifference, and patience, because it was commonly
 voiced abroad: That if the Senate would not grant him to have the province and empire of *Ash*,
 he would immediately propound and put it to question before the people. Whereupon *Q. Fabius*,
 a man that had been four times Consul and Censor besides, required the Consul to
 speak his mind openly before the Senate, whether he would refer unto the LL. there assembled,
 to determine of the provinces, and stand to that which they should set down, or prefer the thing
 unto the people. When *Gaius* had made answer again and said: That he would do that which
 might be good and expedient for the service of the Common-weal: then *Fabius* replied upon
 him and said: I demand not this question of you, as ignorant what either you would answer, or
 what you intend to do. For I know full well, that ye pretend no less your self, that you do but
 sound the Senate, and feel rather how they had inclined, then to stand to any advice of theirs in
 good sadness. And in case we do not presently grant you the province according unto your de-
 sire, you have a bill drawn already to present unto the body of the people and Commonalty.
F And therefore (quoth he) my masters, ye that are Tribunes, I require your aid and assistance, in that
 I forbear to speak unto the point and deliver mine opinion: In this regard, because I know that
 the Consuls will not approve and raise the same, howsoever the whole house will go with me,
 and allow my sentence. Now upon arose some bridle debate among them, whyles the Consuls urged
 and enforced this point especially, and said, It was against all reason and equity, that the Tribunes
 should enterpose their authority, and not permit every Senator being requested to speak in his
 turn, to set deliver his mind and opinion. Then the Tribunes made a decree in this manner, if the
 Consuls be content that the Senate shall determine of the Provinces, we will and command, that all
 men rest in that which the Senate shall order and judge: neither will we suffer the same to be pro-
 pounded unto the people: If he be not content nor yield thereto, then we will assist him who
 shall refuse to speak to the matter. Then the Consuls requested a dayes respite to confer with his Col-
 leagues, and so the morrow after he considered to put all to the censure of the Senat. And in this
 while that the provinces distributed and appointed: unto one of the Consuls, *Sicily* was assigned, and
 unto the other of war with his own beak teeth (even the same that *C. Servilius* the year before had
 the charge of) with commission also to passe over in *Ash*, if he thought it were for the good
 of the Common-weal. The other Consul had the government of the *Bruttii* and the managing
 of the war against *Annibal*, with the power of that army which *L. Veturius* and *Q. Caelius* had
 cast

cast lots, agree between themselves who should remain still in the Brutian country, to follow the war there, with those two legions which the Consul left; and like whether of them should have that province, his government should be prolonged and continued for another year. The rest of the Pretors also and Consuls, who were to govern any province, or have the conduct of armies, had their commission renewed and sealed again for a longer term. Now it fell to *Q. Caecilius* his lot, to make war together with the Consul against *Artemis* in the Brutian country. After this, ensued the games and plaies of *Scipio*, which were quibbled and set forth with great concourse of people, and exceeding applause and affectionate favours of the beholders. *M. Romanius Mabo*, and *Q. Catulus* were sent as Ambassadors unto *Delphos*, to carry thither an offering and hateful gift of the booty and pillage of *Asiarches* to who presented there a crown of gold weighing two hundred pound: also certain counterfers resembling the spoils, which were made of silver, amounting to a thousand pound weight: *Scipio* when he could no longer leave granted to levy souldiers and take musters which he greatly feared not of, obtained thus much yet, that he might have with him in his train voluntary souldiers: as also receive whatsoever the Allies would contribute and give towards the building of new ships, because he had passed his word, that the City should not be charged with setting out an armada. And first and foremost, the States of *Hetruria* promised to help the Consul, every one according to their ability. The *Centes* came off, and granted to purvey corn and all kinds of victuals for the mariners and sailors, the *Populonians* to provide iron, the *Tarquiniens* to find sail-cloth, the *Volaterrans* to send all trappings and furniture belonging to ships, and also corn: the *Aretines* to confer 10000 cargets, as many morions or head-peeses, besides javellins, darts, saulchions, lances, and pikes, to the full number of fifty thousand, as many of the one sort as of the other, also axes, spades, and murricks, bills, fishes, and hooks, and sickles, meal, troughs and quern mills, as many as would serve to furnish forty long ships or gallies: of wheat 120000 Modii, and all voyage provision for the Decisions, petty captains, Mariners and Ore-men by the way. The *Perusines*, the *Cinifines*, the *Rusellans* offered fir trees for the framing and making of ships, and a great quantity of corn. But for this work, he occupied only the fir hewn out of the publick forest and waste. All the States of *Umbria*, the *Nursines* also, the *Reatinens*, *Amitemines*, and the whole country of the *Sabines*, made promise to help him to souldiers: the *Maris*, the *peligni*, and *Marricines*, in great number came of their own free wills, and were enrolled to serve at sea in the navy. The *Comenses*, being allies and confederates to the Romans, but not tied to any service, sent a brave company of six hundred men well armed. And when as there were set out the keels or bottoms of thirty ships, twenty Caravels of five course of oars, and ten of four, himself in person plied the carpenters and shipwrights so, and set forward the work that 45 daies after the timber was brought out of the wood, the ships were finished, rigged and furnished with all things, and shot into the water. So to *Sicily* he sailed with thirty long ships of war, having embarked therein almost seven thousand of voluntary servitors. *P. Licinius* also for his part, came into the Brutian country, unto the two consularie armies, of which he took unto him and chose that which *L. Varrus* the Consul had commanded, and suffered *Metellus* to have the leading still of those legions, which had been under his conduct before: supposing that he should more easily employ them in service because they were acquainted already with his manner of regiment and government. The Pretors likewise went into their sundry provinces. And because many was wanting for to decay the charges of the wars, the high Treasurers were commanded to make sale of all that tract of the Campanian country, which from the Greek Fosse extendeth towards the sea. And there was granted out a commission to give notice of those lands: and look what ground soever belonged to any citizen of *Capua*, it was confiscat to the use of the people of *Rome*: and for a reward to him that gave notice, there was assigned the tenth part of the mony, that the land was rated and prized at. Also *C. Servilius* the City Pretor, had given him in charge to take order that the Campanians should dwell where as they were allowed to inhabit by virtue of a decree granted forth by the Senat, and to punish those that dwelt elsewhere.

Of Albenga.

of Vada,
or Savona.

In the same summer *Mago* the son of *Amilcar*, being departed from the lesse *Balgare* Islands, where he abode the winter season, and embarked a chosen power of young and lusty men, sailed over into *Italy* with a fleet of thirty ships headed with brazen piked beaks, and many hulls of burden: and there he set land his souldiers, to the number of twelve thousand footmen, and welnear two thousand horse: and with his suddain coming surprised *Genoa*, by reason that there lay no garrisons in those parts to guard and defend the sea coasts. From thence he sailed along and arrived in the river of the Alpine Ligurians, to see if he could by his coming raise some commotion and rebellion. The *Inganni* (a people of the Ligurians) fortified to war at that present with certain mountainers the *Epanterii*. Whereupon *Mago* having laid up and bestowed safe of the prizes and pillage that when he won in *Savona* (a town upon the Alps) and left ten ships all war riding in the river, for a sufficient guard, and sent away the rest to *Carthage* to keep the coasts at home. (because there ran a mighty rumor, that *Scipio* would pass the seas, and over into *Africa*) himself, after he had concluded a league and amity with the *Inganni* (whose favour he more affected and esteemed then the other) set in hand to assaile the mountainers. Besides, his power increased daily: for that the Frenchmen flocked unto him in all parts, upon noise and voyce of his name. Intelligence hereof was given to the Senat by the letters of *Sp. Lucretius* who were with these news exceedingly troubled and perplexed; for fear lest they had rejoined in

A vain for the death of *Asdrubal*, and the defeat of his army two years before: in case there should arise from thence another war as great and dangerous as the other, differing in nothing else but the exchange of the General. And therefore they gave order and direction both to *M. Livius* the Pro-Consul, to come forward with his army of Voluntaries out of *Tuscany* into *Ariminum*: and also unto *Cn. Servilius* the City Praetor, (if he thought requisite and expedient for the Commonwealth) to commit the two legions of Citizens attending about *Rome*, to whomsoever he pleased, for to be commanded, and led forth of the City. So *M. Valerius* *Levinus* conducted those legions to *Arretium*.

B About the same time, certain hulks of the Carthaginians, to the number of fourscore, were boarded and taken about *Sardinia*, by *Cn. Octavius*, governor of that province. *Catius* writeth, that they were laden with corn and victuals sent unto *Annibal*. But *Valerius* reporteth, that as they were carrying the pillage taken in *Etruria* and certain prisoners of the Ligurian mountaineers, into *Carthage*, they were intercepted and surprized by the way. There was no memorable thing that year done in the Brutians country. The pestilence rained as well amongst the Romans as the Carthaginians, and they died thereof alike on both sides. Many the Carthaginian army, besides the plague, were afflicted also with famine. *Annibal* passed all that summer time near unto the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, where he built and reared an altar, and dedicated it with a glorious title of his worthy acts, engraven in Punick and Greek letters.

The nine and twentieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the nine and twentieth Book.

D **C**atius *Laelius* being sent from *Scipio* out of *Sicily* into *Affrick*, brought from thence a huge booty, and declared unto *Scipio* the credence and message that he had from *Masaniila*, who complained of him that he had not as yet passed over with his fleet into *Affrick*. The war in *Spain* which *Indibilis* had raised was dispatched: himself slain in the field: and *Mandonius* was delivered by his own men into the Romans hands that demanded him of them. *Mago*, who was in *France* and *Liguria*, had out of *Affrick* sent unto him both a great power of soldiers, and also money to wage aids: with a commission and precept to joyn himself unto *Annibal*. *Scipio* crossed the seas from *Syracuse* into the *Brutia*, and recovered the City *Locri*, after he had discomfited the garrison there, and put to flight *Annibal*. Peace was concluded with *Philip*. The goddess *Dame Idæa* was brought solemnly to *Rome* from *Pessinus*, by occasion of a prophesse found in the books of *Sybilla* to this effect: That then the foreign enemy might be driven out of *Italy*, when *Dame Cybele* of *Idæa* was brought to *Rome*. And to the Romans she was delivered by *Attalus* King of *Asia*. A thick stone it was, and nothing else, which the Inhabitants called the mother of the gods. *P. Scipio Nasica*, the son of that *Cneus* who was killed in *Spain*, judged by the Senat a right good man, one that was very young, and had not been yet so much as *Questor*, was he that received her: for it was by the Oracle imported, that the said goddess should be received by the best man of the City, and so dedicated. The *Locrians* sent their Embassadors to *Rome*, to complain of the outrage and cruelty of *Q. Pleminius* the Lieutenant: in that he had unjustly taken away the money consecrated to *Proserpina*, and villainously forced their wives and children. *Pleminius* was brought bound with chains to *Rome*, and there died in prison. There ran a false rumour of *Pub. Scipio*, (Pro-Consul in *Sicily*) and spread as far as to the City, that he should spend his time there in riot. Whereupon there were sent certain messengers from the Senat for to enquire and see whether those reports were true. And *Scipio* being cleared from all infamy, by the permission and good leave of the Senat, sailed over into *Affrick*. *Syphax* affianced and wedded the daughter of *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco*: and thereupon renounced clean the amity which he had contracted with *Scipio*. *Masaniila* the King of the *Adassylans*, whiles he served in the war: in defence of the Carthaginians quarrel within *Spain*, after he had lost his father *Gala*, was withall dispossessed of his kingdom. And when he had oftentimes fought to recover it again by war, he was in certain battels vanquished by *Syphax* King of the *Numidians*, and utterly deprived of his royall dignity. So with two hundred horsemen he joyned as a banished person with *Scipio*: and with him, immediately in the first battell, he slew *Hannio* the son of *Amilcar*, together with a great number of men. *Scipio* upon the coming of *Asdrubal* and *Syphax*, who were almost 100000 strong, was compelled to break up the siege at *Utica*: and so he fortified a standing camp for winter harbour. *Sempronius* the Consul had a fortunate battel against *Annibal* in the territory of *Croton*. The Censors held a solemn review and purging of the City, and numbered the people: In which survey taken, there were assessed in their books 215000 Citizens. Between the two Censors *M. Livius* and *Claudius Nero* there fell out a notable discord: for *C. Claudius* took from *Livius* (companion with him in office) his horse of service: for that he had been sometimes condemned by the people of *Rome*, and driven into exile. And *Livius* again did he like by him, because he had born false witness against him, and not dealt bona fide with him, considering the reconciliation between them, wherein

wherein they seemed to be made good friends again. The same Livius left all the tribes but one, disfranchised, and caused them to pay tribute as no denizens, for that they had both condemned him being innocent, and also made him a Consul and Censor afterwards.

The nine and twentieth book of T. Livius.

Scipio after he was arrived in *Sicily*, disposed his voluntary souldiers in order, and enrolled them by Centuries. Over and besides them he had about him three hundred lusty tall fellows, for the flower of their age and strength of body, the bravest men of all others: but they wist not themselves for what purpose they were reserved; being neither assigned to any colours under a Captain, nor so much as armed at all. Then he made choice from out of the whole manhood and youth of *Sicily* three hundred men of arms, such as for birth and wealth were the very principall and best in the Island, who were to pass over with him into into *Affrick*: and he appointed them a day, upon which they should all present themselves in readines, furnished and appointed in the best manner with horse and armor. This warfare so far from home was like to be irksome unto them, and to bring with it much trouble, many difficulties and dangers, as well by sea as land. The consideration and fear hereof mightily disquieted not only the parties themselves, but also their parents and kinsfolk. Now when the day appointed was come, they shewed their horses and armour. Then *Scipio* made a speech unto them, and said, "That he was given to understand, that certain Sicilian horsemen stood in great fear and dread of this souldiery, as being a sore and painfull piece of service: In case then (quoth he) there be any of you so minded and disposed indeed, I had rather you would now presently be known thereof unto me, and confesse at once, then hereafter to whine and complain, and so to prove lazy lubbers and unprofitable souldiers to the Common-wealth. And therefore utter your minds in plain terms, and I will be content to hear you without offence. Whereupon, when as one of them took a good heart, and said flatly, "Thar if it lay in his choice freely to do what he would, he was altogether unwilling to serve: then *Scipio* answered him again in this manner, Forasmuch as (my youth) thou hast not dissembled thy hearts grief, but spoken out what thou thinkest, I will soon depute one in thy turn, unto whom thou maiest deliver thy armour, thy horse, and other furniture of warfare, and whom thou shalt forthwith have home with thee, there to train, teach, & exercise him after thou hast given him thy horse and armor. The young man was glad hereof, and accepted the offer upon that condition: and so he assigned unto him one of those three hundred abovesaid, whom he kept about himself unarmed. When the rest saw that horseman in this manner discharged of his service, and that with the favour and good will of the L. General: every man then began to speak for himself, and to make excuses, and took others in their stead. Thus for the three hundred Sicilians were substituted as many Roman horsemen, without any expences at all of the State. And the Sicilians themselves had the charge of instructing and training them up. For the Generall had made an Edict and Proclamation, That whosoever did not so, should serve himself in person. This proved by report a brave corner of horsemen above the rest; and in many battels performed right good service to the Common-wealth. After this, he took a survey of the legions or footmen: and all those who had born arms longest in the wars he selected forth, especially such as had been employed under the conduct of *Marcellus*. For those he well wist to have been brought under the best discipline of warfare, and also by reason of the long siege of *Syracuse*, to be most skilfull in assaulting of Cities. For now they were no small matters that he had in his head, but he plotted even the very destruction and ruin of great *Carthage*. After this, he divided his army and placed severall forces in sundry towns. The Cities of *Sicily* he enjoined to provide corn: he made spare of that which was brought out of *Italy*: the old ships he newly repaired and rigged, and with them he sent *Leilius* into *Affrick* for to prey upon the country and fetch in prizes, the new which rid at *Panormus* he drew up to land, that they might all winter long lie upon dry ground, and be seasoned, because they were made in haste of green timber. When he had prepared all things necessary for war, he came to the City of *Syracuse*, which as yet was not in good order and well quieted, since the great troubles of the late wars. For the Greeks made claim for their goods, granted unto them by the Senat of *Rome*, which certain of the Italian nation detained and withheld from them by the same violence, wherewith in time of war they had possessed themselves thereof. He supposing it meet and requisite to maintain above all things, the credit of the State; partly by vertue of an edict and commandment, and partly by a civill course and process of law against such as were obstinate and avowed their wrongs done, he forced them to make restitution to the *Syracusians*. This act of his pleased not only them, but also all the states of *Sicily*: and therefore they were more willing and forward to help him in the wars.

The same summer there arose in *Spain* great troubles, raised by the means of *Indibilis* the Illegite. For no other occasion or reason in the world, but because in regard of the high admiration of *Scipio*, all other Captains besides whatsoever were but despised. Him they supposed to be the only General that the Romans had left, now that all the rest were slain by *Annibal*. And hereupon it was (thought they) that when the two *Scipios* were killed, they had no other to send into *Spain* but him: and afterwards, when the wars grew hot in *Italy*, he was the only man sent for over to match with *Annibal*. And over and besides that, the Romans had now in *Spain* no Cap-

A **N**aturally, but in her name and showe: the old experienced army also was from thence with-
drawn: all things are out of frame, and in great confusion & noise there, but a disordered sort of
Spanish water fouldiers: And never they looked to have againe the like occasion & opportunity
to recover Spain out of their hands: For hitherto they had ever been in subjection to that day,
either to the Carthaginians or the Romans, and not alwaies to the one or the other, by turns,
but rather by fits and starts once. And like as the Carthaginians have been driven out by the Ro-
mans: so may the Romans be expelled by the Spaniards, if they would hold together. So that in
the end Spain being freed from all forraign war, might be restored for ever to the ancient co-
stumes and rights of the country. With these and such like suggestions and discouries, he sollici-
ted and moved not only his own subjects and countymen, but the Ausetans also, a neighbour na-
tion, yet to other Cities and Cities that bordered upon his and their confines: so as within few
daies there assembled together into the territory of the Sedetans (according to an Edict published
abroad) thirty thousand foot, and fast upon four thousand horsemen.

The Roman Captains likewise for their part, *L. Lentulus*, and *L. Manlius Acidinus*, left by ne-
glect of the first beginning the war might grow to a greater head, joyned their forces together,
and marching through the country of the Ausetans, as peaceably as if they had been friends, (not
withstanding they were known enemies) came to the very place where they were encamped and
pitched themselves within three miles of the enemies. At the first they assayed by way of Embas-
sage to deal with them, and so perswade them to lay aside all arms and hostility: but they labou-
red in vain. Afterwards when as the Spanish horsemen gave charge suddenly upon certain Ro-
mans that were foraging, the Romans also sent out from their Stations and *Corps de guard* their
Cavalry to rescue: so the horsemen skirmished, but no memorable act or speak of was effected
on the one side or the other. The next morrow by sun-rising the enemies all shewed themselves
armed and in order of battell, and braved the Romans within a mile of their Camp. The Ausetans
were marshalled in the main battell: the *Ilergetes* in the right point, and certain other Spanish
nations of base and mean account in the left: between both those wings and the battell, of either
hand they left certain wide and void places, whereas when the time served they might put forth
their horsemen. The Romans having embattelled and put themselves in array after their old and
usual manner, yet in this one thing followed the examples of the enemies, in leaving out certain
open waies between the legions for the men of arms to pass through. But *Lentulus* supposing that
the use of the horse-service would be advantageous to that part which first should send out their
Cavalry into the battell of the enemies, that lay so open with spaces between, gave command-
ment to *Sar. Cornelius* Knight Marshall or Tribune, to will and charge the Cavalry to set so with
their horses, and to enter those open lanes between the enemies battailions. And himself having
sped but badly in beginning the fight with footmen so rashly, staid no longer, but untill he had
brought the thirteenth legion (which was set in the left wing opposite to the *Ilergetes*) out of
the rearward into the vanguard, for to succour and strengthen the twelfth legion, which already
began to shrink and give ground. After that once the skirmish there was equal and fought on
even hand, he advanced forward to *L. Manlius*, who in the forefront of the battell was busie in
encouraging his men, and sending supplies and succours into all parts where he saw needfull:

showing unto him, that all was well and whole in the left point, and that he had sent out *Cornelius*
with his horsemen, would like a tempestuous storm come upon them, and soon overcast
and bespread the enemies round about. The word was not so soon spoken, but the Roman horse-
men were ridden within the thickest of the enemies, and not only disordered the arrais and com-
panies of the footmen, but also at once shut up the waies and passages that the Spaniards could
not make out with their horsemen. And therefore the Spaniards leaving to fight on horse-
back, alight on foot. The Roman Generals seeing the ranks and files of the enemies disarrai-
ed, themselves in fright and fear, and their ensignes waving up and down every way: tell to ex-
horting, yes, to entreating of their own Infantry to recharge them with all their force, whiles
they were thus troubled and disbanded, and not suffer them to come into order, and re-enforce
the battell again. And surely the barbarous people had never been able to abide their violent
impression, but that *Indibilis* himself their Prince and Lord, together with the men of arms
that were now dismounted on foot, made head against the ensignes of the footmen in the van-
guard. Whereupon ensued a sharp and cruell fight for a good while. At length, when as they that
fought about their Prince (who first, although he were half dead, yet stood their ground, and af-
terwards with a javelin was nailed to the earth) were overwhelmed with darts, and slain: then
they began to flie on all hands: but the greater number were killed in the place, because both the
horsemen had no time nor space to recover their horses, and mount upon them again, and also the
Romans pressed so hotly upon them after they were once discomfited, and never gave over un-
till they had stript the enemies quite out of their Camp. So there died that day thirteen thou-
sand Spaniards, and well near eight hundred were taken prisoners. Of Romans and Allies, not ma-
ny more than two hundred left their lives behind them, and those especially in the left point. The
Spaniards, that either were driven out of their Camp, or escaped out of the battell, first ran scat-
tered and disperied over the fields, and afterwards returned every man to his own City where
he dwelt.

The *Indibilis* summoned them to a generall council: where they all bewailed their calami-
ties & miseries, greatly blamed the authors of the war, and agreed in the end to send their embas-
sadors

sadors to give up their arms, and to yield their bodies. Those having professed themselves and laid the whole fault upon *Sabinus* & the rest of the Princes who were the starters of the wars were for the most part slain themselves for their labour in the field, yielded up their armour and themselves, and received this answer from the Romans: That they should be received to mercy, and their submission accepted, if they would deliver alive into their hands *Antiochus*, and the rest that were the breakers of peace. Otherwise, they threatened to lead their forces into the territories of the Illegates and Antians, and so forward, of the other nations their complices in that rebellion. With this answer the Orators departed, and related the same in the Council assembled. Where *Mandonius* and the rest of their Lords were apprehended & delivered to the Romans for to be punished and executed accordingly. So the States of *Spain* obtained peace again: and a double tribute for that year was imposed upon them, and they enjoyed to provide corn to serve the army six months, besides soldiers liversies, short coats, and side cassocks, and they received hostages well near of thirty Cities. Thus the troubles and rebellions of *Spain* being begun and ended after this manner, without any great doo within few daies, all the sorte of the war turned upon *Africa*.

C. Laelius being arrived in the night at *Hippo* Royall, by the break of the day, led forth with banner displayed in order of battell all his souldiers and matiners, for to harrey and spoil the country. And finding the inhabitants there retchless and careles, and living in security as in time of peace, they did much hurt and annoied them sore. Whereupon the news went in post to *Carthage*, for all on a hurry, & put them in exceeding great fear. For it was reported, that the Roman Armado was arrived, and that *Scipio* the General was landed (for the rumour ran before, how he was passed over already into *Sicily*.) And because they never desried the ships, nor discovered certainly what power of men invaded and spoiled the country, they thought the most and doubted the worst, as fear commonly maketh every thing more than it is. And for at first they were only affrighted and terrified: but afterwards they grew melancholly and troubled in spirit in these terms: to think, "That fortune should so much be changed, that they, who a little before as noble conquerors, had lain encamped with an army before the walls of *Rome*, defeated so many hosts of enemies, and either by meer force or meer love, held all the States of *Italy* under their Signory, should now themselves see the wheel so turn about, as they were like shortly to behold the wasting and spoiling of *Africa*, and the City of *Carthage* besieged: a thing that they were never able to endure with that valour and resolution, nor to abide with such strength as the Romans had. For the Romans had ever the Commons of *Rome*: they had alwaies the youth of *Latium* ready at hand: who still increased more and more the new City, and daily grew in number to multitude, and to repair & furnish out so many armies that were defeated. Whereas, their natural people were neither in town nor country fit for service, their olds were waged and hired for money from among the Africans, a nation like to turn upon any accident, & to change with every pulse and puff of vain hope, and were besides false and untruthful in their promise. For now the Kings already, *Syphax* and *Masaniissa*, the one upon conference with *Scipio* is secretly alienated from us in heart, and the other openly revolved in action, and become our most deadly enemy: so that there remaineth neither help nor hope for us at all in any place. For neither *Mago* is able in God to make any commotions and rebellion, nor yet to joyn with *Antiochus*. And as for *Antiochus* himself, he weareth apace, and decarieth daily both in fame and reputation, and also in strength and forcible means. When their minds being thus disquieted upon those fresh and present things, they were faine to bewail and lament their wooll state, the instant danger recalled them again to consult by what means they might withstand the imminent perils. So they thought good to call the musters in all haste both in the City and the countries by, to send some to levy and wage the olds of the Africans, to fortifie their City, to bring in store of grain, to provide weapons and armour, to rig their navy & to send it out to *Hippo*, for to encounter the Roman Armado. Whiles they were devising these courses, there came at last a post with news, that it was *Laelius* and not *Scipio* who was set ashore: that there was indeed no greater power than for to make rodes into the country for booties only: and as for the main strength of the whole army, it remained still in *Sicily*. So they had some respite to breath themselves, & began to address their Embassies to *Syphax* and to other Princes, for to establish and confirm peace and league between them. They dispatched others also to *Philip*, who should make promise unto him of two hundred talents of silver, in case he would take the seas and pass over either into *Sicily* or *Italy*. Messengers also were sent as far as into *Africa* unto their own Generals serving there, to will them to raise what troubles they could possibly, for to keep *Scipio* a work, and hold him back from coming into *Africa*. And unto *Mago* were sent not only those messengers aforesaid, but also five and twenty long ships of war, six thousand footmen, eight hundred horsemen, seven Elephants, and great store of treasure besides for to hire aids, whereby he might advance forward with his forces nearer to *Rome*, and joyn with *Antiochus*. These preparations were making, and these courses devising at *Carthage*, when as *Masaniissa* upon the bruite that went of the arrivall of the Roman Beers, began to stir up and rouse himself: and accompanied with some few horsemen, came unto *Laelius*, busie in driving still great booties out of the country, which he found altogether disarmed of armour, and unprovided of guards and garrisons for defence. He much complained that *Scipio* was so slack in his affairs, and graved that he had not passed over ere this time with an army into *Africa*. Whiles the *Carthaginians* were thus affrighted, whiles *Syphax* was troubled with the wars of the borders of whom he was thus much perswaded, that if he might have resting time to compose his own affairs

A "to his mind, he would not continue fast unto the Romans, nor deal in any thing faithfully and
 "sondly with them: willing him to solicit Scipio, yet and to spur him on and importune him not
 "to stand longer at a bay and make delays. And for his own part, notwithstanding he were dis-
 "seized of his fathers Kingdom, yet he would be ready to assist him with such a power of foot and
 "horse as were worth God smerty: advising *Lalinus* withal not to make any longer stay in *Africa*,
 "for asmuch as he believed verily, that there was a fleet already set out from *Carthage*, with
 "which in the absence of *Scipio*, he might not with safety enter into conflict and battail. After
 "this communication, *Masaniissa* was dismissed, and *Lalinus* the next day loosed from *Hippo*, with
 "his ships laden with pillage and prizes: and being returned into *Sicily*, declared unto *Scipio* the
 "counsel and credence that he had from *Masaniissa*.

B About the very same time those ships which were sent from *Carthage* to *Mago*, coasting along
 "the *Albigians* and the *Ligurians*, arrived at *Genoa*. It fortuned that *Mago* at that time, lay with
 "his fleet in those parts: who upon the words of the messengers, & the commission to raise as great
 "forces as possibly he could, immediately held a counsel of the *Frenchmen* and *Ligurians*: for of both
 "nations there were great numbers in those coasts. "Where before them all he declared how he
 "was sent unto them for to set them at liberty: and how (as they might see themselves) to that
 "effect he was furnished with new aid and succour from home. But what forces, and how great
 "an army was needful for the managing of the war in hand, it lay in them to determine. As for
 "himself, first and foremost he knew full well, that there were two Roman armies abroad, the one in
 "France, the other in *Tuscan*: and that *Sp. Lutatius* would joyn with *As. Drusus*: and therefore

C "they themselves were to put many a thousand in arms for to make head against two Generals, &
 "two compleat armies of Romans. The *Frenchmen* made answer again, That their will was good
 "enough, and they had an exceeding desire to compass and effect the designment intended: but
 "for asmuch as the Romans had one camp within their confines, and another in *Tuscan* near ad-
 "joyning, and in manner within sight: if peradventure they should be seen in the actions to aid the
 "Carthaginians: importunately both armies, as well the one as the other would in all manner of
 "hostility invade their territories: and therefore they requested him to desire of the Gauls such
 "things, wherein they might stand him in stead secretly under hand, as for the *Ligurians*, because
 "the Romans lay far enough off encompassed from their Lands & Cities, they might dispose well e-
 "nough of themselves as they list: and therefore it was good reason that they should put their

D "young & able men in arms & bear a part in the managing of the war. The *Ligurians* refused not.
 "Only they craved respite of two months for to take the matters. In the mean time *Mago*, having
 "sent away the Gauls, closed took up & pitch foulliers through their country Towns for mo-
 "ney. And from the States of *France* there was sent secretly provision of victuals of all sorts unto him.
 "After this *Mago* led his army of Voluntaries out of *Tuscan* into *France*, and having united his
 "forces unto *Lucius* in his power, was ready to receive and welcome *Mago*, if haply he removed
 "out of the *Ligurians* country nearer to the City of *Rome*: but in case *Mago* kept himself quiet in
 "a corner under the Alps, he minded also himself there to keep his standing leaguer about *Ariminum*,
 "for the guard and defence of *Italy*.

E After the return of *C. Lalinus* out of *Africa*, both *Scipio* was picked forward by the instigations
 "and persuasions of *Masaniissa*: and also his soldiers, seeing great prizes brought out of the ene-
 "mies Land, and every day brought therewith: were mightily incensed and set on fire with a burn-
 "ing desire to be transported over thither with all speed possible. But as they were plotting about
 "this enterprise of greater importance, they thought also upon a lesser that came between, name-
 "ly the winning again of the City of *Larva*, which in the general revolt of all *Italy*, had sided also
 "with the Carthaginians. The first hope that they conceived both to affect and effect this enter-
 "prise grew upon a very foolish manner: by occasion that in the *Britannic* country, the whole man-
 "ner of service was performed by way of robbing and roving, rather than by any ordinary course
 "of war. The *Mumidians* first began, and the *Amisii* soon took it up and seconded them: not so
 "much because they would keep the Carthaginians company, and do as they did: but for that of

F their own names in reputation were prone, and ready enough to follow that course. At last
 "the Roman soldiers also, seeing as it were by their example, took delight in robberies: and so
 "far forth as they might have have of their Captains, would make inroads into the territories of
 "their enemies. It fortuned so, that when some of them were gone abroad a plundering, certain
 "Larvians were intercepted, and brought away with them to *Italy*. In which number of cap-
 "tives, were some carpenters and masons, who as it chanced, were hired to work for the Cartha-
 "ginians in the Castle of *Larva*. These were discovered and known by certain great men, and the
 "principal Citizens of the *Larvians*, who hapned about of some banished persons in *Rome*: such
 "as by the contrary faction that headed with *Annibal* and had delivered *Larva* into his hands, were
 "driven out of the City. These men fell to questioning with them (as commonly their manner is,

G "now have been long out of their own Country) of many matters, and among the rest, how all
 "things went at home, who sold them all particulars and therewith, put them in some good
 "hope, that if they might be restored, for as large, and free home again, they would betray the
 "City unto them: forasmuch as within is they dwelt, and the Carthaginians put them in trust of
 "all things there. They therefore, as men that were wonderful desirous to return thither, as well
 "for love of their native country, as for to be revenged of their adversaries, one of hand sold their
 "mystery and ayes they had given order how to watch the Seas, and in what sort: as also agreed
 "upon

upon the signs and tokens which they should mark from on high a far off, they were sent back again. Then the exiled Locrians repaired unto *Scipio* at *Syracusa*, with whom also were others of the banished persons of *Locri*: and there they related unto him the promises of the captives aforesaid, and put the Consul in very good hope that the effect would be correspondent to their designment. With them were sent two Tribuns or Marshals, to wit, *M. Sergius* and *P. Maternus*, with commission to conduct three thousand souldiers from *Rhegium* to *Locri*. Letters also were dispatched unto *Q. Plinius* the Vice-pretor, for to be assistant in this action. Who being departed from *Rhegium*, and carrying with them scaling ladders, proportioned to the height of the Castle wall fore-told unto them, about midnight gave a token by fire to those that were to betray the Castle, from that place which they had agreed upon: who being in readiness also, and looking wittily for them, put down likewise ladders of their own, made for the purpose; and in many places at once received them that climbed up: so as, before there was any alarm heard, they were upon the watch of the Carthaginians, fast asleep as they were, and distrusting no such matter: who first were heard to groane as they lay a dying, but afterwards, to make a noise and keep a running and much ado, upon their suddain starting from sleep, all the whiles that they wist not of the occasion was. At length, upon the discovery of the matter, one man awakened another, and every one called aloud to arms crying out, that the enemies were within the Castle, and the watchmen slain. And without question, the Romans had been put to the worse and defeated quite, being far fewer in number than the enemies, but that there was an outcry and shout set up by them that were without the fortress: which so long as men knew not from whence it came, put them in in great fear: and the tumult besides by night made every small and vain thing much greater than it was. By means whereof, the Carthaginians astonished (as if all places had been full of enemies) abandoned all fight, and betook themselves into the other fortress (for two there were distant not far asunder.) The Townsmen kept possession of the City, as the prize and guerdon in the mids, for the winners. But out of the two Castles there were light skirmishes every day. *Q. Plinius* was Captain of the fort and garrison of the Romans, and *Amilcar* over the Carthaginians: and both parts increased their strength, by aids that they had coming unto them from the places adjoining. Until at last *Annibal* shewed himself in person: and no doubt the Romans had never been able to hold out, but that the whole multitude of the Locrenians were galled and grieved with the proud government and the covetous polling of the Carthaginians, took part with the Romans. When intelligence came to *Scipio*, that the Romans were distressed in *Locri*, and that *Annibal* himself was advancing thither: for fear lest the garrison also should be in some hazard (as having no ready means to retire from thence) himself leaving at *Messana* his brother *L. Scipio* for the guard of the place, passed over from thence with his vessels down the water, when he espied the current and the tide together to serve for a fare. Likewise *Annibal* having sent out a vanguard from the River *Butrains* (which is not far from the City *Locri*) to signify unto his men, that by day light they should give a hot charge with all their might and main upon the Locrenians and Romans both, whiles he himself made an assault upon the Town behind, not looking for him, but wholly turned away and amused upon that other tumult. Now when as early in the morning he found the skirmish begun, he was not willing to put himself within the Castle, for fear of pesterling with over great a company the place so strait and of so small receipt: and for to scale the walls they had brought no ladders with them. So causing all their carriages and packs to be piled up in one heap together, he presented all his footmen in battail array before the City, to terrifie his enemies withal: and with the Numidian horsemen he made a bravado under the walls, and rode about the City. Whiles the ladders and other ordinance meet to give an assault, were in preparing and making ready, he approached on horseback neer to the wall, for to view on which part above the rest, he might give the assault: and there he was shot with a quarrel discharged from an engine called a Scorpion, which hapned to be planted neer unto him. And being affrighted at this so dangerous an occurrent, he commanded to sound the retreat, and fortified his camp aloof without the peril and shot of any dart. Now was the Roman fleet from *Messana* arrived at *Locri*, and had the day afore them: so as they were all set a land, and entered the City before the sun setting. The morrow after, the Carthaginians began to skirmish out of the Castle: and *Annibal* being now provided of ladders, and having all things else in readiness needful for the assault, came under the walls: with that, all upon a suddain the Romans set open a gate and sallied out upon him, who feared nothing less than any such accident: and thus setting upon them at unawares, slew two hundred of them. *Annibal* perceiving that the Consul was there, retired with the rest into the camp: and after he had sent a messenger to them that were within the Castle, willing them to shift for themselves, in the night season he dislodged and departed. They also who were in the fort, after they had set on fire the houses which were in their keeping, of purpose by that tumult to cause the enemy to make some stay and tarry behind, ran away in manner of a rout, and before it was night with good foxmanship overtook their own company. *Scipio* seeing as well this Castle quit by the enemy, as their camp also empty, called the Locrenses to a general assembly, and gave them a sharp check, and rebuked them for their revolt. The principal Captains & Authors of that trespass he punished with death, and gave away their goods to the chief heads of the other faction, in reward and consideration of their singular fidelity to the Romans. But as concerning the publick State of the Locrians, he said he would neither make nor meddle therewith, either in giving to them, or taking ought at all from them. But willed them to send their Embassadors to

Rome,

A Rome, and look what the Senat. would award in equity, that fortune they should abide. This one thing he was well assured of, that how illsoever they had deserved of the people of Rome, yet they should live in better condition under the signory of the Romans, provoked to anger as they were, than they had already under the government of Carthaginians, pretending love and amity as they did.

Then himself in person set over to *Messana* with those forces that he brought with him, leaving *Plinius* his Lieutenant, and that power that won the Castle, in garrison for the defence of the City. The citizens of *Locri* had been so proudly misused, and so cruelly handled by the Carthaginians, after they were revolved from the Romans, that it seemed they could be content to abide any small wrongs, not only patiently but also willingly, and in manner with a glad heart. But so far now exceeded *Plinius*, *Aemilius* the former captain of the garrison, so far went the Roman garrison soldiers, before the Carthaginians in wickedness & avarice, that a man would have thought they had strove together who should pais the other in sinful vice and ungodliness, and not in feats of arms and prowess. For neither Captain nor souldier forbore to practise upon the poor Townsmen any enormous facts, which are wont to make the great & mighty men odious unto the poor and meaner persons. They wrought and committed shameful villainies upon their very bodies; upon their wives and children. And their greedy avarice so far proceeded, that they could not hold their hands from spoiling and robbing the very religions and sacred Temples. Inasmuch, as among other holy Churches which they polluted, they met even with the rich measure of *Proserpina*, which had lain still in all ages, and untouched by all others: save only it was reported to have been pill'd by *Syracus*, who indeed carried away the spoil of her, but he dearly bought it, and paid full sweetly for that sacrilege. And therefore like as before time the Kings ships shaken with tempests, and torn and split with the rage of the Sea, brought nothing at all in that wreck safe to Land, but only that sacred mony of the goddess, which they had stoln and carried away; even so at this present, the very same mony (but in another kind of calamity and misery) brought upon all them that were tainted in that wicked action of robbing the Temple, a strange & frantick madnesse, which caused Captain against Captain, and souldier against souldier, to fare as if they were stark mad, and enraged as mortal enemies one with another. *Plinius* had the chief rule and command of all. As for the souldiers, some were under him, such as himself had brought from *Rhegium*; others were commanded by the Tribuns of *Colonis*. Now it chanced that one of *Plinius* his souldiers had stoln a silver cup out of a Townsmans house, and ran away when he had done; and the owners after him with line and cry, and fortune to come in the way, and to meet with *Syracus* & *Mammius* the two Tribuns or Colonels full in the face. Whereupon the cup was taken from him by the commandment of the Tribuns; and thence arose first a brail, and some hard words, were dealt between; and from them consequently they went to open clamors and loud outcries, until at length there grew a very fray between the souldiers of *Plinius* and of the Tribuns; and according as they came still one or other in time to help their own side, both the number and the riot increased at once. In the end, *Plinius* his men went away with the blows, and managed themselves unto *Plinius*, running to him, with open mouth and great indignation, shewing their bloody wounds: and reporting besides, what opprobrious words to his disgrace had passed against him without spare, in the time of those brawling fits. Hereupon in a great choler and boyling heat of blood, he gat him forth of doors in all the hast; convented the Tribuns before him, and commanded them to be stripped naked, and the rods to be brought forth ready for to scourge them. But whiles there was some time spent in turning them out of their apparel & uncasing them (for they singled & made resistance, and called to their souldiers for help) all at once they came thick about them: (for very lusty they were upon their fierst victory) and ran from all places, as if the alarm bell had been rung against the coming of some enemies. But when they saw once the bodies of their Tribunes rawed with rods, then they fell into far more furious rage and a very fit of madnesse, and thus incensed as they were, without all regard, not only of the reverent majesty of authority, but also of common humanity, they fell upon the Lieutenant himself, after they had most pitiouly beaten and evil intreated his Lictors and Officers about him. Then having singled him out apart from his assistants and Sergeants, they cruelly mangled him, cut off his nose, crops his ears, and left him for dead. News hereof came to *Messana*, and within few dayes *Scipio* highed him apore to *Locri* in a gally directed with six banks of oars: who after due examination and hearing of the cause between *Plinius* and the Tribuns, acquit *Plinius* as innocent, and left him Governor of the garrison of the place: but he judged the Tribuns guilty, as Malefactors, and caused them to be bound in chains for to be sent to Rome unto the Senat: and so he returned to *Messana*, and from thence to *Syracus*. *Plinius* not able to over-rule his anger, and thinking that *Scipio* had dealt but coldly and negligently in the matter, and made too light of the injury which he had received, and not punished the offenders accordingly; and supposing that there was no man else able to make true estimate of the cause, but he that in his own person had felt the indignity and hainousness thereof, commanded the Tribuns to be haled before him, and after he had put them to all the cruel torments, that any mans body is able to abide, he put them to death: and not satisfied either with their dolorous torture whiles they were quick, nor with taking their lives from them, cast their dead bodies forth into the fields, there to lie as howe ground unhonored. The like cruelty he exercised upon the principal Burgeses of the *Locrians*, such as he heard say went to *Scipio* for to make complaint of his wrongs and injuries. And look

what foul and shameful pranks he had plaid afore with his friends and allies, proceeding of lust and covetousness; the same now in his fell and furious rage he multiplied and wrought in divers sorts: so as he brought infamy, hatred and obloquy, not only upon himself, but also made the world to think hardly, and to speak much shame of the General himself.

Now drew the time neer of the solemn election of Magistrats; when as there came letters to Rome from Pub. Licinius the Consul, the tenor whereof was to this effect: That himself and his army were sore visited with a grievous sickness: and that he could not possibly have staid there, but that the violent contagion and influence of the same malady, if not greater & more grievous, had not assailed the enemies. Seeing that therefore himself was not able to come unto the election, he was minded, if it might so stand with the good liking of the Lords of the Senat, to nominate as Dictator Q. Cæcilius Metellus, for to hold the foresaid election. And as for the army of Q. Cæcilius, it was for the good of the Common-weal that it should be called and discharged, since that there was no employment of them at this present: considering that Annibal was retired already with his forces into his standing camp, and taken up his wintering harbor; and again, the pestilence grew so hot in that leaguer of his, that if they were not discharged betimes, there was not one of them like to escape and remain alive. In these points, the Ld. of the Senat granted out their commission unto the Consul, for to do according as himself thought to stand either with his own credit and trust committed unto him, or the benefit of the Common-weal.

At the very same time there was a certain religious opinion that had possessed of a fiddain the whole City, by occasion of a certain Prophecie found in the books of Sibylla. When search was made into them and they diligently perused, about the raining of stones, which happed so often that year. The Prophecie ran in this form: "At what time soever an enemy of a strange and foreign countrey, shall happen to make war upon Italy, he may be chased out of Italy and vanquished, if the goddess dame Cybele of Ida, were brought to Rome from Pessinus. This Prophecie found by the Decemvirs, moved the Senat the more, for that, the Embassadors also who carried the oblation and present afore said to Delphos, related, That as they themselves sacrificed unto Pythius Apollo, all the inwards of the beast killed for sacrifice, appeared good and shewed prosperity: and the Oracle besides gave answer, That there was a far greater victory toward the people of Rome than that was, out of the spoils whereof they brought gifts and offered to the God at this present. And for to make up and fully accomplish these hopes, they allaged wishal, how P. Scipio in demanding the Province of Affrich, did preface (as it were) before hand in his mind the final end of this war. To the end therefore, that they might with more speed obtain this honorable victory thus fore-tokened, and offering (as it were) it self, by all lucky presagings of men and Oracles of the Gods, they thought and devised some mean to transport the said goddesses to Rome.

The people of Rome in those dayes was confedered with no States of Asia: howbeit the LL. calling to mind, how long ago, upon occasion of a sickness, and to purchase health unto the people, Esculapius was sent for likewise out of Greece, before it was joynted with the City of Rome in any league or society: and considering wishal, that there was some friendship and amity begun already with King Attalus (in regard of the commonwar against Philip) and that he would be ready to do for the people of Rome, whatsoever lay in his power, they resolved to send unto him an honorable Embassage to wit, M. Valerius Lebinus, who had been twice Consul, and had wonned in Greece; M. Cæcilius Metellus, who had been a Pretor, and Servius Sulpicius Galba likewise an Edile, and two late Questors, C. Tremelius Flaccus, and M. Valerius Falco. For these five, they assigned five Quinquerems or Gallies of five ranks of oars, that according to the credit and dignity of the people of Rome, they should make a voyage into those Landis, with whom they were to win a reputation and Majesty to the Roman name and State. These Embassadors, as they held on their course toward Asia, so soon as they were put on Land at Delphos, repaired directly to the Oracle for to know what good hope it might afford unto them and the people of Rome, of effecting that business and commission, about the which they were sent forth. And this answer by report, was returned to them again, That they should obtain their desire, and effectuate their purpose by the means of Attalus the King: advising them moreover, That when they had conveyed the said goddess down to Rome, they should take order, that the very best man of all others in the City, should give her lodging and entertainment. But to proceed, to Pessinus they came unto the King. Who having courteously received and welcomed the Embassadors, conducted them into Phrygia to Pessinus, and delivered into their hands that sacred and holy stone, which the inhabitants of the country said, was the Mother of the Gods; and willed them to carry it to Rome. Then M. Valerius Falco was sent back from the other Embassadors to advertise them at Rome, that the goddess was coming, and that they should seek out the best man in all the City, for to receive and lodge her in his house with all devotion that might be.

Now was Q. Cæcilius Metellus nominated Dictator by the Consul in the Brutian country, against the solemn election of the Magistrats. His army was disbanded and called, and E. Venturius Philo created master of the horse. Then the Dictator held the Election. In which were chosen Consuls, M. Cornelius Cethegus & P. Sempronius Tuditanus in his absence, who at that time had the government of Greece. After them were elected Pretors, T. Claudius Nero, M. Marius Rulla, L. Scribonius Libo, & M. Pomponius Mache. When the Election was finished, the Dictator resigned up his place of magistracy. The Roman Games were thrice renewed and set forth, & the plaies Plebei seven times exhibited. The Ediles of the chair were Cn. and L. Cornelius Lentuli both. This Lucius governed

A vermed then the Province of Spain: created he was in his absence, and absent as he was he bare that dignity. The *Ediles* of the Commons were *T. Claudius Asellus*, and *M. Junius Pennus*. That year *M. Marcellus* dedicated the Temple of *Vorinus*, near the gate *Capena*, the seventeenth year after it was vowed by his father at *Clastidium* in *Gallia*, during the time of his first Consulship. There died also this year a *Flamine* of *Mars*, namely, *M. Emilius Regillus*.

For the last two years, the affairs in *Greece* had not been well followed, *Philip* therefore taking the vantage, that the *Ætolians* were forsaken of the Romans (the only aid upon which they trusted) forced them both to sue for peace, and to contract the same under what conditions and capitulations himself pleased: which if he had not made the better halt, all that ever he could to accomplish in good time, *P. Sempronius* the Vice-Consul, sent to succeed *Sulpicius* in the government, had utterly defeated him whiles he waged war with the *Ætolians*, considering that he was ten thousand foot and a thousand horse strong, and had five and thirty tall ships of war, headed with brazen pikes before: a power of no small importance, I assure you, to aid and assist his allies. For the said peace was not so soon concluded, but news came to the King, that the Romans were arrived at *Dyrhachium*; that the *Parthines* and other neighbour nations, upon hope of change and a new world, began to rise and rebel; and that *Dimallum* was already besieged and assaulted: for to that City the Romans bent their power (in stead of aiding the *Ætolians* unto whom they were sent) upon high displeasure and indignation, that without their advise and consent, yea, and against the tenor of the accord and covenant they had made a peace with the King. *Philip* upon these advertisements, for fear lest some farther troubles might arise among the nations and states there bordering, took long journeys, & sped him apace toward *Apollonia*. Thither *Sempronius* was retired, after he had sent *Leætorius* his Lieutenant with part of his forces and thirteen ships into *Ætolia*, to visit the country, and to see in what terms they stood, yea, and to disturb and break the peace if possibly he could. *Philip* waited and spoiled the territories and lands of the *Apolloniats*, and approaching the City with his whole power, bad battail to *Sempronius* the Roman General. But after he saw once that he kept himself quiet within the City, standing only upon his guard and defence of the walls; distrusting also his own strength, as not able to force the City by assault: & desirous wishal to entertain peace with the Romans as well as with the *Ætolians*, if he could; if not, yet at least wise to have truce with them: without effecting any more (seeing he could but only rub an old sore, & renew cankered malice upon fresh contention & quarrel) he returned into his realm.

D About the same time, the *Epirots* weary of long wars, after they had first founded the disposition and mind of the Romans that way, sent their Embassadors unto *Philip*, to treat about a general and universal peace: affirming, that they had assured hope of an honorable end and agreement, if his highness would vouchsafe to come to a parly with *P. Sempronius* the Roman General. And soon they obtained thus much of him, as to pass over into *Epirus*, for the King himself was not unwilling thereunto. Now there is a City in *Epirus*, named *Phanice*: there the King after communication had first with *Eropus*, *Darda*, and *Philippus* Pretors of the *Epirots*, entred into an interview also with *P. Sempronius*. At this solemn meeting and conference, *Aminander* the King of the *Athamans* was present, and other Magistrates of the *Epirots* and *Acarnans*. And first *Philippus* the Pretor began to speak and request, as well King *Philip* as the Roman General, to make an end of all wars, and likewise to give the *Epirots* leave to do the same. *P. Sempronius* propounded and set down the articles and conditions of peace in this wise, That the *Parthins*, *Dimallum*, *Bargulum* and *Eugenium*, should belong to the Seignory of the Romans, notwithstanding that they had obtained of the Senat by their Orators sent to *Rome*, to be annexed to the dominion of *Philip* King of *Macedony*. When they were agreed for peace upon those capitulations, there were comprised within the league on the Kings behalf, *Prusias* King of *Bitynia*, the *Achæians*, the *Bœotians*, the *Theſſalians*, the *Acarnans*, and the *Epirots*: and on the Romans the *Illyenses*, *K. Astalus*, *Pleuratus*, *Nabis* the Tyrant of the *Lacedæmonians*, the *Eleans*, the *Messenians*, and the *Athenians*. And hereof were instruments and Indentures ingrossed and sealed, and truce made for two moneths, until such time as Embassadors were sent to *Rome*, that the people might by their suffrages approve of the conditions in that form. So all the tribes in general granted the same, because the war now being intended and bent against *Africk*, they were willing for the present to be discharged of all other troubles.

P. Sempronius having concluded peace, departed unto *Rome* for to enter his Consulship. Now when as *M. Cornelius* and *P. Sempronius* were Consuls (which was the 15 year of the *Punick* war) the Provinces were assigned unto them in this manner, namely, unto *Cornelius*, *Hetruria* with the old army: unto *Sempronius* the *Brutii*, with the new legions that he was to enrol. And to the Pretors in this wise were the Provinces allotted, that *M. Martins* should be Lord chief justice of the citizens pleas, and *L. Scribonius Libo* have the jurisdiction of foreigners, together with the government of *Gallia*, *Iseni*; that *M. Pomponius Marbo* should rule *Sicily*, and *T. Claudius Nero* sit as *L. Deputy* in *Sardinia*. As for *P. Scipio*, his commission was renewed and continued for one year longer, with the command of that army and Armado which he had conducted before. Likewise *P. Licinius* had his commission newly sealed for to have the charge of the *Brutians* country, with the power of two legions, so long as the Consul thought it good for the Common-weal, that he should remain in the government of that Province. Also *M. Livius* & *Sp. Lucærius*, with the assistance of those two legions with which they had defended *Gallia* against *Mago*, continued still in their room for another year. Moreover *Cn. Octavius* remained in place, with commission, that

when he had delivered up *Sardinia*, & the legion there unto *T. Claudius*, himself should with 40 long Gallies scour the seas, and guard the coasts along the river, within those limits, for which the Senat had given order. Unto *M. Pomponius* the Pretor in *Sicily* were appointed the two legions of the Cannian army. And *T. Quintius* and *C. H. Tullus* Vice-pretors, were to govern as they did the former year, the one *Tarentum*, and the other *Capua*; and both of them were allowed the old garrisons. As for the government of *Spain*, it was put to question before the people, what two Vice-pretors their pleasure was should be sent into that Province. And all the Tribes with one accord gave their grant, that the same Pro-consuls *L. Cor. Lentulus*, and *L. M. Acidinus*, should sit as Governors in those Provinces as the year before. The Consuls began now to muster souldiers, as well to enrol new legions for to be sent into the Brutians country, as also to supply and fulfil the number of the other armies; according as they were directed by the Senate. And albeit *Africk* was not yet openly declared a Province, but dissembled by the LL. of the Senate, (of purpose I believe, that the Carthaginians should have no inkling and intelligence thereof before hand) yet the whole City was in good hope, and made full reckoning that this year the war would be determined and fought out in *Africk*, and so an end for ever of those troubles. This persuasion of theirs had possessed their hearts with much superstition: and very forward men were, both to report, and also to believe many prodigious and strange wonders, which daily were blown abroad & divulged more and more: To wit, that there were two suns seen; that in the night season between whiles it seemed day light; that in *Setia* there was a burning torch or blasing Star reaching from the East to the West; that in *Tarracina* the gate, and in *Anagnia*, as well the gate as the wall in divers parts were blasted and shaken with lightning; lastly, that in the Temple of *Juno Sospita* in *Lanuvium*, there was a noise and a rumbling heard, with a horrible crack. For the expiation and purging of these prodigies, there was a supplication holden for one day: and a novendial solemn sacrifice was also celebrated, because it had rained stones out of the sky. Besides all this, there was some consultation about the receiving of dame *Ida*. For over and besides that *M. Valerius* one of the Embassadors was returned & had brought word that she would be very shortly in *Italy*, there came a new messenger with tidings, that she was now already at *Taracina*. This deliberation (about no small matter, namely, whom they should give judgement to be the best man simply in the whole City) held the Senat much amused: considering that every one for his part was more desirous of true victory, and pre-eminence in this behalf, than of any promotions, honors or dignities whatsoever, awarded unto them, by the voices either of Senators or Commons. In conclusion, they judged *P. Scipio*, the son of that *Qn.* who was killed in *Spain*, a very young man, and as yet not of full age to be a Questor, the very best man without exception in the whole City. Upon what motives of his singular vertues they were induced thus to deem of him, as I could willingly have delivered unto posterity, what had been set down in record by the ancient and first writers of those times: so I will not interpose mine own conceits, in guessing at a thing which hath lien dead and buried so long time. This *P. Cornelius* was commanded to go accompanied with all the dames of the City as far as to *Ostia*, there to meet the Goddess, and then to take her forth of the ship, and being once set on land, to deliver her unto the foresaid matrons for to be devoutly caried to the City. Now when the ship was arrived at the mouth of the river *Tyberis*, he, according as he was directed, went aboard in a pinnace, & lanchd into the sea: where he took the Goddess at the Priests hands, and brought her on shore. And the dames which were the noblest and chief of the City, amongst whom, *C. Quintia* was the Lady most renowned, received her. This *Claudia*, who before time (as it is reported) was of no better name & fame than she should be, now by this religious and devout ministry, was for her chastity and continency recommended better to posterity. These women caried this Goddess charily & daintily in their hands, and took her by turns, one in course after another. All the City came forth by heaps to meet her: and along the streets as she was conveyed, they stood at the dores with censers, making sweet perfumes, & burning frankincense: yea, & praied unto her, that she would willingly enter the City of *Rome*, and continue propitious & gracious unto it. Thus they transported her into the Temple of *Victoria* within mount *Palatine*, the day before the * Ides of *April*, which was alwayes after kept as a festival holyday. The people with great frequency brought gifts unto *Palatium*, which they offered unto the goddess, & solemnized a *Lectisternium*. And those plaies called *Megalesia* came up then, & were first instituted. Now when the Councel were busy and fat about the supply of those legions which were in the Provinces, there were certain of the Senators began to whisper & blow into their heads, That the time was now come, no longer to abide those things which during the troubles and dangerous daies they made a shift to endure; considering that now at length by the goddess of the Gods, all fear was past, and the dangers overblown. At which words the Lords of the Senat being in great expectation and attentive to hear out the rest; they went on and said, That those colonies of the Latins, which whiles *Q. Fabius* and *Q. Fulvius* were Consuls, refused to set out souldiers, now almost for six years had intermitted their service in the wars, as exempted from warfare altogether, and enjoyed that immunity as an honor and reward for their good deserts: whereas in the mean time, other loyal and obedient allies, were by mustering every year continually, wasted and consumed, in performance of their faithful allegiance and dutiful service to the Empire of *Rome*. At this speech, the Lords called not so much to mind a thing long forgot and almost worn out of remembrance, as they were provoked to anger and grew very hot, & therefore would not suffer the Consuls to pass any other matter before, but decreed that they should preempторily

* 12 April.

* The Plaies called *Megalesia*.

A peremptorily convent to *Rome* the Magistrates, and ten principal citizens out of every one of these Colonies; to wit, *Nepes, Sutrinum, Ardea, Caere, Alba, Carfeoli, Sorae, Suessa, Setia, Corbena, Ardea, and Interamna*; (for these were the Colonies touched in that point above-named) and to lay upon them every one a double levy of footmen, to that number and proportion which they were charged with, when they set out most in the service of the Roman wars, ever since that the enemies were come into *Italy*: besides one hundred and twenty horsemen a peece. And in case any one of those colonies were not able to make up that full number of horsemen, then to allow for every man of arms three footmen; Provided alwayes, that for foot and horse both, such should be chosen and no other, as were most substantial and of the best behaviour, and be sent to what place soever there was need of supply, even out of *Italy*. And if any of them refused thus to do, then the Consuls had commission to stay the Magistrates and deputies aforesaid, and not to give them audience in the Senat, (although they should require the same) before they had performed those impositions. Moreover those Colonies were enjoined to pay every year a tax or tribute, and that there should be raised and levied, one Als in the thousand, of their substance by the month; and be assessed in those Colonies according to the rate and rule that the Roman Censors should let down; which they gave order to be the same that was laid upon the people of *Rome*: and the information thereof to be exhibited and presented at *Rome* by the sworn Censors of the foresaid colonies, before they went out of their office. By vertue of this Act of the Senate, the Magistrates and chief men of those Colonies were sent for and compelled to repair to *Rome*: and when the Consuls demanded of them, those souldiers and tribute aforesaid, they began all of them (but some more than others) to refuse and gain say it; yea, and flatly to deny, that so many souldiers could possibly be made, nay, hardly were they able, although they should strain themselves to furnish the bare single number, according to the usual proportion and old prescript order: requesting and beseeching them, to give them leave to have recourse unto the Senat, and there to make sure for their release: neither have we (say they) so much offended as thus hardly to be used, nor deserved worthily to be undone. And say, we must needs miscarry and be cast away; yet neither our offence, nor the wrath of the people of *Rome*, can force us to find more souldiers than we have. But the Consuls, resolute in their purpose, commanded the Delegates and Committees of those Colonies, to stay still at *Rome*, and their Magistrates only to repair home and take musters: forasmuch as (unless the full number of souldiers which was set down unto them were brought to *Rome*) there was no Consul there would grant them audience in the Senat. Thus when all hope was cut off, to have access into the Senat, and to obtain a release: those twelve Colonies took a levy and enrolled the full number. Which was no hard matter to be done, considering how their youth was increased in that time of long vacation and intermission of warfare. There was likewise another matter (by as long silence forlet and well neer quite forgotten) proposed newly again by *M. Valerius Lavinius*: who said, That it was meet and good reason, that those private persons which had credited forth their monies to the Common-weal, when himself and *M. Claudius* were Consuls, should now at last be satisfied, contented, and paid: neither ought any man to marvel why he (notwithstanding the City were bound for the debt) had a special care and regard to call upon them for to have it discharged: for, besides that the Consul for that year being, when those lones of money were granted, was in some sort properly obliged, to see that credit were kept: himself more over was the very man that made the motion of taking up those monies, in regard that the City chamber was so empty of treasure, and the Commons purses so bare of money, that they were scarce able to pay the ordinary tribute. This overture made by the Consul, was well taken of the Senat, who willed the Consuls to put up this matter to the house: and so they entred in Act and decree, that the said debts should be discharged at three payments: whereof the first should be made presently by the Consuls then in place: the other twain, by the Consuls that were to succeed in the third and fifth years next ensuing.

But there fell but one new object and occurrence, that drowned all other cares besides, and wholly possessed the heads of the Senat, by occasion of the miseries and calamities of the *Locrians*: whereof before that day, they had no knowledge nor intelligence, and now were by the coming of their Embassadors declared and divulged. Neither were the people provoked to choler and anger, so much as the lewd behavior and wicked pranks of *Q. Plautius*, as the slacknes and negligence, or else the partiality and connivency of *Scipio* in dealing between them. These Embassadors of the *Locrians*, ten in number, presented themselves before the Consuls sitting in the open Hall called *Comitium*: clad they were in homely weeds and coarse apparell, looking pale and poor on the matter; and carrying withal in their hands as tokens of humble suppliants, certain branches of the Olive, according to the manner of the *Greeks*, fell down prostrate upon the ground before the Tribunal, with piteous weeping and sorrowful lamentation. The Consuls demanded who they were: and they made answer again, That they were *Locrians*, who had endured at the hands of *Q. Plautius*, the Lieutenant, and the Roman souldiers, such indignities, as the people of *Rome* would not find in their hearts, that the very *Carthaginians* themselves should suffer and sustain: beseeching them to do them this favour, as to give them leave to have access to the Lords of the Senat, there to make their moane and complain of their woful distresses. Being admitted into the Senat, and audience given them, then the ancientest man of the company spake in this wise. "Right honorable (my LL.) I know full well (quoth he) how important it would be, and available to the due estimate and weight of our complaints and grievance, in case ye were informed

The pitiful complaints of the *Locrians* before the Senat of *Rome*.

informed sufficiently and knew the truth, as well in what sort *Locri* was first betrayed unto *Annibal*, as also after what order the garrison of *Annibal* was thence expelled, and the City restored again, under your obedience. For if it may appear that the trespass of our revolt, cannot be imputed any way unto the public counsel and consent of our City; but contrary-wise, that our return under your signory and dominion was not only performed with our good will, but also first wrought and compassed by the means of our helping hand and valour: ye have the greater cause to be discontented and displeased with your Lieutenant and souldiers, for offering us (your good and loyal allies) such abuses, so cruel wrongs and unworthy indignities. As for the cause of our double revoltment and change, I think it good to defer the speaking thereof to another time, and that for two reasons: the one is, that the matter might be heard in the presence of *P. Scipio*, who recovered *Locri*, & was an eye-witness of all that we have done, be it good or bad: the other is this, that howsoever we be, yet we should not have abiden those calamities in such sort as we have supported them. We cannot dissemble (my LL.) nor conceal, how all the while that we had the Carthaginian garrison, within our Cattle, we suffered many foul outrages and shameful villanies, both at *Amilcar* his hands (the Captain of the garrison) as also from the Numidians and Africans: but what are they in comparison of the abuses & indignities that we endure at this day? May it please you (my LL.) to give us the hearing of those things with patience, that I shall utter even against my will with grievance. All the world at this day is in suspense, & standeth in great doubt, whether to see you or the Carthaginians, the Sovereign Lords of the whole earth. But if they were to weigh and counterpoise the Roman and Carthaginian Empire, by those injuries which have been offered to us of *Locri*, either from them or your garrison; and which at this day, more than ever before, we still endure: there is none but would rather make choice of them to be their sovereign LL. than the Romans. And yet consider, I pray you, and see how well affected, the Locrians are towards you: when we were nothing so hardly used nor so ill extreated by the Carthaginians, yet we had recourse unto your Captain General: and now that we are misused of your garrison, and put to more sorrow than if we were professed enemies, yet we have run no whither with our complaints but unto your selves. Either shal you (my LL.) vouchsafe to have compassion of our miserable state, or else we see not what we have left wherein we should pray unto the immortal Gods, for to be good and propice unto us. *Q. Plinius* Lieutenant to the General *Scipio*, was sent with a strong garrison and power of men, to recover *Locri* out of the hands of the Carthaginians; and with the very same garrison was he left there: but this Lieutenant of yours (for, the extremity of miseries and afflictions wherewith we are driven, maketh us bold, and putteth courage in us to speak our minds freely finding nothing at all in him of a man, my Lords, but the bare shape and outward form; nor of a Roman citizen, unless it be the habit of apparel which he weareth, and the sound of the Latin tongue which he speaketh. A very plague he is & no better, a monstrous & ugly beast, like unto that, which sometimes (if old tales and fables be true) haunted the narrow seas between us and *Sicily*, for to destroy all passengers that sailed by. Who, if he could have been content himself alone to have practised & wrought upon us your allies, all mischievous acts & pranks, of wickedness, of filthy lust, and greedy covetousness, we would peradventure in all patience & long sufferance, have filled up that one gulf and pit were it never so deep, & satisfied one gorge never so insatiable. But now so great a delight & pleasure hath he taken, that all lewd & licentious parts, all shameful acts and villanies should be commonly practised & in every place committed, that he hath made all your Centineers very *Pleminius*, yea, and your souldiers as bad as himself. All of them can skill now of robbing, rifling, spoiling, beating, wounding, and killing: they are all good at forcing of dames and ladies of honor, at ravishing and deflowering of young Virgins, at abusing (against kind) of younglings, free born and well defended, whom they pull perforce from between the arms, and out of the very bosomes of their parents. Daily is our City assaulted and taken: daily is it sacked and pillaged, night and day, there is no place free, but ringeth again with the piteous shrieks and lamentable plaints and cries of women and children, harried and carried away in every place. He that were a stranger to these things, and knew nothing, might wonder well enough, how either we can possibly hold out in suffering such outrages, or they which are the doers, not yet be satisfied and full of committing so great wrongs and injuries. For neither will my tongue and utterance serve to deliver, nor needful is it and expedient for you to hear every thing in particular, what we have sustained. But in general I will comprise and knit up altogether. I will abide by it, that there is not one house throughout all *Locri*, I dare avouch there is no person either one or other, exempt from the wrongs that he hath done. I say, & stand to it, that there is no kind of wickedness, no manner of filthy lust & uncleanness, no insatiable avarice besides, that he hath not assailed to practise upon as many as were capable thereof, & fit subjects to work upon. Hardly can a man devise and think, whether of these two mischiefs incident to a City be more detestable, either when the enemies force it by assault in time of war, or when a pestilent & cruel tyrant oppresseth it by force & arms during peace. All calamities we endured before, that Towns won and lost are put unto. And now at this hour, more than ever (my LL.) *Pleminius* hath perpetrated upon us, our children & our wives, all those excessive villanies, that the most inhumane, cruel, & outrageous tyrants can devise to exercise upon those subjects, whom they keep down with oppression, & tread under foot. Yet one thing there is (right honorable) whereof both sense of religion implanted & engrained naturally in our minds, constrains us to make particular complaint by speciality: and

A "and also our desire is, that ye should have the hearing, yea, and to assill and discharge your Con-
 "mon-weal of the scruple of conscience, in case ye think it so meet and requisite. For we have ob-
 "served and seen with our eyes, with what devotion and ceremonial reverence, you not only ho-
 "nor and worship the Gods of your own, but also receive and entertain those of strangers and
 "sojourners. We have in our City a Chappel of *Proserpina*, concerning the holiness of which
 "house, I suppose verily that ye have heard some report and fame, during the war of King *Pyrr-
 "hus*: who in his return out of *Sicily*, passing along the sea side with his fleet by *Locri*, among o-
 "ther shameful villanies and outrages which he committed against our City in despite of us, and
 "for our fidelity shewed toward you, pill'd also and robbed the treasure of this *Proserpina*, which
 "to that day had never been touched by any man whatsoever. And when he had so done, he em-
 "barked the money, & sent it away by water, but journeyed himself by Land. But see what hapned
 B "my *L.* hereupon! His whole navy the morrow after, was all even tossed, split, & torn a pieces in
 "a most hideous gulf and horrible tempest, save only those ships wherein that sacred treasure was
 "bestowed, which were cast upon our coast, & driven ashore. Whereupon this King, as proud &
 "fierce a Prince as he was, being taught by so great harmes and losses, to believe that there were
 "Gods in heaven that ruled all; made diligent search for all the said monies, and caused the same
 "to be brought back again, and laid up in the treasury of *Proserpina*. And yet for all that, never sped
 "he well in any thing that he went about, from that day forward. Hunted he was and chased clean
 "out of *Italy*, and coming by chance one night, & coming unadvisedly by the City of *Argos*, he died
 "an obscure, base, and dishonorable death. And notwithstanding your Lieutenant, your Colonels
 C "and knight Marshals heard of this and a thousand more such instances & examples which were
 "recounted unto them, (not for to amplify and set out with the highest the great religion and
 "holiness of the place; but as we and our ancestors have had right evident proof, and that full
 "oftentimes, to shew the manifest power and puissance of that goddess) yet were they so hardly as
 "to lay their theevish and sacrilegious hands upon those treasures, that were inviolate and not to
 "be touched; and so by that cursed prize and booty have polluted themselves, their houses, and
 "your soldiers, Whose service take heed my *L.* as ye tender your selves and your credit, how
 "ye employe either in *Italy* or in *Africa*, in any of your affairs and wars there; before ye purge and
 "expiate this foul and heinous fact: for fear lest they make amends, and pay for this detestable sur-
 "fence, not only which their own blood, but also with some publick loss & calamity of the whole
 D "State. And even already my *L.* the ire and displeasure of the goddess hath been well seen upon
 "your Captains and soldiers both, & at this present day contineth still. Sundry times they have
 "been rogered by the ears, and scuffled one against another with banners displaced, *Plumins*, the
 "Captain bare up one side, and two Marshals or military Tribuns another. Never fought they
 "more fiercely & sharply with the Carthaginians in the field, than amongst themselves in frays at
 "the word point. And through their furious rage they had given *Annibal* a good opportunity and
 "vantage to regain *Locri* into his own hands; but that *Scipio*, whom we sent for, came in the mean
 "time upon him. But peradventure (some will say) this madness and fury hath not and rommenteth
 "the soldiers only, who are tainted with the foresaid sacrilege, and no power at all of the god-
 "des hath been shewed in punishing the leaders and captains themselves. May I wot, in them it
 E "hath most evidently appeared. The Tribuns have been beaten with rods by the Lieutenant, & the
 "Lieutenant again, being laid for by the said Tribuns, and caught in a snare, hath not only been
 "mangled all his body over, but when they had cut off his nose, and tropt his ears, was left for
 "dead in the place. And afterwards, when the Lieutenant was recovered and cured of his hurts, he
 "first impt, & then the Tribuns; then he scourged them, & after he had martyred them, & put them
 "to all exquisite tortures that might be devised against bondslaves, he put them to death. & when
 "they were dead, would not suffer them to be enterr'd. Thus ye see how the goddess hath puni-
 "shed and taken vengeance of them that have pill'd and robbed her Temple; & never will she give
 "over to torment and harm them with all manner of furies and hellish fiends, before she haired
 "money be again bestowed in the chests & cofers of her treasury. Our nation long ago, in the
 F "of grievous and cruel war between them and the Grecians, because the Temple lieth
 "without the City, were desirous to remove that treasure and money from thence into the City.
 "But in the night there was a voice heard from out of the shrine, that they should hold their
 "hands off; for that the goddess her self knew well enough how to defend her own Temple. And
 "because upon this warning they made it a matter of conscience, & were afraid to stir the treasure
 "from thence, they would needs cast a strong wall about the said Temple; & when it was brought
 "up to a good height from the ground, behold, suddenly at once all the work came tumbling
 "down. But both now, and oftentimes besides, hath this goddess either guarded her seat & chap-
 "pel, or else if it hath been any way violated, she hath been grievously revenged by some fearful
 G "example of them that have seemed to offer violence to the same. Now for the wrongs that we a-
 "bide, she is not able; neither is there any other but yourselves (my Lord) that right us, and revenge
 "our quarrel. You are they whom we sue unto, unto your protection only in all humble manner;
 "we have recourse. And all our it is to us, whether ye insist *Locri* to be under that Lieutenant and
 "that nation, or yeeld it unto *Annibal* in his anger, and to the Carthaginians for to waile their
 "reen upon us & our throats. Neither require we, that you should credit and believe our com-
 "plaint of him that is not now in place, without liberty of his answer, & pleading for himself. Let
 "him come hardily; let him be at the hearing himself, and spare not, let him in Gods name clear
 "and

"and acquit himself, if he can. If when all is done and said, it can be proved, that he hath left un-
 "done any mischief against us, that one man can devise to do unto another, we will be content to
 "abide and endure all those miseries once again (if it were possible) which we have suffered al-
 "ready, yea, & to hold and declare him guiltless of all offences done both to God and man."
 When the Embassadors had laid abroad those matters, and *Q. Fabius* demanded of them, whe-
 "ther they had complained unto *P. Scipio*, and uttered their griefs before him, they made an-
 "swer and said, "That they had sent embassadors unto him, but he was busied in making prepa-
 "ration for the wars, and was either passed already over into *Africa*, or upon his voyage ready to
 "take the Seas within few dayes: and they had seen by good experience, in how great favour the
 "Lieutenant *Pleminius* stood with his general: and namely, they were not ignorant how *Scipio*
 "after he had heard the matter between the Tribuns and him, committed them to prison: but as
 "for the Lieutenant, who was as faulty as the other, if not more, him he left there still in his full
 "authority. Now after that the Embassadors were willed to go forth of the Temple where the
 "Senat sat, the chief LL. of the Senat began with biting words to inveigh bitterly against *Scipio*
 "as well as *Pleminius*. But above all others, *Q. Fabius* girded at him, and said, That he was born
 "even to corrupt and mar all military discipline. Thus (quoth he) in *Spain* also we have lost more
 "by mutinies of our own souldiers, than by the wars with our enemies: for why? after a strange
 "and forrain manner, and according to the guise of Kings, one while he cockered his souldiers
 "and suffered them to have their will and head too much; otherwhiles he would be oversharp
 "and cruel to them. After which rough words, he came upon them both thus with as heavy and
 "sharp a sentence, namely, That *Pleminius* the Lieutenant by his consent should be had away
 "bound in chains to *Rome*, and there chapt up in prison, until his cause were heard, and judicially
 "determined: and in case those challenges were true, that the Locrians have commenced against
 "him, he should be put to death in prison, and his goods be confiscate and forfeited to the cham-
 "ber of the City. As for *P. Scipio*, in that he presumed to depart out of his province without con-
 "mission and direction from the Senat, he should be called home: and the Tribuns of the Com-
 "mons dealt withal, to prefer a bill unto the people for his deprivation, and to put him besides
 "his place of government. As touching the Locrians, his opinion was, That the Senat should
 "give them their dispatch, and return them this answer: First, as touching the wrongs that they
 "complained of, it was not the will and pleasure neither of the Senat nor of the people of *Rome*
 "that they were done: who wished with all their hearts they had been undone: *Item*, that they
 "acknowledged them to be good men, to be their friends and allies, and so would accept of them
 "and call them. As to their children, their wives, and other goods taken from them whatsover,
 "their mind was that they should be restored again: *Item*, that enquiry should be made what
 "sums of money were taken out of the treasury of *Proserpius*, and that two-fold restitution
 "should be made and laid up there in stead of it: *Item*, that there should be a solemn purgatory fi-
 "crifice, celebrated for amends and expiation of that sin: but so, as the college first of the Priests
 "and Bishops should be consulted with, and their advice taken in that behalf, (considering the
 "sacred treasure was dishonoured, laid open and violated) namely, what manner of expiations and
 "cleansings were to be used, to what Gods, and with what beasts they should sacrifice: Finally,
 "that all the souldiers, which were at *Locri* should be transported over into *Spain*: and in their
 "room four cohorts of allies from out of the Latin Nation should be brought to live in garrison
 "there. But every Senator could not be asked his opinion and sentence that day, by reason of
 "their difference and disagreement of minds so hotly intenced, some in favour, other in disavow of
 "*Scipio*. For besides the lewd part of *Pleminius*, and the calamity & oppression of the Locrians, they
 "began to speak against the apparel of the General himself: "How he went not like a souldier and
 "a warrior, no, nor so much as like a Roman: walking up and down, and squaring it out in the
 "schools and open places of exercise with his mantle and cloke, and in his slippers and pantofles,
 "after the Greek fashion? And that he was overbookish, and set his mind too much upon read-
 "ing, and took delight to be in the feasting school and wrestling-place, and all his men and sould-
 "iers about him, as idly and wantonly given as he, took joy in the pleasures & delightful feast of *Syracusa*.
 "As for *Carthage* and *Annibal*, they were quite forgotten, and his whole army through loo-
 "sness and liberty was spoiled and clean lost, like to that of late at *Serra* in *Spain*, and all one with
 "them at this time in *Locri*, more to be feared of their friends than their enemies. And albeit
 "those matters thus reported, were either true, or mingled with some truths, and therefore founded
 "all very probable: yet the opinion of *Q. Metellus* prevailed: who in all other things gave his assent
 "unto *Maximus*, only as touching *Scipio*, he varied from him. "For I can not see any reason (quoth
 "he) how this can stand, that whosoever was the whole City chose at those young years of his,
 "to be the only Captain for to recover *Spain*: of whom they made special choice to be their
 "Consul, after that he had gotten *Spain* from the enemies, to end at once the Punick War: and
 "in whom they reposed great hope, that he was the man to draw *Annibal* out of *Italy*, and to
 "subdue all *Africa*: he now should all of a sudden be called for home out of his Province,
 "as a person almost condemned, without pleading and hearing of his cause, as if he were ano-
 "ther *Pleminius* considering that even those lewd and cruel parts which the Locrians complained
 "of, were by their own words and confession not committed, while he was present in place: nei-
 "ther could he be charged and accused directly for ought else but only for his sufferance and con-
 "nivency, in that upon a tender and respective indulgence of his Lieutenant, he was too remiss,
 "and

A "and forbore to punish him with rigor. His advice therefore and opinion was, that *M. Pomponius* as the Pretor, unto whose lot the government of *Sicily* was fallen, should within three dayes next and immediately ensuing, take his journey into his province and that the Consuls, should elect 2. Commissioners or Delegates out of the Senate, such as they thought good of, and send them with the Pretor likewise two Tribuns of the Commons, and one *Edile*: that the Pretor with the assistance of these personages, should sit upon a commission to enquire and know the truth: and in case they could find that those things wherewith the Locrians found themselves so much grieved, were done either by commandment and direction from *Scipio*, or with his will and consent, then to charge him to depart out of the province. But in case that *P. Scipio* were already passed over into *Affrick*: then the foresaid Tribuns of the Commons, and the *Edile*, joyning unto them two of the Delegates abovesaid, (such as the Pretor deemed most meet) should sail into *Affrick*: and the Tribuns and *Edile* bring with them *Scipio* from thence: and the two Commissioners have the charge and government of the warre, until such time as a new *L. General* succeeded and came in place. But if *M. Pomponius* and the ten Delegates abovesaid, found that neither by the direction, nor with the will of *P. Scipio* these enormities were committed, then *P. Scipio* should remain still with the army, and go forward with the war as he intended. When this decree of the Senat was once passed, and an act made thereof, they were in hand with the Tribuns either to agree between themselves, or else to cast lots, which two of them should go with the Pretor and the Delegates. And then the college of the Bishops were consulted with about the expiation and making satisfaction for those things which in the Temple of *Proserpina* at *Locri* were either handled, polluted, or carried forth from thence. The Tribuns of the commons, that went the journey with the Pretor and the Commissioners, were *M. Claudius Marcellus*, & *M. Cincius Alimentus*: who also had an *Edile* of the Commons to assist them, whom they might command, if *Scipio* would not obey the Pretor, whether he were in *Sicily*, or gone over into *Affrick*, to apprehend and attach his body: and by vertue of their sacrosanct and inviolable authority to bring him home with them. And first they resolved to go to *Locri* before they went to *Messana*. But concerning *Pleminius*, the report goeth two wayes. Some say, that when he was advertised what was intended and devised against him at *Rome*, he purposed to go to *Naples* into banishment, and chanced by the way to light upon one of the Delegates abovesaid, and so by him was perforce brought back to *Rhegium*. Others affirm, that *Scipio* himself sent out one of his Lieutenants, accompanied with 30. of the most noble Knights or Gentlemen that he had about him, with a warrant to commit *Q. Flenibius*, and with him the principal Authors of the sedition, and to lay them fast in prison. But certainly is the other way, was it by the commandment of *Scipio*, before, or then by warrant from the Pretor, were put toward and safe-custody with the Rhegians. The Pretor and the Delegates being come to *Locri*, first and foremost, according to their commission, had a principall care of Religion: For all the holy money which they found by diligent search in the custody either of *Rhegians*, or of the souldiers together with that which they themselves had brought with them from *Rome*, they bestowed againe in the privy vesties where the treasure was kept: and besides, they made a solemn purgation sacrifice for the sacrifice. After this, the Pretor assembled the souldiers together, and commanded them to carry their Banners out of the City: where himself encamped upon the plain and proclaimed that no souldier, as he would answer at his oath of peril, should either tary behind, or bring forth any thing with him but his own. Then he gave the Locrians leave, that every man should lay hold upon that which he knew to be his own, and if ought were not forth-coming and to be seen, to challenge and put in his claim for it. And above all things, his pleasure was, that all bodies of free persons whatsoever, should without delay be restored unto them; and if any made default of restitution he should abide the law, and be grievously punished. Then he assembled the Locrians to an audience, and pronounced before them all, that the people and Senat of *Rome* granted unto them their ancient liberty, and their own laws: giving notice unto them, that whosoever had any thing to say against *Pleminius*, or any other person by way of accusation, he should follow him to *Rhegium*, and there give attendance. Also if they were desirous to make a publick and open complaint of *Scipio*, namely, that the facts committed at *Locri* most impiously and wickedly, against both God & man, were passed either under his warrant, or with his helpe and liking, and they should send Embassadors to *Messana*, where he together with his Council and assistants would give them audience of all Delegates or Commissioners sent also to the Senat and people of *Rome*: and said, They would go to accuse *Pleminius*. As for *Scipio*, although he set forth (to hear of injuries and wrongs done unto their City, yet he was a man whose friendship they desired rather to embrace, than to enquire in his enmity. And thus they knew advisedly, that the many lewd deeds, and so horrible cruelties there plaid, were neither by the direction nor yet with the consent and toleration of *Scipio*: but his only fault was, that either he trusted *Pleminius* overmuch, or trusted them too much. And some men (say they) be of this nature, that they will have a curious regard for to punish and correct faults when they are once done, and afterwards behead the Pretors & also the Commissioners with him, though they themselves well eased of all such burden and charge of making farther inquisition and sitting upon the case of *Scipio*, and *Pleminius* and two and thirty persons more with him, they condemned and sent bound in chains to *Rome*. They themselves went

also in person to *Scipio*, to be eye-witnesses and to make report at *Rome* of their own knowledge, as touching the manner of apparel, the idle life of the General, and the loose, dissolute, and corrupt military discipline of his soldiers; so rise and common in many men's mouths. Against their coming to *Syracuse*, *Scipio* was provided of deeds to approve his innocency, and not of words to excuse his folly. He gave order for all his forces there to meet, and for his armado to be in readiness: as if he were that day to give battle both by Land and Sea to the Carthaginians. The very same day that they arrived thither, they were friendly received and courteously entertained by *Scipio*. The morrow after he showed them all his fortes, as well for Land as Sea service, not only furnishing well appointed, and in readiness but the one sort, namely the land soldiers, running and charging one another at turney; and the Sea servants likewise within the haven, representing a naval combat with their ships. Then he led the *Pretor* and the other commissioners all about, to see the arsenal and armory, the store-houses the garners of corn, and all other provision and furniture for the war. At the view and sight whereof, they were stricken with such exceeding admiration, both of every thing in particular, and of all in general, that they were fully periwaded, that either by the conduct of that Captain and valour of that army, the Carthaginians might be overcome and conquered, or by none other in the world: yea, and they willed him in the name of God, without more ado to pass over into *Affrick*, and with all speed possible to make the people of *Rome* to enjoy the effect of that hope which they conceived that very day, on which all the Centuries nominated and declared him with one voice the former Consul of the twain: and with joyous hearts they took their leave and departed from thence, as if they were to bring tidings to *Rome* of a glorious victory: and not to make relation and report of a magnificent and stately preparation for war. *Plæminius* and all they that were likewise attaint and guilty, after they came to *Rome*, were immediately clapt up and laid fast in prison. At the first time when they were brought out before the people by the Tribune, they could find no grace, nor favour nor mercy amongst them: their minds were so fortified and possessed aforehand, with the consideration of the woful miseries and calamities of the poor *Locrians*. But afterwards, being produced oftner unto them, as the hatred conceived against him, began to wear and decay, so much anger grew to assuage and soften: besides the pitious plight and deformed brow of *Plæminius* there present, and the remembrance withal, of *Scipio* now absent, gave him some favour with the people. Yet he died in prison, before his cause was judicially tried, and definitive sentence of him passed. *Cleodius Livianus* reporteth in this third book of the Roman Historie, that this *Plæminius* in the time of the games which *Africanus* second time Consul, exhibited at *Rome*, according to a vow by him made, went about (by the help of some whom he had corrupted and waged for money) to set the City on fire in diverse places, thereby to have opportunity to break prison and make an escape: but when his wicked purpose was once disclosed and brought to light, he was condemned and awarded by voice of Senate to the dungeon. *Tullianum*. But as for *Scipio*, there were no words made of him, neither come he in question any where else but in the Senate: where all with one accord, both commissioners and Tribune, by extolling and magnifying with glorious words, the navy, the army and the Captain, brought it to about, that the Senate thought good and were agreed, that with all convenient speed *Scipio* should over sea, and have liberty granted out of those armies which were in *Sicily*, to make choice of those whom he would himself transport over with him into *Affrick*, and whom he would leave behind for the guard and defence of the Province.

Whiles these things passed thus amongst the Romans: the Carthaginians also having spent all the winter time in much suspicion and continual fear, hearing to all news, and enquiring heartily of every messengers, and keeping watch upon all their promontories and high hills by the Sea side, besetted themselves likewise, and procured the society and alliance of *K. Syphax*, a matter of no small importance for the safeguard and defence of *Affrick*, in hope and confidence of whole safety and firmness especially they were periwaded, that *Scipio* intended to sail over into *Affrick*. Now there had been a treaty betwixt *Asdrubal* the son of *Giftas* and the King, not only familiar acquaintance by way of kind welcoming and reciprocal hospitality, since the King (as hath been said before) that *Scipio* and *Asdrubal* forswore to meet at one time together in the King's house: when they came on of *Scipio* but also some treaty was already begun of alliance and affinity, and a motion made, that the King should espouse and wed the daughter of *Asdrubal*. For the assurance of this matter and the appointment of a certain day for the solemnizing of the marriage (for now the Daughter was ready for an husband and marriageable) *Asdrubal* took a journey, and seeing the King turning in love (as these Numidianes of all other Barbarous nations are most given that way and exceeding conscious) he sent for the maiden from *Carthage*, and hastened the wedding. And among other congratulations that passed between to the end, that besides the private affinity there should be also a public league; there was an alliance concluded between the people of *Gaul* by hand the King, by giving and taking their faithful promise interchangeably, and obliging themselves by solemn oaths one to the other to observe it as well offensive as defensive, and so have the same enemies, all the same friends for ever. But *Asdrubal* remembering both the friendship he had betwixt *Scipio* and the King, and also how fickle and variable the natures of the Barbarians are, and how *Scipio* should pass over into *Affrick* that this bond of wedlock would not be strong enough to hold the King in check the time whiles this Numidian Prince was engaged with his daughter, induced him what with desires, and what with the fair words and allurement of his young (nephew, as he called him) brother *Imas* *Sicyrius*, for to advise him not to pass

A pass over into *Africk*, nor to rely upon any confidence of him, nor yet to build upon his former promises. For himself was not only linked in matrimony with a Citizen of *Carthage*, the daughter of that *Asdrubal* whom he saw entertained as a guest in his court, but also joyned in a publick league with the people of *Carthage*. And first he exhorted him that the Romans would war with the *Carthaginians* far from *Africk*, as hitherto they had done; for fear lest he should of necessity be forced to have an hand, and intermeddle in their quarrels; and so while he desired to avoid the danger and hostility of one party or other, be driven at length to side all one way: giving him more plainly to understand, that if *Scipio* would not forbear *Africk*, but needs come with an army against *Carthage*, then must he necessarily fight in defence of the land of *Africk*, wherein himself was born, and for the native country, for the father and house of his own wife. With this commission and direction were certain Orators sent unto *Scipio*, who met with him at *Syracuse*, and there delivered their message. *Scipio*, albeit he was disappointed greatly of his ground-work that he had laid for his wars in *Africk*, and put besides his good hopes; gave the Embassadors letters into *Africk* unto the King, and sent them back again in all hast, before the thing were published and come abroad. In which letters he requested him especially to be advised and bethink himself that he brake not the rights either of friendship or hospitality begun with him, or of the league and society entered with the people of *Rome*: nor violated justice and faithfull promise made by giving right hands; nor yet beguile and abuse the gods, the witnesses and judges of all covenants and agreements made. But forasmuch as the coming of those *Numidians* could not be concealed (for they were all about the City, and were daily conversant in the Generall his lodging: and if it should have been kept secret whereabout they came, it was to be doubted lest the truth the more it was smothered and dissembled, the more it would break forth and come to light: and so the army was to stand in fear, that they were to war at once both with the king and *Carthaginians*. *Scipio* therefore buzzed aforehand into mens heads, false devised matters, and so withdrew them from the understanding of the truth indeed. He assembled all his souldiers together, and said unto them: that now it was no longer staying and trifling our the time: bearing them in hand, that the King, his allies and confederats, importuned him to set over into *Africk* with all convenient speed; that *Masaniissa* beforetime himself in person came to *Lilium*, grieving and complaining that the time ran thus on in debate and doing nothing: & *Sylla* now sent his Embassadors, making much and wondering what the cause should be of so long temporising: and requiring that either the army without more ado, should be sent over at once: or else if their minds and purposes were changed, to certify him so much, that he likewise might provide for himself and his kingdome. And therefore he did them to wit and understand, that he intended (now that he was sufficiently provided and furnished of all things) and considering that the impete might abide no farther stay,) to conduct his armie to *Lilybæum*, to wait the first good day of wind and weather, to take the less for a bon-voiage, and with Gods grace and favour, to set sail for *Africk*. His letters he dispatched to *Marcus Pæpurnius* to this effect, that if he thought so good, he should repair to *Lilybæum*, to the end they might command and consult together, what legions especially, and what number of souldiers he should transport over with him into *Africk*. In like manner, he sent a labourer to the maritime and les coasts, to stey all the carrieks and ships of burden, and to bring them away at once to *Lilybæum*. Now when all the ships and servicable men in *Sicily* were assembled to *Lilybæum*, so another the City was able to receive the multitude of souldiers, nor the haven contain the number of the vessels, so earnestly minded they were all, and so hotly set upon their voiage into *Africk*, that they seemed as if they were conducted not to fight a war, but to enjoy the assured rewards of a victory. But especially above all others, the souldiers remaining of the *Cannian* army, were vially perswaded, that under this captain, or else none, by valiantly quitting themselves in the service of the Common-weal, they should be able to end and finish their ignominious and shameful souldiery. And *Scipio* himself made no bare account of those kind of souldiers, as being full well that the defeat received at *Cannæ*, was not occasioned by their cowardise: neither were there throughout the *Roman* army any souldiers so ancient and of so long continuance, or so well experienced not only in many and sundry foughten fields, but also in the assaulting of towns and Cities. And these Legions of *Cannæ* were the first and best in order. Now when he had once resolved and given out, that he would transport them over with him into *Africk*, then he took a particular view of them, man by man. And having called out those, and left them behind, whom he supposed unmeet and insufficient, he substituted in their place those whom he had brought with him out of *Italy*: and so fully he supplied and made up his number of those Legions, that either of them had six thousand and two hundred foot, and three hundred men of armes. He chose also out of the same army of *Cannæ*, both horsemen and footmen, of the allies and confederats of the *Latine* nation. What power of souldiers in the whole were set over into *Africk*, writers differ not a little in the number. In some authors I find, that they were ten thousand foot, and two thousand and two hundred horse: in others, fifteen thousand footmen, and fifteen hundred horsemen. In some records again, they were more by one half and more, namely, nine of horse and four were were embarked five and thirty thousand. And others think that have set down the number at all, amongst whom, is in a matter so doubtful and uncertain, I would myself be content for one. But *Cælius* for his party, as he forbeareth to put down any number, so he is content to imply an infinite multitude of them, in that he saith that with a wing and that the souldiers set up, the very souls of the air fall down to the ground:

and he that had seen the multitude of them when they went a shipboard, would have said there had not been a man left behind either in *Italy* or in *Sicily*. Well how many or how few fewer they were, *Scipio* himself took the charge to see the souldiers embarked in good order, and without any tumult. As for the sailers and mariners, who were forced before to shipboard, *C. Laelius* the Admirall of the navy, kept them still and quiet within their ships. *M. Pomponius* the Pretor had commision for to furnish the armado with corn and victuals: who made provision of food and sustenance for 45 daies: of which there was of baked meats and other viands already dressed, as much as would suffice for 15 daies. Now when they were all embarked, he sent about to all the ships, certain pinnaces or cock-boats, and commanded all the pilots and masters of every ship, with two souldiers apeece, to come into market place, there to receive their charge. When they were all met and assembled together, first he enquired of them whether they had provided and taken into their vessels fresh water sufficient both for man and beast, to hold out so many daies as their corn would serve? and when answer was made that they had water in their ships to last five and forty daies: then he charged and commanded the souldiers to keep silence, and be quiet during their navigation, and without any strife and contention to be obedient unto the mariners, and willing to help in any ministry and service whatsoever, saying, that himself and *L. Scipio* would keep on the right wing with twenty strong ships with brazen beak heads, and *C. Laelius* the Admirall with *M. Porcius* the Treasurer on the left, with as many of the same sort, to waite over and guard the hulks and ships of burden: willing and requiring that there should be light in all their vessels, namely, that every brazen headed ship should have one; each Carriack swain; and the Admirall ship, wherein the Generall was, three lights, for a speciall mark, to be discerned from the rest in the night. And so he commanded the Pilots to steer and direct their course for *Emporia*. [The territory hereabout is most fertile and fruitful, whereby the whole country aboundeth in plenty of all things: the barbarous peasants (as commonly it falleth out in bawell, and plentiful lands) are cowards, and unapt for war, and it was thought they might be surprised and subdued before any succour could come from *Carthage*.] When these directions were given, they were commanded to retire to their ships, and the next morrow at the signall, with the help of the gods to weigh anchor, hoise up sails and away. Many Roman Armadoes had aforetime set out of *Sicily*, and the very same port: but never any voiage all the time of that war, not during the former, made to goodly shew, and was so much looked on. And no marvel, for most of their other fleets were sent out only to rob and to fetch in booties and prizes. And yet if a man would esteem as by the number and greatnesse of ships, there had been aforetime two Consuls together, who went over with a power of two complete armies: & in every of those fleets, there were wellnigh as many war ships with brazen beak heads, as hulks & carricks in those that *Scipio* transported over. For besides fifty long ships of war, he had not all out four hundred ships of burden, and passage to transport over his army with. But if we would compare both wars together, the second seemed unto the Romans more sharp and cruel then the former: both because it was fought within *Italy*, and also by reason of so great overthrowes of so many armies together with the losse and death of their Generall captains. Moreover great expectation there was of *Scipio* the Commander and Generall of this voiage, a man much renowned and tallent of, both in regard of his own noble acts of cavalry, and also of a speciall and singular fortune that followed him in all his exploits: where by he grew every day more glorious then other, which caused all mens hearts to be set upon him, beside his very resolution and mind that he carried, to pass in *Africa*, which all the while of that war entred not into the head of any Capitaine before him, in that he gave it out abroad. That he meant to go over, with intent to draw and fetch *Annibal* out of *Italy*, and to direct and translate the war into *Africa*, and there to finish and make an end of it. There came running unto the haven to see the setting out of his Armado, the whole multitude, not only of the inhabitants of *Lilybaeum*, but also the train of all the Embassages out of *Sicily*, which were sent together for to accompany *Scipio*, and to do him honour, and also attended upon the Pretor of the province *M. Pomponius*. Over and besides, those legions also which were left behind in *Sicily*, went forward to bear their fellow souldiers company. So that not only the navy was a goodly prospect unto the beholders upon the land, but also the strand so overspread all about with numbers of people, made a brave and pleasant shew unto the passengers, that were in the ships. When day light once appeared, *Scipio* from out of the Admirall (after silence commanded by voice of the crier) praied in this wise: "O ye gods and goddesses all, that haue and inhabit seas and lands both, I beseech and pray you to vouchsafe, that all that ever hath been done lately, is now intended, or shall hereafter be enterprised, during my conduct and government, may speed well, and turn to the good of my self, the people and commonalty of *Rome*, our allies, and especially those of the *Lanine* nation: who by land, by sea, by rivers follow the direction, command, government, and fortune of my self, and of the people of *Rome*, and that in all our actions ye would be good, gracious, favourable, and helpful unto us, and advance all our proceedings: that ye would grant us the victory over our enemies: and after we have subdued them, to continue safe and sound, and adorned with their goodly spoils laden with their rich pillage, to return home all together with glorious triumph: & give us the hand and opportunity to be revenged of our foes and mortall enemies: and designe me and the people of *Rome* that power and strength, to execute upon the City of the *Carthaginians* those fearful examples of cruelty, which the people of *Carthage* intended to practise and bring upon our City and

The praier
of *Scipio*.

A and state. After these prayers thus pronounced, he took the raw newards and pursuance of the best killed for sacrifice (as the manner is) and flung them into the sea: and with that by sound of trumpet, gave the signall of departure.

Now were they under sail: having a good great gale of a forewind, they soon lost the sight of land. In the afternoon, there began to fall a thick mist: by reason whereof the ships could hardly avoid running one upon another. But when they were once in the main and deeper sea, the wind became more mild: and all the night following, the same dark mist continued still. After the sun was once up it broke and dispersed, and then the wind again grew big and high, by which time they might discover land. And not long after, the pilot shew'd unto Scipio, that they were not full too leagues from *Africk*: and that he saw well and discerned the cape or point of *Mercurius*.

B and if his will and pleasure were thither to direct their course, presently the whole Armado should bein thereto. Scipio so soon as he was within view of land, first he had made his prayers unto the gods; to blesse this first discovery of *Africk* to his own good, and the benefit of the common-weal: gave commandment to sail full, and to put with the shore and side at anchor in some bay beneath. So they made way with the same wind. But about that very time as the day before, they were rais'd again, and lost the sight of land. And as the fog increased, the wind fell: the night also that came upon them besides, made all things more doubtful. Whereupon they cast anchor for fear that the ships should hit one against another, on unground. When day light aroſe, the same wind was up again, but the foggy mist scattered: so that then they might see plainly all the coast of *Africk*.

C Scipio then demand'd what promontory it was that he saw next; and hearing that the name of it was *The head Palchrum*, [or *The fair Cape*] the name (quoth he) pleaseth me, and the promise thereof I like full well: even thither put the ships a land, and to the Armado enter'd the bay, and all the host was set ashore. Thus have I reported that they had a prosperous voyage without any fearfull danger, or much trouble: giving credit herein to very many writers, as well Greeks as Latines. Only *Catius* (setting aside that the ships were not cast a way and drowned amid the surging waves) writeth how other dangers both of water and weather encountered them in so much as at the last the Armado was driven by tempest from the coasts of *Africk*, and fell upon the Island

* *Agimurn*, from whence they had much ado to recover their direct course again; and finally when the ships were at hand to sink under the water, then the soldiers fying like men at point to suffer shipwreck, without licence and commandment of their Generall and without their armour, in great fear made shift with boats to recover the shore.

The Romans thus being landed, pitched their tents among the hills next adjoining. By which time the terror and fearfull fright of this their arrivall was not enter'd only into the Maritime coasts and territories bounding upon the sea, first upon the discovery of the fleet, and afterwards by reason of the rumor and tumult of the army, as it came ashore; but also spread forward as far as to the good towns and very Cities. For not only the high waies were all filled and overspread with multitudes of men, women and children, who went by heaps together one with another; but also the country peasants drove before them whole herds of cattell as: man would have said that had seen it; how all *Africk* was like to be abandoned at once on a suddain: in such sort, as they put the Cities indeed in greater fear & perplexity then they were themselves, and especially *Carthage* above

E all others: where there was no lesse trouble and hurlyburly, then if it had been surpris'd and forced by the enemy. For since that time that *M. Attilius Regulus*, and *L. Manlius* were Capt. for the space almost of fifty yeers, they had not once so much as seen an army of Romans, but only certain fleets of rovers and men of war, who had landed at times, and made some rodes into the lands lying upon the sea side: and when they had harried some prizes, such as came next hand, they ever were retired again to the ships, before the alarme could be given to raise the country. The greater therefore now was both the sight and fright within the City. And to speak a truth, good cause they had: by reason that there was neither at home in readinesse an army of puissance to encounter the enemy, nor a Captain of valour to conduct and lead an army. *Asdrubal* was the son of *Gisgo*, for nobility and high parentage, for honour and renown, for wealth and riches, and besides for the new affinity then contracted with King, was of all others the personage by many degrees, yet, and the only man of the whole State. And him they remembered very well to have been foiled, discomfited and beaten out of the field in *Spain*, by the self-same Scipio in divers and sundry battels. Also they made account, they were no more able to match the Captains man for man, than to compare and set their tumultuary power raied in hast, with the staid and experienced army of the Romans. Therefore they gave the alarm presently, as if Scipio were ready to attack *Carthage* out of hand: the gates with all speed were shut and made sure: the walls man-

F ned with soldiers: the *corps de guard* set a watch and ward kept: and all the night following the Sentinels duly relieved and maintained. The next day, 400 light horse were sent out as espials and vanguard to discover and scour the quarters to the sea side; and withall to impeach them that were a disembarking and coming land: who chanced to light on the Romans *corps de guard*. For Scipio had sent a way the fleet already to *Spain*, and before he was gone up into the land far from the sea, had encamped upon the desert hills thereby, placed guards of horsemen in convenient places, and put out certain foragers into the fields and villages for to raise booties. These having entered skirmish with the Carthaginian cornet and horsemen, slew a few of them in the very conflict, but most of them as they fled and were followed in chase, amongst whom was *Hanno* also the provost-marshal, a noble young gentleman, Scipio not only wasted the country all about, but

also wars City of the Africans that stood neereſt, and was of ſufficient wealth: where beſides
other pillage which was plentifully imbarked in the ſhips of burden and ſent into *Sicily*, there were
taken priſoners eight thouſand polles of free and bond one with another. But the greateſt
joy and contentment that the Romans took in this new entrance and beginning of their warlike
affairs, was for the coming of *Maſaniſſa*; whom ſome report to have preſented himſelf with 200
horſe and 60 more: but the moſt do write that he came with 2000. But for as much as this *Ma-
ſaniſſa* was of all other Kings for his time the greateſt Prince and moſt puiſſant, and withall he
that ſtood for the Romans in beſt ſtand and helped their ſtate, none like unto him: me thinks it were
worth their labour, and would quit for all the paines, to digreſſe a litle out of the way, for to ſhew
and declare in what variety of alternative fortune he was toſſed, both in the loſſe and alſo in the
recovery of the inheritance of his fathers Kingdom.

This *Maſaniſſa*, while he was employed during the wars of *Spain*, in the defence and quar-
rell of the Carthaginians; his father, whole name was *Gala*, hapned to die: and then the king-
dome fell by deſcent, according to the cuſtome and manner of the Numidians unto *Deſaleer*, the
late Kings brother, a man of great years and very aged. And not long after, when *Deſaleer* alſo
was departed his life, *Capuſa* the elder of his two ſons, (for the other was a very child) ſucceeded
in his fathers Kingdom. But for as much as he the ſoreſaid *Capuſa* maintained his royall ſtate
and throne, more by reaſon of the authority and reputation that he carried among his friends and
ſervants, than by power and ſtrength: there ſtole up in arms one named *Mexonius* (who alſo
was deſcended of royall blood, but of an houſe that was ever of the adverſe and contrarie ſide)
and contended in much variety of fortune about the crown, with thoſe who then ſwayed the
ſcepter. This *Mexonius* having gathered a power of his tenants, followers, and peſants of the
countrie (with whom he carried a great ſtroke and was highly eſteemed, by reaſon of the hatred
that they bare unto the Kings race) encamped openly and ſhewed himſelf in action, yea, and for-
ced the King to come into the field, and to trie the title of the crown in a ſet battell by dint of
ſword. In which battell, *Capuſa*, together with many of his peers and nobles were ſlain, and
the whole nation and ſeignory of the Maſiliens, was reduced under the rule and obedience of
Mexonius. Howbeit he forbore to be called King; and contenting himſelf with the mean name of
Tutor or Protector, gave the Kings ſtile to the child *Lacumax*, who only remained alive of the
Kings line and line. He took to wife a noble dame and lady of *Carthage*, *Annibal* his neceſſe by
his ſiſter, who had been lately wedded unto King *Deſaleer*; hoping thereby to enter into league
and alliance with the Carthaginians: and beſides, for to renew the ancient familiarity and amity
with *Syphax*, he ſent Embaſſadors unto him of purpoſe. Thus made he himſelf ſtrong aforehand
againſt *Maſaniſſa*.

Maſaniſſa like wife for his part, being advertiſed of his uncles death, and alſo how his conſin
german was deſcended, croſſed the ſeas out of *Spain* over to *Mauritania*, at what time as *Boo-
cher* was King of the Moors. At whoſe hands by humble ſute and importunate prayers in moſt lowly
manner, he obtained a power of 4000 Moors to accompany him in the journey, for otherwiſe
to employ them in war he might not. And after he had diſpatched a meſſenger afore-hand to thoſe
that were his fathers friends and well-willers to himſelf, by that time that he was come with them
to the confines of his realm, there met him almoſt 500 Numidians. Having therefore ſent back again
the Moors from thence unto the King, according to covenant, albeit there was aſſembled toge-
ther a ſmaller number of people then he hoped and looked for, and not ſo ſufficient that he durſt
adventure upon ſo great an enterpriſe; and ſuppoſing withall, that by entring into ſome action,
and by travell and endeavour, he ſhould gather ſtrength ſtill to perform ſome great exploit, he
encountred at *Thapſus* the yong King *Lacumax*, as he journeyed unto *Syphax*. And when the Kings
company in great fear fled into the town, *Maſaniſſa* both at the firſt aſſault won the ſaid town, and
alſo of the Kings train received ſome that yielded themſelves, and ſlew other ſome that made reſi-
ſtance in their own defence. But the greateſt part with the child himſelf the yong Prince, got
away in that tumult and eſcaped unto *Syphax*, unto whom at firſt they intended their journey.
The ſame of this ſmall thing, ſo happily atchieved in the firſt beginning and entrance of his affairs, N
cauſed all the Numidians to revolt and ſide with *Maſaniſſa*. So as there ſtooked unto him from
all parts of the countrie, and out of the villages, the old ſouldiers of King *Gala*, and incited the yong
Prince and ſet him on to recover his fathers Kingdom. Now in number of ſouldiers, *Mexonius*
was a good deal ſuperior: for both himſelf and the ſame army ſtill entire, with which he had van-
quiſhed *Capuſa*, beſides had ſome others that after the ſlaughter of the King, he had received up-
on their yeelding: and alſo yong *Lacumax* the infant, had brought great aids from *Syphax*: ſo
that *Mexonius* was fifteen thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe ſtrong. With whom *Maſaniſſa*,
albeit he were nothing ſo puiſſant either in foot or horſe, fought a battell; yet atchieved he the
victory through the approved valour of the old ſouldiers, and his own politick wiſedome, be-
ing a captain well-experienced and exerciſed both in the Roman and Punic wars. The yong
Prince together with his tutor and protector, and ſome ſmall number of Maſiliens, fled and
eſcaped into the territories of the Carthaginians. Thus *Maſaniſſa* having recovered his fathers
Kingdome, and foreſeeing that there remained ſtill behind a far greater bickerment and encounter
with *Syphax*, &c taking it to be the beſt courſe and policy for him, to be reconciled and made friends
with his conſin german, addreſſed certain meſſengers both unto the child, for to put him
in good hope and aſſurance, that if he would ſubmit and yeeld himſelf under the protection
of

of *Asdrubal*, he should live in a honorable place and degree with him, as *Desales* himself had done with his father *Carthage*; and also to *Asdrubal* to give their word and promise unto him, not only for impunity of his past offences, but also for full satisfaction of all things that were his. By which means he persuaded both of them to take part with him, who made choice of a mean estate as home in their own country, rather than to live in exile, notwithstanding the Carthaginians laboured all they could to the contrary.

Asdrubal happened at that time when *Carthage* occurred to his mind, to make his abode with *Syphax*, attending the hand of *King Syphax* to be his ally, and fully persuaded. Thus it came to pass, as is imported by the words, whether *Asdrubal* or *Asdrubal* were King of the Massilians, replied unto him and said, that he was easily deceived if he thought that *Massilia* would keep himself within those terms; that either his father *Gale* or his uncle *Desales* had them concerned with: No, no, (quoth he) there is much more to be done in this and the greater signs of many mind and forward wit and spirit appear in him than ever showed in any of his house and line before him. Full often hath he in private made good proof of rare valor and singular prowess, as well unto his friends as his enemies. And let him *Syphax* and the Carthaginians look as well upon them as they can, for unless they put out this spark of fire, he will, and even at the first beginning, will be their chance to be caught there with; when it shall burn forth, and able that shall not be to help the matter and quench the rage thereof. Many, as yet his strength is small, and slender, his forces frail, tender, and feeble, and not well united together to maintain his State, unless as he is in his Kingdom. Thus he importuned him fully by reason and persuasion, until at length he reduced him to lead forth an army into the confines of the Massilians and there in that territory, about the time whereof he had often times not only contended by plea and words with *Gale*, but also by arms and dint of sword, to encamp himself as in his right and undoubted inheritance: with this condition, that if any came against him to war him off the ground, then so to try his interest by sword, which was the only way to be taken and met for the purpose; that in case too fear of him they quit the possession quietly, then to advance for war into the heart of the Kingdom: for either the Massilians would without battell render themselves under subjection, or else in a pitched field put be able to stand up against him. Upon these suggestions *Syphax* was incited and pricked on, inasmuch as he made war upon *Massilia*, and in the first battell discomfited and put to flight the Massilians and *Massilia* with some few horsemen fled out of the field and escaped unto a mountain, which the Indians call *Barba*. Certain whole families and households with their sheeps and tents, together with their cattle (which is all their riches) went after and followed the King. But all the multitude of the Massilians besides, did remain with *Syphax* and came under his obedience. This mountain whereof we have said, that they fled their country were possessed of, was plentiful of grass well watered, and being in good posture to feed their cattle, it yielded in few minutes their food abundance, for the people that used to live upon flesh and milk. From hence they began at first to feed out by night and make roads; but after wards in open day light to rob and spoil all the country about, but above all others to fire and burn the territory of the Carthaginians, both because there were more prizes to be had from them, than from the Numidians; & also for that it was more safe robbing and burning there without danger. This they practised so long so licentiously, and in such scornful manner, that now they would carrie their booties to the sea side, and make markets & sale thereof to the merchants, and for this purpose divers ships arrived thither to traffick, and other while there were many of the Carthaginians cut off and came short home, and more of them were either slain or taken prisoner, than oftentimes in their war and battles. The Carthaginians bewailed and complained of this manner unto *Syphax*, and spurred him forward, disposed well enough as he was of himself to revenge, for to punish the reliques of the war, in his own person. But forasmuch as it was thought to stand with the royal Majesty of a King, to chase and hunt a rabble of vagrants about the mountains, therefore *Barba*, one of the King's Captains, a right hardy and valiant man, was chosen to do the feat, and to perform that service. Who had the command of four thousand foot, and two thousand horse, and was promised besides, great gifts and mighty rewards, in case he brought away the head of *Massilia*: but if he could take him prisoner alive, that were also indeed, and a peerless piece of work, of inestimable joy beyond all measure. He waiting his time when the enemies were stragling fetchledeely abroad, came upon them at once, and charged them, and having singled from the band of the armed soldiers, a huge number, both of people and cattle, he forced *Massilia* himself with some few horsemen to take the top of the mountain. From whence after he had sent away unto the King, as if the war had now been at point of an end, not only a great booty of people and cattle, the which he had taken, but also part of his forces, as being more greater in proportion, then for to dispatch the remnant of a war, accompanied with no more then five hundred foot, and two hundred horse, he pursued *Massilia* being come down from the hill tops, and there having beset and stopped the passages at both ends, enclosed him within the straight and narrow valley. Where there was committed a great execution and slaughter of the Massilians, but *Desales* with fifty horsemen and men above got away through the unknown and hidden cranks of the mountain, and escaped the hands of the pursuers. Howbeit, *Barba* traced him still, and followed him at heels so narrowly, that next to the City *Chapsa* he overtook him in the plains, where he so stragglely environed him about, that he killed all his company every one, save only four horsemen.

A. At this time Scipio was encamped near *Sabra*, within a mile of the City: for he was removed from that side, where some few days before a flaming camp close to the sea. *Hann* having received power of *Cavary*, nothing loath to charge upon the enemy, but to make sure guard and defend the country from waiting and spoiling, but before all other things a situation and devised, how he might augment his number of horsemen by a new levy and enrolment. And both he rejected none of the suggestions, yet he levied and chose the Numidians especially, the best horsemen simply in all *Africa*. Now he gathered together upon four thousand men, when he surprised a City named *Sabra*, almost fifteen miles from the Roman camp. And when war was brought to *Scipio*, that to great a Cavalry took up their summer standing habitation within a town; *Tull* (quoth he) I will not, if they were more than they are, so long as they have such one to be their leader. And looking with himself that the more slowly the enemies were to work, the less he was to slack his bullock, he sent *Masani* before with the horsemen, and gave him authority to ride up and down before the gates, to brave the enemy, and to train him for the fight: with this direction, that when their whole multitude was issued forth, and the shouting given to fight, that he might not when he came the charge, he should give ground and retreat, but demand little, for he would himself come in due time to the battle. And saying no longer behind, then what he thought *Masani*, who was gone before, had time enough to train the enemies forth, he followed after in person with the Roman horsemen, and reached closely under the hills (which stood fitly for the purpose, opposite between him and the enemy) about every turning of the way. *Masani* for the purpose according to the direction given him, one while right courageously galloped before the gates, as one that would brave and terrify the enemy, another while as he had been afraid himself, gave back, and by this counterfeit show of fearfulness, he made the enemies more bold and venturesome, and drew them on to pursue him rashly. But as yet they were not altogether forth, and their train was diversely troubled, and had much ado with them, while he was fair to face and comely to see that had given their load of wine, and were heavy-headed and sleepy withal, to turn themselves and to bridle their horses, and to stay others from running out of the gates at once confusedly, without order or array, and without their colours. *Masani* caught up those, and cut them short, that a part from their company at the first setting on, were venturously forward, and took no heed to themselves: but soon when more of them followed, that once out of the gate, the skirmish was maintained with equal valour on both sides. When the horsemen were forced and joined in battle, *Masani* was not possibly able to hold out any longer. Howbeit he fled not straight, but as he gave back leisurely, he received them so violently charged upon him, to stop, until he had trained them to those hills, under which the Roman Cavalry lay hidden. Then tore the horsemen from out of their ambush, themselves to war, and their horses fresh; and environed *Hann* and the Africans, who with fighting and following were tired out and overworn. *Masani* likewise turned his horses suddenly, and made head against them, and returned to battle afresh: so there were environed, intercepted, and killed in the place together with *Hann* himself the General, full upon a thousand, even as many as were in the Vanguard, and could not well retire themselves backward. The rest, affrighted with the death of their leader, fled with bridle on horse neck: whom for the space of three miles the conquerors followed in chase upon the spur, and either slew and took prisoners two thousand horsemen of their kindred. Amongst whom there were, as it is for certain known, no fewer than two hundred of small Carthaginians, men of arms, and divers of them of good mark, both in regard of weapons and notes, as also of birth and noble parentage.

It followed that the very same day when this happened, the ships which had transported over the bay in to *Sabra*, returned back charged with provision of victuals, as if they had prefigured a loss, followed by the army, that they were come for a new pillage and fresh prizes. But all writers do not accord, that two Carthaginian captains of one name were slain in two battles of the Cavalry (for say in *Twelfth* where) left by telling one thing twice, they might seem to deceive and mislead the reader. *Cornel Gallus* and *Palmer* report that *Hann* was taken prisoner. Then *Scipio* bestowed rich gifts upon the captains and horsemen according to their good service, and as they everyone deserved: but above all the rest, he highly rewarded *Masani*. And when he had placed a strong garrison in *Sabra* himself with the rest of his army made roads; and not only walls and fortified the lands and villages in the way as he went, but also forced and won certain Cities and borough towns; and so having filled all places far and near with the terror of war & hostility, he returned to the camp, the seventh day after he set forth, bringing with him great numbers of people, much flock of cattle, and prizes of all sorts, and so dispatched away the ships a second time from the bay, with spoils of the enemies. After this he set aside all light expeditions, small roads and forays of the country towns, and bent his whole power and all his forces against *Ti*: supposing if he had once won it, to leave himself there, and to make it his seat from thence forward, and a sure place of defence in all his other exploits that he meant to perform. Thither at one time were the *Numidians* brought from the armada, to that part of the City where the sea beateth upon the walls: like wise the land soldiers advanced from the hill that overlooketh the

the towns, and journey in manner both to the very work. As for stilling and dragging artillery and great store they had brought with them, and when were first taken off with their wheels, and they new were made in the common store, and Arsenal, where there were carpenters continually kept at work for the framing of such fabricks and peeces of battell. The men of *Viterbo* being thus round about on every side with great preparation and ordination, they reposed their whole hope and confidence in the Carthaginians; and the Carthaginians relied themselves upon *Asdrubal*, in case he should relieve *Syracus* for to set to his helping hand. But all things went but flowward, and they battered themselves not so quickly, as they should have done, who wanted to much aid as they did. And *Asdrubal* when he had with all the men and the best that he could make, gathered together thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse, yet durst he not approach the enemy, before the coming of *Syracus* to joyn with him. At length came *Syracus* with fifty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse; and immediately departing from *Carthage*, encompassed not far from *Viterbo* the Roman camp. Whose arrivall yet was so important, and wrought such effect, that *Scipio* after forty dayes weloock (during which time he had invested *Viterbo* and tried all malices but in vain) was compelled to remove his siege & dislodge without any good at all. For now the winter approached, and he fortified his standing quarter for winter harbour upon a promontory, which joyned to the continent by a thin and narrow ridge of land, feth out a good way and beareth into the sea. And with one and the self same trench and rampier, he compassed both his army, and also the ships that lay up in the dock. The legions were quartered and lodged in the ends of the said cape: the ships that were drawn up to land, and filled with the files and mariners, kept the strand on the north side of the hill; the horsemen took up the van toward the south, upon the hanging and side therof, shooting to the other shore. And these were the acts achieved in *Viterbo* until the end of Autumn.

Besides the provision of corn gathered from all parts out of the countries pillaged and wasted round about, and other store of victuals brought out of *Sicily* and *Italy*, *Q. Fabius* the Vice-prefect arrived with a mighty deal of grain out of *Sardinia*, sent from *T. Claudius* the Prefect, who had the government of that land: so as not only the old garners already made were replenished, but also more that were newly built. Only there wanted apparel for the army. Whereupon *Q. Fabius* had in commission to break with the Prefect about that matter, namely, what liveries might be provided out of that province, and sent for the supply of that defect. Which business was not strictly followed, but with all diligence performed in such sort, as in short space there were sent over a goodly number of horsemens coats, and upon short callocks and jackets.

During the time of that summer, wherein these occurrences passed in *Africa*, *R. Sumpsonius* the Consul who governed the Province of the *Provincia*, dismissed suddenly, in a disordered manner, with *Annibal* upon the very way, within the territory of *Croton*, where the fight was maintained rather by squadrons and companies one to one, then by any set body or ranged battell. The Romans were discomfited; and having lost in this conflict (which might more truly be called a tumultuous scuffling than a full fight) upon a goodly army, they retired in great haste and fear into their camp. Yet durst not the enemies make an assault upon them within their hold. But the Consul dislodged from thence in the dead time of the next night, and having dispatched a courier before unto *P. Licinius* the Vice-consul, for to come forward with his legions, he joyned his power unto them. So they returned again unto *Annibal*, being now two Generals, and two entire armies. And without any stay, to battell they went: whilst the Consul on the one side flood upon this his power redoubled and reinforced, & *Annibal* on the other side took heart for his fresh victory storelaid. *Sumpsonius* advanced with his legions into the vanguard; *P. Licinius* with his kept the reerwards. The Consul at the very first shock and beginning of the conflict, vowed a chappell to *Fortuna*, under the name of *Primigenia*, in case he might have the honour of that day, and vanquish his enemies. And surely his vow was heard, and he obtained his desire: for the Carthaginians was discomfited and put to flight, and more than four thousand armed men slain, three hundred or somewhat under taken prisoners, forty horse of service got alive, and a great conquest won and carried away. *Annibal* dismayed and daunted at his adverse and unlucky battell, withdrew his forces to *Croton*.

At the same time *M. Cornelius* the Consul, in another side of *Italy* held in *Hebrus* not so much by force of armes, as by rigorous proccesse of law and severe justice: for all that country in manner was turned to *Massa*, and by his means and favor hoped for a change, and were altogether set upon novelties & an alteration of the state. The examinations and judicial trials of these matters the Consul followed by vertue of commission from the Senat, and not upon his own motive and seeking: and went through therewith, setting aside all partiality, nothing respective of favour or displeasure. In such sort, that many of the nobility of *Tyrrhenia* (such as either had repayed themselves in person, or had sent their agents unto *Massa*, for to treat with him about the revolt and rebellion of the States wherein they lived) were at first, as many as made personall appearance, condemned: but afterwards, such as had guilty consciences, went into voluntary exile: and being condemned in their absence, instead of their bodies which were gone out of the way, they yielded and left behind them their goods only, which might be forfeit and confiscate a pawns to pay for the punishment of their persons.

Whiles the Consul was thus employed in divers places one from the other, the Centon in the mean

A meantime at Rome, *M. Livius* and *C. Claudius* held a new choice and review of Senators: and *Q. Fabius* was once again chosen the principall Senator and President of the Senat. Seven in number of them were noted with ignominy and disgrace, but not one of all those had sitten in the ivory chair and borne office of state. They looked narrowly and most faithfully to the Publicans, that had the charge of the City-buildings to see them kept wind-tight and water-tight, and in sufficient reparations. They publicly gave order for a paved cause to be made, from the beasts market unto the temple of *Venus*, and all about the shops and scaffolds in the shew-places. Also the church * *Magna Mater* [the great mother of the gods] they caused to be built in the mount Palatine. They instituted also a new tax and impost out of the provision of salt. And whereas both at Rome and throughout all Italy, salt was sold at a Sextant by the Modius, they let and fermed this commodity, to be served out of the same price still in Rome; but in the market towns and fairs, they enhanced the price higher, and in sundry places they rated it at divers prices. This tax was devised as all men verily beleeveth, by the one of the Censors, for anger, and an old grudge that he bare unto the people; because he had been in times past unjustly judged and condemned by them, and therefore in the pension and price of salt they supposed that those tribes were most pinched and charged who were the means of the hard doom that passed against him. Hereupon it came that this *Livius* was turnamed *Salinator*. The cense and numbring of the Citizens was finished the latter, because the Censors had sent about into all provinces, that the full number should be taken of all Roman Citizens, who were without in the armies, and presentment made accordingly. So there were registred in all, with those abroad two hundred and seven & fifty thousand persons. And *C. Claudius Nero* was he that performed and accomplished this numbring and assessment. After this there was a Cense or taxation taken of the twelve Colonies, a thing then brought up and never before. And according to the relation of the Censors they were entred into the subsidy book at Rome: that it might appear upon record in the publick instrumments and writings, what number of able men for war they could make, and what every man was worth in money and goods. Then they began to take a survey of the gentlemen and knights at Rome. And it fortuneth so, that both Censors had hories of the City provision and charges. And when the crier came to cite those of the tribe *Polia* wherein the name of *M. Livius* was enrolled, & made some stay to call the Censor himself by name: Call hardly (quoth *Nero*) for *M. Livius*. And whether it were upon the reliques of an old cankered malice, or that he took a foolish pride and vain delight to seem forsooth *D* to be severe and precise, he commanded *M. Livius* to sell his horse of service, because he had been sometimes a man condemned by the doom of the people. Semblably *M. Livius* when the crier was come unto the tribe *Nerniensis*, and to the name of his colleague, awarded *C. Claudius* to sell and make away his great horse likewise; and that for two causes, the one for that he had borne false witness and deposed wrongfully against him: the other, because he was not soundly and in truth of heart reconciled unto him, when they were made friends. Whereupon there grew a foul jar and contention between them, whiles they passed not to impeach and stein the credit one of the other even with the touch and hazard of their own good name and reputation. At the end of the Censorship, when *C. Claudius* had sworn to keep and observe the lawes, and was ascended up into the chamber of the Cities treasure, among the other names of those that he left as disfranchised and tributaries, he declared his colleague for one, and gave up his name in the roll. Afterwards came *M. Livius* into the chamber aforesaid, and setting aside the tribe *Metia* only (which neither had condemned himself, nor elected him a condemned person for Consul or Censor) he declared the whole people of Rome likewise suspended, even four and thirty tribes; and left them all no better then meer strangers and aliens, in regard of taxes and tributes: and why? because they had both condemned him, an innocent and guiltless man: and being thus condemned, had created him Coss. and Censor notwithstanding: neither could they deny but that they had erred and done amiss in their judgement, and twice in their elections. And among those four and thirty tribes, he pronounced that *C. Claudius* also should be reckoned for one: protesting moreover, that if he could have found any one precedent, to have led him to the disfranchising one man twice, he would *F* have left *C. Claudius* by name, as a noted person by himself, in the checkroll of the City chamber.

* *Cybele*, or *Idaea*. At this time it appeareth by *Festus* and other that that *Asses* were *Sextentarii* and not *Librales*, at Rome so that *Sextans* which before was the sixth part of an *Asses*, a cue or half farthing english now was raised to the worth of the whole and valued at three fartherings, the price of a Modius of salt in Rome, set down by *Livius Salinator*.

Surely that reciprocal debate between the two Censors, in depraving and defaming one another was but a lowd and naughty part by them plaid: but this chastisement of the peoples levity and inconstancy, was a worthy thing, and beserming the Censors gravity of that time. While the Censors stood thus in exceeding disgrace and hatred with the people, *Cn. Bibulus* a Tribune of the Commons taking his time and occasion hereby to rise and become great, endited them both and commenced an action against them before the body of the people. But this desigment of his was soon dashed and came to nothing, though the generall accord and content of the L.L. of the councell, to the end that in time to come, no such example might be extant upon record, that the Censors dignity should be exposed to the variable and inconstant pleasure of the people.

The same summer in the Brutians country, *Petilia* had been already forced and won by the Coss. when as *Consentia* and *Pandosa*, with other mean and base peeces, willingly yielded themselves to his devotion. Now when the time drew neer of the election of new magistrats, it was thought good that *Cornelius* should be sent for to Rome out of *Tuscany*, where there was no war at all, rather then the other Consul out of his province: who being come, created for Consuls *Cn. Servilius Capiz*, and *Cn. Servilius Geminus*. After this, the court was assembled for the choosing of Pretours, where-

wherein were elected *P. Cornelius Lentulus*, *R. Quinctius Flaminus*, *P. Atilius Regulus*, and *P. Fannius Tappianus*. These two last were *Ediles* of the Commons when they were chosen *Pretors*. The Capitol after these elections were finished and past, returned unto his usury again in *Hecoria*. Certain Priests and Prelats that year died, and new were chosen in their rooms. *P. Vannius Philo*, *Flamin* of *Adams* was created, installed and inaugurated, instead of *M. Aemilius Regillus*, who deceased the year before. And in place of *M. Pomponius Malar*, who was both *Augur* and *Decemvir*, there was advanced into dignity of *Decemvir*, *M. Aemilius Capita*: and into the office of *Augur*, *Tis. Sempronius Gracchus*, a very young man: a rare thing to be seen in those daies, in the bestowing of sacerdotal and church promotions. In that year was set up in the capitol a chaire drawn with 4 flood, all of beaten gold, by *C. Livius* and *M. Servilius Geminus*, *Ediles* of the chair for the time being. The *Roman* games also were exhibited & renewed again for 3 daies: likewise the plaies & pastimes called *Plautii*, for other 3 daies by the *Ediles* of the Commons, *P. Atilius* & *P. Fannius*. And for the great honoe of those games, the feast of *Jupiter* was solemnly kept and celebrated.

The thirtieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the thirtieth Book.

IN *Africk*, *Scipio* by the help of *Malanilla* in sundry battels, vanquished the *Carthaginians*, together with the afore-said *Syphax* King of the *Nomidians*, and *Adrubal*. He won and sacked two camps of the enemies, wherein there perished by fire and sword, to the number of 40000 men. By the means of *C. Laelius* he took *Syphax* alive. *Malanilla* when he had taken prisoner queen *Sophonista*, the wife of *Syphax* and daughter of *Adrubal*, by and by fell in love with her, and by way of marriage took her to wife: but being chastised and rebuked therefore by *Scipio*, he sent unto her a cup of poison: which she drank, & thereof died. By manifold victories of *Scipio* it came to pass, that the *Carthaginians* driven to despair, were faine to call for *Annibal* out of *Italy*, to save the main chance, and defend their whole state: who, in the 16 year of the war, departed out of *Italy*, sailed over into *Africk*, & assayed by means of conference, to make peace with *Scipio*. And when they could not agree about the conditions & capitulations thereof, he fought, & was overthrown in the plain field. The *Carthaginians* at their suit & request had peace granted. And when *Gilgo* dissuaded that peace, *Annibal* plucked him back with his hand, & so after some excuse made of his rudeness in that behalf, himself spoke for peace. *Mago* who had fought with the *Romans* in the country of the *Insubrians*, was grievously wounded, & being sent for home in so *Africk* by certain ambassadors, in the way died of his hurt. *Malanilla* was fully restored to his kingdom. *Scipio* being returned to the City of *Rome*, had the glory of a most honourable and noble triumph: whom, *Q. Terentius Calleo*, a Senator, followed with a cap [of freedom] upon his head. *Scipio* was surnamed *Africanus*: but doubtfull it is, whether he came by that title through the favour of his soldiers before, or the general applaus and affection of the people. But this is certain, that he was the first general that ever was intitled in his stile, with the surname of a nation by himself conquered.

The thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

VV Hen *Cn. Servilius Capio*, and *C. Servilius Geminus* (Coss. in that year, which by computation was the 16 of the 2 Punick war) proposed unto the Senat, concerning the affairs of the State, the managing of the wars, and the government of the provinces: the LL. ordained and gave order, that the Coss. should either agree between themselves, or else cast lots whether of them should go into the *Brutian* land against *Annibal*: and whether should take upon him the charge of the province of *Hecuria* and the *Ligurians*: with commission for him, whose hap it was to rule the province of *Bruttii*, to receive the army from *P. Sempronius* the Consul; and the said *P. Sempronius* (for he also as Vice-consul was to continue in place of government one year longer) to succeed in the room of *P. Licinius*, who was to return home to *Rome*. This *P. Sempronius* among other commendable parts (wherein no Citizen in his time was counted more sufficiently furnished than himself) was taken also for a brave warrior and man at arms. For being richly endued with all those good blessings that either nature or fortune can afford unto a man, he was both noble in birth, and wealthy in substance. In beautifull personage he excelled, for strength of body he far surpassed. Of tongue and speech he was thought most eloquent, whether he were to plead a cause at the bar, or occasion offered either in Senat house or before the assembly of the people to perswade or dissuade, to give counsel one way or other. In the Pontificall canons and laws, he was singularly well learned and skillfull. Besides all these praise-worthy qualities (I say) his Consulship had given him experience also in military affairs, and made him a worthy soldier. The same order that was taken for the *Bruttian* province

A vince, was also decreed for *Beitarris* and the *Ligurians*. *M. Cornelius* was commanded to put over and deliver up his army to the new Consul; and himself to continue still in government, and to rule the province of *Trans* with the strength of those legions which *E. Scribonius* the Pretor had under his charge the year before. After this, the Consuls cast lots for their provinces. Unto *Quintus* fell the *Bruttii*, unto *Sparticus Geminus*, *Beitarris*. Then the Pretors provinces also were put to the choice of lottery. And *P. Elius* his lot was to have the jurisdiction of the City of *Rome*; *P. Lilius* to rule *Sardinia*; *P. Velus* to govern *Sicily*; and *Quintilius Varus* to have the charge of *Arbitria* with two legions, which were commanded by *Sp. Lucretius*. And *Lucretius* had his commission revived again for a longer time, to the end, that he might reedifie the town *Genna*, which by *Mago* the Carthaginian had been rased and destroyed. As for *P. Scipio*, his commission B and government was not limited by any expresse time, but only with the end of the wars, and to command until those wars in *Africa* were fully determined. A decree also passed, that there should be a solemn procession and supplication holden to this effect, and in these terms, that whereas he had sailed over into the province of *Africa*, this voyage and expedition of his might turn to the safety and good of the people of *Rome*, of himself, and his army. In *Sicily* were enrolled three thousand soldiers. And for as much as the whole strength and manhood of that province had been shipped over into *Africa*: for fear lest some Armado should cut over out of *Africa*, it was thought expedient to guard all the sea coasts of *Sicily*, with a fleet of 40 sail. And *Vellus* had with him into *Sicily* 12 ships, newly built; the rest of the old ships in *Sicily* were repaired. For Admirall of this armada was appointed *M. Pomponius* the Pretor of the former year, whose government was prorogued, and he embarked the new soldiers brought out of *Italy*. The like number of ships the LL. of the Senat assigned unto *Cn. Octavius* the Pretor of the former year, with the same commission of government, for to defend the coasts of *Sardinia*. And *Levulus* was commanded to allow unto the Pretor 2000 soldiers for to man and furnish those ships. Moreover, the sea coasts of *Italy*, because it was uncertain to what parts the Carthaginians would make out their navy (and like it was, that where they should spy any place weak and distarmed of sufficient strength and garrison, thither they would direct and bend their forces) were committed to *M. Minucius* the Pretor of the former year, that he should scour the seas, and keep that side, with as many ships as the other. And for to furnish that fleet of his, the Consuls by order from the Senat enrolled three thousand soldiers, and referred two legions besides, against all doubtfull chances of war. D And whereas for the two provinces of *Spain*, together with the armies there, and the whole government they were appointed to the old Generals, *L. Lentulus*, and *L. Minius Acilius*. So the Armies was for this year were maintained with 20 legions in all, & with a hundred and sixty ships of war. Then the Pretors were commanded to take their journey into such several provinces. But the Consuls were charged before they departed from the City, to exhibite those great Games, which *Sp. Maelius Torquatus* the Dictator had vowed against the 3 years end, if to be the Commonwealth established in the same good and fortunate estate, during that time.

Now there entered into mens minds new doubts and strange scruples of conscience, by reason divers prodigious sights and tokens reported out of many places. For beleaved it was that certaine ravens had only pecked and rased with their bills, but also eat and devoured the gold in the Capitol. Wherein the mice and rats gnawed a crown of gold. About *Capua*, a huge number of locusts (from whence they came, no man knew for certain) overpiled all the grounds, and filled the fields. At *Rome* there was a horse-colt foaled with five feet. At *Ardea* were seen in the elements, such self-divers fire-lights shooting and flashing here and there, and afterwards a mighty blinding border burning. At *Ardea* a certain fire compassed the town with a thin course like unto smoke afterwards a greater shower of fire had enclosed the said towne from without forth. In the city of *Ardea* the earth in a plain champaign field settled and sunk down and made in exceeding great cracks, gave one of the Consuls killed the first beak for sacrifice, the liver thereof was burnt. The Carthaginians were taught and purged with sacrifices of the highest kind, and the rolling of the Priests and Bishops this was into what gods the sacrifice should be made. These things done and performed, the Consuls and Pretors went forth into their provinces, leaving all of them in full regard of *Africa*, as if it had been their own province. And when every one of them was gone, either because they saw that therein rested and consisted the whole importance of all things, and the main state of the wars, or else because they would gladly and curiously view with themselves how now the whole City made court to, and chiefly respected. And therefore not only the *Ardea* as is before said, but also out of *Sicily* and *Spain* there was transported thither victuals and wine a year and a more all out of *Sicily*, and all kind of victuals, for the maintenance of the army. And when it was winter season, yet *Scipio* feared the winter and works of war, which being many, caused his mind at once on every side, and he continually occupied. For he was besieged and encamped he lay opposite to G. *Carthago*, and even with his sight, the Carthaginians were with their ships afloat, and put to sea, and every day they shipped, furnished and trimmed, for to intercept all victuals that came out of those cities to furnish the wars. In the love of *Syphax*, it haply now he had his fill of his sight with his friends, since he had the full view of the situation thereof, as much as heart could desire. But *Syphax* had resolved himself of peace between the Romans and the Carthaginians, that the Romans should depart out of *Africa*, and the Carthaginians out of *Italy*. He had no hope, that he would revolt from the Carthaginians, in case the war

continued still. And for mine own part, I would rather beleve that these matters were treated upon by entercourfe of messengers, as most writers do report, than that *Syphax* himself in person, as *Antius V. lervius* recordeth, came into the Roman camp to sparle and conference thereabout. As the first the Roman Generall, would scarcely lend his ear to hear those overtures: but afterwards, to the end that there might be some colourable and probable cause for his people to resort unto the camp of the enemies, he seemed not so straight-laced, nor to deny the same articles so stiffly, but pretended some hope, that by often debating thereof to and fro between them, they should at length grow to some good point and finall agreement. The wintering harbours of the Carthaginians were in a manner all of wood, but built of slender stuff gathered out of the fields at a venture hand over head, where they could meet withall. The Numidians for the most part lay in cabins and sheds, wated and wound with reeds especially, and covered and thatched with mats of sedge and such like, here and there scattering without all order: in such sort, as some of them taking up their lodging at their own pleasure, without direction and commandment of any officer, quartered without the trench and rampier. *Scipio* advertised hereof, conceived good hope to find some opportunitie one time or other to fire the camp of the enemies. Upon a certain day therefore, he sent in train of those Commissioners whom he addrested unto *Syphax*, in stead of pages and drudges, and disguised in slaves and bondmens weeds, the bravest souldiers of a band, (men of approved valor, wildome and discretion) who whiles the commissioners were busie in conference, should range about the camp, some one way, some another; to espie and mark all the passages and waies in and out; the site and form generally of the whole leaguer, and particularly of every part; where the Carthaginians quartered; where the Numidians lodged; what distance there was between *Asdrubal* his tents, and the Kings pavilions; to observe also and learn withal, the order & the manner of their sentinels, their ward and watches, whether by night or by day they lay at more vantage to be surprised by an ambush. And according as there were divers meetings & conferences, and so of purpose some were sent one time, some at another: to the end that more & more still should have the spiall and full knowledge of all things in the enemies camp. Now when as often that this matter was treated of, the greater hope of peace both *Syphax* had and the Carthaginians likewise by his means; the Delegates or Commissioners aforesaid of the Romans, said that they were expressely forbidden by their Generall to return without a full and resolute answer. And therefore they willed him to make short work at once, and to bethinke himself what to do, either to stand upon his own determinat purpose (if he were resolved) or else to confult with *Asdrubal* and the Carthaginians, and determine accordingly. For now high time it is, say they either to conclude peace, or to prosecute war freshly, and to go through with it lustily. Thus while *Syphax* consulted with *Asdrubal*, and *Asdrubal* with the Carthaginians, both the espials had sufficient time to view and see all, and *Scipio* also good leisure to provide necessities for his purpose. Moreover, by this motive and hope of peace, as well the Carthaginians as the Numidians, began (as commonly in such cases it falleth out) to be negligent and slack in forecast, and to provide but in the mean while they came by no harme and detriment from the enemies. At length an answer was returned and some clause put in, without all reason, and sounding to much inconvenience by occasion that the Romans seemed too too faine and desirous of a peace, which fell out very fittly for *Scipio* whole only desire was to pick some just quarrell for to break the truce and abstinence of war: and so the next day (for in the mean time he said he would confer with his Counsell) he answered the Kings messenger in this wise, that besides himself alone, who laboured all in vain and could do no good, there was none liked of the peace: and therefore he willed him to report unto the King his master, that there was no other hope for *Syphax* to have peace with the Romans, unless he renounced and cast off quite the friendship of the Carthaginians. And thus he ended the truce, that with free conscience being discharged of his promise in that behalf, he might go forward in his designs, and bring his enterprise to his desired issue. So having put his ships to sea (for now the prime of spring was come) he embarked in them his artillery, his ordnance and engines of battery, as if he meant to assault *Putea* on the sea side. And sent out two thousand footmen, to possess themselves of the hill that overlooked *Putea*, which he had held out kept before him both to withdraw the minds of the enemies from that which he secretly designed and intended: & amule them upon the care and regard of another thing; and also to prevent a mischief, that while himself should go against *Syphax* and *Asdrubal*, they might not fall forth of the City, and shal his camp, left with a small guard to defend it. Having made this way, and laid this ground behind, he assembled his counsell, where he commanded as well the foresaid spies to lay forth and utter what they had seen and found, as also *Masaniissa*, who was acquainted with all the manners and fashions of the enemies: and then at last he declared and shewed unto them, what himself intended to execute the next night. Then he gave commandment to the Tribunes or Ko. Marshals, that so soon as the counsell was risen, and the court dismissed in the Generals pavilion, at the first found of trumpets immediately they should bring their legions out of the camp. Thus according to his edict, the ensignes began a little before sun-setting to set forth. About the first watch they put the souldiers in array ready for to march, and by midnight (for they were to journey lever miles) they going a fair and soft pace, approached the enemies camp. There *Scipio* gave unto *Lalio* a part of the forces together with *Masaniissa* and his band of Numidians, with direction to invade the camp of *Syphax*, and to set fire thereupon. Then calling them by themselves both apart one from the other, *Lalio* *Imo* and *Masaniissa*, he earnestly besought them of all love to make up and recom-

A recompence by carefull industrie and devotie that providence and forecast, which the darkness of the night disappointed them of. As for himself, he meant to set upon *Asdrubal* and the Carthaginian camp: but begin he would not, before he saw the fire amongst the kings tents. And it was not long first ere it began: for as soon as the fire caught hold of the next pavilions whereupon it was cast, by and by it took all that were nearest, and so forward to those that joynted unto them, it spread into all places of the camp. And verily into a great fright they were all put, as they could not choose, but needs must in a night fire, which was run all over in so short a time. Howbeit they thought it some fire by mischance only, and not the hand of the enemy, by occasion and means of war: and therefore unarmed as they were, and lightly appointed without weapons, they ran forth by heaps to quench the fire, and light fell upon their armed enemies, the Numidians especially, who by *Masanissa* that was well acquainted with the manner of the Kings camp, were bestowed in convenient places, at the ends of every avenue and passage. Many in their very beds and couches, between sleeping and waking, were consumed with the flame: many running headlong in this their hasty flight, one upon another, were in the streights of the gates troden under foot, or else thrust and crushed to death. The Sentinels and watch of the Carthaginians, espied at first the fire shining and flaming out: after whom others awakened and raised out of their nests by this nightly tumult and alarm, might behold and plainly see the flames: but they likewise were deceived as well as the other, and beleaved verily that the fire began of it self by some misfortune, no man wist how. The confused noise and cry also, which was heard while they were a killing, slaying and wounding, would not suffer them to know the truth indeed, whether the same arose upon their affright and suddain fear by night, or otherwise. And therefore every man naked as he was, and suspecting no practise at all of the enemy, at all the gates as they stood next, did what he could to bring with him such instruments and means as were to put out the fire: and hapned unawares upon the army of the Romans. Now after they were all massacred and put to the sword to the last man, not only upon an ordinary hatred between enemies, but also because there might not escape so much as one to carry newes unto the rest: *Scipio* immediately entered the gates, being not warded, but altogether neglected, as in such a fearfull garboil and hurlyburly it was no marvell. They fell a flinging of fire upon the lodgings and sheds that stood next, so as the flame brake out and shewed at first as if it had been dispersed in many places: but afterwards catching and spreading from one tent to another as they joynted close together, they were all at once on a light fire, and burnt every stick down to the ground. Men and cattell both, singed and scorched at the first, as they ran in piteous and fearfull sort away: but afterwards as they tumbled one upon another by heaps, stopped and choked up all the waies and avenues of the gates. And look who escaped the fire, fell upon the edge of the sword. Thus in one day were 2 camps clean consumed. Howbeit, both the Generals, and of so many thousands of armed men, only 2000 foot and 500 horse armed by halves, and many of them either wounded or else singed and half roasted with the fire, got away and escaped. There eight were slain or burnt to ashes upon 40000 men: taken prisoners there were above 6000: among whom there hapned to be many gentlemen of the Carthaginians, and 11 Senators. Of ensignes were taken 178. Of Numidian horses for service more than 2700. Six Elephants got alive, eight perished either with fire or sword: and a mighty deal of armor came to their hands: all which the L. General *Scipio* consecrated to *Vulcan*, and set on fire. *Asdrubal* with some few Africans that fled with him, rid away upon the spur to the next City: and thither got all rest, who remained alive, following the tracks of their captain, and there saved themselves. But afterwards lest that City should be yielded to *Scipio*, he quit the place and departed. Upon the Romans were received within the same at the gates standing open for them: and because willingly of themselves they rendred the town, there was no kind of hostility or violence offered unto them. But two other Cities one after another were forced and put to the ransack. All that pillage, as also whatsoever was saved out of the fire in the two camps, was freely given to the soldiers. *Syphax* encamped and fortified himself in a strong hold, almost eight miles off. But *Asdrubal* made halt to *Carthage*, for fear left upon the suddain fright occasioned by this fresh fall and late overthrow, things should go backward, and the Senat resolve upon some unmanly and unworthy course. Thither at the first arrived such fearfull news, that all men thought verily that *Scipio* would give over *Vicia* and forthwith lay siege unto *Carthage*: whereupon there Suffetes (who are the Consuls as it were, of the City) called the Senat: where three opinions were delivered amongst them. The first advised to dispatch Embassadors to *Scipio* to treat for peace: the second, to send for *Annibal* home to the defence of his own country, against so dangerous and deadly a war: the third gave counsell, by example of the Romans constancy and resolution in their adversity, to repair the army and gather new forces, and to request *Syphax* not to abandon and give over the quarrell. This opinion, because *Asdrubal* was in place (and all those that sided with the Barchine house and faction, evermore inclined to war) prevailed and took effect. Hereupon they began to take musters in town and country: Orators were addressed to *Syphax*, who of himself with all his might and main, was busied to levy fresh forces, and preparing for new war. For his wife now, not as aforetime, by inticing words, flattering speeches, and pleasant assurances, that might serve the turn to win and move the heart of an amorous lover, but by way of prayer and pitiful compassion had prevailed so much with him already: yes, and with plentiful tears besought him, not to betray her naturall father and native country, nor suffer *Carthage* to be burnt with flaming fire, like as the camps were consumed already.

"The Embassadors also brought with them new hopes besides, which were presented unto them in as happy a time as might be; who reported, that they fortuned to meet with 4000 Celtiberians brave and lusty young men, about the City named *Otho*, which had been levied and hired in Spain by their Commissioners, of purpose sent to take up new souldiers: and that *Asdrubal* himself in person would be present with a power of no small importance. *Syphax* not only entertained these Oratours with gracious speeches and courteous answers, but also shewed them a great number of Numidians, gathered out of the country towns; which some few daies before he had furnished with armour and horses, promising besides, that he would assemble all the young and able men for service throughout his whole realm. For well he wist, that the late losse and defeat hapned by occasion of fire, and not by fight: and never in war is a man to be reputed inferiour, before he be vanquished by mere forces in ranged battell. In this wise answered he the Embassadors. And after some few daies *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* once again joyned their forces together: so as in all, their host amounted to the number well neer of 30000 armed men.

Now when *Scipio* was wholly set upon the assault of *Vrica*, and at the point to bend his ordinance and artillery against the wals, as thinking verily that the war was already done with *Syphax* and the Carthaginians; the fame of the war renewed by them afresh, averted him from his purpose, and caused him to give over that enterprize for a time. So leaving behind him certain small guards, as well by water as land, only for a sign and shew of siege; himself with all the strength of his army, set forwards to meet the enemy. At the first he fare him down and encamped upon an hill, four miles (or very neer) distant from the Kings camp. The next day after, he descended with his cavalry down into the great Plains or Downs (for so they call them) lying neer the same hill; and spent that whole day in braving the standing corps de guard of the enemies before their camp, and playing upon them with skirmishes. And so for two daies together next ensuing, they passed the time in divers tumultuous excursions between the one part and the other, without doing any great exploit worth the remembrance. On the fourth day, they entered on both sides into the field, and embattailed themselves. *Scipio* marshalled his men in this wise: Behind the Principes in a vanguard, he placed the formost ensignes of his Hastati, or Spears; and the Triarii he bestowed in the reeward, for to second them. The Italian horsemen he set in the right point: the Numidian horse and *Masaniissa* he ranged in the left. *Syphax* and *Asdrubal* put their Numidians horse opposit to the Italians, and the Carthaginians to affront *Masaniissa*. In their main battell were planted the Celtiberians, to make head against the ensignes of the Roman Legions. Thus ordered and arranged, they encountered one another, and joyned battell. At the first onset, both wings at once, as well the Numidians as the Carthaginians, were put back and forced to give ground: for neither the Numidians (being for the most part country people and rusticall) were able to receive the Roman horsemen; nor the Carthaginians (raw and untrained souldiers) sufficient to hold out with *Masaniissa*; who (besides all other things) for his late and fresh victory, was so terrible, as there was no dealing with him. So the battell of the Celtiberians, (naked and disarmed of both her points) stood still; for neither saw they any likelyhood to escape and save themselves by flight, considering they knew not the coast of the country; nor hope to obtain pardon at *Scipio* his hand, against whom, (deserving so well of them and their nation) they were come into *Africk* with a power of waged mercenary souldiers. So being environed on every side with the enemies, they fell one upon another, and obstinately dyed to the last man. But while all the enemies were wholly employed about them, *Syphax* and *Asdrubal* gained themselves some time to get away & escape. The victors (wearied rather with continual killing than long fighting) were overtaken with the night. The morrow after, *Scipio* sent unto *Lalinus* and *Masaniissa*, with all the Roman and Numidian horse, and the nimblest and appointed footmen, after *Syphax* and *Asdrubal* for to follow the chase. Himself with the strength and body of that army, subdued all the Cities thereabout that were within the seignory of the Carthaginians, whom he partly forced by assault, and partly took by surrender for fear. Great was the fright ye may be sure at *Carthage*: and they thought no other but that *Scipio* being now in the train of conquest, would make hast to overrun the countrey; and when he had once brought under his subjection (and that with speed) all the other States there bordering, then at once he would come to assault *Carthage*. Therefore they fell to repair and make up the breaches of their wals, and to fortifie them with strong bulwarks: and every man did his best to bring out of the country all kind of provision, against the time they should abide a long and tedious siege. Few words or none at all of peace, but much talk of sending Embassadors to call home *Annibal*. The greatest part were of mind & gave advice, to make out the armado which stood ready rigged, for to intercept the Romans victuals, and to surprize and assault the Romans fleet, riding before *Vrica*retchedly without fear; and distrusting nothing: for peradventure they might also force the navall camp, left with a small guard for the defence thereof. And to this counsell the most enclined; yet they thought it good to send Embassadors to *Annibal*. For suppose that their navy should speed full well, and have the happiest success that they could wish, this only good would come thereof, that *Vrica* thereby might be in some sort eased of the freight siege wherewith it was invested: as for the defence of *Carthage* it self, they neither had any other Generall besides *Annibal*, nor army left but only his. Whereupon the next day after, the ships were shot into the water, and set afloat: and withall the Embassadors took their way towards *Italy*. All things were huddled up and done

A in-halt; such was their fortune that pricked them forward, and gave them no further time. And look if any one man slackt his business never so little, he was reputed to betray the whole state, and the safety of all.

Scipio now marching with an army, laden with the spoil and pillage of many Cities; sent the prisoners away, and all the prizes besides, unto the old camp before *Vesca*. And wholly set upon the conquest of *Carthage*; he surprised *Tunis* (a City abandoned of her guard left for defence) situate from *Carthage* almost twelve miles. The place, both by mans hand was strongly fenced, and by nature surely seated: and as it might be easily seen from *Carthage*, so it yeilded a goodly prospect to *Carthage*, and also to the sea all about *Carthage*. From thence the Romans (as they were hard at work, in fortifying themselves with a trench and rampier) discovered the enemies fleet, sailing from *Carthage* towards *Vesca*. Laying therefore their work aside, they sounded the remove, and presently in all haste advanced their ensigns, to prevent that their own ships which stood close to the shore, bent wholly to the siege, and nothing fitted and furnished for a sea-fight, might not be surpris'd and boarded. For how possibly could ships heavily charged, carrying artillery, ordnance and engines of battery, be ever able to withstand an Armado nimble appointed, rigged and trimmed for the purpose with all ship furniture meet for battell, and manned besides with armed souldiers? How might our ships (I say) withstand the enemy, which either are converted to the use of merchant-ships of burden; or else so near set to the wals, that they serve in stead of a platform and bank, or else of bridges to enter upon the City? Scipio therefore, after he was thither come, and had bestowed his wars ships with brassen beaks behinds in the rereward near to land, which (as the manner is in fight at sea) might guard and defend the rest: opposed the Hulks and Caricks in a four-fold rank and course, in stead of a wall afront the enemy. And because that in the tumult of the fight, those ranges might not be broken and disordered, he laid the masts and sail-yards over-crosse, reaching from ship to ship; and with strong cables he linked and fastned them all in one together, and laid boards and planks over them, that men might passe every way from one ship to another. But under those very bridges, he left certain spaces between, from whence the light pinnaces and frigots might make out to charge and recharge the enemy, and retire themselves thither again in safety. Having thus in haste (according as the time would give him leave) set these matters in order; there were to the number almost of a thousand elect and choise souldiers put aboard into those ships of burden, to make head in the forefront, & withstand the violence of the enemies; and furnished they were with offensive weapons, but missive especially, to shoot and sling from them: and such store thereof they had together, as might serve for the assault were it never so long. Thus appointed and prepared, they waited the coming of the enemies. The Carthaginians, who if they had made good speed, might have surpris'd them unawares, and found all pell-mell and out of order whiles they were troubled, frighted, and to seek what to do upon that sudden occurence) fearing still as men out of heart and dismayed, with so many foils by land, and thereupon distrusting themselves even at the sea also; where (no doubt) they were the better and more puissant: and having trifled out all the live-long day, and sailed but slowly; about the sun-set arrived in the haven, which the Africans call *Ruscinon*. And the next morning by sun-rising, they put forth into the open sea, and ranged their ships in order, as against a set navall battell: supposing that the Romans would make out and receive them. When they had stood thus a long time, and perceived the enemies not to stir or once to set forward, then at last they charged upon the foresaid hulks and ships of burden. The service was nothing like a sea-fight, but resembling for all the world the ships that are to assaile the wals of some Town. For the hulks were a good deal taller and stood a loft over the enemies. And the Carthaginians out of their war ships armed and breasted with brassen beaks let flie many a dart in vain, as lancing them from beneath faintly against the higher place; whereas the shot from above out of the Caricks, was levelled with more strength and by reason of their own poise light also with greater force. The light pinnaces for spial, and the other small barks, which made sallies from under the bridges aforesaid, framed of planks upon masts and sail-yards, at the first were encountered, overcharged and hidden only with the violence and greatness of those war-ships: but afterwards they were some trouble to the defendants of their own side; for that being intermingled amongst the enemies ships, their own fellows were forced oftentimes to stay their hands, and neither shoot arrow, nor lance dart, for fear of misting their enemies, and lighting amongst their own part. At the last, the enemies from out of the Carthaginian ships, began to cast out certain loggets, with iron hooks at the end (which the souldiers use to call *Harpagones*) [Grapples] for to take hold upon the Roman ships. Which when the Romans were not able to cut in sunder, no more then the very chains whereto they hung, and whereby they were slung, then ye might have seen (as any one of their enemies war-ships and gallees rowed back, and towed after it a Roman Carick hanging by the grapple end) the boards and ropes cut asunder, by which it was tied and fastned unto others, or else another range and course of more ships together, to follow after the tail of the other. By this device especially were all the bridges torn and rent in peeces, and scarcely had the defendants any time and space to retire and passe into the second rank of ships behind. Thus there were about six Caricks of the Romans drawn away to *Carthage*, hanging at the poops of their gallees. Their gladness and joycing hereat was much greater than the thing it self came to, and the more

acceptable in that amidst so many continuall losses and plentiful tears of theirs, one only joy as small as it was, shining upon them beyond their expectation, cald and lightned their hearts: considering withall how neer by all likelyhood and appearance the Roman armado was to a mischief and finall destruction, had not the captains of their own gallies foretold so much, and *Scipio* come in time to help.

It fortuned about the same time, that *Lalio* and *Masanissa* were come within 15 daies into *Numidia*; the *Masseylians* rendered *Masanissa* the ancient realm belonging to him by inheritance from his father, and received him with joy, as their King whom they had long time desired. *Syphax* seeing his captains and garrisons disceizd and displaced, kept himselfe within the ancient limits of his own Kingdome, but was not like to be long at rest and quiet. For his wives father on the one side, and his wife again on the other, set him on, and pricked him forward continually to make arms against the Romans: and so doted he on her in excessive love, that needs he must yeeld to her, there was no remedy. Besides, so mighty he was in numbers of men and horse, that the puissance of a Kingdome flourishing so many years together, offering and presenting it self daily to the eye, had been enough to have made a Prince proud, that was not so barbarous and uncivil as he, and had some better rule and mastery of his affections then himself had. When he had assembled together as many as were able for service, he furnished them with horses, and with armour, as well offensive as defensive. The Cavalry he sorted and divided into small troops and cornets, the infantry into the cohorts and squadrons, according as he had learned long since of the Roman centurions. And thus having raised an army, equall for number to the former, but standing altogether in manner, of new and untrained souldiers, he put himself on his journey against the enemies. And after he had encamped neer unto them, at the beginning some few light horsemen advanced forward from the *corps de guard*, in especiall, so neer as they might with safety, but being set back from thence with arrows & javelins, they retired unto their companies. After this they began on both sides to make out one against another, and to maintain light skirmishes; and when of any part they had taken the foil, they would again for anger return in greater number which is the wonted manner to kindle a battell between horsemen: for whiles the winners hope still of better, and the looser chafes for having the worse, the company ever encreaseth on both sides. And thus now, after some few had scuffled and blowed the coals, at length the whole armie of either part, came forth into the field eager of fight, and to strike a set battell. So long as the horse service, the *Masseylians* were so many, as there were hardly any dealing with them, *Syphax* sent them out in such great troops: but after that the Roman footmen once had suddainly entred between the cornets of their horsemen, which gave way as they came, and had gotten sure footing and made head, and so frightened the enemy: charging so free upon the spur as he did then, the Barbarians began to ride their horses more easily, and within a while gently to stand still, and in the end, not only to give ground to the footmen, but also to retreat from the horsemen, who now were the more bold and hardy, being flanked with a guard of footmen.

And now by this time the standards of the legions advanced forward, and approached neer hand. But when the *Masseyli* were so far from receiving and enduring their first charge, that they might not abide the very sight so much, as of their ensignes and armour, so mightily wrought with them either the remembrance of former overthrowes already passed, or the present fear of imminent danger. Where *Syphax*, while he rode bravely in the face of the enemies troops and squadrons, if happily for very shame, or for the perill of his own person, he might stay his men from running away, had his horse under him fore wounded, and being cast off his back to the earth, as overpresed with the number, taken prisoner, and brought alive unto *Lalio*, for to represent unto *Masanissa* above all others a goodly shew and joyfull sight to behold. Now was *Cirtba*, the head City of all the Kingdome of *Syphax*, and thither after the flight, betook themselves a mighty multitude of people. The slaughter in this battell was less in proportion, then the victory, because the horsemen only maintained the conflict. Not above five thousand were slain, and not halfe so many taken prisoners. And when they had made an assault upon the camp whither the frightened multitude after the losse of their King, had retired, *Masanissa* came unto *Lalio* and said, that for the present there could be nothing more pleasing and honourable unto him, then upon his victory to visit and see his fathers Kingdome, which he had recovered and won again after so long a time. But as in adversity, so likewise in prosperity (qd. he) tract of time and delays are never good. In case therefore *Lalio* would permit him and his horsemen, together with conquered *Syphax* to go before unto the City *Cirtba*, he would surprize them on a suddain, finding all out of frame and to seek by reason of this to suddain and unexpected fear: and *Lalio* with his footmen might travell fair and softly, and come after with easie journies. *Lalio* yeelded hereunto. Whereupon, being gone afore unto *Cirtba*, he commanded the principall Citizens of *Cirtba* to be called forth unto a parle. But all the whiles that they were ignorant of the Kings unhappy fall, and so long as *Masanissa* uttered nothing of that which was hapned, he might not prevail either with threats or faire words and perswasions untill he presented the King before them a bound prisoner. Then at so heavy an object and miserable spectacle, they lift up a pitifull cry, and made great lamentation. And partly for fear they abandoned the defence of the wals, and partly by a generall consent to court the Conqueror, and to seek for grace and favour at his hands, they set the gates open. Then *Masanissa*, after he had bestowed about the gates, and in convenient places of the wals, certain strong guards, to keep that no man should stir and make an escape, he rode a gallop to the royall

A roiall pallace, for to be possessed of it. As he entred within the fore-gates thereof, even in the very entrance of the porch, *Sophonisba* the wife of *Syphax*, and daughter of *Asdrubal* the Carthaginian, met him on the way: and espying in the mids of the armed train *Masanissa* full gorgeously dight, as well in his brave armor, as in other goodly stay and ornaments, imagining him to be the King (as he was indeed) she fell down prostrat at his feet, and spake in this wise: " True it is (quoth she) O *Masanissa*, that the Gods above, together with your own vertue and fidelity have given you full power and puissance, to doe with us according to your pleasure: but if it be lawfull for me a poor prisoner and captive woman, to open my mouth and make an humble speech unto my Lord, and in whose only hands lieth my life and death: if I may be so bold to touch your knees, and that victorious right hand of yours: I would beseech and pray you for B, the honour of the roiall majesty of a Prince, wherein we also our selves erewhile were interested; in the love and name of the Numidian nation, which now is common to you and *Syphax*, by the domesticall gods, protectors of this regall house and princely palace, who vouchsafe to receive you into it at this present with better presages and more fortunat tokens, then lately they sent *Syphax* out of it; to deign me a lowly suppliant this favour, and grant me this petition, as to determin your self of me your captive whatsoever pleaseth you, & not to suffer me to fall into the proud hands and inhumane disposition of any Roman. If there were nothing else but this, that I was sometime wife and Queen to *Syphax*, yet would I rather trie the courtesie and humanity of a Numidian, and one born in *Africk* as well as my self then of a stranger and alien. But what hard measure a Carthaginian lady, and the daughter of *Asdrubal*, may fear at a Roman's hand, you see and know full well. Wherefore once again I request and intreat your highnesse upon my knees, to regard my suit: and if there be no way else to save and keep me from the will and appetite of the Romans, to put me to death out of hand. For beauty she surpassed and was incomparable: for years lusty, and in the very best of her age. And therefore when as now she held him fast by the hand, and requested his protection and honourable word, only for this, that she might not be delivered and betrayed to a Roman, placing & setting her words so well, and couching them so cunningly, that they founded neerer to speeches for to win love, then prayers to crave pity: see the fanisie and affection of this victorious Prince! he enclined presently not only to mercy and compassion, but also (as all the kind of these Numidians are full of love, and have no stay of their wapon lust) a conqueror otherwise though he were, yeelded himself prisoner to the love of his captive: D and after he had given her his right hand for assurance to perform her request, he went into the palace. This done, he began to cast about with himself how he might make good his promise unto *Sophonisba*: but finding no meanes else to compass and bring it about, he borrowed foolish, rash, and shameless counsell of blind love. He made no more ado, but commanded in all hast to prepare that very day for the solemnization and marriage with *Sophonisba*, because he would give neither *Lalius*, nor *Scipio* himself, any liberty at all to proceed against her as a prisoner, after she were once the wedded wife of *Masanissa*. The wedding was no lonner done, but behold *Lalius* came, a guest unsest for and nothing welcome: who so little dissembled how much he misliked the thing, that he was once about to have plucked her forth of the bride-bed, and sent her away even with *Syphax* and other prisoners to *Scipio*. But overcome with the earnest prayers of *Masanissa*, who besought and importuned him to refer the matter over to *Scipio*, for to arbitrate and decide unto whether of the two Kings *Sophonisba* should be awarded, for to mend their state, and better their fortune, he sent away *Syphax* alone with the rest of the prisoners, and by the help of *Masanissa*, wan and recovered the other Cities in *Numidia*, which were held by the garrisons of the King. When news came into the camp that they were bringing *Syphax* thither, all the multitude went forth as it were to behold a triumph. Himself went bound before all the rest, and a number of Numidian noblemen and gentlemen followed after. Then every man to set forth and amplifie this victorie, magnified what he could the greatness of King *Syphax*, and the glorious renown of the nation, in these termes: That he was the King, unto whose majesty the two most mighty and puissant states of the world, to wit, the Romans and the Carthaginians attributed so much, that F *Scipio* the Generall of the one, for to seek his amity, left the province of *Spain* and the army there, and with two Caravals or Gallies ruled with five banks of oars, sailed over into *Africk*; and *Asdrubal* the great commander of the Carthaginians, not only repaired himself in person unto him into his Kingdome, but also gave him his daughter in marriage: so as at one time he had in his power the two grand-captains, of Carthaginians and Romans both. And like as both these nations killed sacrifices unto the immortall gods, and craved thereby their grace and favour, so of both parties at one time was his friendship sought for, and desired. And as for his power and puissance, it was so great, that he expelled *Masani* out of his own Realm, and drove him to this narrow point, that the best meanes he had to preserve his life, was either the running rumour of his death, in the lurking holes of the wild woods, wherein he was glad to live G by rapine and stealth, after the guise of savage beasts. The King thus talked of in every mans mouth that stood about him, was brought at length into the *Buxtorium* or Generals pavilion, and there presented unto *Scipio*. And *Scipio* verily was much moved in mind to consider the former state and fortune of the man, compared now with his present condition: and to remember withall and call to mind the hospitall intertainment, the giving interchangeably of the right hand, and the covenant between them made both in publick and private. In these regards likewise *Syphax* took heart, and spake more frankly unto the conquerour. For when *Scipio* demanded of him

"What he meant, and for what intent he not only renounced alliance with the Romans, but also
 "began himself first to make war upon them: he made answer again and confessed, That he had
 "indeed done amiss, and plaid the fool. As for his taking armes against the people of Rome,
 "that was not the beginning of his folly, but rather the very end of his frantick foolishness. Then it
 "was, and never else but then, that he went besides himselfe and was bereft of his wits; then he
 "abandoned out of his mind and cleane forgot, as well private enmity by a hospitall entertainment,
 "as all publick alliance by solemn covenants; when as he received into his house a Carthagini-
 "an lady for his wife: then his royall court and palace was set on fire & burned with those nuptial
 "torches. That furious fiend it was (quoth he) and pestilent dame, that by all kind of pleasant al-
 "luring baits, and flattering enticements possessed my mind, drew away and alienated my heart; and
 "never rested she, untill with her own hands she laid upon my body impious and ungodly armour
 "against my owne guest and loving friend. And yet as desperate and as wofull as my case is, in all
 "my miseries and calamities, this one thing doth me good and enjoyeth my heart, that I see the
 "same pestiferous fury, that fiend of hell, and lim of the Devill, gotten into the house and family of
 "him, who is the most deadly and mortall enemy that I have in all world. Neither surely will Ma-
 "sanissa demean himself more wisely, soberly and constantly then Syphax: nay, considering his
 "youthfull years, he wil be as apt to be mis-led by love, and more subject to the temptations of a
 "woman. Certainly in this action of espousing her, he hath shewed more folly a great deal, and
 "want of government. When he had uttered these words not only upon a spitefull hatred against
 "an enemy, but also upon some new pricks of jealousy rising in his heart, seeing her whom he lov-
 "ed, in the possession of his concurrent, Scipio was driven into no small dumps, and wist not well
 "what to make of it. And as he began to be suspicious of Masanissa for this marriage, so, to speak
 "a truth, the circumstances thereof hammered in his head, and made him conceive hardly of him;
 "for fear that another day by the suggestions of the same woman, he would play false, and tres-
 "passe as well as Syphax. The marriage was so huddled up as it were in the mids of war and hostility,
 "without the advice, without the privy, and without the expectation of Lelius his company. Such
 "hast he made all on the head, & without advisement, the very same day that he set eye first upon the
 "queen his prisoner, he must needs espouse and marry her out of hand, and in the very house of his
 "greatest enemy consummate and solemnise the complements of sacred wed-lock. Moreover to ag-
 "gravate these matters and make them seem more foul and shamefull, Scipio knew full well, that
 "Masanissa during the time that he remained in Spain a lusty young gentleman, it was never known
 "that he was enamoured upon the lovely beauty of any captive woman. As he toiled and revolved
 "these things in his mind, Lelius and Masanissa chanced to come in place. And after he
 "had welcomed them both alike, and shewed them a loving and gracious countenance, yea and
 "honoured them with singular praise and commendations openly in a frequent audience and court,
 "he within his lodging took Masanissa into a secret place apart, and began to speak unto him in this
 "manner: I suppose Masanissa, that you saw in me some good part, for love whereof both at the first
 "you were induced to come into Spain and contract amity with me; and afterwards also in A-
 "fricke, you reported of our self and all your hopes in my fidelity and protection. But of all those ver-
 "ties, for which I have seemed worthy of your affectionat love, there is not one wherein I may
 "so much glory and take joy and take comfort, as in temperance, continency, and the bridling of
 "carnall delights, and fleshly pleasures. This vertue Masanissa, I wish that you also would have
 "joynd unto the rest that are in you so rare and excellent. For our ages (trust we truly) stand-
 "eth not so much in danger of armed enemies, as of those earthly pleasures that compass us on
 "every side. And he that by his sobriety and governance hath been able to rule and tame the same,
 "hath won himself more honour, and gotten a greater victory, then we have done by the con-
 "quest and subduing of Syphax. What valiant exploits and worthy acts you have archived in mine
 "absence I have willingly reported, and still remember. For the rest I had rather you would con-
 "sider of them by your self, then change colour and blush at my rehearfall of them. Syphax through
 "the good fortune, and by the forces of the people of Rome, is vanquished and taken prisoner.
 "And therefore himself, his wife, his realm, his lands, his towns, the inhabitants thereof, and
 "finally all things else whatsoever that belongeth unto Syphax, are become a bootie to the people
 "of Rome. The King himself, and the Queen his wife, in case she had not been a citizen born of
 "Carthage, in case we had not seen her Father to be at the grand Captain of our enemies, ought
 "by right to have been sent to Rome; that the Senat and people of Rome might passe their cen-
 "sure, award and judgement of her, who is reported to have alienated a confederat King from us,
 "and to have caused him rashly and inconsiderately to take armes against us. Strive then to rule
 "and master your lusts and affections, take heed you stain not many good vertues with one bad
 "vice. Marre not the grace, deface not I say, the thank of many worthy deserts, by one fault and
 "trespass greater indeed, then the subject cause and occasion thereof. Masanissa, while he heard
 "these words, not only blushed as red as fire, but also began to water his plants. And when he had
 "promised for his part to be overruled and let down by the Generall, and requested him withall,
 "so far forth as possibly the case would permit, to tender and regard his promise, wherein rashly
 "and inconsiderately he had entangled himself, (for given his faithfull word he had, that he would
 "not deliver and betray her into the hands and power of any other) he departed out of the Preto-
 "rium or Generall his court, all dismaied and exceedingly troubled in spirit and betook himself to
 "his own pavillion. Where all solitary and alone by himself, after he had passed over some time,
 "with

A with fetching many deep sighs and sobs, so as he might easily be overheard by them that stood about his tent, at the last he gave one grievous groan above the rest, and with that called for one of his trusty groomes, who had under his hand the keeping (as the manner was of Kings and Princes) of a speciall poyson, against all doubtfull chances that might happen. Which he commanded him to temper in a goblet of wine, and to carry it to *Sophonisba*, and withall to tell her thus much from him. "That *Masanissa* would have been most willing to perform his plighted troth and first promise, which an husband ought unto his wedded wife. But since that the superiour powers, and those that were mightier than himself, had bereft him of that puissance and liberty, he was ready and able yet to accomplish a second behest, namely, that she should not come alive into the hands of the Romans; and therefore he advised her, that in remembrance of her father a noble warrior and Commander, of her native country, of two Kings to whom she had been married, she would provide for her self, and save her own honour. This credence and message, together with the poyson, the servant when he was come unto *Sophonisba*, delivered unto her. Whereat, I accept (quoth she) this marriage present, and welcome be it to me, if this be the best token that a husband could find to send unto his wife. Yet thus much signifie unto him from me again, that better content I would have been to die, if my marriage bed had not stood so neer to my grave. She spake not the word so stoutly, but she did the deed as resolutely; for she took the cup in hand, and shewed no sign at all of fear, she roundly drank it off. When tidings hereof came unto *Scipio*, for fear lest the hot, humorous, and passionat young Prince, might do him self some mischief, he presently sent for him. One while he gave him good & comfortable words; another while he gently rebuked him, in that he would seem to make amends for one folly with another, and to play a more cruell and tragicall part then there was need. The next day after, to the end that he might withdraw his mind away from this present fit of troublesome fancies, he mounted up into his Tribunal seat, and assembled an audience. There first, he openly styled *Masanissa* by the name of King, and honored him with singular praises and commendations; which done, he gave him a golden crown, a fair cup likewise of gold, a chair of estate and a scepter, both of ivory, a rich long robe imbrodered of divers colours, and a coat wrought with needle work, representing the Date tree. These honourable presents wanted no words to set them out. For as (quoth he) there is nothing among the Romans more stately and magnifical than triumph, so they that ride in triumph, have no ornaments more rich and sumptuous then this, which the people of *Rome* esteeme. *Masanissa* only of all strangers and aliens to be worthy of. After this he gave *Lalius* also his due and deserved praises, and bestowed upon him a coronet of gold. Other martial men likewise according to the service which they had done, were rewarded with sundry gifts. The King having these honours done unto him, was quieted and contented in mind, and conceived some assured hope, now that *Syphax* was displaced & rid out of the way, shortly to compass and enjoy the whole kingdom of *Numidia*. Then *Scipio* having sent *C. Lalius* with *Syphax* and other captives unto *Rome*, accompanied also with the Embassadors of *Masanissa*, returned himself with his power again to *Tunes*. And there what fortifications and works he had begun afore, now he finished perfectly and brought to an end.

* *Vt tunica recta toga pura; clavata pretextae, sic palmata, toga picta respondet. Cyprianus Sig. De Indis, lib 3. cap. 19.*

The Carthaginians who were filled with a kind of joy that was not only short, but also in manner vain and foolish, grounded upon their late assault of the Armado, which (considering their present state) was fortunat enough; after they heard that *Syphax* was taken prisoner, in whom they had reposed more hope (well neer) then in *Asdrubal* and their own army, were mightily affrighted and daunted; and would give no more ear to any that perswaded war, but sent as orators to sue for peace, thirty of their principall ancients: and they amongst them were (as one would say) their privy counsell of state, and had the greatest power and authority to sway and overrule the whole body of the Senat. Who being entred into the Roman camp and the Generall his lodging and pavillion, fell down prostrat (after the manner and guise as I take it, of the country) from whence they were first descended like those that worship & adore the gods. And to this their humble reverence, their language was suitable and correspondent; not excusing themselves and their fault, but transferring the beginning and occasion thereof, upon *Asdrubal* and his favorites about him, and soothed him and bare him up in his wilfull pride and insolent ambition craving pardon for their City of *Carthage*, which twice already had been subverted and overthrown by the inconsiderat folly of her own citizens: yet once again you would gladly be saved and stand upright by the meanes and goodnesse of their enemies: for as much as they knew full well, that the people of *Rome* sought not the utter extermination and destruction of those whom they had vanquished by force of arms, but only the sovereignty and rule over them: promising fealty and homage to them ready to serve in all loyalty, and to perform whatsoever it should please them to impose and lay upon them. *Scipio* made them this answer again, and said, that as he came into *Africa* upon hope to return home with conquest and not with peace: so that hope of his by the prosperous and happy successe of his wars hitherto, was much bettered and augmented. Howbeit although he assured himself of the absolute victory, as if he had it fast enough in his hand, yet a good accord he would not refuse: that all nations of the world might know, that the people of *Rome* can both begin wars rightfully, and also end the same as justly. My will therefore (quoth he) and pleasure is, that the conditions of peace shall be these. *Inprimis*, that the Carthaginians shall restore and deliver back all the prisoners that they have taken in the wars: with all the renegates and fugitives that have fled to their side from us. *Item*, that they remove their forces

* *Tyrus in Thénicia. Where, like as in other countries of Asia, the people are most servile and very Idolatrous to their Princes.*

"forces out of *Italy* and *France*. Item, that they forbear to meddle in *Spain*. Item that they abandon
 "and quit all the Ilands between *Italy* and *Africk*. Item, to yeeld up all their ships of war saving
 "only twenty. Item, that they deliver unto the Romans, of wheat 300000 Modii, and of bar-
 "ley 300000. [Now what was the sum of money that he required or demanded, of them, it is
 "not certainly agreed upon. In some writers I find 5000 talents: in others, five thousand pound
 "weight only of silver: and there be that have set down, that they laid upon them a double pay
 "of all the souldiers.] Upon these conditions (saith he) whether ye will like of peace or no, ye
 "shall have three daies respite and liberty to consult and consider. If you will accept thereof in these
 "termes, make a truce with me for the present, and sent your Embassadors unto *Rome* to the Senat
 "there. Thus the Carthaginians, when they had agreed together, and concluded to refuse no ar-
 "ticles and conditions of peace whatsoever, were dismissed. But in truth they sought for nothing
 "else but delays and tract of time untill *Annibal* were sailed over into *Africk*. So they
 "addressed certain Embassadors unto *Scipio* to enter a truce: others they dispatched to *Rome* to treat
 "for a peace: who brought with them for a shew, some few captives, renegates, and fugitives, to the
 "end they might obtain their sute more easily. But *Laelius* with *Syphax* and other captives (the
 "principall nobles and gentlement of the Numidians) was many daies before arrived at *Rome*, and
 "had declared unto the LL. of the Senat all things in order as touching their good speed and successe
 "in *Africk*, to the great contentment and joy of all men for the present, and with exceeding hope
 "for the time to come. Then the LL. after consultation had, gave order that the King should be leag to
 "*Alba*, there to lie in ward and safe custodie, and that *Laelius* should be kept still at *Rome*, untill the
 "Carthaginian Embassadors came. A solemn procession for four daies was decreed. And *P. Aelium*
 "the Pretor, after he had dismissed the Senat, called presently an assembly of the people, and to-
 "gether with *C. Laelius* went into the *Rostra* (or pulpit for public orations.) Where the people hear-
 "ing that the Carthaginian army was defeated, that the King of great name and renown was o-
 "vercome and taken prisoner; that all *Numidia* was overrun from one end to the other with a
 "noble and singular conquest; they could no longer contain their joy in silence, but in shouts and
 "acclamations and other tokens (usuall in the assembly of a multitude) expresse and signifie their
 "exceeding gladness and contentment of heart. Whereupon the Pretor immediately made procla-
 "mation, that the Church-wardens and sextons should set open all the holy temples and chappels
 "throughout the City, and give the people liberty, and leave all the day long, devoutly to go about
 "the gods, reverently to salute them, and heartily to render thanksgiving for this atchieved victory.
 "The next day following, he admitted the Embassadors of *Masanissa* into the Senat house, and gave
 "them audience. Who first and formost rejoyced in the behalt of the Senat, for the prosperous
 "wars and happy successe of *P. Scipio* in *Africk*: than they gave thanks, that he not only had en-
 "titled *Masanissa* their lord and master by the bare name of King, but also invested him a King in-
 "deed by restoring him to his fathers Kingdome. Wherein it it pleaseth the LL. of the Senat, he
 "might reign, now that *Syphax* was removed and gone, without fear and trouble at all. Also for
 "that he solemnly in the open assembly praised him in most honourable termes, and adorned him
 "richly with right stately and precious gifts. For to deserve which favors and honours done unto
 "him, as he had indeavoured already, so would he henceforth not fail to do his best. Then they
 "made a petition that the Senat would confirm and ratifie by their act and decree, his royall style
 "and title of a King, with other benefits and favours received of *Scipio*. And this moreover particular-
 "ly *Masanissa* would request (if he might be so bold, and that it stood with the pleasure of the Senat)
 "that they would enlarge and set at liberty all the Numidian captives that lay in prison in *Rome*: for
 "this would be a thing whereby he should acquire much honour and reputation, and gain great
 "love and favour amongst his people and countrey men at home. To these points the Embassador
 "received this answer. Concerning the prosperous affairs of the wars in *Africk*, they
 "congratulated likewise, and rejoyced reciprocally with the King. As for *Scipio*, they liked well, and
 "confirmed his act in giving *Masanissa* the name of King: and therein he had done well and justly
 "and according to good reason. And whatsoever he had passed else to the honour of *Masanissa*, the
 "LL. approved and commended the same. Then they decreed certain presents that the Embassa-
 "dors should carry unto the King: to wit, two purple souldiers cassocks, each of them with a clasp
 "of gold; and as many rich coats embrodered and bestudded with purple. Also two couriers bar-
 "bed and trapped, with their rich caparisons: two complete armours for horses, with their curre-
 "ces: likewise pavillions, with all their military furniture, in as full and ample manner as a Con-
 "sul is allowed. These presents (I say) had the Pretor direction to send unto the King. As for the Em-
 "bassadors themselves, there was bestowed upon them no less then 3000 Ases a peece; and upon
 "their followers in the train, each of them 1000 Ases. Also a double suit of apparell for either of
 "the Embassadors, and one single sute to every one throughout their train: as also to those Numidi-
 "ans, who being set at large out of prison, were to be delivered again to the King. Over and be-
 "sides, there was appointed for the Embassadors, lodging of free cost; gardenage and walking
 "places of pleasure; allowance for their table, and all provision else whatsoever, at the Cities ex-
 "pences.

In that summer when these decrees passed at *Rome*, and those affairs were atchieved in *A-*
frick, *P. Quinctilius Varus* Pretor, and *M. Cornelius* Vice-consul, fought a set battell with *Ma-*
go the Carthaginian, in the territory of the Insubrians, within the province of *France*. In the
 vanguard

vanguard were placed the legions of the Pretor. *Cornelius* kept the legions in the reeward, and himself in person rode to the standards in the forefront. And before both wings, the Pretor and Vice-consull encouraged all that ever they could, the souldiers for to advance the ensigos, and give a charge upon the enemy. But seeing he could not prevail nor do any good, then quoth *Quintilius* to *Cornelius*: you see how the fight slaketh and waxeth cooler, and the enemies that were timorous, are hardened and heartened by this resistance beyond their hope and expectation; yea, and it is to be feared, that they will turn to be hardy also, and make head against us. We must needs raise up a storm of Cavalry, if we would disorder them, and put them out of array. And therefore either do you maintain fight either in the front, whiles I bring the men of arms into the battell, or else will I fight here in the vanguard, whiles you send out the horsemen of four legions upon the enemies. And when the Vice-consull was willing to accept of whether service the Pretor would, then *Quintilius* the Pretor, with his son aforesaid *Marcus*, a lusty young gallant, went to the horsemen, commanded them to mount on horseback, and suddainly all at once sent them against the enemy. The tumult and noise which the horsemen made, was answered & redoubled by the shout that the footmen set up. And verily the enemies battell had not been able to have kept their ground, but that *Mago* at the first stirring of the Cavalry, made out the Elephants forth with into the battell, whom he had in readiness for such purpose. At the uncouth braying, the strong smell, and hideous sight of which beasts, the hortes were affrighted: and so the aid of horse fight proved vain. And as the Roman Cavalry interlaced among the Infantry was more strong and forcible, where they had the use both of lance point aloof, and of sword edge close at hand: so when they were transported and carried far off with their panting and fearfull hortes, the Numidians horsemen had the more room to shoot their darts against them with better advantage. Besides this disorder, the twelfth legion of footmen (whereof a great part was beaten down and slain, more for shame then upon any strength and valour, kept their place still; but never had been able to have held out any longer, but that the thirteenth legion drawn forth of the reeward into the vanguard, reenforced the battell that was in hazard and lay a bleeding: and *Mago* withall for his part, came in with the Frenchmen out of the reeward, and opposed them against this fresh legion; but when they were once discomfited and put back (which required no great ado nor long fight) the Hastati or Javeliniers of the eleventh legion gathered round together and charged upon the Elephants, which now also began to break the ranks of the footmen. But when they had lanced their javelins against them standing thick together in multitudes (and lightly there was not one of them hit amisse but did his errand) they forced them all to turn back upon their own battell: so four of them were sore wounded and fell down dead. Then the vanguard of the enemies began somewhat to give ground; and withall, the whole strength of the Roman footmen seeing the Elephants turn tail, came forward at once for to encrease the disordered tumult, and put them in greater fear. But so long as *Mago* stood stoutly to it, and standing in the forefront of the ensigos, the ranks and files as they went back softly, and retired by little and little, still maintained fight as before in good order: but after that they saw him shot through the thigh and fallen; and therewith carried forth of the battell for dead, incontinently they were all defeated and put to flight. There were slain of enemies about five thousand, and of military ensigos eighteen won and carried away. The Romans likewise bought not this victory without losse of blood. For of the Pretors army were lost two thousand and three hundred, and the greater part of them by far were of the twelfth legion. Whereof two Tribunes Military or Colonels also lost their lives, *M. Coscennius* and *M. Manius*. Likewise of the thirteenth legion, which came last to the conflict, *Cn. Helvius* a Colonell, in renewing the fight was slain, and eighteen men of arms besides, most brave and excellent horsemen, with Centurions who were by the Elephants troden down, trampled under foot, and so perished. And no doubt the battell had continued longer, but that by occasion of the Generall his hurt, the victory was given away and yielded. *Mago* in the dead time of the next night dislodged and departed; and stretching out his journey so far as possibly for his wound he might, he marched away untill he was come to the sea side, unto the Ingauni in *Liguria*: where the Embassadors sent from *Carthage* (who a few daies before were arived in the French gulf) repaired unto him, commanding him with all speed possible to sail unto *Africk*, for as much as his brother *Annibal* likewise (unto whom also there were Embassadors gone with the like message and commission) would do the same. For the State of *Carthage* now was not in case, nor upon terms to defend and keep in obedience by force of armes *France* and *Italy*, but to see to home. *Mago* not only moved with the commandment of the Senat, and the danger of his country, but fearing also lest the enemy following the train of his victory, would pursue and set upon him, if he made long stay; and doubting lest the Ligurians likewise, seeing *Italy* abandoned by the Carthaginians, would revolt and turn unto those, under whose obedience they were like shortly to be reduced: albeit he had no hope that his hurt should have lesse shaking at sea by sailing, then on land by travelling, or to find things there more handsome and ready for the cure, embarked his army and departed. But before he was well gotten beyond the point and lands end of *Sardinia*, he died of his wound before said. Certain ships also of the Carthaginians, being scattered a-funder in the deep sea, were by the Roman Armado, that kept about the coast of *Sardinia* surprised and boarded. These were the Acts performed both by sea and land, on the side of *Italy* which lieth along the *Alps*.

Cn. Servilius the Consul having performed no worthy and memorable exploit, either in his province *Hetruria*, or in *France* (for thither he went also in the end) but only that he redeemed his father Cn. Servilius and his uncle C. Laetanius, from servitude and bondage, now sixteen years after they had been taken prisoners by the Boii before the village *Tanetum*, returned to *Rome*, with his father going on the one side, and his uncle on the other: a man famous rather for his private deeds, then renowned for any publick and honourable act worthy of remembrance. And a bill was preferred unto the people, that it should not be imputed for a trespass unto Cn. Servilius, that while his own father (who had sitten upon the ivory chair of estate) was living (and that unknown to him) he had been both Tribune and Edile also of the Commons against the laws in that behalf provided. This act being passed and granted, he returned again into his province. Unto Cn. Servilius the Consul who was in the Brutians country, there revolted *Consentia*, *Ugentum*, *Verge*, *Besidia*, *Hetriculum*, *Sypheum*, *Argentannum*, *Dampetia*, and many other peccets of small account, upon occasion that they saw the Carthaginians war to wax cold and feeble. The same Consul fought a battell with *Annibal* in the territory of *Croton*: the manner of which fight is darkly and obscurely reported. For *Valerius Antias* saith, there were slain five thousand of the enemies: a thing of such consequence, that either it was meer impudency to forge it, or great negligence to overslip it. But the truth is, from that time forward nothing was done by *Annibal* in *Italy*: for to him also there came from *Carthage* Embassadors to call him home into *Africk*, even about the same time that the others did unto *Mago*. And as it is reported of him, all the while that he gave audience to the Embassadors, he gnashed and grinded his teeth, he kept a sighing and groaning, yea, and hardly could forbear to shed tears. After they had delivered their Message according to their commission, Yea, mary, qud he, now they go no more about the bussh with me by covert means and under-hand to send for me home, but openly are seen in the action: who all this while in suffering no supplies either of men or money to be transported over unto me, sought to draw and hale me from hence. Well then, it is not the people of *Rome* so often by me defeated and put to flight, that hath by armes overcome *Annibal*, but it is the Senat of *Carthage*, with their backbiting and malicious envy. Neither will *P. Scipio* rejoyce so much, and beare himself proud upon this disgrace of my return, as *Hanno* will: who with the ruine and subversion of *Carthage*, hath overthrowen our house and family, when by no other means he could effect it. Now *Annibal*, whose mind fore-gave him that such a thing would fall out, had prepared shipping afore-hand. And therefore after he had sent away the multitude of souldiers that were of small or no service, into the towns of the Brutians country, under a colour and shew of garrisons for defence, which towns were but few, and the same rather held in by awe and fear, then abiding in obedience for love and loyalty, he took with him the whole strength and flour of his army, and crossed over into *Africk*. But before he went to sea, many of the Italian nation, who refusing to follow him into *Africk*, had taken for sanctuary the chappell of *Iuno Lacinia*, which never to that day had been violated and broken; notwithstanding the liberty of the place, he cruelly massacred in the very temple. Seldome by report had ever any man been known to leave his native soil and country, and depart into exile with more heavy heart, then *Annibal* did when he went out of his enemies land. Oftentimes he looked back to the coasts of *Italy*, blaming both God and man, yea, cursing himself and his own life, for that he led not straightwaies upon his fresh victory at *Cannae*, his souldiers embred as they were with blood directly even to *Rome*. *Scipio* (quoth he) had the heart to go to *Carthage*, who when he was Consul, had never seen in *Italy* the Carthaginian enemy: and my self, having slain at *Thrasymenus* and *Cannae* 100000 armed men, have sitten still about *Casertum*, *Cumes*, and *Nola*, wearing and decaying in strength every day more then other. In this manner he blamed himself, and complained of his hard hap and cursed fortune: and so he was pulled out of the possession of *Italy* that he held so long.

News came to *Rome* about one and the same time, that both *Mago* and *Annibal* were departed and onward on their journey: The joy of which twofold gratulation was the lesse in two regards, both for that their own captains seemed to have either little courage or small force to stay them behind, and impeach them for going, considering they had expresse order from the Senat so to do: as also because they at *Rome* were pensive and doubtfull, what would be the issue and end of all, seeing the whole weight of the war to bear and rest upon the shoulders of one only Captain and army.

And much about this time came the Saguntine Embassadors, bringing with them certain Carthaginians prisoners, who were taken with sums of money upon them, and had sailed into *Spain* for to levy and wage men for aid. The money they laid down in the very port-hall or entrie of the Senat-house, amounting to 250 pound weight of gold, and 800 pound weight of silver. The men they received and clapt them up fast in prison, the silver and gold both, they delivered again to the Embassadors, with many thanks, over and besides they gave them rewards and ships to return again into *Spain*. Then the grave and ancient Senators began to reason and discourse in this wise "That men naturally have lesse sense of good things then of bad: and feel not so soon their own weal as their woe. We remember say they, what fear, what fright and terrour we were put in, when *Annibal* passed over into *Italy*. Lord, what losses, what lamentable mistakes hapned thereupon! The enemies camp was discovered and seen from the wals of the City, what vowing, what praying was there then, both of all and some! How often in assemblies and counsels were men seen to stretch out their hands to heaven, & to utter these words & cry aloud; When

A When will that day come? and will it never be, that we shall see *Italy* again clear of enemies, obtain repose, and flourish once more injoying happy peace? Now at length, even at 16 yeers end and not before, the gods have vouchsafed us this blessing; and no man saith a word, nor maketh a motion of thanksgiving to their divine majesty therefore. And surely, if men know not how to accept with joy and thankfulness a benefit when it first cometh, they will be far short, and fail much more to remember the same when once it is past. Hereupon they cryed out and called aloud with one voice from all parts of the Senat-house to *P. Atilius* the Pretor, for to propole the matter to the court there assembled: and a decree was granted, that for five daies there should be solemn processions and supplications in every church and chappell before the shrines of the gods and goddesses: and greater beasts killed for sacrifice to the number of 120.

B Now when *Laelius* and the Embassadors of *Masanissa* had their dispatch and were dismissed, tidings were brought of the Carthaginian Embassadors coming to the Senat to sue for peace, were seen at *Portus*, and that from thence they would travail by land unto *Rome*. Whereupon it was thought good unto the Senat, that *Laelius* should be sent for again and called back, that he might be present, and at the hearing of the treating of peace. *Q. Fulvius Gellus* a Lieutenant of *Scipio* had the conducting of the Carthaginian Embassadors to *Rome*: who being forbidden to set foot within the City, were lodged without the in great hall named *Villa Publica*, and had audience given them of the Senat, assembled in the temple of *Bellona*. Who made in manner the very same speech that they had before unto *Scipio*, clearing the whole State and their publick councill, and laying all the fault and blame upon *Annibal* for making war: saying, that he had no warrant, commission, and commandment from the Senat to passe over the *Alps*, no, nor so much as over *Iberus*: and that of his own head he took arms; and warred not upon the Romans only, but also upon the Saguntins. In consideration whereof, he that would esteem all things aright, and weigh the truth indeed, must needs judge, that for any thing done by the Senat and people of *Carthage*, the ancient league made with the people of *Rome*, hath continued to that day sound and entire. And therefore nothing else had they in commission to sue for and request, but that they might maintain and remain still in that accord & league which was last concluded and contracted with *Lusitanus* the Consul. Now when the Pretor, according to an ancient custome of their forefathers, had given liberty to whomsoever that would for to put interrogatories unto the Embassadors, and the elder sort, such as had been present at the making of the capitulations and covenants concerning the said peace, and demanded of them, some one thing, and some another; and the Embassadors answered again, that by occasion of their yong age (for they were all in manner but yong men) they remembered no such thing: the whole court from all parts thereof cryed out and said, that this was but a fraudulent and traiterous Carthaginian trick, to chuse and send such for to sue for the old peace which they themselves could not remember. And when the Embassadors were voided out of the Senat-house, and the opinions of the LL. demanded, *M. Livius* was of this mind, that *Cn. Servilius* the Consul, who was the neerer of the twain, should be sent for, that the treaty of peace might in his presence be consulted upon. For since that there could not lightly a weightier matter then it was, come afore them to be determined of, he thought it stood not with the honor and reputation of the people of *Rome*, that such a matter should be debated of without the personall

D E presence of both, or at the leastwise one of the Consuls. *Qu. Metellus* (who three years before had been Consul and Dictator) spake to the cause in this manner. For as much as *P. Scipio* by defeating and putting to the sword whole armies, by waiving and spoiling the territories of the enemies, had driven them to this exigent, that in humble sort they came to crave peace: and considering that no man living was better able to judge with what mind and intent they sued for this peace then himself, who warred ever before the gates of *Carthage*; therefore no mans advice was to be heard, but only his, either to accept of the said peace in question, or to reject it. *M. Valerius* *Levinus*, who had been twice Consul, argued, that they were spies and not Embassadors, who now were come; and that it were a good deed to command them to avant and be packing out of the confines of *Italy*: & to send with them certain men of purpose to guard them to their ships;

F yes, & to write unto *Scipio* to go forward with his wars & not to slack one jot. *Laelius* & *Fulvius* added moreover and said, that *Scipio* laid this especially for his ground, to hope there might be peace, in case *Annibal* and *Mago* were not called out of *Italy*: As for the Carthaginians, they would make semblant of any thing whatsoever, so long as they expected those leaders and those armies: but afterwards without remembrance of covenants, were they never so fresh and new, yes, and without respect of all the gods, they would (no doubt) maintain and continue the wars. In these regards they inclined the rather to *Levinus*, and approved his opinion. So the Embassadors were sent away without any peace obtained, or certain answer returned unto them.

G Much about that time, *Cn. Servilius* the Consul, who made full reckoning that he should have the honour of bringing *Italy* into quietness, made pursuit after *Annibal*, as if he had been coured & driven out by him; and first failed over into *Scily*, and then into *Africa*. Which being commonly noised and bruited abroad at *Rome*, at the first the LL. of the Senat thought good, that the Pretor should write unto the Consuls to this effect, that the Senat judged it meet and reason for him to return into *Italy*. But afterwards upon the Pretor his words, saying that the Consul would forought by his letters, *P. Sulpicius* was created of purpose Dictator, who by vertue of that more sovereign rule and authority, called the Consul peremptorily home into *Italy*. And the rest

rest that year, he together with *M. Servilius* the Generall of the horse, spent in progresse and visiting all the Cities of *Italy* which in time of war had shaken off their allegiance, and in taking due knowledge of all their causes and reasons severally.

During the time of the truce, there let forth also out of *Sardinia* from *Leontium* the Pretor, an hundred hulks laden with victuals, together with a convoy and guard of twenty galleies of war, and passed over into *Africk* safe, both from the danger of the enemy, and also from the perill of tempests by sea. But *Cn. Octavius* as he was in his voyage from *Sicily*, with a fleet of two hundred hulks and thirty strong galleies, had not the like good speed. For as he sailed (well near) within the kenning of *Africk*, first he was calmed; then the wind turning South, troubled and disordered his ships, yea, and scattered them over the sea one from another. Himself with his galleies of war wrought against the wind and the current, and with exceeding toil and labour of the oare-men, doubted the point of the cape of *Apello*, &c. there in the bay rode at anchor: but the hulks for the most part fell with the Iland *Agimurnus* (which shattereth upon the foreland, and lieth in the very mouth of that creek from the sea wherein *Carthage* standeth) almost ten leagues from the City: and some were driven by wind to a place called the *Horwaters*, over against the City. All this hapned within the sight of *Carthage*. And therefore out of all parts of the City, was great running to the market place. The magistrats assembled the Senat; the people at the entry and porch of the Council house, called upon the Senators and cried out, that they should not let slip so great a booty out of their eies and hands. Some alledged against them, the fidelity of treating of peace: others also objected the faithfull promise of truce (the terme whereof was not yet expired.) But at last when both Senat and people were intermingled all in manner together, agreed it was by a general consent, that *Asdrubal* with a fleet of fifty sail, should cut over to *Agimurnus*; and so from thence rally and gather together the Roman ships disperfed along the coasts and the havens. And the hulks (abandoned of their mariners that were fled, first from the Iland *Agimurnus*, and afterwards from the *Horwaters* aforesaid) were drawn and towed as it were at the tails of their own ships to *Carthage*. As yet the Embassadors were not returned from *Rome*, neither knew they what the resolution of the Roman Senat was concerning war or peace, nor the day of the truce determined. *Scipio* taking the wrong and indignity to be more hainous, in that the hope of peace and the assurance of truce should be violat by them first, who sought both for the one and the other; presently dispatched an embassage to *Carthage* *M. Bibius*, *L. Servilius*, and *L. Fabius*; who being by the concourse and running together of the people, peerto a shrewd turn and mischief; and foreseeing their return like to be a dangerous, craved of the magistrats (who saved them from violence) to send certain ships to waite them. So they were allowed two galleies called *Tiremes*, which having conducted them until they were arrived at the river *Bagrada*, where they were within sight of the Roman camp, returned back again to *Carthage*. Now the Carthaginian Armado lay in the rode before *Vrica*. From thence there made out three galleies of four ranks of oars; whether it were upon some secret direction from *Carthage* so to do, or that *Asdrubal* the Admirall of the fleet, upon his own head adventured to foul an action (the state having no hand therein, and therefore not to be blamed) and espying the Roman Galley of five banks of oars past the point of the cape, suddainly assailed her from the main sea. But neither could they invest and strike her with their beak heads, making so good way, and shifting so well by reason of her swiftness: neither could the armed souldiers from out of their lower vessels boord her, being so tall a ship over them. And right valiantly she defended her self as long as shot lasted; which when it once failed, and that she had no other means to help her self, but only the nearness of the land and a number of souldiers who from the camp were run to the shore, with the losse only of the ship all the passengers escaped safe to land.

Thus the truce being doubtless broken with one wickedness coming in the neck of another, *L. Livius* and *Fulvius* came in the very nick from *Rome*, together with the Carthaginian Embassadors; unto whom *Scipio*; having given his word, that though the Carthaginians had not only broken the faith and assurance given of the truce, but also the law of arms, in abusing and evill intreating the persons of the Embassadors, yet himself would do nothing to them unworthy either the order of the people of *Rome*, or unfitting his own maner and custome, dismissed the Embassadors, and made preparation for war.

When *Annibal* now approached the land of *Africk*, one of the mariners was commanded to climb up to the top of the mast to discover the coast, and to see what part they were directed to; and when he made answer and said, that the prow made head upon a place called, the *Ruine sepulchre*; he misliked the omen and preface of that place, and commanded the pilot to passe by, and leave it: and so he put his fleet within the bay of *Lepis*, and there set his army a shore. And these were the affairs of *Africk* for that year. The acts ensuing, reach to that year, wherein *M. Servilius Geminus*, who then was Generall of the horse, and *T. Claudius Nero* were made Consuls. But in the end of that former year, when the Embassadors of the confederat Cities of *Greece* made complaints, that their territories were wasted by the Kings garrisons: and when they sent their Embassadors into *Macedonia*, for to demand satisfaction and restitution, they could not be admitted unto the King, nor have audience: and moreover, they gave intelligence, that there were four thousand armed souldiers transported over into *Spain*, under the conduct of *Sopater* to aid the Carthaginians: and certain summes of money likewise sent with them: the Senat gave order that Embassadors should be addressed unto the King, to give him to understand,

tha

A. that the L.L. of the Senate took all this to be done against the tenure and form of the league. So there were sent G. Hieronymus Varro, C. Marius and M. Aemilius. And three galleys of five oars each of ours they were allowed.

This was a year of several losses; first a great scarce fire, whereby the publick cliff was burnt to almost down to the ground; and for much abundance of rain and many floods, and exceeding cheapness of victuals. Notwithstanding all this, was open by reason of a general peace throughout. At Valencia Falcas, at Bilba, Pubine Donay, &c. died; of the which divided the great store of corn that was sent out of Spain; among the people, free by free, and let the price be four. After the Modius. The same year Q. Fabius de Aquila departed this life; a man of great years and exceeding old, if it be true which some writers report; that he was August 42 years. But certain it is that he was a man worthy of so great and honorable a surname, yea, and if it had begun first in himself. He surpassed the dignities of his father; he was equal in honor to his grand-father: *Rullus* his grand-father, I must needs say, had more titles of Nobles; and of greater battails; but our enemy of this, *Ambal*, may counterpoise them all, as many as they were. However, this man was counted more wary and advised, than hardy and forward; and as a man may well doubt whether by natural disposition he loved to take pleasure in all his actions, or that it was a policy of his agreeable to the wars properly then in hand; so verily nothing is more certain than this; that as the Poet *Ennius* saith:

C His son *Q. Fabius Maximus* was invested or installed Abur in his place, and for Bithop in his room (for two sacred pontifical dignities he had) *Sw. Sulpicius Galba* was chosen. The Roman places were exhibited one day and the Plebeian Games thrice wholly renewed by the Ediles *M. Sextus Sabinus*, and *Cn. Terentilius Placcus*. They both were made Pretors; and with them *C. Livius Salinator*, and *C. Aurelius Cotta*. The solemn selection of the Magistrats for that year, whether *Cn. Serranus* the Consul held, or (because of important business in *Thessaly*, about the examinations of the conspiracies these of certain great men, by commission from the Senate, which might keep him there.) *P. Sulpicius* the Dictator by him nominated; it is uncertain, by reason of the variety and difference of writers in that behalf.

In the beginning of the year next following, *M. Servilius* and *T. Claudius*, after they had assembled the Senat in the Capitol, moved concerning the Provinces. And forasmuch as both of them desired *Affrick*, they were willing that *Affrick* and *Indy*, should be put to the choice of a Lottery. But by the especial travail of *Q. Minucius*, the Province of *Affrick* was neither granted nor denied to either of them. And the Consuls were commanded to deal with the Tribuns of the Commons, that if they thought so good, they would prefer a bill unto the people, to know whom they would have to war in *Affrick*. So all the tribunes general gave their voices with *P. Scipio*. Nevertheless, the Consuls (for so the Senat had decreed before) cast lots for the Province of *Affrick*. Thus *Affrick* befall unto *T. Claudius*, namely, that he should sail over thither with an armada of fifty ships, all gallies of five ranks of oars, and be joynd in equal commission with *Scipio*. And *M. Servilius* had *Herrania* allotted unto him. In the same Province *Cn. Servilius* also was to continue in government, in case it pleased the Senat to stay the Consul in the City. Of Pretors, *M. Sulpicius* by lot had the rule of *Gallia*, with order, that *P. Quintilius Varus* should make over unto him the Province and two legions. And *O. Lollius* took the charge of the Bruttii with the two legions, which the year before were commanded by *P. Sempronius* the Vice-consul. *Cn. Tremellius* was appointed to govern *Sicily*, and to receive of *P. Villus Tappulus* the Pretor of the former year, that Province and two legions. And ordered it was, that *Villus* as Propretor, should keep in obedience and defend the coast of *Sicily* with twenty ships of war, and a thousand souldiers, and that from thence *M. Pomponius* should in the twenty ships behind embark one thousand and five hundred souldiers, and transport them over to *Rome*. Unto *C. Aurelius Cotta* was the civil jurisdiction of the City assigned. All the rest continued still in their government, and had their commissions newly signed, according as they had either provinces or armies under their hand. And with sixteen legions and no more, was the State of *Rome* that year maintained. Now to the end they might begin all enterprises in the name of the Gods and proceed therein with their grace and favour, order was given, that the Consuls before they went out to war, should set forth those games and plaies, and sacrifice those greater beasts which *T. Manlius* Dictator, in the year that *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *T. Quinctius* were Consuls, promised by solemn vow, in case the Common-weal continued for five years following, in the same good estate as then it was. So the games were exhibited in the great Cirque or show-place four daies together, and the sacrifices slain accordingly, as they were vowed to the Gods.

“But all this while, as mens hope, for their fear also increased daily more and more, whiles they
 G “could not certainly resolve with themselves, whether they had more cause to rejoyce, that *Annibal*
 “*Annibal* after sixteen years had abandoned *Italy*, and left the possession thereof free unto the peo-
 “ple of *Rome*; or to be afraid, for that he had passed over into *Affrick* with the safety of his ar-
 “my. For why? the place was only changed, and the danger all one. And surely *Q. Fabius* late
 “deceased, no vain Prophet of so great a perill and hazard, was wont to foretell, and this was ever
 “his song, That *Annibal* would be a more dangerous enemy at home in his own country, than
 “he had been abroad in a forrain Land. And *Scipio* should find, that he had to deal neither with

* Three pence
English.

" *Syphax*

“*Syphax* (King of a rude, untaught, and barbarous country, who was wont to lead armies of black
 “grooms, and little better than water-bearers and camp-slaves to keep one place, and never re-
 “move) nor with *Asdrubal* his father in law, a Captain of all others in flight of foot, and rea-
 “diest to run away, nor yet with tumultuary armies taken up in haste and raised in a day, consist-
 “ing of a rabble of rustical clowns and peasants armed by the halves but with *Annibal* himself, who
 “never within the camp, yet, and in the royal pavillion of his fathers a most valiant Captain, bred
 “and brought up amongst armed men: who long ago was no sooner a child, but he was a soldier,
 “and before he came to the prime and flower of youth, became a General: who growing to be
 “old in a continual course and train of victories, hath filled *Spain* and *France* from the one side
 “to the other, and *Italy* from the *Apes* to the narrow seas, with the marks and memorable moni-
 “ments of worthy and noble exploits: and leadeth still an army of as long standing and continu-
 “ance in warfare as himself, hardened and hardened to endure all those things which hardly one
 “would believe, men could abide and suffer, embroiled and bathed a thousand times in the blood of
 “Romans, and carrying with him the spoils not of common souldiers only, but also of most brave
 “Generals themselves, *Scipio* should be faine to encounter and meet in battail those who with their
 “own hands had slain *Perors*, and killed *Consuls of Rome*: all bedight and goodly to be seen in
 “mural and vallare coronets, for their good service in scaling of walls, and mounting over rampiers;
 “those I say who at their pleasure have ranged through the won camps and forced Cities of the
 “Romans. Neither at this day have the Magistrates of the people of *Rome* so many bundles of rods,
 “with axes born before them; as *Annibal* hath taken from the Roman Generals whom he hath slain,
 “& can if he list shew and carry before him. Casting and tossing these doubts and fears in their mind,
 “they themselves increased their own care, and doubled their dread in this point also, that whereas
 “they were wont for certain years to make war in sight of home, in diversie and sundry places of
 “*Italy*, with a lingering kind of hope, without regarding any issue thereof like presently to enforce now
 “*Scipio* and *Annibal*, Captains marched together (as one would say) to make a final end & tryal of all,
 “had set all mens minds a work to expect the event now or never. And even they also who had re-
 “posed exceeding confidence, and grounded no small hope of victory in *Scipio*, the more their spi-
 “rits were amuled upon it, and desirous to see a speedy effect, the greater was their care and doubt
 “of the sequel. The Carthaginians for all the world were likewise affected and disquieted in mind.
 “One while, beholding *Annibal*, and considering his noble and worthy acts, they repeated that
 “they sued for peace. Another while again, when they looked back and remembered, how twice
 “they had been defeated in battail, *Syphax* slain themselves driven out of *Spain*, chased and hunted
 “out of *Italy*, and all this by the valor and policy of one man *Scipio*: they trembled for fear of him,
 “as if he were the fatal Captain born for their ruin and utter destruction.”

Now by this time was *Annibal* come as far as *Adrumetum*: from whence, after he had bestow-
 “ed some few dayes in refreshing his sea-sick souldiers, he was roused with fearful posts that
 “brought newe, how all about *Carthage* was full of enemies and hostility: whereupon he made
 “long journeys till he came to *Zama*. This *Zama* is a Town distant from *Carthage* five dayes jour-
 “ney. From thence he sent out espials, who being taken by the Roman warders, were brought be-
 “fore *Scipio*, and he caused them to be delivered unto the Tribuns or Marshals, with command-
 “ment, that they should be led throughout the camp: and suffered without all fear, to see whatso-
 “ever they desired. And when he had asked of them whether they had perused and considered
 “every thing to their content, and enough to serve their turn; he sent them back again to *Annibal*,
 “with a safe conduct to accompany them. *Annibal* took no pleasure at all in hearing of any thing
 “that they reported: for (among other particulars) they brought newe, that *Majanius* chanced
 “that very day to come thither with six thousand foot and four thousand horse. But most of all,
 “he was troubled and cast down with the resolute confidence and assurance of the enemy; which
 “no doubt (he thought) arose not of nothing. And therefore albeir himself was the only cause of
 “that war, and by his arrival had disturbed the truce concluded, and the hope of peaceable cove-
 “nants; yet supposing, that a more indifferent accord might be obtained, in case he sued therefore
 “while he was entire and unfoiled, rather than after he were vanquished and overcome; he addres-
 “sed a messenger or pursivant unto *Scipio*, requesting that he might confer and commune with him.
 “Whether he did this of his own accord, or by direction from the publick Council of the State, I
 “have no reason to set down or avouch for certain, either the one or the other. *Valerius Antius*
 “writeth, That he was by *Scipio* defeated in the first battel, wherein were slain in field 12000 armed
 “men, and 1700 taken prisoners, whereupon himself in person came as Ambassador, with other ten
 “Orators into the camp unto *Scipio*. But howsoever it was, *Scipio* refused not to emparel; and so,
 “both Generals of purpose advanced forward and approached with their camps, to the end they
 “might be neerer one to the other when they should meet in conference. *Scipio* made choise of a
 “plot of ground not far from the City *Nadagara*: which as it was handsome and meet in
 “other respects, so especially in this, that it had a watering place within an arrow shot. *Annibal*
 “took an hill four miles from thence, sure enough and commodious otherwise, but only that they
 “were far from water. In the mid way between they chose a plain, open on every side, where they
 “might discover and see all about them, that no ambush there were laid: and after they had caused
 “their armed souldiers to retire a like distance from either party, then came together with one
 “truch-man or interpreter apeece, not only the grearest and bravest Captains of their time, but al-
 “so equal to the mightiest Kings or Emperors of realm or nation that ever had been afore them

The enter-
view of *Scipio*
and *Annibal*.

The Oration
of Annibal to
Scipio.

A in any age and remembrance of man. For awhile they stood one beholding the other, and said never a word, swilled and astounded with a mutual admiration: and at last Annibal began and spoke in this wise. The Gods by destinies have appointed, that I who first levied war against the Romans, and who to others have had the victory as it were in mine own hands, must needs of my self and mine own motion, come now first likewise to thee for peace: glad I am and well pleased, that it is my good hap to meet with you above all other men, at whose hands I should seek the same. And certainly, you also for your part among many your singular and excellent praises, may score up this for none of the least, namely, That Annibal (unto whom the Gods have vouchsafed the upper hand over so many noble Captains of the Romans) hath yielded the battles, and given place unto your self: now that you have had the honor to end this war, more notable and renowned at the first for your losses and overthrows than ours: and that fortune (as it is fallen out) hath made this pretty sport with me, who at the beginning took arms when your father was Consul, gave him battail first of all other Roman Generals, and am now come unarmed unto his son to crave peace. Verily much better it had been, and simply the very best, that the Gods had infused into our fore-fathers this mind, That both you might have contented your selves with the Dominion of *Italy*, and we likewise of *Africa*. For surely, *Spain*, and *Sardinia* both, are nothing sufficient to make amends and satisfaction, and it were but only of your part, in recompense of so many brave fleets, so many puissant armies, and so many noble Captains that we have lost. But faults done and past may well be blamed and reprov'd, when they can not be corrected and reformed. So greedy were we on both sides to conquer the backs of others, that in the mean time we have hazarded our own. Neither had ye war in *Italy* only, or we again in *Africa* alone: but both ye have seen the ensigns and armies of enemies hard at your gates, and in manner under your own walls: and we likewise from *Carthage* have heard the noise and drum of the Roman camp. Now then, that which we have cause most to desire and labor, and you to wish above all other things in the world; the treaty of peace is fallen out in time of your better prosperity, and more favourable aspect of fortune unto you. We both are the seekers of the self, whom it most standeth upon and importeth that there should be peace, and who are assured, whatsoever we conclude, that the States and Cities from whence we come, will approve and ratifie the same. There needs no more but a willing mind, well affected and contented with the course which tend to repose and quietness. For mine own part, I am while ago hath caught me, who am returned an old man into my country, from whence I came forth: another while prosperity and adversity both, hath so schooled me, that I would have rather gotten my reason than wayed by fortune. But I fear me greatly, that you as well in regard of youth, as in of your continual felicity and fortunat train of success, are over-hasty and stout, for to yield unto any peaceable waves. For commonly he fore-casteth no variable chances, who never tasted of adverse fortune. And the same are you at this day, that sometimes were the conqueror of *Hannibal* at *Canna*. You being hardly come to that age which is meet for war, you have the charge and command of an army: and look what enterprises you took in hand to achieve, you have the same you ever enjoyed as happily. You pursued the vengeance of fathers slain, and sought war by the calamity of your house and family a notable name and reputation: but verily, and piteously, *Scipio* full and whole you have recovered and conquered a famous name, and the names of *Carthaginians* you have chased from thence: no sooner were you created a Consul, but when all other men heers failed them to defend and keep *Italy*, you failed never: and after you had defeated here two armies, forced and burnt in your two camps of your enemies, taken *Asdrubal* prisoner, a most mighty and puissant Captain, who was to many Cities both of his Kingdom and of our dominion: you pulled me mangle from the jaws of *Italy*, which for I had been now fifteen years possessed. Well may you haughty and wanton glory rather than incline to peace. Full well I know at what spirit and stomack you are more respective to grandeur and honor, than to your good and profit. And the time is past, when I also had the sight of the countenance of fortune smiling and smiling to approve me. But now we are so blessed of God as to have our right wits and perfect senses in time of prosperity, we should consider and think not of things only which have happened, but of those which may happen hereafter. But if you should forget another, I alone might serve as a sufficient example, of accidents of fortune whatsoever. For whom not long since you either lay siege to, or have been besieged, between the river *Asio* and your City, and ready in manner to capture the walls of *Rome*, you see me now after the loss of my brethren, two right valiant warriors, renowned Generals, even here before the walls of my country little better than beaten and vanquished, in humble manner to avert and avoid those dangers from mine own City, which were otherwise imminent upon you. Well, the greatest and happiest fortune is least to be desired, when it is wholly lying on her than when she is to rise & bountiful. Now that you are now and we are, whines you are alone, and we seek a peace unto you that giveth it is a glorious and goodly manner to us that crave a more necessary than honorable. Better it is yet and more we want to enjoy a certain peace, than hope for a doubtful victory. The one lieth in our hands, the other as it pleaseth the Gods to dispose. Beware therefore, how in one hour you may lose the felicity of so many years. And as you consider your own strength & forces; so think what upon the power of fortune: let before your eyes the alternative course of *Mars* in war, you shall see armor and the edge of the sword: you shall see the bodies of men as well of

"one side as the other and no where less than in war do events answer to our hope and expecta-
 "tion. And make full account of this, that you shall not gain so much overplus of hope, (if
 "haply you should win a field) above that which by granting a peace you may presently have in
 "hand and be possessed of as you shall forgo and lose of the principal, in case you should be vanquished
 "and take the foil. One hours misfortune is able to overturn all the honors and triumphs and tri-
 "umphs as well past & gotten already, as in future hope to be obtained. In knitting and concluding
 "a peace, O P. Cornelius, all lieth in your power. Refuse that once and come to the tryal of a bat-
 "tall, you must take your hap as God shall appoint. If M. Anibal in times past being conqueror,
 "would have granted peace unto our fore-fathers at their suit and earnest petition: a rare and sin-
 "gular example had he afforded of vertue and felicity, and few comparable unto him: but not ha-
 "ving the grace so far when he was well; not able to set a gage to his prosperity in some measure
 "and in due time: not willing to restrain and stop the pride and haughtiness of his good fortune,
 "the higher he was heaved, the fouler was his fall; and the more he mounted, the greater was his
 "overthrow. It is for him (I confess) that giveth peace, to capitulate and set down the covenants
 "and conditions, and not for him that craveth the same. And yet peradventure we might not be
 "thought unworthy, to set upon our own heads a fine and forfeiture. We refuse not therefore
 "but are content, That all shall be yours, for which the quarrel and war first began *Sicily, Sardi-
 "nia, Spain*, all the lands whatsoever lying in the Sea between *Affrick* and *Italy*. And we Cartha-
 "ginians holding our selves enclosed within the bounds and coasts of *Affrick* (since the will and
 "pleasure of God is so) can abide to see you to rule and govern in forain lands and strange seas. I
 "cannot deny, but that you have good cause to suspect the Carthaginians for their faith & truth,
 "whose late desire of peace and attendance about the same, was not so plain and simple as it
 "should have been: Yet Scipio, take this wisdome: That it importeth much to the assurance of keep-
 "ing and observing peace once intertained, to consider who the persons be that seek and crave
 "the same. And even your own Senators and LL. of the Councel, as I hear say, were moved not
 "a little to deny and reject the motion of peace, for this cause, that our embassie seemed unto
 "them not so honorable as it ought to have been. But now I, even I, no worse a man than An-
 "ibal, do sue for peace; which as I would not seek, unless I thought it profitable so I will maintain
 "it in regard of that profit for which I fought it. And like as when I had once begun the war, so
 "long as the Gods impeached and envied me not, I maintained it so, as no man of ours had cause
 "to be weary thereof: so will I endeavour that none shall repent of the peace obtained by my
 "means. When Anibal had thus said, the Roman General made answer again in this sort. "I
 "knew full well, O Anibal, that the Carthaginians upon the hope of your coming have been di-
 "sturbed the assurance of the present truce, and also troubled the hope of the future peace. Nei-
 "ther do you your self dissemble so much, in desaling all out of the former conditions and capitu-
 "lations of peace, save only those things which long since have been in our power and posses-
 "sion. But as you have a great care, that your fellow citizens should know & perceive, what heavy
 "burdens they are by your means discharged and eased of: even so must I endeavor and labour,
 "that the points which then they covenanted and agreed upon, they deduct not this day out of
 "the articles and conditions of peace, for the hire and reward of their falsehood and treachery.
 "For unworthy you are to have the overture and possibility of any peace at all, ye seek also, that
 "fraud and deceit may turn to your profit and commodity. Neither began our predecessor first
 "to make war for *Sicily*, nor we since for *Spain*. But as then the danger wherein our allies the
 "Mamerins stood: so now the ruin and destruction of *Saguntum*, moved us to take arms most
 "justly, even for pity and compassion. That you began the quarrel and provoked us first, your self
 "confess, and the Gods do witness: who, as in the former war, they granted and gave the same, ac-
 "cording to right, equity, and justice: so they do in this, and so they ever will. For mine own part,
 "I remember well, and think upon the frailty of mankind, and the fickleness of this world: I con-
 "sider also the power of fortune and what she is able to do: I know likewise, that all our actions
 "whatsoever, are subject to a thousand hazards and inconveniences. But as I would acknowledge
 "my self to have dealt proudly and outrageously, if before I passed over into *Affrick*, when of N
 "your self well nigh you abandoned *Italy*, when you had imbarked your army, and came of your
 "own accord to seek peace, I had then rejected you and cast you off: even so at this time, when I
 "have haled and drawn you into *Affrick* by strong arm, as it were to trie an issue in law (all the
 "hasting, all the shifting and resistance you could make to the contrary notwithstanding) I am not
 "bound to have any respect or regard at all of you. Wherefore, if besides these points and capitu-
 "lations, under which the peace at that time was like to be concluded (and what those were you
 "know as well as I can tell you) you bring with you any recompence and amends for our ships,
 "which being charged with victual and munition, you took perforce from us in time of the cala-
 "mity of arms: as also for the outrage and violence committed upon the persons of our Ambassa-
 "dors: there is some reason that I should consider thereupon and be advised by my Councel. But
 "if you think hardly thereof also, as being thereby too sore pressed; look for battel, you that could
 "not like of repose; provide for war, since you would abide no peace. Thus without any conclu-
 "sion of accord they left parling; & being returned to their own companies, they related unto them
 "how their conference came to nothing, and all their words were but wind, and did no good: and
 "therefore the matter was to be determined and tried by dint of sword, and they to trust to that for-
 "tune which the Gods had appointed for them. So soon as they were come into their camp, both
 "of

The answer of
 Scipio to An-
 ibal.

A of them made proclamation, that the soldiers should buckle themselves, make ready their armour, pluck up their spirits, and address themselves to a final tryal of the quarrel; where, if they stood well, they were to be victors, not for one day, but for ever and aye. For before the morning next at night, they should know, whether *Rome* or *Carthage* should give laws unto all nations of the earth. And as neither *Africa* nor *Italy*, but the whole world shall be the prize and guerdon of the conquerors: so they, whose hap were to lose the field, must make account of danger and damage, equal to the winnings and gain of the other. For as the Romans had no way to escape, nor place of safe retreat, being in a strange and unknown land: so *Carthage* (having laid all upon this one cast) if they now missed, made account that all was gone, and present destruction at hand. So the next day there advanced forward to this doubtful and dangerous tryal, two most noble and renowned Captains, of two right mighty and puissant states: two most valiant and hardy armies came forth into the field, resolute that day either to win the butts or lose the saddle; to gain more glory to their former honour, or else to lose all that ever they had gotten. Thus therefore between hope and fear, their minds were perplexed and distracted; and beholding one while their own forces, and another while their enemies power; measuring rather by their eye, than weighing by reason their strength they had at once presented unto them, objects of joy and content, as well as of sorrow and heaviness. And look what the soldiers themselves could not think upon, the things their leaders put them in mind of, suggesting unto them by way of admonition and exhortation, what ever was thought expedient and good. *Annibal* rehear'd his noble acts achieved in *Italy* for the space of sixteen years, he reckoned up how many Roman Captains he had slain, how many armies he had defeated and put to the sword: and ever as he met with any soldiers of note and mark for some worthy and memorable battail, he put them in remembrance of their honourable service and good deserts: *Scipio* related the conquest of *Spain*, recounted the fresh foughten fields in *Africa*, alleged the very confession of the enemies: who neither for fear could do other but seek for peace, nor yet upon an inbred falshood imprinted in their hearts, continue long in the same. Besides, he interred the commendation and speech of *Annibal* had with him in secret and apart from others: which according as he was disposed to devill, he might turn at his pleasure to fit his purpose. And forasmuch as the Gods had shewed unto them as they went out into the field the same signs and tokens of birds, by direction whereof their fathers before them fought in times past before the lands *Agates*: he offered and prelated that the war was come to an end, all dangers and troubles overblown, that the spoil and pillage of *Carthage* was at their devotion, and they at the point to return home unto their countrey, their parents, wives, children, and domestical Gods. And this he spake with such a lofty gesture of his body, with so pleasant and lovely a countenance withal, that a man who had seen him, would have thought verily he had achieved the victory already. Then he embattailed first his *Hastari* (or spears) in the vanguard behind them the *Principes*; and the reeward he guarded and fortified with the *Triarii*. Neither marshalled he whole cohorts thrust thick and close together, in the head of the battail before their ensigns, but divided them into Squadrons, distant a pretty way asunder one from the other: to the end there might be room and space to receive the Elephants of the enemies, that they should not break the arrayes and ranks. As for *Laelius* (whom he had employed before as Lieutenant, but that year in quality of a Questor by a special order and direction from the Senat, and not by choice of lot) him with the Italian Cavalry he put in the left point, and *Masaniissa* with the Numidian horsemen in the right. The open waies and void spaces between the Squadrons afore said, placed in the front before the ensigns, he filled with the *Velites* or light footers, who at that time were light armed soldiers: with this commandment, that presently upon the violent charge given by the Elephants, they should either retire behind the files, or else run to a hide, both on the right hand and the left, and join close to the foremost ranks, and make the Elephants way to run upon their foot from the one side and the other. *Annibal* to strike a terror into the enemies, first arranged the Elephants in the front, who were in number forty score, and more than ever he had before in any battail. Then he embattailed the aid-soldiers of the Ligurians and Frenchmen, with the Balearic slingers and the Moors intermingled amongst them. In the main battail, he placed the Carthaginians and Africans, with the legion of the Macedonians; behind whom (leaving a little space between) he set in array the battalion of the Italian soldiers in the reeward for succour: and those were most part of them *Bruttii*, who followed him more perfectly and by constraint, than of any good will, when he departed out of *Italy*. The Cavalry also he displayed and led round like wings about the two points: whereof the Carthaginians kept the right, and the Numidians the left. Sundry and divers were the exhortations throughout the army, amongst to many men: whose language was different, whose complexions far unlike, whose manners and conditions were divers, who differed in laws and customs, whose armours were not all one, whose raiment and apparel not alike, and finally, whose quarrel and cause of war was not one and the same. The auxiliaries and aid-soldiers fed themselves with the hope of ready and present payment and wages for the time past, yea, and with a double and triple augmentation thereof to boot, out of the spoil and pillage. The Frenchmen upon a special hatred of their own, and the same deeply rooted, were soon kindled and enflamed against the Romans. The Ligurians, who were brought out of the rough and craggy mountains, and whole youth watered at the fruitful and plentiful fields of *Italy*, were quickly by him moved to hope after victory. The Moors and Numidians he terrified with the proud and tyrannical rule of *Masaniissa*, under which they should ever after

live. Before the Carthaginians he presented the walls of their native City, their houses and houses of Gods, the sepulchres and tombs of their ancestors, their children and parents, yea, and their timorous and fearful wives: he set before their eyes either final destruction of all those things and slavery of their persons, or else the empire and sovereign dominions of the whole world: and no mean between these extremities either of fear or hope.

When as the General was most busie thus in exhorting the Carthaginians and the Captains of the strangers, amongst the souldiers of their own Nations, and that for the most part by means of interpreters, intermingled for the same purpose with them; the Trumpets sounded, and the horns blew from the Roman host. And such a wonderful shout arose from thence, that the Elephants turned upon the Mores and Numidians of their own side, especially in the left point of the battail. Whom *M. Janissa* seeing once affrighted, he soon redoubled their fear; and riding upon them with a hot charge, laid naked the battailion of footmen on that side, and clean without the aid of their Cavalry. Howbeit, some few of the Elephants driven without fear full upon the enemy, made foul work among the ranks of the light-armed Velites, and overthrew a number of them, not without many a wound and much hurt done to themselves. For the Velites leaping again nimely to the Squadrons, after they had made way for the beasts, fearing they should be troden underfoot by them, let flie their javelins at them from both sides, lying open as they did like burs to the shot on either hand. Neither lost they any time, who were in the vanguard before the Ensigns, nor gave over flinging their darts at them, until they were driven by a volley of shot lighting upon them from all parts, clean out of the Roman battail: and then they turned head also upon the very Horsemen of the Carthaginians in their own right point, and forced them to run away. *Lulus* for his part, seeing the enemies in disarray and sore troubled, charged upon them with his Horses, and increased their fright. So as now the Carthaginian battailion was disurnished and stript of their Horsemen on both wings. By which time the Cavalry joynd battail, whose hope was now quailed and strength abated, and therefore not able to make their parts good. Besides another thing there was, a small matter to speak of, but yet in fighting time and in the very conflict, of great consequence and importance. The shout and cry from the Romans was ever alike and consonant in all parts, and therefore the greater and more terrible: but the enemies made dissonant noises, according as they differed in language, being as they were, of many and sundry Nations. The manner of the Romans fight was sure and steadfast, by reason of the peise of their own bodies, and the weight of their armour, bearing still a d pressing hard upon the enemies: but they on the other side, shewed more swiftness and agility, than force and violence. And therefore at the very first shock the Romans incontinently enforced their battailion to retire and lose their ground. Afterward they fell to shoudering and knocking them with the pikes and bosses of their bucklers: which done, they set foot forward a good round pace, and gained some ground of them, marching on still, and no man seemed to make head against them; whiles they that were hindmost in the files, perceiving once that battailion to go on and win ground, still put forward the foremost, which was the very thing that availed much, and was of great efficacy to put the enemies to flight. But the second battailion which consisted of Africans, and Carthaginians, were so far from seconding and upholding the auxiliary strangers thus dismarching; that contrary-wise, for fear lest the Romans by killing them in the forefront (who stood to it lustily and made resistance) should come as far as to them behind, they likewise retired and gave backward. Whereupon the aid-souldiers also suddenly shewed their hin-parts and turning their face upon their own fellows: some of them retired for refuge into the second battailion; others fell to killing of them that would not receive them within their ranks: and good reason they had, for as a while before they had no help at all of them, so then they were altogether excluded and shut out from them. So as now the Carthaginians had to deal at once in two skirmishes shuffled together, whiles they were compelled to close and come to handfight, both with their enemies, and also with their own fellows. Yet notwithstanding for all they were either so affrighted, or so angry with them receive them they would not in no hand into their battailion: but keeping their ranks and files close together, they cast them to side to the wings and the void ground without the place of conflict, and all because they would not intermingle any souldiers thus scared upon running away and many wounds, with that battailion which stood still sure enough, and as yet unfoiled. But the place where a little before the auxiliaries were ranged, was so full of slain bodies, and weapons and armour thrumbled one upon another, that the Romans had welneer more ado to pass that way now, than they should have had through the press of the enemies standing thick together. And therefore the foremost of the Hastati following after the enemies, every one as well as he could over the heaps of bodies and armour on the earth, and through the slippery filth of the blood, made a pelmell of their own ensigns, and confusion of their ranks. Whereupon the ensigns also of the Principes began to wave, when they saw the battail afore them so wandering and inconstant. Which *Scipio* when he once perceived, commanded in all hast to sound the retreat unto the Hastati: and when he had withdawn as many of them as were wounded and hurt, and bestowed them in the rearward, he brought the Principes and the Triarii to the out-wings and flanks thereof; to the end, that the middle battailion of the Hastati should be more sure and strong. By this means there began a new skirmish. For now were they come to their very enemies indeed: such as for armour and weapons of all sorts, for practise and experience of warfare, for fame and renown of worthy

A worthy exploits, and list of all for greatness either of hope or peril, were equal and comparable unto them. But both in number and also in courage, the Romans were superior, for that already they had discomfited the Cavalry, put to flight the Elephants, beaten back the vanguard, and were ready now to encounter with the main battail. Now *Adriani* and *Aspurgis* having had the horsemen in chase a good way, whom they had compelled to flee as is before said, returned in good time and charged hotly upon the tail of the enemies battail. And this assault of theirs it was, that struck the stroke, this did the deed and amazed the enemies. Many of them were environed and killed in the place, many fled and were scattered over the plains and open fields, and by the horsemen who had taken up all the avenues, and ranged all about, were caught up here and there, and so slain. Of Carthaginians and their Allies, were killed that day above twenty thousand, and **B** we know as many taken prisoners: of military ensignes there were gotten a hundred thirty three, and eleven Elephants besides, alive. Of the conquerors there died about two thousand, *Annibal* with some few horsemen made shift to escape out of the tumult and heat of the execution, and fled to *Adrumetum*, having assayed and tried all means possible, both in the very conflict, and also before the battail, ere he departed and left the fight. And this praise and commendation he won even by the confession of *Scipio* himself, and all others that were expert warriors, that with singular skill that day he ordered the battel, and marshalled the field. For the Elephants he had placed in the forefront, whose adventurous force and intollerable violence in giving the onset, might impeach the Romans from following their colours, and keeping their arraies: the only thing wherein they reposed their greatest hope and confidence. Then, before the main battail of the Carthaginians, he set the auxiliaries and aid-souldiers, of purpose, that being a confused rable and medley of all sorts of nations, such as were not bound by allegiance, but tied only by gain and wages, should have no liberty to retire themselves, and escape by running away: who also, as the forlorn hope, bearing the furious heat of the first brunt, might weary the enemies with charging upon them, and if they did no other good, yet with receiving many a wound in their bodies dull and turn the edge of the enemies sword. After this, in the battel, where all his hope was, he placed the Carthaginian and African souldiers; that being otherwise in all things else equal to the enemies, they might in this regard have the ods, in that they were to fight with them wearied and wounded, when they themselves were in heart and lusty. As for the Italians, who also were divided from the rest by a good space between, he removed far off into the rearward, as doubtful whether they were friends or enemies. *Annibal* having done this doughty deed and work, as it were for the last proof of his vertue and valour, fled to *Adrumetum*, and was from thence sent for to *Carthage*: whither he returned in the 36 year, after that he first departed thence a very child. Where in the Council house he confessed and said, "That overcome he was not only in a battel once, but also in the main war for ever hereafter: protesting in plain terms, that now there was no other way but one to save themselves, and that was peace, if they could obtain it."

Scipio immediately after this battail, having forced by assault and rifled the enemies camp, returned with a huge booty to the Sea and his ships, being advertised afore by a messenger that *P. Lentulus* was arrived at *Utica* with five ships of war, and a hundred Hulks laden with provision of all kinds of victual. And supposing it good policy now that *Carthage* was troubled and thoroughly affrighted, to come upon them with all terror on every side: so soon as he had dispatched *Lentulus* away to *Rome*, with tidings of this victory, he commanded *Cn. Octavius* to lead the legions by Land against *Carthage*. Himself in proper person, after he had joined this new fleet of *Lentulus*, unto the old Armado of his own, weighed anchor and departed from *Utica*, and sailed directly to the Haven of *Carthage*. He was not far from thence, when there met him a ship of the Carthaginians, garnished with insules, ribbands, and white flags of peace, and beset with branches of Olive: wherein were ten Orators embarked, the best men of the City, sent by the advice and motion of *Annibal* to crave peace. Who as they approached the hind-deck and poop of the Admiral ship, put forth the vails and tokens of suppliants, praying and beseeching the protection and mercy of *Scipio*. Who had no other answer made them, but that they should repair to *Tunes*, whither he intended to remove. Then himself after he had well viewed the situation of *Carthage*, not so much to have the full knowledge thereof at this present, as to terrifie the enemies, returned to *Utica*, whither he had called back *Octavius* also. As he marched forward from thence toward *Tunes*, he had intelligence given him, that *Vermis* the son of *Syphax* was coming to aid the Carthaginians with a power of more Horsemen than Footmen: whereupon, part of the army together with the whole Cavalry was sent: whereof the light horse and van-couriers charging the vanguard in their march, after a light skirmish discomfited the Numidians: and having stopped all passages every way with the Horsemen, so as they could nor get out and flee, there were upon a fifteen thousand men of them slain, 1200 taken prisoners, 1500 Numidian Horses also were gotten from them alive, and 72 military ensignes. The young Prince himself in the midst of the tumult and conflict, with some few escaped. Then encamped *Scipio* near *Tunes*, in the same place where he lay before: and thither repaired unto him thirty Embassadors from *Carthage*. And they verily, as they were in harder case and greater distress, made much more pitifull entreating than before: but in their audience found less favour and mercy by a great deal for their late treachery and falshood so fresh in remembrance. Now albeit when they were set in counsell, all of them had just cause to be angry, and thereupon were provoked to destroy & rase *Carthage*: yet upon better advisement and consideration, how great and difficult and enterprize, and what a long

Annibal defeated by *Scipio*.

* Or *Adrumetum*, now *Machometta*, according to *Mercator*.

long peace of service it was to besiege a City so strong and so well fortified: and for that *Scipio* himself was troubled in mind with the expectation of a successor, who should come to what the credit and honor of finishing the war; which indeed was gotten by the travail and labor of him, that all their hearts were turned and inclined to peace. The morrow after the Orators were called again before them: and after they had been well checked, rebuked; and plainly told of their treachery, and warned withal, that after so many losses and overthrowes which they had received, they should now learn to be wise, and at length believe that there were Gods in Heaven, and that an oath was to be regarded, these conditions of peace were tendered and offered unto them. *Imprimis*, it was capitulated, That they might live free, according to the form of their own Laws. *Item*, What Cities, what territories (and within what bounds and limits) they held and were possessed of before the war began, the same they might keep still. *Item*, That *Scipio* and the Romans from that day forward should not waste and spoil the countrey. *Item*, That the Carthaginians should deliver all renegade traitors, all fugitive persons, all captives and prisoners, yea, and yield unto them all ships of war with brazen heads, above ten triremes or galleys of three ranks of oars. *Item*, That they should put into their hands all those Elephants which they had already tamed and manned, and should break and tame no more of them. *Item*, They should make war neither in *Affrick*, nor without *Affrick*, but by order and warrant from the people of *Rome*. That they should make restitution and amends to *Masanissa* for all harms, and enter into league with him. *Item*, That they should find corn and money for the maintenance of the aid-souldiers, until their Embassadors were returned from *Rome*: yea, and tender payment of ten thousand talents of silver by even portions in fifty years. *Item*, That they should put in a hundred hostages at the pleasure of *Scipio*, and none of them to be either under fourteen years of age, or above thirty. Last of all, they would grant a truce upon this condition, That the ships which were taken during the time of the former cessation of arms, should be restored back again, with all things else that were therein: otherwise, no truce for the present, nor hope of peace hereafter. These articles and conditions the Embassadors were willed to return home withal. Which after they had related in the general assembly of the people, *Gisco* mounted up the pulpit to disswade peace, and had audience given him with great applause of the multitude; who as they were heartless and unmeet for war, so they were as peevish and unruly, and could not long continue in repose. Hereat, *Annibal* took great indignation, and was highly displeased, that in such a time, those things should either be delivered or heard: and he made no more ado, but stepped to *Gisco*, laid hand upon him, and pulled him down from the pulpit out of which he spoke: whereat the people were moved and grumbled in great discontent to see so strange a sight and unusual, in a free City. Then *Annibal*, as he was a meek martial man and could not skill of civil affairs, nor well away with these citizens liberty: "I went," quoth he, "from you when I was but nine years old, and now after 30 years I am come again. All military skill and knowledge, which fortune sometime in my private matters, and otherwhiles in publick affairs, hath taught me from my childhood, me thinks I have learned sufficiently: many for the rights and privileges, for the laws, customs and fashions of the City and the common Hall I must be informed and instructed by you." Thus having pleaded ignorance for his excuse, he discoursed at large of peace, arguing how reasonable and equal, yea, and how necessary it was. The greatest point of difficulty in all the capitulations ministered unto them was this, That touching the things abovesaid which were taken during the abstinence of arms, there was nothing now forth-coming and to be seen but the bare vessels; and no easy matter was it to seek up the rest. Now when as they that gain'd the peace were convinced and put down by reason, agreed it was, that the ships should be redelivered, and the men likewise be sought out and found: as for all the rest that was wanting, there should an estimate be made according to the value, at the discretion of *Scipio*, and so the Carthaginians to make all good in money. Whence there be that have delivered how *Annibal* presently from the field sped him to Sea, and thence finding a ship ready prepared for him, straight-ways embarked, and went directly to King *Antiochus*: Also, when *Scipio* demanded above all other things that *Annibal* should be yielded into his hands, answer was made, that *Annibal* was not in *Affrick*. After that the Embassadors were returned to *Scipio*, the Quæstors or Treasurers were commanded to draw an exact account according to their books upon record, of all such things as were in the ships, and appertained to the City: and look what belonged to private persons, the owners thereof were willed to declare and testify. In consideration and recompense whereof, there was a sum of money set down, amounting to 25000 pound weight of silver, and the same to be paid presently out of hand by the Carthaginians. Thus a truce was granted to them for three months: with this clause annexed over and besides, That during the said term they should send their Embassadors to no other place but only to *Rome*: and what Embassadors soever came to *Carthage*, they should not let them depart before they had certified the Roman General both who they were, and what their message and errand was. Then with the Carthaginian Embassadors were sent to *Rome*, *L. Veturius Philo*, *M. Martius Ralla*, and *L. Scipio*, brother to the General. At that time there came such store of grain and victuals out of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, and thereby corn was so cheap, that the Merchant was fain to leave corn behind him, to furnish the shipmen and mariners for the portage and carriage thereof.

Now there had been much trouble and fear at *Rome* upon the first news and alarm, that the Carthaginians had taken arms again: and *T. Claudius* had commission to conduct a fleet with all speed

A speed into *Sicily*, and from thence to pass over into *Africa*: likewise the other Consul was commanded to stay still at *Rome*, until it were certainly known in what terms all matters stood in *Africa*. But *T. Claudius* went but slowly so work either in preparing and rigging an armada, or in putting it to sea: because the *LL.* of the *Senat* were of opinion, that as touching the peace and the conditions thereof, it was rather at the disposition of *Scipio*, than of the Consul. Moreover, there were certain prodigious signs reported even presently before the very rumour of the fore-said rising and insurrection, which caused men to fear greatly. At *Coma*, the circle and compass of the sun appeared less; and it rained a good shower of stones. Also in the territory of *Velutro*, the earth seized and sunk, and made huge hollow chinks in so much as trees were quite swallowed up under the ground. At *Aricia* the market-place and the shops all about, likewise at *Erasine* the wall of the City in divers places, yea, and the gate, were smitten with lightning from heaven: and in mount *Palatine* it rained stones. This wondrous sight last rehearsed, was expiate after the ancient custome, by keeping a *Novendial* sacrifice and feast for nine dayes: the rest by killing of greater sacrifices. Among all there were unusual deluges and inundations of waters, which troubled the minds and consciences of men: for the *Tyber* so swelled and rose so high, that by reason that the shew-place of the *Circus* was overflowed, preparation was made for the setting forth of the games *Apollinaries*, without the gate *Collina*, near the chappel of *Venus Erycina*. But upon the very day when the plaies should be exhibited, it grew to be so fair weather of a sudden, that the pageant and pompous train of the shew, which was a going to the gate *Collina*, was called back and conveyed into the *Circus*: and word brought, that the water was fallen and gone clean out from thence: so the people were more joyous, and the pastimes celebrated with greater resort, for that the usual and ordinary place served again for the solemnity to be performed.

Claudius the Consul at last departed from the City of *Rome*, and went to sea: where between the havens of *Cass* and *Laurentium*, he was overtaken with a terrible and fearful tempest that arose and put him in exceeding fear. From thence he came to the *Papilionis*, and there staid until the tempest was overblown and gone. Then he fell with the Ile * *Illa*, and from *Illa* he sailed to *Corsica*, and from *Corsica* he passed over to *Sardinia*: where, as he doubled the point and was passing the race of the mountains called * *Insani*, there arose a far more cruel gust, and in places of more peril and hazard, which scattered the fleet. Many of the ships were weather beaten and sore shaken, many lost their tackling quite, yea, and some were cracked and split. Thus the Armado being much tossed and torn, arrived at length at *Coma*: where, whilst the ships were drawn up into the dock to drie Land, and there a repairing, the winter came upon them, and the year turned about. And so *T. Claudius* (as a private person, by reason that no man renewed his commission for a further time) brought the Armado back to *Rome*: But *M. Servilius*, because he should not be called home to the City for the solemn election of Magistrates, after he had declared Dictator, *Cn. Servilius Geminus*, departed into his Province. And the Dictator chose *P. Aelius Paetus* General of the Horsemen. Oftentimes went the writs out for publishing of the election, but by reason of tempests it held not, nor was performed. And therefore when the old Magistrates left their office after the Ides of *March*, and no new substituted in their room, the City was clean without any Magistrates of state to sit in the ivory chair. *A. Manlius Torquatus* a Bishop, that year died. In his place was invested *C. Sulpicius Galba*. The Roman games were thence exhibited anew by *L. Lucullus Lucullus* and *Q. Fulvius* Ediles of the chair. The Clarks and Scribes belonging to the Ediles, together with their beadies and summoners, were detected for carrying forth certain money out of the treasure and chamber of the City: and being thereof convicted, were therefore condemned, nor without some touch and discredit of *Lucullus* himself the Edile. *P. Aelius Tiberius* and *L. Letterius* Ediles of the commons, for that there was some error and default in their election, resigned up their places. After they had represented the playes, and in regard thereof solemnized the feast of *Jupiter*, and set up besides in the Capitol three images made of the silver that was forfeited and raised upon the fines of the persons condemned aforesaid. The Dictator and General over the Horsemen, by order from the *Senat* exhibited the games called *Cereales* to the honour of *Ceres*.

When the Roman Embassadors and Carthaginians together, were come out of *Africa* to *Rome*, the *Senat* assembled to give them audience in the Temple of *Bellona* where *L. Fannius* *Paculus* after he had declared (to the exceeding joy of the *LL.* of the *Senat*) that they had fought a battail with *Annibal*, (the last that ever the Carthaginians were like to fight) and that this grievous and lamentable war was now come to an end, he went on still and related, that *Fernius* the son of *Syphax* was vanquished and subdued; which was no small increase of the other exploits so happily achieved. Then he was commanded to go forth from thence directly to the assembly of the people, there to impart their glad news unto the multitude. Whereupon (for exceeding joy and in token of thanksgiving) all the Temples in the City were set open, and solemn processions devised for three dayes. Now when as the Embassadors of the Carthaginians and King *Philip* (for they also were arrived) required to have a day of audience in the *Senat*, the Dictator by direction from the *Senat*, returned them this answer, That the new Consuls should satisfy their request. After this, was the solemn assembly holden for the election of Magistrates: and Consuls were created *Cn. Cornelius Lucullus* and *P. Aelius Paetus*: for Praetors, first *M. Junius Pennus*, who was allotted to have the civil jurisdiction in the City: then *M. Valerius Flaccus*, unto whom the Brutian country fell by lot to government, *M. Fabius Buteo*, whose hap was to rule *Sardinia*, and

* *Illa*.* *Maincena*;
* *Probus*, *Consul*;
* *Modernis*.

and P. *Ennius* Tribune, to be L. deputy of *Sardinia*. Concerning the Provinces where the Com-
munes were to be employed, it was not thought good to determine any thing, before the Embassa-
dors of King *Ptolemy* and likewise of the Carthaginians had delivered their embassages: for as they
saw the end of one war, so they foresaw the beginning of another. C. *Leutius* the Consul was
impaired with an ardent desire of the Province of *Africa*: for if the war continued, he aimed at
an easy victory: and if it were at the point of an end, he hoped at the honor of finishing the same,
and hoped to have the name, That determined it was while he was Consul. And therefore he
protested plainly, that he would suffer nothing to pass before that the Province of *Africa* were
assigned to him. His colleague (a sober, temperate, and discreet man) gave his consent for he saw
full well, that as the contending for that glory with *Scipio*, was unjust and unreasonable, so in it he
would be overmatched, and never able to import and carry it away from him. P. *Mucius* *Ther-*
psidius and M. *Acilius* *Glabrius*, two Tribunes of the commons, gave out and said, That C. *Cornelius*
were about to compass that, which was commenced and assailed in the year before by
C. *Gracchus* the Consul. For when by warrant from the Senat a bill was proposed into the people,
whom their pleasure was to nominate for government of *Africa*, all the 35 Tribes gave their
voices and awarded that Province to P. *Scipio*. Much contention there passed and many bicker-
ments both in Senat-house and before the people, in the debating of this question: but in the end
they grew to this point to refer all to the judgement of the Senat. So the LL. of the Senat having
taken their oath (for so it was agreed upon) thus concluded and gave this order. First, that the
two Consuls should either agree together between themselves, or else call lots for their Pro-
vinces; namely, which of them should have the rule of *Italy*, and who the charge of a fleet of fifty
sail. Item, to whether of them would belee the navy, he should sail over into *Sicily*: and if peace
might not be fully concluded with the Carthaginians, then to cross over into *Africa*: where the
Consul should war by Sea, and *Scipio* by Land: by virtue of the same commission and authority
that he had already. Moreover, if the conditions of peace were accepted of both parts, that then
the Tribunes of the Commons should propound unto the people, as touching their will and plea-
sure, whether the Consul of P. *Scipio* should conclude the peace; and which of them (if the victo-
rious army after conquest obtained) were to be brought back out of *Africa*: should have the
conduct thereof home again. And, if they nominated *Scipio* for to make the peace, and bring
away the army likewise, then the Consul should be cut over from *Sicily* to *Africa*. As for the other
Consul who had the government of *Italy*, he should receive of M. *Scipio* the Pretor, two legions,
so P. *Scipio* had his commission sealed again for to remain in the Province of *Sicily*, with the same
forces which he there had. On M. *Pulchellus* P. also the Pretor in the Britians country was allowed
those legions whereof C. *Isidrus* had the command the year before. It was further agreed
that P. *Scipio* the Pretor should take the two legions in *Sicily* of C. *Terentius*: and that one le-
gion which P. *Domitius* the Propetor had under his conduct, was appointed to M. *Fabius* for
Sardinia. And M. *Scipio* the Consul of the former year, continued also in his government with
his own two legions for *Italy*. As concerning the provinces of *Sardinia*, then L. *Carminius* *Leu-*
lus and M. *Acilius* *Glabrius* had been there for certain years, the said Consuls were to deal with
the Tribunes, that if they thought it good they should propound unto the Commons, for to know
their mind, whom they would appoint to govern *Sardinia*: and that he who soever it was, should
out of two armies take one entire legion of Roman soldiers. And of the allies of the Latin na-
tion make up armed cohorts or regiments, and with the strength of them jointly, keep in obe-
dience, and defend the province. Item, that D. *Corneilius* and P. *Mucius* should bring over the
old soldiers into *Italy*. Unto *Corneilius* the Consul was assigned a fleet of fifty ships, to be de-
puted and drawn out of two other Armies: the one of C. *Scipio* which was in *Africa*,
the other of P. *Scipio* which guarded the coasts of *Sicily*: and to choose thereout what ships he
would: and that P. *Scipio* should keep those fifty ships of war which he had already. And in case
his pleasure was that C. *Scipio* should be Admiral over them, like as he heretofore: then
O. *Octavius* was to continue in government for that year as Vice-pretor: but if he made *Leutius* the
Admiral, then O. *Octavius* should depart and come home to Rome, and bring back with him those
ships that the Vice-consul had no more need of. M. *Scipio* likewise had ten cohorts of service al-
lowed him in *Sardinia*. And the Tribunes were appointed to muster and enroll two legions of
citizens: that with the power of sixteen legions, and as hundred ships of war, the arms of
Rome that year might be managed. These things thus ordered, they began to debate in tomes about the Embassadors of *Ptolemy*
and the Carthaginians: and thought good it was to admit the Macedonians into place for to
have audience. Divers and many speeches they made, while they laboured partly to clear that
point as touching the complaints that the Embassadors sent from *Rome* made before the King
for the robbing and spoiling of his country: and partly complained themselves of the al-
lies of the people of *Rome*, for as much as their charge: but far more bitterly accusing M. *Acili-*
us, for that he being one of the three Embassadors sent unto them, had behaved and took mu-
nitions of soldiers: and had so in the covering and compassing in the legions made war upon them,
and oftentimes given them the captains and Governors in open field: partly also they de-
manded: that the Macedonians and their Captains *Scipio*, who had served in the wars of *Rome*
for wages, and were taken prisoners and kept bound in prison, might be charged and let at
liberty.

A To these points *M. Fulvius* of purpose from *Aurelius* out of *Macedonia* made answer brief-ly in this wise. That *Aurelius* who was left behind, for fear that the associates of the people of *Rome*; wearied with roads and incursions into their territories and other injurious oppressions, might retaliate to the King, never departed out of the confines of the associates aforesaid, and endeavour'd only, that those robbers and ravagers of the country should not invade and over-run their lands, and go clear away without any harm. As for *Scipio*, he was a state and peer of the *Macedonians* and with money to aid and assist *Annibal* and the *Carthaginians*. When as the *Macedonians* being required what they could say to these challenges, framed but a doubtful and intricate defence, before they had well made an end they received this for their answer: That since the King *Antiochus* was if he proceeded and went on still, he should shortly have his hands full; but forasmuch as he had broken the league in two points, first in offering wrong to the allies of the people of *Rome*, and molesting them by way of war and hostilities; and secondly, in helping their enemies with men and money, they deemed thus much of it, that not only *P. Scipio* both did & doth well and justly, in keeping them still in prison as enemies, who bare arms against the people of *Rome*, and were taken captive; but also *M. Aemilius* performed good service to the State, and a great pleasure to the *Senat*, in defending the Allies of the people of *Rome* by force of arms, when by *negotiation* could not. When the *Macedonians* had their dispatch, and were sent away with this heavy answer, then the *Carthaginian* Embassadors were called in.

C When they beheld their reverent age, and the dignity of their personage (for they were the best and principal men simply of their City) then every man was fully perswaded for his own part and sake. Thus now they desired no longer, but meant indeed and good earnest to crave & have peace. But the chief and most portly person of them all was one *Asdrubal*, in his country and among his citizens surnamed *Hædus*, a man that ever perswaded peace, & opposed himself against the *Barchine* faction. And therefore he had the more credit and authority, when he derived the blame from the *Commonwealth*, and laid all the fault upon the wilfulness and greedy avarice of some few. Who after he had used diverse and sundry speeches, one while excusing and clearing the crimes, another while confessing somethings objected, lest if they had denied certain truths, they should with more difficulty have obtained pardon and peace: now and then also giving the *LL. of the Senat* an admonition and warning by the way, to use their prosperity and good fortune modestly and with moderation, he added moreover and said, That if the *Carthaginians* would have been ruled by him & *Hanno*, and had been so wise as to have taken their time and the opportunity when it was, they should themselves have given those conditions of peace, which now they are constrained to crave. But for men to be fortunate and wise both at once, it is a rare and special gift, and seldom seen. And here it is that the people of *Rome* (quoth he) is invincible, because in prosperity they can remember to be wise, and to take the best way for themselves. And certainly, a wonder it were, if ever they should do otherwise. For those commonly who happen to meet with some new good success, and have not been used thereto before, are stiff-foot and pass themselves too much in excessive joy, which they have not the grace to govern with sobriety and discretion: whereas the people of *Rome* have ever been accustomed to the continual felicity of joyous victories, inasmuch as they are grown into a dislike of taking pleasure and delight in them (so common they are) and have increased their dominion and Empire, more (in manner) by sparing and pardoning those whom they have conquered, than by the very conquest of them indeed.

F The speech that the other Embassadors made, was more pitiful and lamentable, whiles they recounted before the *Senat* from what high estate, and to how base condition they were fallen: who but a while since held by force of arms, as it were the whole world, & had nothing left them now but the bare walls of the City of *Carthage*, within which they were shut up, and could see nothing either by land or sea, which they might rightfully claim as their own. Nay, the very City it self and their houses, they were to enjoy no longer than the people of *Rome* is willing, and forbearth to proceed by rigour and extremity against the same, since there is nothing else behind to work upon. Now when as the *LL. of the Senat* seemed to incline to mercy and compassion one Senator there was amongst them (by report) who upon a deep and inveterate hatred of the *Carthaginians* treachery, spake out aloud and said, What Gods will they regard and swear by in making of a new League, who have broken their oath, and taken their name in vain whom they called to witness in the former? Many (quoth *Asdrubal*) even those and no other that are so sharp revengers and heavy enemies to the breakers of league and covenant. So when all their minds were inclined to peace, *Cn. Lentulus* the Consul, who had the government of the navy, opposed himself against the decree of the *Senat* for to cross the same. Then *M. Atilius*, and *Q. Minucius* Tribunes of the Commons, preferred a solemn bill unto the people, in this form: Pleaseth it you, and will you grant, That the *Senat* shall resolve and determine, that peace may be concluded with the *Carthaginians*? Pleaseth it you to chuse and appoint who shall be the man to make that peace; and who shall bring the army out of *Africa*? As concerning peace, the tribes every one as they were demanded their voices, granted affirmatively (*Res rogatus*) that *Scipio* should conclude it, and also bring away the army. By virtue of this Act passed by the people, the *Senat* made a decree, that *P. Scipio* by the advice and counsel of ten Commissioners, should conclude an accord with the people of *Carthage*, under what conditions he thought good. After this the

The Oratio
of *Asdrubal*
Hædus in the
Senat of *Rome*.

the Carthaginians rendered thanks to the L. of the Senate, and requested that they might enter into the City, and talk with their fellow citizens and country-men, who had been taken captives aforetime, and lay in the common goal and prison. For there were amongst them some of their kinsfolk and friends, noblemen of birth and of good quality: others also, unto whom they were to deliver some message and credence from their kinsmen. When they had spoken and remained with them, they came with a new petition and made earnest suit, to give them leave to ransom and redeem as many of them as they would: whereupon they were willing to give them their names, and when they had named (as upon two hundred) an order was drawn out of the Senat, that the Roman Commissioners should take over with them into *Africa*, unto *Scipio* two hundred of those captives whom the Carthaginians would make choice of, and declare unto him from the Senat, that in case the peace were fully agreed upon and finished, he should deliver those two hundred to the Carthaginians, freely without paying any ransom. Now when the heralds of arms were appointed to go into *Africa*, for to confirm and establish the peace according to the solemn order, at their own request there passed an act of the Senat framed in this form and tenor. *Imprimis*, That they should carry with them every one by himself certain distinct stipes of their own, and likewise *Vervens Heru*, That the Roman Prætor should command them solemnly to pronounce the league, and then they to ask of the Prætor sacred herbs or *Vervens*. A kind of grass or herb this is, which was wont to be gathered from off the Capitol hill, and given to the Heralds.

Thus were the Carthaginians dismissed and sent from *Rome*: who being come into *Africa* to *Scipio*, concluded peace with the same capitulations as is above said, and so they delivered up their galleys and ships of war, their Elephants, the renegade traitors, the vagrant fugitives, and four thousand prisoners. Among whom was *Q. Terentius Castus*, a Senator by his calling. As for the ships, so soon as they were lancht forth into the deep, *Scipio* caused them to be set on fire and burnt. Some report that they were five hundred in number, one with another, of every sort, and all directed and guided by oars. Presently were they set a burning: a dolorous sight and heavy spectacle (no doubt) to the Carthaginians for to behold, as if *Carthage* it self had been on a light fire. The renegade traitors and rebels were punished more grievously than the fugitives. As many of them as were of the Latin Nation lost their heads: all that were natural Romans, were crucified and roundly trussed up on the gallows. Forty years before was the peace last made with the Carthaginians, when *Q. Lutatius* and *A. Manlius* were Consuls. The war began three and twenty years after, whilst *P. Cornelius* and *T. Sempronius* were Consuls. And the same ended in the eighteenth year after, *P. Cornelius* and *P. Scipio* being Consuls. Many a time after, *Scipio* by report, would say that the villain and covetous desire of *T. Claudius* first, and afterwards of *C. Corneli*, was the only stay and let, that this was ended nor with the final ruin and utter destruction of *Carthage*.

When as the Carthaginians, who by long and continual wars were grown bare & poor thought the levy and contribution of money for to furnish out the fifth payment, lay heavy and sore upon them, so much as in their Senat-house, there was great sorrow and heaviness, yea, and piteous weeping: it is said that *Annibal* was seen to laugh a good while. And when *A. Hedus* rebuked him for laughing in that public lamentation of the City, considering that himself was the cause of those tears, "If god, *Annibal* as we see by our eye the outward disposition of the face and countenance, so we could look within & behold the affection of the mind, ye might soon perceive, that this laughter of mine, which ye to much blame, proceedeth not from an heart that is glad and joyful, but rather senseless, stupified, and astonished, with the exceeding griefs and calamities that have hapned. Yet is not it so unreasonable and impertinent to our present condition, as these tears of yours, and weeping that you make, is absurd and nothing to the purpose. Then should ye have wept and shed tears, when our armor and weapons were taken from us, when our ships were set on fire, when we were interdicted and forbidden to make war with foreign nations: for then had we our deadly blow, then our backs and hearts were broken. And never think that the Romans have proceeded hardly against you, in comparison of the hatred that ye have bare one to another. No great City and mighty State can long continue and rest in quiet. It is have no enemies abroad, it hindeth some at home: much like unto strong and lusty bodies, which seeming sure enough against all outward accidents and causes of sickness, are overcharged with their own strength and fulness of humours, and thereby subject to most deadly maladies. So much, forsooth, and no more we feel of the publick miseries & common calamities, as toucheth and concerneth our selves in particular: wherein nothing pincheth us more, nor goeth nearer to the quick, than to forgo our money, and part with our pence. And therefore when *Carthage* was conquered and depoyled of all her ancient honors, when ye saw her disarmed and stripped naked, when ye saw her forlorn of all the armed nations of *Africa*: no man then sighed, no man groined thereat: but now when the tribute imposed, is to be paid out of your privat purses, ye keep a weeping and wailing, as in some publick funeral and mortuary carried forth. But alas, I fear me greatly that ere it be long, ye shall find and feel, That your weeping this day hath been for the least loss of all the rest. Thus spake *Annibal* to the Carthaginians.

Scipio having assembled his whole army together before them all, restored *Adasani* to his fathers Kingdom: and over and besides, endued him with the possession of the City *Ciriba*, and other Towns and territories which belonged to the realm of *Syphax*, and were now in subjection

A to the people of Rome, unto Cn. Octavius he gave order to conduct the fleet into Sicily and there to make it over to Cn. Cornelius the Consul. The Carthaginian Embassadors he willed to go to Rome, that those sets and capitulations which were concluded by him with the advice of the said Commissioners, might likewise pass under the approbation of the Senate, and the consent of the people, and so be ratified and confirmed forever.

Thus Scipio having obtained peace both by sea and land, and embarked his army, sailed toward Sicily, & arrived at Lilybæum. From whence he sent away a great part of his army by sea, and himself passed by land through Italy, which now was joyfull as well for the peace concluded, as the victory achieved. Where all the way as he went, not only the people came forth in multitudes out of the Cities to do him honour, but numbers also of the country peasants out of the Villages, filled

B all the high-ways along untill he came to Rome: where he entered the City, riding in the most stately and magnificent triumph that ever had been. He brought into the City Chamber 100033 pound weight of silver. He divided among his souldiers out of the spoil four hundred Attics a peece. Syphax by his death rather disappointed the people of a goodly show and pageant in the triumph, than diminished any while the glory of the triumph: he died at Tyber not long afore, to which place he had been removed from Alba: howbeit his death was not obscure, by reason that he was solemnly carried to his burfall, with the pomp of a publike funerall at the charges of the City. But Polibius a writer of good account, reporteth, That this King was led in the very triumph. As Scipio rode triumphant Q. Terentius Culleo followed after with a cap of liberty set upon his head, and ever after, so long as he lived, he honoured him (as befitting it was) and acknowledged him the author of his freedom. But as concerning his surname *Africanus*, I cannot for certain learn, whether it were the favour of his souldiers first, or the affectionate love of the people afterwards that brought it up, or rather began upon some of his own house and lineage that courted and flattered him therewith: like as in our fathers daies Sulla was surnamed ** Felix*, and Pompeius, ** Magnus*. This is certain that he was the first General that ever took his name of the country and nation by himself subdued, and thereby was renowned. But by his example afterwards, others nothing comparable to him in victory and conquest won goodly titles and glorious inscriptions to their images, and honoured their houses with noble files and additions.

* Or, as some think 40. which corrects to 2 th 6, d. English.

* Happy. * Great.

C him the author of his freedom. But as concerning his surname *Africanus*, I cannot for certain learn, whether it were the favour of his souldiers first, or the affectionate love of the people afterwards that brought it up, or rather began upon some of his own house and lineage that courted and flattered him therewith: like as in our fathers daies Sulla was surnamed ** Felix*, and Pompeius, ** Magnus*. This is certain that he was the first General that ever took his name of the country and nation by himself subdued, and thereby was renowned. But by his example afterwards, others nothing comparable to him in victory and conquest won goodly titles and glorious inscriptions to their images, and honoured their houses with noble files and additions.

The one and thirtieth Book Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the one and thirtieth Book.

E The causes of the war began again with Philip King of Macedony, which had discontinued, are to be remembered. In the time of the holy feast of Ceres, two young men of Acarnania, who had not been professed in those sacred mysteries, came to Athens, & chanced among other of their countrymen to go into the Chappel of Ceres. For which, as if they had committed some heinous fact in the highest degree, they were by the Athenians executed. The Acarnanians moved with indignation for the death of their neighbours, required aid of Philip to be revenged for them: Some few months after peace was made to the Carthaginians, in the five hundred and fifty year from the foundation of the City of Rome, when the Embassadors of the Athenians, who now were besieged by Philip, craved aid of the Senate and the people of Rome, and requested to help them, not without thinking the Commons gain said it by reason that they thought the continual troubles of so many wars were grievous and heavy unto them: yet so far prevailed the authority of the Nobles, that the people also gave their consent to succour their confederate City. The war was committed to the managing of P. Sulpicius the Consul, who led an army into Macedony, and fought certain battles fortuitously against Philip, which were performed by horse-service. The Macedonians, distressed and beleaguered round about by Philip, following the example of the Sagarinians, slew their wives and children, and their own selves after them. L. Furius the Praetor overthrew in a fight P. Sulpicius, the Consul, and his army, and the Consul himself was slain. The Consul's army was in these parts, where Amilcar was slain, with him five and thirty thousand men. Moreover, the Consul's army was in these parts, where Amilcar was slain, with him five and thirty thousand men. Moreover, the Consul's army was in these parts, where Amilcar was slain, with him five and thirty thousand men.

P City. The war was committed to the managing of P. Sulpicius the Consul, who led an army into Macedony, and fought certain battles fortuitously against Philip, which were performed by horse-service. The Macedonians, distressed and beleaguered round about by Philip, following the example of the Sagarinians, slew their wives and children, and their own selves after them. L. Furius the Praetor overthrew in a fight P. Sulpicius, the Consul, and his army, and the Consul himself was slain. The Consul's army was in these parts, where Amilcar was slain, with him five and thirty thousand men. Moreover, the Consul's army was in these parts, where Amilcar was slain, with him five and thirty thousand men.

The one and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

F well again, I like well, that I am now come to an end once of the Punic war, as if it had been in person there, and born my part in the toil and danger thereof. For albeit many of our writers have undertaken and professed to boldly to write a compleat and full history of the Romans, to be wanted in the several parts of so great a work: yet when I

H h h

think

think and consider, how threescore years and three (for so many are reckoned from the first Punick war, to the end of the second) have taken up no fewer books of mine than four hundred eighty eight years before, even from the foundation of *Rome* unto the Consulship of that *Appius Claudius*, who was the first that warred upon the Carthaginians; methinks I foresee already, that like as they who being once entred into the shallows near the shore, are trained on still, and venture to wade into the sea, even so I, the farther I go forward, the deeper I step, and am carried away in a vast Ocean, and bottomless gulph (as it were) which cannot be sounded; and that my work groweth still upon me in my hands, which as I went away apace, and tid matters at the first, I would have thought by this time should have decreased.

The Carthaginian peace was no sooner concluded, but the Macedonian war straightwaies ensued: nothing comparable to the Punick, if ye regard the hazard and danger, the vertue of the Captains for direction, or prowess of the souldiers: but if a man consider the Nobility and reputation of the ancient Kings, the fame and antiquity of the nation, the greatness of their seignory and dominion, who in times past had conquered and held by the sword much in *Europe*, and the better part of *Asia*, I dare well say, as noble and renowned, if not more. But the war commenced against *Philip* ten years almost before, had ere three years end been laid down and discontinued by means of the *Ætolians*: who as they gave occasion to enter into arms, so they wrought a composition of peace. But afterwards in process of time, when the Romans by reason of peace with the Carthaginians, had nothing to do, and were at leisure; and yet bearing an inward grudge, and owing a displeasure to *Philip*, as well for his faithles peace with the *Ætolians* and other allies and confederates of that country, as also for aid both of men and money lately sent into *Affrick* to *Annibal* and the Carthaginians: behold, the Athenians, whose territories he had clean wasted and spoiled, and whom he had driven within their City walls, importuned them with their prayers, and perswaded them to take arms and renew the war aforesaid. And much about the same time there arrived Embassadors from King *Attalus*, as also from the Rhodians, giving notice that divers Cities and States of *Asia* were solicited likewise by *Philip* to band against the Romans. These Embassadors had their dispatch, and received this answer. That the Senat would have a carefull eye to the affairs of *Asia*. But the entire treaty and consultation concerning the Macedonian war was wholly reserved and referred unto the Consuls, who then were employed in the war with the *Boii*. In the mean season three Embassadors were addrest unto *Ptolemæus* the King of *Egypt*, to *L. I. wit*, *C. Claudius Nero*, *M. Aemilius Lepidus*, and *P. Sempronius Tuditanus*, with this commission: First, to signifie and let him understand, that *Annibal* & the Carthaginians were subdued: secondly, to give thanks unto the King for continuing so fast and faithfull unto the Romans in their distress and adversity, when other of their allies, and even their next neighbours forsook and abandoned them: last of all, to request him, that in case they should be forced by wrongs and injuries offered, to wage war against *Philip*, he would vouchsafe the same mind still and his wonted affectionate favour toward the people of *Rome*.

Near about this time, *P. Aelius* the Consul being in *France*, advertised that the *Boians* before his coming had made rodes into the lands of the friends and allies of the Romans, presently well haste levied and enrolled two legions upon the rumour of this tumult and trouble; and joyning thereunto four cohorts of footmen out of his own army, sent *C. Appius* a Colonell or Captain of the Confederates, with this power so suddenly raised, and with commandment to march through that part of *Umbria*, which is called, the Tribe *Sappinia*, and to invade the territories of the *Boii*, whiles himself in person led his forces the open way traversing through the mountains, and came thither. *Appius* being entred into the confines of the enemies, at the first had a good hand, and sped well in foraging the country with safety of himself. But afterwards, having made choice of a meet place near unto a Castle called * *Mutilum*, for to cut down and reap the corn, (for now the fields were ready for harvest) but yet, without espials sent out to discover the coasts about, without setting strong and sufficient guards, which being well appointed and armed might defend the unarmed that were busie in their harvest work: he chanced himself and all his forragers and reapers to be surpris'd at unawares by the Frenchmen, and assailed on every side. Whereupon they also that were armed, fled in great fright: and 7000 men stragling here and there over the corn fields were slain; and among them *C. Appius* himself their leader. The rest for fear were driven to put themselves within their Camp: from whence without direction and guidance of any certain Captain and only upon a generall consent of the souldiers, the night next following they abandoned their hold, left much of their baggage behind them, and through blind forests, chales, and wild mountains (in manner unpassable) they came in the end to the Consul: who, after he had performed in his Province no memorable act, save only that he wasted the borders and frontiers of the *Boii*, and in league with the *Ingauni* (a nation of the *Ligurians*) returned to *Rome*. So soon as he had assembled the Senat, all the whole house with one voice called upon him, to treat and consult upon no other matter before they had determined of King *Philip*, and the complaints made by their allies: so he propos'd that out of hand to be debated in Councill. And the Senate in a frequent number there met, pass'd a decree, that *P. Aelius* the Consul should send whom he thought good with commission and authority for to receive the Armado, which *C. Octavius* was to bring out of *Sicily*, and therewith to cross over into *Madagascari*. So *M. Valerius* *Levinus* the Vice-Prætor was sent; and when he had taken the charge of the fleet, com-

* *Medina*,
Leandro.

A King of eight and thirty fell at the hands of *Ca. Octavius* about *Edus*; he passed the day to *Adridonia*. Now when *M. Annius* the Lieutenant was come, and had informed and advertised him, what puissant armies, what numbers of ships the King had prepared, and got together; how partly himself in person by going about, not only to all the Cities of the Con-
tinue, but also the Islands in the sea; and partly by sending his Embassadors every way, had solicited unto war; and raised much people to take arms: shewing moreover, that the Ro-
mans were not to enterprize that war without preparation of greater forces; and the more speedily, for fear lest if they made slow haste and lingered, *Philip* might enterprize that, from
thence, which *Pyrrhus* the Potentate and Prince of a far lesser Dominion, had done before he was
thought meet that *Antiochus* should dispatch his letters to the same effect unto the Consuls and

B the Senate, as it is describ'd but it is not so in the original but it is so in the translation.

In the end of this year, when a motion was propounded in the Senate-house, as concerning the
setting out of lands unto the old soldiers for recompence of their good service, who, under the
conduct and fortunate government of *Scipio* the Pro-Consul, had fought the war in *Africa* to
an end: the *LL* enacted a decree, that *M. Junius* the Praetor of the City, if he thought it good,
should create ten Decemvirs as lawyers, for to measure out and divide among them the lands in
Samnium and *Apulia*, so much as had been forfeit and confiscate to the people of *Rome*. And these
were they, namely, *P. Terentius*, *Q. Caelius*, *Marcus*, *Cornelius* and *Marcus*, named *Servilius*, and both
surnamed *Gemini*, *Lucius* and *Aulus* both *Hofilius*, and surnamed *Cato* likewise, *P. Fulvius*, *Terren-*
tius, *M. Fulvius*, *Placcus*, *P. Aelius* *Paullus*, and *Q. Flaminius*.

C At the same time *P. Aelius* the Cos, called the assembly and high Court of Parliament for elec-
tion of Magistrates: and for Cos. were created *P. Sulpicius* *Galba*, and *C. Aurelius* *Cotta*. After them
were the Praetors chosen to wit, *Q. Minucius* *Rufus*, *L. Furius* *Purpureus*, *Q. Fabius* *Gillo*, and *C. Ser-*
gius *Plancus*. The Roman stage-plays were that year exhibited with great state and magnificence
most sumptuously, by *L. Valerius* *Placcus*, and *T. Quintus* *Flaminius*, *Ediles* of the Chair; and for
two daies together were represented anew. These *Ediles* distributed and divided most faithfully
among the people a mighty deal of corn, which *Scipio* the Pro-Consul had sent out of *Africa*, at
four asses the Modius: whereby they won great love and favour of all men. Also the Plebeian
plays were thrice set forth all whole again by the *Ediles* of the Commons, *L. Apustius* *Falla*, and
Q. Minucius *Rufus*. This man from his *Edileship* stepped to the Praetors place. And by occasion
D of those plays there was a solemn feast celebrated in the honour of *Jupiter*.

In the 54 year from the foundation of the City, when *P. Sulpicius* *Galba*, and *C. Aurelius* were
Cos, the war with King *Philip* began, within four months after peace granted to the Carthagi-
nians. And before all other matters this affair was propounded in the Senate by *P. Sulpicius* the
Cos, upon the Ides of *March*, the very day on which at that time they used to enter upon the
Consulship. Whereby the Senate it was decreed, *Imprimis*, That the Consuls should sacrifice
with greater beasts to what gods themselves thought good, with a solemn prayer in this form:
That whatsoever the Senate and people of *Rome* minded and intended to do, either concerning
the affairs of the Common-wealth, or the undertaking and enterprize of this new war, the same
might speed well and happily in the end, to the behoof of the people of *Rome*, their allies, and

E namely, the nation of the Latines. *Item*, That after sacrifice and divine prayer they should con-
sult with the Senat about the state of the City, and the government of the Provinces. At the same
time it fell one very fitly to provoke and stir up their minds unto war, that not only letters
were brought from *M. Aurelius* the Lieutenant, and from *M. Valerius* *Lavinus* the Vice-Praetor:
but also a new Embassie of the Athenians arrived: the one importing, and the other reporting,
that the King drew near and approached their confines, and within a while would be not only
Lord of their lands and territories, but also Master of their City, unless the Romans set too
their helping hand. After that the Consuls had openly pronounced and declared, that the sacri-
fices were performed rightly and according to order, and that the Gods gave ear unto their
prayer, and accepted thereof: and the soothsayers and so well-priests likewise out of their learn-
F ing made answer and shewed, that the inwards of the beasts were as they should be, and signified
happiness, namely, the enlarging of their confines and frontiers, with the achieving of victory
and triumph. Then were the letters above said of *Valerius* and *Aurelius* read, and the Athenian
Ambassadors had a day of audience. After this, there passed an Act of the Senate, That thanks
should be rendred unto their allies, for that they being long tempted and solicited for to re-
volt, yet notwithstanding had not failed in their allegiance, nor forsaken their fealty, nor for
fear of a present siege. As touching sending aid unto them, it was thought good to give an-
swer, when the Consuls had their Provinces allotted unto them: and when that Consul whose

his should be for to go into *Macedony*, had proposed unto the people, That defiance should be
given to *Philip* King of *Macedony*, and open war proclaimed against him. Now it fell by lot un-
to *P. Sulpicius* to take that charge in *Macedony*, who preferred and presented a bill unto the peo-
G ple in this manner: Pleaseth it you, and is it your will, that war be proclaimed and denou-
ced against King *Philip* and the Macedonians within his Realm and Dominion for the wrongs
offered and the war levied by them upon the friends and allies of the people of *Rome*: and unto
the other Consul *Aurelius* be fell the Province of *Italy*. Then upon this the Praetors cast lots for
their Provinces, *C. Fabius* *Placcus* had the jurisdiction of the City, *Q. Fulvius* *Gillo* was to go-
vern the Province of *Spain*, *Q. Minucius* *Rufus* of the *Bruttis*, and *L. Furius* *Purpureus* of *France*.

The Oration
of P. Sulpitius
to the people
of Rome.

The foresaid bill as concerning the Macedonian war, in the first Parliament assembled about it, was in manner by all the Centuries in the foremost scrutinies ripped & flayed denied. Which thing, partly men of themselves were forward enough to do, as being over-wearied with long and sore wars, and worn out for very irksomeness of tedious travel, and painful perils; and partly *Quintus Fabius* a Tribune of the Commons, failed not to set them on a who taking the old course and way of blaming and accusing the nobles, had laid to their charge, that they sowed the seeds of war still, and ceased not to raise war upon war, to the end, that the commons might never be at rest, and enjoy the repose of peace. The LL. of the Senat took this to the heart, in such sort, that the Tribune was shaken up and much reviled in the Senat-house with most opprobrious and reproachfull terms; and every man did his part to encourage the Consul to publish a new assembly and scrutiny, for the proposing of the same bill; to chastise the sloath and idleness of the people; yea, and to open and shew unto them what great damage and loss, how much shame and dishonour they should incur by these delays before the war began. Then the Consul having assembled the people for this purpose in *Marston* field before that he cited the Centuries to give their voices, called them all together and made a speech unto them in this wise: "It seemeth (quoth he) that you are ignorant, my Masters and Citizens of *Rome*, that the matter put to question is not, whether ye would have war or peace, (for *Philip* will not permit that to be at your disposition and pleasure, who already prepareth mortall war both by sea and land) but whether ye would rather choose to transport the legions into *Macedony*, or receive your enemy here within *Italy*. And what difference there is between the one and the other, you have had sufficient proof and experience (if ever at any time before) even in this last war, especially with the *Carthaginians*. For who is he that maketh doubt, but if we had with speed relieved the *Saguntins* besieged, who fled unto us for help, and earnestly craved for our protection, like as our ancestors and progenitors in due time assisted the *Mamertins*; we should have turned the whole violence and force of the war into *Spain*, which by our long driving off & lingering delays we entertained in *Italy*, to our great loss and grievous calamity. Neither need we to doubt of this, but that we have hitherto staid *Philip* in *Macedony*, (who without question had combined with *Annibal* by means of letters and intercourse of Ambassadors, for to have passed over into *Italy* before this time) only by sending of *Levinus* with a fleet, to begin with him at home, and to make war in his own kingdom. Defer we then to do that now, when *Annibal* is chased out of *Italy* and the *Carthaginians* defeated; which then we did, when we had the same *Annibal*, our enemy within *Italy*? Go L. we on still and suffer the King by winning the City of *Athens* (like as we permitted *Annibal* by forcing of *Saguntum*) to try and see our slackness and cowardise: we shall have him I warrant you arrived in *Italy*, not at five months end, as *Annibal* was after his departure from *Saguntum*; but within five daies, after he is disanchored once & under sail from *Corinth*. Set case ye will not compare *Philip* with *Annibal*, no, nor the *Macedonians* with the *Carthaginians*; yet I am sure ye will make them matches, and equall with King *Pyrrhus*: so far forth I say, as one man excelleth another in valour, and one nation surpasseth another in power. *Epirus* hath never been accounted, nor is at this day, but the smallest appendant to the kingdom of *Macedony*, and of least importance. But as for *Philip*, the whole and entire seignory of *Peloponnesus* is under him, and Lord he is of *Argos* it self, a City nobled as well by the death of *Pyrrhus*, as the ancient name and renown that goeth of it. Compare now again the times of our state. How much flourished *Italy* in those daies more than now? Our affairs were then much more sound and unfoiled: our Captains safe, our armies all, so many as they were, untainted; whom the *Carthaginian* wars afterward consumed: yet as puissant and great as we were, *Pyrrhus* assailed us, he put us to trouble and sorrow enough, yea, and came in train of victory to shake our free hold, even wel-near to the City of *Rome*. So as not only the *Tarentins*, and all that tract of *Italy*, which they call the greater *Greece*, banded with him in such sort, as a man would have thought they had followed the very language and thoe of their name: but the *Lucans* also and the *Brutians*, yea, and the *Samuits* revolted from us, and rebelled. And are ye of believe that these will be quiet and remain in loyalty and obedience, if *Philip* once were passed over into *Italy*? yes many will they, there is no question; for they stood fast afterwards, and continued true in the *Punic* war. Nay, nay, never make reckoning that these States will not revolt from us so long as they know any one unto whom they may turn and range themselves. If ye had thought much of it, and been loath to pass over into *Affrick*, in truth at this day ye should have had *Annibal* and the *Carthaginians* your enemies (still in *Italy*). Let *Macedony* therefore be the seat of war rather than *Italy*: let our enemies Cities and lands be destroyed with fire and sword. We have found well by good experience, that our fortune is better, and our forces more puissant abroad in forrain parts, than at home in our own Country. Go to therefore in the name of God to the Scrutiny and give your voices; and those things that the LL. of the Senat have devised to do, grant ye the same, and yield your assent. Ye have not only the Consul author of this advice and counsel, but also the immortal gods (who as I offered sacrifice and prayed devoutly unto them, that this war might redound to the good and benefite of my self, of the Senat, of you, of our allies, of the Latine nation, and finally of our armies and armadoes) have vouchsafed me all the signs and tokens of comfort and joy, and assured me that all shall be well, and according to our hearts desire. This Oration of his once ended, they went presently to deliver up their voices, and gave affirmatively for the war, & suffered it to pass according as he had propounded. Then by an order from the Senat there was a solemn supplication for

A For three daies proclaimed: and in all Churches and Chappels, and before every shrine & altar the gods were praised, that the war (which the people had allowed of) against *K. Philip* might be war achieved, and have an happy end. Moreover, the Consul *Salpurius* conferred with the heralds, and asked their advice. Whether they would ordain, that the war to be denounced against King *Philip*, should be intimated to himself in person: or thought it sufficient to be proclaimed within the confines of his dominion, at the next frontier town of all, where he kept a garrison and guard: they pronounced again, That it mattered not, but the Consul should please himself, and do full well in the one and the other. Then the Consul was permitted by the LL. of the Senat to chuse whom he would, to be were not a Senator, for to lend as a messenger or purveyor of arms, to give the King defiance, and to publish war. After this it was debated in Council, how the armies should be disposed as well of Consuls as Prætors. The Consuls were commanded to enroll two legions, and to discharge and call the old armies. *Salpurius*, who by a decree was to manage this new war of great name and consequence, was allowed to take with him out of that army which *Scipio* the Vice-Consul had brought out of Africa, as many volunteers as he could procure: but in no wise to urge any old soldier against his will. Also it was decreed, that the Consul should allow unto the Prætors *L. Furius Purpureus*, and *Quintus Minucius Rufus* 3000 men apiece of the associates of the Latine nation, whom they should employ, the one in the Province of *Gallia*, and the other in the Brutian country to defend those parts and keep them in obedience. *Q. Fulvius Gellus* was himself likewise commanded to chuse out of that army which *P. Valerius* the Consul commanded, as many as had served several years, until he made up the number of 3000 also of the allies & Latines; which should be a garrison to keep in order and safety the Province of *Sicily*. *P. Valerius* Prætor the year before, and *L. Deputy* of the Province of *Campania*, had his Commission signed anew, to continue for the term of one year longer, and as Vice-Prætor to pass over into *Sardinia*, with direction to chuse one of the army there 3000 of the allies and Latines, such as had served least time. And the Consuls were commanded to take up two legions of Citizens, which might be sent to any place, as need should require, considering that many nations in Italy tainted and infected with the fellowship and company of the Carthaginians during the wars and ever since, were swelled with anger and despite against the Romans. Thus the Common-wealth for that year was to use the employment of his Roman Legions.

D Amidst these preparations for war, there arrived Embassadors from *K. Ptolemy*, giving intelligence, that the Athenians had craved aid of their King and Master, against *Philip*. And although they were confederate as well with him as the Romans, yet the King would send into Greece neither a fleet of ships, nor an army of men, defensive, or offensive to any, but by authority and consent of the people of *Rome*. In case therefore the Romans were resolved, and sufficient withall of themselves to defend their allies, he would be willing to sit still and take his repose at home. Otherwise, if the Romans were rather disposed to rest and take their ease, he would himself be well content to send such forces to the aid of the Athenians, as should defend them easily against all the power of *Philip*. The Senat returned great thanks unto the King, with this answer, That the people of *Rome* were purposed to protect their own allies: but if during this war they stood in need, upon any occurrence that might happen, they would give knowledge thereof to the King: as

E being assured and making full account, that all the puissance and wealth of his kingdom was a sure prop and trusty pillar of their State and Common-wealth. This done, by order from the Senat the Embassadors had given them for a reward * five thousand Asles apiece. Now whiles the Consuls were busie in taking musters, and providing all things meet for the war, the City very devout and given much to religion, in the beginnings especially of all new wars, after they had performed their supplications aforesaid, and done their devotions at every altar and shrine: because nothing might be for-let and left out, that at any time heretofore had been done; ordained that the Consul, unto whom the Province of *Macedony* fell, should vow solemnly to exhibit to the honour of *Jupiter*, the great games and plaies, and a rich present beside. But *Licinius* the High Priest staid this publicke vow for the time that it went not forward, alledging that it was not lawful to make a vow of an uncertain sum of money not determined: & if such money might not serve for the use of war, it ought presently to be set by and laid up safe, and not be mingled and shuffled with other monies: and unless that were duly done, the vow could not be paid and performed according to the order of holy rites. Albeit the thing it self and the person of the man that moved this scruple, touched and troubled them much, yet they would needs that the Consul should propound the matter to the college of the Priests and Bishops, to know their resolution, whether a vow might not directly be made of an uncertain peece of money. The Bishops set down their opinion and judgment, that it might be well enough, yea, and better than otherwise. Whereupon the Consul pronounced the vow, according to the very same form of words (as the High Priest entided and spake before him) which aforesime they were wont to use, in making the quinquennial vows from five

G years to five: save only thus much, that he vowed and promised to represent the plaies, and to present oblations unto *Jupiter*, amounting to such a sum of money, as the Senat should set down when the vow was to be performed. So many times before had the great games been vowed, and a determinate sum of money ever assigned: but these were the first that were not limited within any certain stint and compass.

Now when all mens minds were wholly bent upon the Macedonian war, behold on a sudden, when they feared nothing less than such a thing, there arose a rumour of French troubles and

* 15 lib. 100,
6 d. 800.

recruits for the Insubrians, the Cenomani and Boii, having solicited and raised up by way of instigation the *Salli*, the Illyrians, and other states of *Liguria*, under the conduct of *Amilcar* the Carthaginian, who in those parts staid behind with the remnant of *Asdrubal*'s army, were seized of *Placentia*; and after they had sacked the City, and for very disreputable reasons burnt a great part of it, leaving hardly two thousand persons of all sorts, which amidst the fire and ruin chanced to save themselves, crossed the river *Po*, and advanced forward to the spoil and village of *Cremona*. But the inhabitants of that Colony, having heard of the misery and calamity befallen upon their neighbour City, had some respite and time to shut their gates, and to bestow their guards upon the walls: so as, they should at least wile be first besieged or ever they were forced, and might be able to dispatch messengers unto the people of *Rome*. *L. Furius Purpureo* was governor of that Province for the time: who having by order from the Senat discharged all the rest of the army but only five thousand of allies and those Latines, abode with that power in the next country to that Province about *Ariminum*. He then addressed his letters unto the Senat, signifying in how bad terms the province stood, namely, that of those two Colonies, which all the time of the *Punic* war had escaped those great storms and tempests of troubles, the one was won by the enemies and put to the sword, the other now besieged, and at hand to be lost: neither would his forces be sufficient and able to help the distressed *Cremonians*, unless he should wilfully cast away five thousand allies, and expose them as a prey unto forty thousand of the enemies: (for so many they were strong to have their throats cut, and to be hewn in peeces: and by so great a loss and overthrow of his, to give more heart and courage to the enemies, who are now in their rage, and puffed up with pride for the ruin of one Roman Colony already. Upon the reading of these letters, there went forth a decree from the L., of the Senat, that *C. Amilius* the Consul should send out precepts for the army to be ready at *Ariminum* that very day, on which he appointed them to the *Rendezvous* in *Hetruria*: and that either himself in his own person, if it might stand with the good of the State, would go with a power to suppress these French commotions, or else write to *L. Furius* the Praetor that when the Roman Legions presented themselves unto him out of *Hetruria*, he should send in their stead his own five thousand allies for the guard of *Hetruria* in the meantime, and make a journey himself in person to raise the siege before *Cremona*, and to set the Colony free that now was beleaguered. They thought good besides to dispatch Embassadors into *Affrick*, who should go to *Carthage* and afterwards to *Masanissa* in *Numidia*. To *Carthage*, for to intimate unto them, That *Amilcar* a Citizen of theirs left behind in *France*, (and L whether he were of the army of *Asdrubal* before, or afterwards of *Maca*, they knew not for certain) waged war there against the covenants in the League contained: that he had assembled certain forces of French and Ligurians, to enter into arms against the people of *Rome*; and therefore, if they had any love to entertain peace, they should call him home, and deliver him to the people of *Rome*. Over and besides they had in commission to give them to understand, that delivery was not yet made of all the runagate rebels, but many of them, by report, were retired to *Carthage*, and there went up and down, and converted openly, which persons were, after diligent search made to be attached and apprehended, that they might, according to the tenor of the accord, be sent home again, and delivered into the hands of the Romans. And thus much concerning their message to the Carthaginians. Now they had in charge besides to congratulate with *Masanissa*, and to declare what joy they took in his behalf, namely, for that he had not only recovered the inheritance of his fathers kingdom, but also enlarged his dominion, by conquest of the most flourishing part of the Realm of *Syphax*. Moreover, commanded they were to signify unto him, that they had undertaken to war upon King *Philip*, because he had befriended and aided the Carthaginians: and by offering and doing wrong to the friends of the people of *Rome*, even at what time as all *Italy* was full of troubles and wars, enforced and put them to it, for to send their armies and their armadoes into *Greece*, and so by dismembering and dividing their forces into sundry places, was the principall cause that they were so late ere they passed over into *Affrick*: requesting him for the maintenance of this war, to lend over certain aids of Numidian horsemen. These Orators had great gifts and honourable presents given them for to carry unto the King, to wit, divers peeces of plate both of gold and silver, a purple robe of State, with a rich cassock or coat wrought in palm-tree work, with a royall Scepter of Ivory, also a robe embroydered before with purple, with an Ivory chair of state. Last of all, they are willing to make promise unto the King, that if he could think upon any thing needfull and expedient either to establish his kingdom, or to advance his royall estate, the people of *Rome* would endeavour respectively for his good demerits to compass the same to the uttermost of their power.

There arrived also about that time Embassadors from *Vermina* the son of *Syphax*, and presented themselves unto the Senat, excusing the errour, and pretending the youth of the Prince, clearing him of all fault, and laying the whole blame upon the fraud and treachery of the Carthaginians, promising for their King and Master in this wise, That like as *Masanissa* of a professed enemy was become a sworn friend to the Romans, even so would *Vermina* do his best, and strain himself, that in all offices of friendship toward the people of *Rome*, neither *Masanissa*, nor any other should surpass and go beyond him: and making petition in his name, that the Senat would vouchsafe to give him the titles of King, of Ally, and Friend unto the Romans. These Orators had this for their answer, That not only *Syphax*, his father before him, of a confederate friend, suddenly without any cause at all proved an enemy to the people of *Rome*: but also himself had perjured already in his young

A young years; and laid the first ground of his warfare in annoying and troubling the Romans by war; and therefore he was to seek pardon and crave peace at their hands, before he might be involved by them with the terms of King, or Ally, and Friend for the honour of that title the people of Rome were wont to vouchsafe to none, but those Kings only who had deserved highly well of them. Many there should be certain Roman Legats in *Africa*, unto whom the Senate would give order to minister and tender unto *Pyrrhus* certain conditions of peace, according to a large and absolute commission that they had from the people of Rome. To do what they thought good. And in case the King insisted ought in those capitulations; and were desirous to have any article added, put out, or altered, he must recome again to the Senate, and demand the same; so there were Legats or Commissioners sent into *Africa* with such a Commission above said, whilſt *C. Terentius Varro*, *S. Lucius*, and *En. Octavius*; and each of them had a galley directed with five rows of oars.

After this were the letters read of *Q. Minutius* Prator in the Province of the *Bruttii*, importing thus much; That the consecrated money of *Proserpina* at *Luzi* was by night stoln out of her treasury; but to say who should do the deed, they had no presumptions to give out or lay down directly. The Senat took the matter in very ill part, and grieved exceedingly. That sacrilegious men fell still to Church-robbing, and would not give over: and that the late and new examples of *Pleminius* (so notorious as well for the heinous fact as the fearful punishment) was not able to restrain them and give them warning. So *C. Aurelius* the Col. was enjoined to write unto the Prator into the *Bruttian* country to this effect: That it was the Senats pleasure, that the enquiry and examination should be had of the Treasury thus robbed: after the same precedent and course that *M. Pomponius* the Prator took three years before. And look what money could be found, it should be laid up duly in the place; and what was not forth-coming, it should be replenished and made good again. Also, if he thought meet, that there should be certain purgatory sacrifices according as the Bishops before ordained in the like case, for the expiation and satisfaction of the violating and defiling of the Temple. Moreover, there chanced about the same time divers prodigious tokens from many places to be reported. In the *Lucania* country the rumor and voice went, that the welkin was on fire; and at *Prudentium*, while the sky was bright and fair, the sun appeared red all day long. At *Lanuvium*, in the Temple of *Jupiter Optimus*, there was heard in the night seasons mighty great noise. Nay, and more than this, in sundry places as men say, were many monstrous and strange births seen. In the *Sabine* country one child was born, and no man knew what to make of it, male or female: and another likewise was found of sixteen years of age, a very *Hermaphrodite* of doubtful sex between both. At *Freges* there was a Ram yeared with a swines head: and at *Sinussa* a sow farrowed a pig with the head of a man. In the *Lucania* country there was foled upon the common ground a colt with five feet. All these monsters were ugly to see and abominable, and holden for great defects and errors of nature working strangely out of kind. But above all others, those births both male and female, for rather neuter were most abhorred and detested, and order was given presently, that they should be cast into the sea: even as of late daies when *C. Claudius* and *M. Livius* were Consuls the like deformed monster was chafed had away and drowned. Nevertheless the Decemvirs were commanded to turn over and peruse the books of *Sibylla*, to know what such prodigious monsters might portend: who by their learning and out of those books, gave direction to make the same sacrifices, which last of all for the like uncouth sights were made. Moreover, they gave commandment, that certain hymns and songs should be chanted throughout the City by three severall quires, of nine virgins in every one; and an oblation to be offered by them with all devotion to queen *Juno*. *C. Aurelius* the Consul caused all this to be performed according to the order and direction of the Decemvirs. And as in our fathers daies *Livius* composed the ditty of the hymn, so at that time *P. Etricius* *Figulus* framed and set down a form of song which they could sing. Thus when all things were expiate, and satisfaction made accordingly for the appeasing of the wrath of the gods, (for even at *Luzi* also the sacrifice was found out by *Q. Minutius*, and the money missing was raised out of the goods of the offenders and guilty persons, and bestowed there again in the treasury) as the Consuls were minded to take their journey into their Provinces, there repaired many private Citizens unto the Senat, unto whom the third payment was due that year for the loan of money, which in the time of *M. Valerius* and *M. Claudius* Consuls they had lent out and disbursed, because that the Consuls had made them answer, That the Rock of the City Chamber was hardly able to defray the charges of a new war, which required maintenance of a mighty Navy and of puissant armies, and therefore flatly denied them, and said, That they had not wherewith to satisfy and make present payment. The Senat could not endure that they should have this occasion to make complaint; considering, that if the Common-wealth would still employ the money upon the *Macedonian* war also, which was granted in loan for the *Punic* war, this would be the end of it, that (one war following thus in the neck of another) their own money which was lent upon a cutesie and benevolence out of their private purses, should be little better than confiscate for some forfeiture, and fall to the Exchequer and common Chest of the City. These private persons demanding nothing but reason and right, and the City withall not able to discharge her debt, the Lords set down a middle and indifferent course between honesty and profit; and that was this: That forasmuch as many of these men said, that the City had much land upon sale, and they were to buy and make purchase, therefore the common grounds

grounds lying and being within fifty miles of *Rome* every way, should be granted unto them in fee *H* farms, and the Consuls to set down an estimate of their value and worth, and charge them with a chine rent or tribute of three farthings an acre by the year, to testify only that they were the Citizens lands: to the end, that if any man hereafter (when the City should be storehouse and in case to repay the former debt) were desirous to have money rather than land, he should restore the lands and possessions again into the Cities hands and receive his money. These private Citizens (who were the former creditors) accepted gladly of this offer and condition. And hereupon the land was called by the name of *Trientalis* and *Tributus*, because it was set out and granted in lieu of a third part of the lone money. Then *P. Scipio* after he had pronounced his vows above-said in the Capitoll, and departed out of the City in his coat of arms, with the Lictors and U-
 sers afore him, arrived at *Brundisium*; and so with the old voluntary souldiers drawn out of the army that was returned from *Affrick*, (whom he had enrolled into legions) and ships choien out of the fleet of *Cornelius* the Consul: he loosed from *Brundisium*, and the next day after landed in *Macedonia*: where attended him the Embassadors of the Athenians; who humbly besought him to deliver them from the siege that invested their City. So *C. Cato* was incontinently sent to *Athens*, furnished with twenty long ships of war, and a strength of men for the King himself in person besieged not *Athens*, but even then made hot assault upon the town *Abydos*, as having already given proof of his forces in sea-fight, both with the Rhodians and King *Attalus*, and in neither battell had good success. But besides the ordinary stoutness and pride engraffed in him by nature, he was aloft now and looked high, by reason of the alliance made between him and *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, with whom he had parted the riches and Realm of *Egypt*, unto which they both aspired, upon the news they heard of the death of *Ptolemy*. Now the Athenians had drawn upon themselves the war against King *Philip*, upon a small occasion and of no importance: who of all their ancient estate and glory, retain nothing else but great heart and happy spirit. It fortuned that two young men of *Acarnania*, who had taken no orders and were not consecrate, entered among the other multitude into the Temple of *Ceres*, in the time of the festivall daies, and celebration of sacrifices to that goddess belonging: and being altogether ignorant in the custome of that solemnity and religion, and asking some foolish absurd questions, nothing fit for that time or place, were soon bewrayed by their speech and language: who being convened before the Prelates of the said Temple, notwithstanding it was evidently proved and known that upon an error only & oversight, and not for any ill intent they were come into the Church, yet were they put to death as felions, and guilty of some heinous fact in the highest degree. The people of *Acarnania* complained unto King *Philip*, and informed him of this villanous part and hostile act by them committed: and obtained a grant from him, that they might be permitted with the aid of the Macedonians, to make war upon the Athenians. This army at first invaded the territories of *Athens*, and with fire and sword made waste & havock of all, and so with a rich booty of all sorts returned into *Acarnania*. These were the first quarrels on both sides, that stirred coals and kindled fire between them. Afterwards was defiance given, and open war proclaimed, by the generall decrees of both States. For when King *Attalus* and the Rhodians pursued after *Philip*, as he retired into *Macedonia*, and were come as far as *Egina*, then the said King passed over to *Pyraeum* for to renew and confirm the league with the Athenians. Against his coming the whole City went forth with their wives and children to meet him on the way: the Clergy with their rich vestments and goodly ornaments were ready to receive him as he entered the City: the very gods themselves in a manner abandoned their shrines to give him entertainment. Immediately was the people summoned to a generall assembly, that the King might deliver his mind before them all: but afterwards, upon more sage advice, it was thought to stand better with the honour and Majesty of a Prince, that he should set down in writing what he thought good, rather than in open place, either to blush himself in recounting his favors and good turns done unto the City, or in hearing the acclamations of the multitude in token of joy, to be abashed and ashamed of their grois and unmeasurable flattery. But in his letters which he sent unto the assembly, and were there openly read and published, first he made a rehearsal of the benefits that this confederate City had received at his hands. Secondly, he discoursed of the worthy exploits which he had performed against *Philip*. And finally he knit up all with an exhortation, that whiles they had himself, the Rhodians, and especially the Romans to friend them, they should put themselves in arms and begin war: as who, if they now forslowd the enterprise, and let slip the present opportunity, should hereafter seek in vain to find it, which once they had so retchlessly lost. Then had the Rhodian Embassadors audience given them, who lately had done the Athenians a great pleasure, in recovering and sending home unto *Athens* four long foists, which newly had been boorded and taken by the Macedonians. Hereupon with generall accord they decreed to denounce and wage war against King *Philip*. But first they did King *Attalus* incredible honour beyond all measure, and then likewise to the Rhodians. Then and never before there was some speech moved of adjoining unto the ren ancient tribes, one other tribe, which of the Kings name should be called *Attalus*. Unto the City of the Rhodians they gave in token of vertue, a Crown of beaten gold. And like as beforetime the men of *Rhodes* had granted free Burgeoisie of their City to the Athenians, so they of *Athens* now endured the Rhodians with their liberties and franchises. This done, *K. Attalus* returned to his fleet in the rode of *Egina*. The Rhodians then weighed anchor, and from *Egina* sailed to * *Cea*. From whence along the * Islands, they passed to the *Rhodes*:
 and

* *Zia*.
 * Called *Cyclades* in the
Aegean sea, or
Archipelago.

A and in their voyage considered themselves with them all, excepting *Andro*, *Perio*, and *Cybo*, which were guarded by garriſons of the Macedonians. The King *Attalus* made his abode a certain time and entered into his action, by occasion of intelligence which he had ſent into *Æolia*, and Embaſſadors that were expected from thence. But as he could not prevail with the *Ætolians* to perſuade them to take arms, contenting themſelves with the peace that in ſome ſort they had concluded with *Philip* ſo himſelf, and the *Rhodiens*, whom no doubt, if they had preſſed and followed hard upon *Philip*, might have gained and enjoyed this glorious title, That they alone of themſelves had delivered *Greece* from ſervitude. By ſuffering him once again to croſs the ſeas as far as *Helleſpontus*, and to poſſeſſ himſelf of the commodious and impoſſible towns of *Greece*, thereby to re-enforce his power and gather more ſtrength, gave food and nourishment to the war, and in the end let the Romans go away with the honour both of managing and alſo of finiſhing the ſame. *Philip* carried with him yet a more princely mind and Kingly courage: who, although he was not able to match and make his part good ſo much as with *Attalus* and the *Rhodiens* his enemies, yet was he nothing at all daunted with the threatening threats of the Roman war; but ſent *Philochus*, a Captain of his, with a power of two thouſand foot and two hundred horſe, to invade and ſpoil the territory of the *Athenians*, committed his Armado to the charge of *Maſachus*, to ſet ſail for *Mareneus*, and himſelf in perſon marched by land thither with another regiment of two thouſand footmen lightly appointed, and two hundred men of arms. *Mareneus* he forced at the firſt aſſault. But as for *Ælius*, after he had with much labour and travell laid ſiege thereto a long time, in the end he was Maſter thereof, through the treaſon of *Ganymedes*, deputed *L. Gortimor* there for King *Prolemaus*. After this he ſurpriſed and won other Caſtles, as *Cyſſela*, *Dariſon*, and *Serphens*. From thence he advanced forward to *Cherſoneſus*, where he gained *Eleus* and *Alapreomneſus*, which willingly ſurrendered: *Callipolis* alſo and *Madysus*, with ſome other peeces of ſmall account and reckoning. But the *Abydens* ſhut their gates againſt the King, and would not ſuffer ſo much as his Embaſſadors to ſet foot within their Cities. There lay *Philip* a long time before the town and beleaguered it: and ſurely had not *Attalus* and the *Rhodiens* forſtaked the time, it might have been ſaved and the ſiege raiſed. *Attalus* ſent thither three hundred ſouldiers and no more to lie in garriſon, and the *Rhodiens* one galley only with four banks of oars out of the navy when it rode at *Tenardos*. And afterwards when as *Attalus* himſelf was thither come, at what time as the townſmen could hardly hold out any longer againſt the ſiege, he made them a ſhew only near at hand of ſome help: other relief would he afford none to his allies either by land or ſea. The *Abydens* at firſt planted their engins and artillery along the walls, and with ſhot from thence not only diſtreſſed their enemies, and kept them from approach and entrance, but alſo annoyed them as they lay in harbour with their ſhips: but afterwards, ſeeing part of their walls ruinate and laid open, and perceiving beſides that the enemies had undermined and were come under the ground as far as the inner countermure, which the inhabitants in great haſte had raiſed within, forthwith they ſent Embaſſadors to the King to treat and ſettle about ſome conditions for delivering up the City. The townſmen capitulated and demanded, that the *Rhodian* Galley aforeſaid, with all her mariners, and the garriſon alſo of King *Attalus*, might be ſent away in ſafety, and themſelves permitted to depart the town every one with a ſingle ſuit only of apparel. But *Philip* made answer again that they had no peace for them at all, unleſs they would quit the place, and ſimply commit themſelves unto his mercy. This Embaſſage related unto them, ſet them in ſuch an heat and choler, that partly for ſpight and indignation, and partly upon deſpair, they fell into the like rage that the *Saguntins* did in times paſt. All the dames and wives of the City they commanded to be ſhut up within the Temple of *Diana*: their young boies and maidens that were free-born, the ſucking babes, together with their nurſes, they cauſed to be beſtowed within the common place of publike exerciſe: their gold and ſilver they took order to be brought into the market place: their rich attire, their coſly apparell and furniture, to be caſt into the two Gallies, the one of *Rhodes*, and the other of *Cyzicum*, which rid in the haven: and laſt of all, that their Priests ſhould be brought forth with their beaſts for ſacrifice, and altars erected in the miſt of the place. There firſt were certain men choſen of purpoſe: who ſo ſoon as they perceived the battailon of their countymen defeated and ſlain, fighting before the breaches of the wall, immediately ſhould run upon their wives and children, and kill them without mercy, caſt away into the ſea their gold and ſilver, and all the furniture aforeſaid that was in the Gallies, and ſet the edifices and houſes aſire, as well publike as private, in as many places as poſſibly they could. For the performing and execution of theſe premiſes, they were bound by an oath miniſtered unto them: the form whereof, with a curſed malediction thereto annexed, they pronounced word for word from the Priests mouth. Then, as many as were of lawfull age to bear arms, ſware likewiſe, That not one of them would depart out of the battell alive, but with victory. Thus remembering the oath they had taken, and how they called the gods to witneſs, they fought ſo reſolutely, that whereas the night would have parted the combat, the King terrified with their furious rage, firſt gave over the conflict. The chief and principall men of the City, whoſe charge was to play the more cruell and horrible part in this tragical act, ſeeing there remained but few alive after this ſkirmiſh, and thoſe grievouſly wounded and tired out of heart for wearineſs: the next morning early by day-break ſent their Priests with their inſules and veils of peace, to render the City unto *Philip*. Before the town was fully yielded, *M. Emilius* the youngſt of thoſe three Roman Embaſſadors which were ſent to *Alexandria*, hearing of the

* *Andro*.
* *Perio*.
* *Cybo*, or
Caura.

* *Sireto de Cal-*
lipoli, Brachium
S Georgii,
S. Georges arm.

* *Mareneus, vel*
Marelia.

the straight siege of the Abydens came by the consent of the other two unto Philip. When he laid open this grievance, and made complaint. That he had warred upon *Asterion* and the Rhodians, and namely even then besieged and assailed *Abydos* most forcibly. And when the King answered that *Asterion* and the Rhodians with others, with cause on his part offered, began first to molest and trouble him. What for? *Philip* again were you molested and troubled first by the Abydens too? *Philip* who was not wont to be told the truth so plainly, thinking this rejoinder of his more bold and more pertinent to be offered to a King. Your youthfull age, quoth he, & fair face, and above all the Roman name maketh you hardy and audacious. But I would advise you all, first to remember your covenants, and to entertain peace with me. For in case ye once begin with me, and put me to it: I do you understand, that I also am fully resolved to make you feel the smart, and know that the realm and nation of the Macedonians is no less renowned for feats of arms than the Romans. *Philip* having dismissed the ambassador, and seized upon all the gold and silver that lay on an heap together, lost all the booty of men of quality that might have yielded him a round ransom. For the multitude of common people fell into such a fit of rage and madness, that all of a sudden they imagined those who let their lives in the conflict were betrayed, and casting one in another teeth their perjury and charging the Priests especially that they were false sworn in delivering them alive unto the enemy whom they had devoted and appointed to death: they ran at once from all parts to the pitifull massacre of their own wives and children; and when they had so done, they made no more ado, but by fire, by sword, by drowning, hanging, and one way or other, they wrought a quick dispatch and clean riddance of themselves also. The King abhorred to see them thus horn-mad, staid the bloody his own soldiers, saying that he would allow the Abydens three daies to dye in. During which term of time, the conquered Abydens exercised more fearful cruelty upon their own persons than ever the conquerors would have put in practice in the height of their heat and choleric fury. Inasmuch as there was not one of them came alive into the enemies hands; but such as either fast tied with bonds, or otherwise by some forcible means were staid from being their own hangmen, and the butchers of their proper bodies. *Philip* after he had placed a garrison at *Abydos* returned into his own Realm. Now when this miserable calamity of the Abydens had reached *Philip* to enterprise war against the Romans, like as *Annibal* afore him took heart by the wofull destruction of *Saguntum* to do the semblable: behold, he was encountered with post that brought news, how the Consul was in *Epirus* already, and had withdrawn his land forces to *Apollonia*, and bestowed his servitors at sea in *Corinth*, thence to winter.

* *Aidos*.

In this while the Ambassadors who were sent into *Africa* had their dispatch and this answer from the Carthaginian. First, as touching *Amilcar* the Generall of the army and forces in *France*, they could do no more but banish his person and confiscat his goods. Then concerning the fugitive traitors and rebels which were run from the Romans, they had sent home again unto them as many as they could reach out and come by: and to that purpose they would address Ambassadors themselves unto the Romans, to satisfy the Senat in that behalf. And presently they sent to *Rome* two hundred thousand Modii of wheat, and other two hundred thousand into *Macedony* to the army there. From thence the Roman Ambassadors went forward to the King in *Numidia*. To King *Masaniissa* they delivered the presents which the Romans sent, and declared unto him their commission: at whose hands they received a thousand Numidian horse, whereas he offered them two thousand: himself took order for their embarking, and so dispatched them into *Macedony*, with provision of two hundred thousand measures of wheat, and as many of barley. A third Embassage they had to *Vermis*, who met the Ambassadors as far as the utmost marches of his Realm, and to their disposition and discretion referred the drawing and penning of all conditions of peace as they would themselves: saying withall, that he held any peace whatsoever, that he should have with the people of *Rome* for good and just. So there were presented unto him certain articles and conditions of peace, and for the ratifying thereof he was enjoined to send his Ambassadors to *Rome*.

* *Modii*.

Much about the very same time *L. Cornelius Lentulus* the Vice-Prator returned out of *Spain*: who having declared in the Senat his valiant and fortunate exploits, that for many years together he had achieved in *Spain*: and in consideration thereof, demanded that it might be lawfull for him to enter the City in triumph: the Senat judged that his noble acts deserved no less than he sued for: but they had no such precedent from their ancestors, that he should be allowed to triumph, who had warred neither as Dictator, nor Consul, nor Prator: and as for *Lentulus* in quality of Vice-Prator only, and not of Consul or Prator he took upon him the charge of the Province of *Spain*. Howbeit, in the end they came down to this point, that he should ride into the City on horseback as Orant. But *T. Sempronius Longus* a Tribune of the Com. interposed his negative, alleging that they had as little example to shew for that: and no practise or custome at all of their ancient predecessors. But in fine, the Tribune gave place to the generall accord of the LL. O. and was content to be over-ruled. So after the order set down by the Senat, *L. Lentulus* entered *Rome* in that solemnity and pomp before named. He presented in shew of the pillage that he had got, 44,000 pound weight of silver, 2,450 pound weight of gold. To his soldiers he distributed out of the spoil, 100 Asces apiece.

* 137,500 li.
sterl. after 5.
sh. the ounce.
* 88200 li.
sterl. at 3 li.
an ounce.
* 7 fl. & d.
English.

Now was the army of the Consul translated already from *Arelum* to *Ariminum*, and five thousand Latine allies were passed out of *France* into *Etruria*. Therefore *L. Furius* departed from *Ariminum*.

A *Arminius*, made haste by taking great journeyes to come against the Gauls, who then laid siege to *Criminus*, and encamped within a mile and an half from the enemy. Means and opportunity he had to do a notable exploit, and win a good hand of the enemies, if immediately upon his first coming he might have assailed their Camp: for they wanted to and fro in scattering wise up and down the country a foraging, and had left no sufficient guard for the defence of their Camp. But he feared greatly that his souldiers were weary and tired, because the companies marched apace thither in exceeding great haste. Howbeit the Gauls being called back by the hooping and hollowing of their fellows, let go their booty which they had in manner as good as in their hands, and returned to the Camp, and the morrow after ranged themselves in battell array. The Romans were not behind for their parts, albeit they had hardly time enough to set themselves in order,

B the enemies ran so suddenly, and made such haste to fight. The right wing (for the army of the allies was divided into wings) was placed in the vanguard: the two Roman legions in the reeward; *M. Furius* led the right wing, *M. Caelius* had the conduct of the legions; and *L. Valerius Flaccus* (all three Lieutenants) commanded the Cavalry. The Prator kept with him two Lieutenants, *En. Laetorius*, and *P. Titinius*, by whose means he might look about from every part, and be ready to oppose himself against all sudden attempts whatsoever of the enemies. At the first, the Gauls hoped that with their numbers they should be able to tread down and trample under their feet that right wing of allies which was in the forefront: and to that effect they reduced their multitudes into one place, and charged upon it with all their might and main together. But seeing that enterprise sped not well, they endeavoured to environ the corners and sides, and to compais the enemies round about: which they thought they might soon do, being so many as they were in comparison of so few: which when the Prator perceived, to the end that he also might spread out his battillions at large, he displayed the two legions in the reeward, so as he compassed on both hands that wing which fought in the vanguard and therewith vowed two Chappels to *Jupiter*, if that day he might be so fortunate as to vanquish his enemies. To *L. Valerius* he gave direction, that of one side he should with the Cavalry of the two legions, and on the other side with the horse belonging to the allies charge upon the wings of the enemies, and not suffer them in any case to enclose the battell about. Herewithall himself also, espying the middle battailon of the Gauls to be but thin, by reason they were stretched out from thence to the corners and points of each hand, commanded his souldiers to keep close together, to advance forward and break through their ranks. So were the wings of the Gauls by the horsemen discomfited, and they in the midst repulsed back & chased by the footmen: and when the enemies thus at once on every hand were beaten down and killed, they shewed their backs, and fled as fast as they could to the camp. The horse pursued them in the rout and chase; and anon the legionary footmen made after also, and gave an assaile upon their Camp. There escaped from thence not all out six thousand: slain there were and taken prisoners above 35000; with seventy banners and ensigns, and more than two hundred French wagons, charged and laden with much pillage. In this conflict, *Amilcar* the General of the Carthaginians lost his life, and three Noblemen of the French, Leaders of mark and name. The *Placentine* captives, to the number of two thousand men of free condition, were delivered again to them of their own Colony. This was a goodly victory: and upon the letters which came with tidings thereof to *Rome*, received there with great joy: and ordained it was, that a solemn procession should be held for the space of three daies. Of Romans and allies one with another there died in this battell two thousand: most of them were of that right wing, upon which the enemies in the beginning of the conflict most of all discharged their fury.

Albeit the Prator had brought the war to a good pass, and in manner finished it, yet the Consul also *C. Aurelius*, having accomplished his necessary affairs at *Rome*, made no stay but took his journey into *France*, and received the victorious army of of the Prator. The other Consul who came into his Province but a little before the end of Autumn, wintered about *Apollonia*. The Roman galleys which from the *Almado* that lay in dock at *Corcyra*, were sent as is aforesaid, to *Athena* with *C. Claudius*, were no sooner arrived at *Pyraeum*, but they mightily comforted

F the allies, whose hearts were well-nigh done: for neither were there any more inrodes now by land as there were wont to be from *Corinth* side by the way of *Megara* along into their territories; and the sea of war and Piracy ships which from *Chalcis* had made not only the seas dangerous to the Athenians, but also the maritime & sea coasts, durst not now approach nearer than to the cape of *Sunium*, nor venture into the open main sea from out of the straights of *Euripus*. Over and besides, there came in to them three Rhodian galleys with four banks of oars: these were also three open ships of *Athena* well rigged and appointed, for to keep the quarters that lay along the river. *Claudius* was well appaied, and thought he had got enough for the present in case the City and Territory of *Athena* might be sufficiently guarded by this fleet. But seeing there presented unto him in decent besides of far greater importance and consequence. *Cera* Ocan banished persons of *Chalcis*, expelled from thence by the wrongs and violence of those that sided with King *Philip*, advertised him, that the City of *Chalcis* might be easily surprized without any countenance or resistance at all: for, not only the Macedonians ranged abroad every where up and down, because there were no enemies near at hand to fear: but also the townsmen presuming upon the garrison of the Macedonians, neglected the guard of the City. Upon the assurance of these words, he set forward: and although he was arrived at *Sunium* with so good speed, that he might with ease have fallen to the entrance of the Straights of *Euboea*, yet for fear of being

* *Corpus*

being discovered (when he was once got past the cape) he kept his fleet within the bay till night: and at the shutting in of the evening he weighed anchor and sailed forth, and having a calm sea he arrived before *Chalcis* a little before the break of day, and pitched his forces against those parts of the City that were least peopled: and with the help of some few soldiers he scaled and got the Tower that stood next with the wall about it, while in some places the soldiers were found asleep and in others not at all to be found. Then they advanced forward unto those parts that were more inhabited, and stood thicker with houses: where, after they had killed the guard and broke open a gate, they received into the town all the rest of their soldiers. Whereupon, there was running now on every hand into all parts of the City, and much hurry and confusion; which was the greater, because the enemies had set fire on the houses about the market place. The Kings garners also were of a light fire, together with the arsenal and armory, where there was exceeding store of provision, of engines, of artillery and other ordnance and instruments for war. After this they fell to execution and to massacre in every place, as well those that fled as those that made head: so as they missed not one that was of age meet to bear arms, but either he was killed or put to flight. *Sopater* likewise the Acarnanian Captain of the garrison was there slain. All the pillage was first brought and piled up together in the common place of the City, and afterwards embarked. The common Goal besides was broke open by the Rhodians, and the prisoners and captives let out, whom *Philip* had there lodged as in a place of surest guard and custody. Then they overthrew the Images and statues of the King and brake their necks: which done, they founded the retreat, went a shipboard, and returned to *Pyraeum* from whence they came. But if the number of Roman soldiers had been such, that they might have kept *Chalcis* still with a garrison, without quitting and abandoning the defence of *Athens*, a great matter had been got in the very beginning of the war: to wit, the City of *Chalcis* and the passage of *Enripus* had been taken from the King. For as the narrow pass of *Thermopylae* stoppeth the wayes into *Greece* by land, so the streights of *Enripus* maketh all sure by sea. *Philip* at that time lay in the City *Demariae*, where, after he heard the news of the calamity befall upon a confederate City, albeit now it was too late to help when all was lost: yet because he would be revenged (which is a thing that cometh near to the nature of aid and succour) he went forth immediately with five thousand footmen lightly appointed and nimble, and three thousand horsemen, with all the speed and haste he could to reach near unto *Chalcis*: making full reckoning that the Romans might be surprised on a sudden: but being disappointed of this hope, and thither come where he could see nothing else but a pitious spectacle of a friend City half ruinate and still smoking, and so few people left alive, that they hardly were able to bury their dead, he returned as hastily as he came, and having passed over *Enripus* at a bridge, he led straight to *Athens* by the way of *Baeis*, with a deep persuasion and hope that a like enterprise unto the Romans should have the like issue. And verily he had not missed of the fensible effect, correspondent to his designs, but that a certain watchman (one of those whom the Greeks call *Hemerodromos*: that is, post and carrier: that in one dayes space will run and rid a mighty deal of ground) descried from a watch-tower the Kings troops, marching: whereupon he ran out afore, and came to *Athens* ere midnight. There were they all asleep, and as reckless as they of *Chalcis* were a few daies past, which was the loss of their town. The Praetor of the Athenians, and *Dionippus* the Captain of a regiment of hired strangers and soldiers, awoke at this so fearfull and sudden tidings and got up, assembled the soldiers into the market-stead, and commanded to sound alarm from the highest place of the City, that all men might take knowledge that the enemies were near at hand. By which means they ran every man from all parts to the gates and up the walls. Within few hours after, and somewhat before daylight, he approached the City: and seeing many lights every where, hearing also a noise of people running to and fro (as in time of such a tumult) he baid his march, and commanded his soldiers to sit them down and rest themselves, intending to proceed by overt and open forces, once covert and crafty courses sped no better: and so at length he came before *Dipylon*. This *Dipylon* is a gate, standing in the very front of the City, greater and wider a great deal than the rest. Both within and without that gate are large and broad streets, so that both the inhabitants within may march an army, and lead in battell array from the common place directly to the gate, and also the enemies without have room as will to conduct a power as well of horse as foot, by means of a spacious causey or high-way, which reacheth out almost a mile in length from the foresaid gate and leadeth to the place of exercise or school called *Academie*. At this quarter of the City the Athenians, together with the garrison of *Artalus*, and the regiment of *Dionippus*, stood forth, and entered the causey above named, having first within the gate let their men in order of battell. Which when *Philip* saw, he made full account, that he had his enemies as he would himself to do his pleasure with them, and that now he should have his fill of a massacre and slaughter that he had wished for so long: (for there was not a State or City in all *Greece* that he misteered more than this of *Athens*.) And therefore he exhorted and encouraged his soldiers, that they should have their eye upon him ever as they fought, and know well this, that where the King was there should the banners and standards be displayed, there should the strength and force of the battell be: and so he set spur to his horse, and ran with full career to charge the enemies. Thus was he not only carried away with heat of choler, but awished also with a desire of glory, so treating it a goodly thing, and a another tending to his great honour, for to be seen fighting in the view of a great multitude of people that had taken up and filled the battlements of the walls.

ships coming from *Pyraeus*, and a fresh garrison received into the place, caused him to persevere to the end of the winter. After this the King divided his power, and sent one part of his army against *Artemis*, under the conduct of *Phileas*, and himself with the other marched to *Pyraeus*, that while *Phileas* kept the Athenians within the City, by approaching their walls, and threatening to besiege and attack it, he might himself with facility win and gain *Pyraeus*, whereas there was left but a small and slight guard. But he found as hot a piece of service about the fortress of *Pyraeus*, as before at *Eleusina*, by reason of the same Ionians in manner that defended as well the one as the other. So on a sudden he departed from *Pyraeus*, & marched directly toward *Artemis*. From whence he was repulsed and chased by a sudden fall both of horse and foot, made from the freights of the wall half ruin'd; which wall stretching out as it were, two arms, joyned the port *Pyraeus* to *Artemis*. So he left battering and assaulting the City, and passing again his army with *Phileas*, he went out to forrage and spoil the country; and as in his former success he identified himself in demolishing the tombs all about the City, so because he would leave nothing entire and safe, he commanded the chapels of the Gods, which were consecrate in every village and hamlet, to be pulled down, rased, and burnt.

The country of *Attica* was marvellously beautified and embellished (as it were) with goodly peeces of work in that kind, (by reason as well of the store they had of native marble, as also of their industrious and excellent workmen) which ministered matter and occasion unto him of this outrage and madness. For not contented and satisfied with the ruin of the Temples, and casting down of images, he commanded that the very stones should be broken and barter'd in peeces, that left being whole and found they might serve to make up and stop the breaches of the ruins. And after that his fell mood and anger was not so much satisfied and satiate, as it wanted matter to work upon in that place, he departed out of his enemies country into *Bœotia*, and performed no other deed in *Greece* worthy of remembrance.

* *Sigopolis*, *Pi-*
* *meto*, *Piergo*,
* *Nigro*.
* *Durazzo*.
* *Vico*, *Nigro*.

Sulpicius the Consul at that time lay in camp between * *Apollonia* and * *Dyrrachium*, near the river *Apus*; and having caused *T. Apollonius* the Lieutenant to come thither, he sent him with part of his forces to watch the borders of his enemies. *Apollonius* after he had foraged the frontiers of *Macedony*, and forced at the first assault certain holds, as *Corrhagum*, *Gerrhenium*, and *Orgosum*, came with his army before *Amphipolis*, a City seated in the narrow freights of a certain passage. And first he called forth the principal and chief citizens to a parly, and assaid to persuade and induce them for to commit themselves under the protection and safeguard of the Romans: but afterwards seeing they trusted upon their greatness, the strong walls and situation of the Town, and therefore made no reckning of his motives, but rejected them, he assailed it by force of arms, and won it in the end. All that were above fourteen years of age he put to the sword: the whole pillage he deak amongst the souldiers; the walls he rased, and set fire on the Town. The fear of like misery was the cause that *Copio*, a Town of good strength and well fortified, was yielded to the Romans without assault, or any sword drawn. There he left a garrison: and after that, he forced *Ilium*, a Town better known for the name that it carrieth of the other famous *Ilium* in *Asia*, than for any thing else. As the Lieutenant returned with a great booty to the Consul, one *Athenagoras* a Captain under the King, charged upon the tail of the arreergard, disordered the hindmost, and impeached their passage over the river: but the Lieutenant, at their cry and suddain affright rode in all haste back, caused them to turn again and make head, set them in battail ray, and bestowed all their bag and baggage in the mids upon a heap. The Kings souldiers not able to abide the violence of the Romans, were many of them slain, and more taken prisoners. So the Lieutenant having retired his army in safety, was immediately sent back unto the Consul to the Armado.

The war being thus begun, and the exploit of this first expedition happily performed, the Princes, Potentates, and LL. that bordered upon the Macedonians, repaired into the Roman camp, to wit, *Pleuratus* the son of *Scerdiletus*, *Aminander* King of the Athamans; and from *Dardania*, *Diao* the son of *Longarus*. This *Longarus* had waged war aforesime in his own name and quarrel, with *Demetrius* the father of this *Philip*. These States offering and promising their aids unto the Consul, had this answer from him, That for the Dardanians and *Pleuratus*, he would use them; N when he entred with an host into *Macedony*. As for *Aminander*, he gave him in charge the while to solicit the *Ætolians* to war. The Embassadors of *Attalus* (for they also were come at the same time) he dispatched with this order, That their King should attend the coming of the Roman fleet at *Egina*, where he wintered: with which and his own jointly together, he should assail *Philip* at sea, like as he had done beforetime. Embassadors also were addressed to the *Rhodians*, that they likewise should have their hand and be seen in this war. *Philip* for his part followed not to make preparation (for now by this time was he come into *Macedony*) and sent with part of his forces for to keep the freights of the passage of *Palagonia*, his son *Persens*, a very child of young years, having chosen certain of his trusty friends, to direct and govern his tender age. As for *Stelmus* and * *Peparethus*, two Towns of no small importance he destroyed, for fear the enemies fleet should seize upon them, and with their pillage content and pay themselves. He sent likewise Embassadors to the *Ætolians* (a nation inconstant and inquisit by nature) that they should not upon the arrival of the Romans change their allegiance. Now the Diet or general council of all the States of *Ætolia*, which they call *Panætolium*, was to be held at a certain day appointed. And therefore to prevent and meet with all dangers, both the Kings Embassadors made hast to be present thereat; and also *L. Fulvius Plautius* presented himself there, as sent Embassador from the Consul.

* *Sciato*.
* *Lement*.

The Oration
of the Macedo-
nian Embassa-
dors.

A Consul. The Athenian Embassadors likewise were at this assembly. And first the Macedonians (with whom a league was but lately concluded, and therefore freshest in remembrance) had audience, who said, "They had no new matter to speak of, seeing there was no new occurrence and business fallen out: only this, that upon what motives and considerations they were entered into an accord and peace with King Philip, (as having experience that the alliance with the Romans never did them good) for the very same they should maintain it still, being once concluded & confirmed. Or, love ye rather (quoth one above the rest of the Embassadors) to imitate the Romans licentiousnes or their levity, I know not whether? who, as they gave order and commandment, that your Embassadors being at Rome, should receive their dispatch and answer in these terms: Come ye now to us indeed my masters of Erolia, when without our consent and warrant ye have made peace with Philip: so likewise at this present are ready to require that ye should band with them, and war upon Philip. They pretended aforetime that they took arms against him, by occasion of you, in your quarel and defence; & now they forbid you to be in peace with Philip. At first, they entred into Sicily for to aid and succour Messana. A second time they went thither to set free and deliver Syracuse out of the oppression of the Carthaginians. And now at this time they hold in possession both Messana and Syracuse: and all Sicily entire they have made it tributary, yea, and reduced it into the form of a Province, to be ruled under their sword, and the jurisdiction of their Deputies and Magistrates. In good faith, I assure you, that as ye according to your laws & customes hold your Diets & Councils at Naupactum, by your own Magistrates elected and created among your selves, wherein ye have liberty to make choice both of friends and enemies whom ye will and to entertain either peace or war at your pleasure: so, writs are sent out to the States of Sicily for their knights and burgeses, to assemble in Parliament at Syracuse, at Messana, or Lilybaum. And the Roman Pretor it is and no other that summoneth them thither, as also to their Assises and Sessions: at his commandment & not otherwise they are cited to general Councils. Him they see sitting on high in his tribunal seat, guarded with Lictors, attended upon with Ushers, there to hear and determine causes, and from aloft to pronounce hard sentences and proud awards. His rods threaten their backs and sides, his axes are ready to chop their heads from their shoulders: & from year to year new Lords still they choose and send among them. And this dealing, none of them either can or ought to marvel at: for why? they see Cities of Italy, by name Rhegium, Tarentum, and Capua, (to speak nothing of their neighbour Towns by whose fall they arose, by whose ruins Rome grew mighty) subject likewise to the same rule and government. As for Capua, the very sepulcher and tomb of the Comitanion (now that the natural people thereof are either dead and buried, or driven out as exiled persons) remaineth at this day as a monster and wonder in nature, resembling a headless and limbleless dismembred trunk of a body: a Town (I say) without Senat, without Commonalty, without Magistrates: where more cruelty was shewed, in leaving it to it self thus abandoned, and in this manner to be inhabited, than if it had been clean rased and laid even with the ground. Meer folly it is and without all sense and reason, to believe or hope, that if these strangers and aliens born (who differ more from us in language, in customes and laws, than they are distant and disjoyned by space between of land and sea) be once seized and possessed of these places, that any thing will continue long entire in the present state. The Kingdom of Philip (ye will say) is a block in your way and seemeth to prejudice your freedom & liberties: yet he being made your heavy friend, and that through your own fault and desert, required no other thing at your hands for amends, but peace: and even now desireth nought else but your alleageance, and the faithful observance of the same. Acquaint forein legions once with this your countrey: you take the yoke of servitude upon your necks for ever. Accept the Romans once for your Lords: too late it will be then and in vain for you, to seek Philip again, and with him your ally. Small matters and momentary occasions may well cause the Aetolians, Acarnanians and Macedonians, (men of one language) to fall out, and as slender motives, will soon make them friends again: a little thing setteth them at a jar, and as little bringeth them in tune. But all Grecians both are and ever will be at war with Barbarians: enemies they are by nature, which is perpetual and immurable: and not by occasions which alter every day. But where I began my speech, there will I leave & make an end. In this very place you the same men, agreed three years past to have peace with Philip: and the self-same Romans as they disliked then & disfavoured that peace, so now they wil needs disquiet and trouble it after it is once passed and accorded. And since the case still is all one, and fortune hath made no alteration, I see no reason why ye should vary and change your minds.

After the Macedonians, the Athenians entred in place, for the Romans were well contented therewith, and would needs have it so: "These Athenians having suffered many wrongs and indignities at the Kings hands, had juster cause of complaint, and more reason to inveigh and aggrave matter against his cruelty and outrageous dealings. First, they bewailed the piteous spoil & miserable lackage of their territories: neither complained they so much and found themselves grieved in that they had sustained harms and suffered hostility from an enemy, (for there be certain laws and rights belonging unto war, by vertue whereof, to give and take, to suffer harm and to do harm interchangeably is an ordinary matter and allowable: As for example, the burning of standing corn in the field, rasing and pulling down of houses, harrying and driving of booties both of men and carvail, rather piteous calamities, than shameful indignities to endure.) But this is the point say they, and hereof we complain, That he who termed the Romans,

The Oration
of the Atheni-
an Embassa-
dors.

The Oration
of the Roman
Embassadors.

"strangers born, and barbarous, hath so polluted and violated at once all laws of God and man:
"so as in his former rode and expedition he seemed to make most impious war with the infernal
"Gods and Spirits beneath: and in the second, with the heavenly powers and Gods above. All
"the monuments and tombs within their confines are defaced and destroyed: the dead in their
"graves are all laid bare, not so much as the bones of any one lie covered with mould. Temples
"we had and Chappels, which, as in times past when our ancestors inhabited those small holds,
"hamlets and villages, they consecrated and hallowed: so when they were reduced into one City,
"and enrolled into wards and parishes, they forsook not nor abandoned altogether. Rounda-
"bout these sacred Churches hath Philip set fire, and consumed all: the holy images of the Gods,
"lie some scorched and half burnt: others headless and dismembred, among the pillars and posts
"of the Temples thrown along on the ground. And look what ioul work he hath made in the
"country of *Attica*, so rich and so beautifully adorned in times past, the like havoc it he might
"be let alone, would he make in *Etolia* and in all *Greece* throughout. For had not the Romans
"come in time to succour, our very City also had been so served and piteously disfigured. For
"with like mischievous intent came he to the City which worshipped those Gods, not sparing
"the goddess *Minerva*, the patroness and protectress of our Town and Castle: the same wicked
"mind he carried against the Temple of *Ceres Eleusina*: and no better affected was he to *Jupiter*
"and *Minerva* in *Pyreum*. But being repulled by force and arms not only from our Temples,
"but also from the walls of our City, he wreaked his anger and raged against those Chappels and
"religious houses, which had nothing for their defence, but only the reverent regard of the Gods,
"whereof he had none. Hereupon, they prayed and humbly beought the *Etolians*, to have com-
"passion of the Athenians, and to enterprise the war, under the conduct first of the immortal
"Gods, and then of the Romans, who next to the Gods are most powerful and mighty. Then
"the Roman Embassadors spake in this wise. "The Macedonians first, and after them the Athe-
"nians, have altered the whole course and form of my speech. For, whereas my coming hither
"was to complain of the injuries done by Philip to so many Cities of our allies and associates, the
"Macedonians by accusing the Romans first, have put me so hardly to my shifts, that I need ra-
"ther to employ my wits in making a defence of our selves, than in framing an accusation against
"others. The Athenians again in reckoning up and recounting the impious, abominable, and in-
"human parts of King Philip committed against the Gods, both above and beneath, what have
"they left behind for me or any man else to object against him besides? What they have said,
"you may well think, and truly suppose, that the men of *Chios*, *Abydos*, *Enus*, *Maronea*, *Tbasos*,
"*Paros*, *Samos*, *Larissa* and *Messene*: those also here of *Achaia*, complain of the same, yea, and
"of more grievous and cruel enormities: as whom he had greater means to annoy and hurt. As
"for such things as he hath laid to our charge, if they deserve not honor and glory, I confess they
"cannot be answered and defended. Reproached us he hath with *Rhegium*, with *Capua*, and *Sy-
"racuse*. I cannot deny, but during the war of *Pyrrhus* we sent a legion to *Rhegium*, there to lie
"in garrison at the instant prayer of the *Rhegians* themselves, who requested us to lend them.
"This legion I confess, most wickedly and treacherously seized upon the City, and possessed it
"to their own use, for the guard and defence whereof they were first sent. A vowed we (I pray
"you) that act of theirs? Nay, pursued we not by arms that lewd legion and ungrateful? and
"when we had them in our power and at our devotion forced not we them to make amends and
"satisfaction to our allies, with the smart of their back and sides, and with the loss of their heads
"in the end? And when we had so done, restored we not unto the *Rhegians* their City, their
"Lands, all their goods whatsoever together with their liberties, franchises, and laws? As for
"the *Syracusians*, when they were oppressed by strange and foreign tyrants, we judging it to be a
"great indignity, relieved and succoured them: and after we had been (for three years space al-
"most) wearied and toiled out with continual siege and incessant assault both by land and sea of
"their City, so exceeding strong and so well fortified: we seeing that the *Syracusians* themselves
"made choice rather to be in servitude under those tyrants, than to be taken by us, gave them
"their City again both forced and freed by the same armies. Neither deny we that *Sicily* is our
"Province: and that the Cities which took part and sided with the *Carthaginians*: & jointly with
"them accorded to wage war against us, are tributaries unto us, and pay us yearly rents and pen-
"sions: nay, we are so far from not taking this upon us, that contrary-wise we would, that both
"you and all nations besides well knew, that every one received at our hands that measure of for-
"tune that he duly deserved. And now as touching the *Capuans*, should we repent that we have
"chastised them in such sort, whereof they themselves verily can not complain? These men, after
"we had maintained war against the *Samnites* in their quarrel and defence, for the space well near
"of seventy years, to no small dispende of ours, and with many a loss and overthrow, after we had
"linked them unto us, first by league and alliance, then by marriage and affinity, and last of all, by
"freedom and burgesie of our City: these men I say, in our adversity, were the first all other
"nations of *Italy*, that villanously massacred our garrison there, and revolted unto *Annibal*: and
"then for very spite and indignation that they were by us besieged, sent *Annibal* to assault the City
"of *Rome*. And if we had proceeded in that rigour against them, that we had left neither City
"standing nor any one person of them living, who could take offence thereat, and justly say, That
"they had been more hardly entreated and dealt withal than they deserved? There were more of
"them, that upon touch and prick of guilty conscience for their lewd and wicked deeds, made

A them, thus we are to punish them severely to daunt and put to death; for the more we
look from them, more their Terms are to be feared of their possessions and living, yet for as
we left them poor and in obsequy and plagues dwelling; the guilds of Towns which we suffered
to stand full of life and sound, that who do such in this day forth in; can not find the way to be
they of a City, nor in a day or more. But what speak I of *Trayne*? seeing we have *Trayne* into
us, and a City, conquered and subdued both peace and all liberty. Inasmuch as we have
could rather to be ruled by confidence and our willings to pardon those whom we have
yet *Trayne*, we have seen from many more to be in hold as to this the peace and the form of
warfare. And thus I had no by inference of our lives. Now for what I have to speak
AGAIN, *Trayne*, which horrible murders committed upon those of this *Trayne*, even his
deeds, and his death, to look big and unbridled in (more *Trayne* and *Trayne* in
manner than his *Trayne*) yet know how much he is to be feared of *Trayne*. As for you, my
dear *Trayne*, we have for this time begun war with *Trayne*, and you again without us have
concluded peace with him. It may be you will object; that while we were occupied in the
Punish us, we were forced and compelled to take such conditions of peace at his hands,
who was the stronger. We know it (providing good and affairs and troubles) for bare to profe-
rre and sell our honour in which by your self was laid down and given over. At this present time
by the grace and goodness of the Gods, the Danick war is come to an end, both we have em-
ployed and befall our lives against *Trayne*, and you have good occasion and opportu-
nity offered to become to any way and alliance with us, lest you fall rather perill with *Trayne*,
than you with the Romans. And I should be glad to see you bid him, and if he be not

When the Roman Ambassador had ended this Oration, the Aetolians generally were dismissed and directed to the Roman camp, but *Demostratus* their Pretor (corrupted at the speech went with a inn of money received from King *Philip*, and made for him) gave silent notice to the one party nor the other, but said, "That in councils of great weight and importance, there was nothing more hurtful and prejudicial than haste for appearance of the follow it never so soon, when a thing is once done, yet is somewhat late and bootless nor considering, that such councils can not be revoked, hasty and headlong courses cannot possibly be recalled, nor matters once past be reduced again to their former state." As for the proper time of that resolution now in hand, whereof my self am of advice, that the due maturity & multiplicity should be observed, might now at this present be set down and concluded upon. For seeing that by laws & ordinances provided it is, that we may not treat of any affairs concerning peace or war, but in the general councils called *Panetolick* or *Pylaike*, therefore for the present I would have you to ordain and decree, that your Pretor without fraud or guile might call and hold a general court of Parliament, whensoever he is minded so to treat of war or peace; and whatsoever things and more may be proposed and determined, it may stand in as good force, strength, & virtue, as if it had passed in a full *Panetolick* or *Pylaike* council. Thus the Ambassador being dismissed and sent away for silence, and nothing decided and concluded, he said, That he had performed a singular piece of service to his nation and country. For now they would side and take part with those, whose fortune it were to speed better in the field. Thus went matters in the assembly of the Aetolians.

* *Panetolium*: A general council, where the States of *Ætolia* were assembled.

* *Pylæicum concilium*: Another Diet holden at *Thermopylae*, where the States of *Greece* or *Amphibylones* met, and sent each one their deputy or agent, called *Pylagoras*.

Now *Philip* with all diligence prepared for war both by sea and land. His sea forces he assembled together unto *Demetrius* a port in *Thessaly*, making account, that *Antiochus* and the Roman fleet would in the beginning of the next spring depart from *Adria*. Over his navy and all the sea coasts he appointed *Heraclides* Admiral, like as he had done aforetime. Himself levied and gathered his land forces, supposing verily that he had debarred and bereft the Romans of two great means of aid, to wit, the *Etolians* of the one side, and the *Dardaniens* of the other; in that the narrow freights and passage of *Pelagania*, was stopped and made sure against them by his son *Perseus*. The Consul on the other side made not preparations for war, but was on foot and in action already, conducting his army through the confines of the *Dassaretians*, and transporting with him one of his wintering harbor all the provision of grain, whereof the country yielded him sufficient to the maintenance of his soldiers. The great Towns and Villages were surrendered unto him, partly for love and partly for fear: some were forced by assault, others abandoned by the inhabitants, and were found desolate by reason that the barbarous people were retired into the mountains near by, to save themselves; and at *Leugim* near the river *Drinus* he encamped, from whence he sent to purvey for corn out of the garners and barns of the *Dassaretians*. *Philip* saw well enough that the country about was in a hurry, and the people in great fear and fright; but being uncertain to what place the Consul intended to march, he sent out a cohort of light horsemen as espials to discover what way the enemies took, and whither they pretended to go. The Consul likewise for his part was as doubtful: well he wist that *Philip* was dislodged from the places where he had wintered, but in what quarter he journeyed, he knew not; and therefore he also had set forth certain horse in espial to scour the coasts. These two bands or troops from divers and contrary parts, encountered in the end in one way, after they had a long time wandered at adventure through the country of the *Dassaretians*. Both parts knew well by the noise they heard so far off, as well of men as horse, that the enemies approached; and therefore they had both horse & men in readiness, before they were in sight one of another; for so soon as ever they were within their enter view, they made no stay, but charged immediately and joyned issue. It fortuned, that for number and valour both, they were equally matched, and being choise and elect men of either side, whereupon they fought

for certain hours like, until such time as their own weariness and the faintness of their horses put
 ted the battail in doubtful victory. Of the Macedonians there died 20 horsemen: and of the Ro-
 mans five and thirty. And for all this neither brought the Macedonians any better successe to
 their King, nor the Romans to their Consul, of the place where the combats were fought. But
 certain fugitive traitors gave advertisement thereof: who commonly in all wars upon a winning
 head and light humour that naturally they have, are given to hearken after news, and to enquire
 in what terms enemies stand. Philip imagining that it would avail some what both to purchase
 the affectionate love of his souldiers, and also to induce them more cheerfully and bravely to un-
 dertake all hazards for his sake, in case he seemed to have a careful regard to bury those horsemen
 which were slain in the journey and expedition aforesaid: commanded their bodies to be brought
 into the camp, to the end that all men might see what honour he did them in their funerals. But
 see how nothing is more uncertain, nor whereof a man may make less reckoning than the minds
 and affections of the multitude. That which was thought would have made them more willing
 and forward to enter into any danger and jeopardy whatsoever, even that, wrought a contrary
 effect, and caused them to be both fearful and backward. For they who were used to fight with
 Greeks and Illyrians, and to see mens bodies wounded with push of pike, galled with arrows, and
 pierced with lance here and there, in this or that part: after they beheld once their fellows so bur-
 thenly mangled with the Spanish curtelaxes and cutting swords, the arms cut away from the bo-
 dy, the heads either smitten clean off by the neck, or cloven down right, and lying on the floun-
 ders: their patches ripe with the bowels open, and guts drawing after: with other deep wounds
 and broad slashes, most hideous and fearful to behold: then they saw all full well (fearful creatures
 as they were) what manner of weapons, and what kind of men they were to deal against. Nay the
 King himself was terribly afraid, who had not as yet encountered with the Romans in any set field.
 Whereupon he sent for his son to come back with the garrison that he had in the streights of Pa-
 lagania, thereby to increase and strengthen his own forces: and so laid open the way into *Macedo-
 nia*, for *Plauratus* and the *Dardanians*. Himself in person with a power of 20000 foot, and 4000
 horse, guided by the fugitives aforesaid, marched toward the enemy, and about a quarter of a
 mile or somewhat less from the Roman camp, possessed himself of a little hill neer to *Atabacum*,
 which he fortified with trench and rampier. From whence, when he beheld the Romans encam-
 ped hard under him, he wondered (by report) to see not only the whole body of the camp, with
 the form and order thereof in general, but also how every part was ranged and set out in several
 both in the manner of quartering and pitching their pavilions, and also in the proportion of the
 wayes for breadth and length between. And having viewed and considered every thing according-
 ly: Believe me (said he) there is no man who seeth this, that can either think or say, it is the camp
 of a barbarous nation. For two daies space the Consul and the King (expecting one anothers at-
 tempts and enterprises) kept their souldiers close within their holds. When the third day was
 come, the Roman General brought forth his whole power into the field. But the King fearing to
 hazard all, so soon upon a cast, drew forth 400 Triballians (which were, as we have said elsewhere,
 of the Illyrian nation) and 300 Cretensians, all footmen, accompanied with the like number of
 horsemen: and sent them under the conduct of *Athenagoras*, one of his courtiers and gallants,
 for to brave the Cavalry of the enemies, and to challenge them to fight. The Romans, whose
 main battail was little above half a mile off, put out against them their light armed van-couriers,
 and as it were, two companies or cornets of horsemen: to the end, that they might be equal
 with the enemy in number, both of foot and horse. They of the Kings part supposed verily, that
 they should fight after their old and accustomed manner: namely, that the horsemen should by
 turns, one while ride forward in the face of the enemy, other while retire again: sometimes follow
 in chase and have use of their darts and weapons, and sometimes turn and shew their back parts:
 that the nimbleness and activity of the Illyrians would stand in good stead to make excursions
 and suddain skirmishes: also that the Cretensian archers should be employed in shooting arrows
 aloof at the enemies, as they advanced and came forward, or flung out all abroad on every side:
 but the violent charge of the Romans, no less continual and obstinate, than fierce and eager, put
 them quite out of this manner of service, and disordered all. For no otherwise than if it had been
 a set battail between two entire armies, their footmen lightly armed, so soon as they had lanced
 and let go their javelins from them, took them to their swords, and came to hand fight: the
 horsemen likewise, no sooner affronted the enemies, but either staying their horses they fought
 on horseback, or else alighted on foot, and among the footmen maintained the skirmish. By this
 means neither the Kings Cavalry could match the Romans, because they had not been used to a
 steady battel: nor his footmen who were wont to traverse their ground, and skirmish, never
 standing still, and withal in manner half naked for any harness they had, was able to make their
 parts good with the Roman light appointed footmen, who had their swords and bucklers, and
 were furnished with armour, as well defensive as offensive. So they could not endure long to
 maintain fight, but were forced to retire into their camp, and by nothing else saved themselves but
 by good footmanship and riding apace. These passed one day between, when the King minding to
 trie a conflict with all his forces of Cavalry, and footmen lightly appointed, had laid in a wait by
 night certain targatiers, whom they call *Peltastes*, in a convenient place between both camps, and
 given direction and charge unto *Athenagoras* and his men of arms. That if they sped well in open
 battel and plain fight, they should on still and follow their good fortune: but if they went by the
 worse,

A waste, and were too weak, they should give ground by little and little, and train the enemy to the place of ambush. Well it fell out so, that the horsemen indeed retired accordingly, but the leaders of that cohort aforesaid of targetiers, not attending the signal long enough, but raising their men out of ambush before time, lost the opportunity of playing their part & performing a good service. The Roman Consul having both obtained victory in open battel, and escaped the danger of a covert snare, retired himself into his camp. The morrow after, he came down into the plain field with all his forces, and put them in battel array, having arranged his Elephants in the forefront of the vanguard. And this was the first time that ever the Romans had use in their wars, of this beast; by occasion, that in the late Punick war they had taken some of them alive from their enemies. But perceiving that Philip kept himself close within his camp, he approached under the very rampiers, yet, and reproached him for his cowardise. And seeing for all that, he could not even then be drawn to a battel: considering also, that if he kept there a standing camp long, so near unto the enemy, his provision of corn should be exposed to dangers: for no looner should the purveyors and forragers be gone abroad into the country, and spread over the fields, but the enemies light horsemen would be ready at their heels to fetch them in, and cause them to come short home: therefore he removed his camp to a place almost eight miles off, called *Oelaphum*, where he might make his provision with less danger. Now when the Romans purveyed for corn and victuals in the territory thereabout, and were come upon a time somewhat neer and within danger of Philip, he left the King let them alone, and kept his men within their camp, to the end, that they might be more bold and venturesome, and withal, less wary and circumspect: but espying them once straggling asunder here and there out of order, he set forward with all his Cavalry, and the auxiliaries of the Caudians, and marched so fast, as the swiftest of his footmen by running might keep pace with the horsemen: thus having gotten between them and home, he pitched down his ensigns betwixt the Roman camp and the forragers. Then divided he his forces in two companies, the one he sent forth to course and chase them, so dispersed as they were: giving special charge and direction, not to leave any of them alive that they could reach: with the other he staid himself behind, and beset all the waies, and stopped the passages by which the enemies were like to retire and have recourse unto their camp. Soberly were they killed or put to flight in every place, and as yet not one escaped to the Roman camp, for to bring news of this discomfiture: for, as many as fled back, chanced upon the guard that the King had set: and more were slain by them, than beset the waies, than those that were sent out to the pursuit and execution. At length some hapned to escape through the midst of the Kings *corps de guard*, and in great hast and fearful manner came into the camp with a tremendous noise and tumult, rather than any certain tidings. The Consul, after order given to the horsemen, that every man should incurr and rescue what way soever he could, their distressed fellows in this extremity, himself led forth the legions out of the camp, and marching in a four-square battaillon advanced toward the enemies. The Horsemen being spread over the fields in divers places, some lost their right way, being deceived by other outcries heard from a contrary part: othersome met with their enemies, and at one instant, the skirmish began in many and sundry places. The band that guarded about the King, fought most fiercely and cruelly: for both they were for their own number as well of horse as foot, a full army well-armed; and also most of the Romans light upon them, because they kept the very port and roadway in the mids. In this regard also were the Macedonians the better and had the vantage, because the King himself was present in person to encourage and exhort them: and withal the auxiliary Caudians wounded many of the Romans ere they were aware of them: for why, they were well prepared aforehand, ranged thick and close together, and so fought against them that rode scattering abroad one from another, and without array. And verily, if they could have kept any mean and measure in their chase, they had mightily advanced themselves, not only in winning the honor of that day, but also, in the main point of the whole war. But pursuing them beyond all reason, and without discretion, upon a bloud-christly desire that they had of massacre, they chanced upon the Roman Squadrons which were gone before with the Tribuns and Colonels: in so much as the Horsemen aforesaid, who before fled, when they once saw the ensigns of their own infantry, reined their horse heads, and turned again upon the enemy that ran with bridle in horse neck: and so in the turning of an hand, the fortune of the battail changed and came about; and they that erewhile made pursuit, now shewed their backs, and fled again. Many of them were slain that came to close handfight, many likewise of those that ran away. Neither fell they all upon the edge of the sword, for some there were who plunged into bogs and marishes, where both horse and man sunk in the deep mud and mire, and so were swallowed up and perished. The King himself also was in great danger: for his horse being wounded under him and fallen, he also came headlong down to the ground, and hardly escaped, but he had been troden under foot, and mischieved as he lay along. One horseman above the rest, saved his life, who hastily leapt himself from horseback, and withal mounted the King (so scared as he was) upon his own horse: who being now on foot, and not able to run as fast as the horsemen that fled away, was with many a stab and thrust soon dispatched by the enemies that came running together to the King when he was seen to fall. And the King after he had ridden in fearful flight about the sunny meers, one while where there was some way, and other-whiles where there was none at all to be seen, chanced at length to come to his camp, when most men were in despair that he could possibly escape in safety. In this skirmish there were 200

Macedonians slain, a hundred almost taken prisoners: fourscore brave and goodly conquests, with rich spoils and other furniture, together with the spoil of his armour carried away. There were that blamed the King for being too rash that day, and the Consul for his slackness. For *Philip* say they, should have kept him quiet in rest and repose, knowing, as he did, that the enemies within few dayes would have been brought to extreame want and penny, now that the territory all about was clean spoiled and wasted. And the Consul for his part, when he had foiled the Cavalry and light armed footmen of the enemies, and as good as taken the King prisoner, ought presently to have advanced against the Kings camp: for never would the enemies be discomfited have stood to it: and so in the minute of an hour, they had been vanquished forever. This is soon said, but (as most things else) not so soon done. For in case that the King had likewise brought forth into the field all his Infantry, peradventure in that tumult, when all his men were discomfited and driven to the out of the field to their camp, yea, and to keep within the rampier, for fear of the enemies ready upon his victory to get over the counter-camp and other fortifications, the King might have been distressed of his hold, and lost all. Again considering, that the whole power of *Philip* his footmen remained still intire within the camp, the Consul guarded before the gates warding: the sentinels and watch set in convenient places of the rampier attending: what other good should the Consul have done in advancing further, but imputed the rash fool-hardiness of the King, who a little before so hotly followed the chafe of the horsemen discomfited? Neither was the Kings first judgement to be reproved and found fault with, when he charged upon the foragers, scattered as they were over all the fields: if he could have seen when he was well, and have used his good hand in measure and moderation. Less marvel it is besides, that he was willing to trye the fortune of a battail: because there ran a rumor, that *Pleurant* and the *Dardanians* were departed from home, and with a puissant power entered already into *Macedonia*. And if he thus were beset round about with these armies, there was no doubt but the Romans might have vanquished and subdued him, and never stirred foot for the matter. *Philip* therefore supposing that upon these two late received soils of the horsemen, he should have but unquiet and dangerous sitting in the same standing camp still: and minding to dislodge from thence, and in his remove to beguile the enemy and not be seen, dispatched a Pursevant, at arms or herald, unto the Consul a little before sun setting, to crave surcease of arms, until he had buried his horsemen that were slain: and at the relief of the second watch he deceived the enemy: for leaving many fires through all his camp, he marched without any noise and departed. The Consul had newly suspected, and was going to rest, when he was advertised that a Pursevant was come, and what his errand was. And for the present, he made the matter over no other answer but this, that the next morning he would talk with him, and give him audience. But *Philip* by this means got the advantage of that whole night, and part of the next day, to gain riddance of way in his journey, which was the only thing he sought for. And toward the mountains he took his flight, for that way he wist well the Romans would not follow after, with an army so heavy and charged as it was. The Consul by day break, granted the Pursevant a cessation of arms, and gave him his dispatch: but it was not long after that he was advertised how the enemy was gone; and not knowing which way to follow after, he passed some few dayes in foraging and purveying provision all about the place where he lay encamped.

After this he marched to *Scutaria*, and gathered together all the grain that was to be had about *Pellagonia*. From thence he went forward as far as to *Pluvina*, and all this while knew not for certain into what quarter of the countrey the enemies were retired. *Philip* having first set him down and encamped before *Bruana*, and departed from thence by crofs and crooked wayes, struck a suddain fear into the enemy, whereupon the Romans dislodged from *Pluvina*, and deer unto the River *Ofphagus*: pitched their pavilions. The King likewise rested himself not far from thence, and had cast a trench and raised a rampier along the banks of the River, which the inhabitants call *Erigonus*. And after he was for certain advertised, that the Romans intended to go to *Erdnea*, he marched afore to seize upon the streights, and to impeach the enemies, that they should not gain the passage that lyeth as it were in a narrow gullet, barred and enclosed on each side. There he raised in one place a rampier, and cast a trench in another; made barricades here and there, partly by piling stones up on heaps in stead of a wall, partly by felling of trees across, according as either the ground would give leave, or the place afford matter. And thus stopping up all the wayes by sundry devices and means, he made the place (to his thinking) both unpassable and impregnable, which of it self by nature was hard enough and troublesome. The countrey all about was for the most part Forrest, and full of wood, very incommodious, especially for that manner of battailions and ordnance of array, which the Macedonians call *Phalanx*: which serveth them in small or no stead at all, unless with their long pikes they may make a passade, or stay (as it were) and oppose them before their shields: which they cannot well do, unless they have free scope and liberty of plain and open ground. The Thracians also were sorely troubled and cumbered with their spears named *Rhomphae*, which were likewise of a mighty length, and by reason thereof (catching as they did, and snarling within the boughs and branches of Trees that grew in their way every where about) hindered them very much. There remained the Cohort or band of the *Candians*, that seemed of some use for to be employed. And yet the same also as it was able to discharge arrows against both Horse and man, and to annoy them so long as they lay open and exposed to shot, if haply they offered

A offered to charge; so they were not of strength sufficient to drive their shafts level, and to pierce thorough the Roman targets: for otherwise there was no part of the body offered it self unarmed and naked for to aim at. And therefore so soon as they perceived that kind of shot to serve them to little or no purpose, they caught up stones which lay all over the valley, and let them flie at the enemy. Which stones, as they light and beat upon their bucklers, kept a great clattering, and with the sound they made (rather than with any hurt besides) kept the Romans for a time from mounting up the bank. But the Romans making no reckoning of these stones neither, partly by pavoises and target-fences over their heads, made way directly through the thickest of their enemies; and partly by wheeling a little and fetching some compass about, gained the pitch of the hill, and were got up to the very top: from whence they drove the Macedonians (all affrighted as they were) down the hill, and chased them from their holds and guards: and by reason they had much ado to flie (the ground was so rough and uneven) most of them were killed and cut in pieces. Thus the difficulty of the freights was overcome, and they were possessed thereof, with far less trouble and conflict than they looked for and made account of. Then they marched on forward as far as to *Erduas*, where the Consul after he had put the fields all over to the wast, retired himself to *Eliman*. From thence he forced *Orestides*, and assailed the Town *Celerum*, situate as it were, in a demy island: there is a lake that environeth the walls, and but one way by land that leadeth to the Town from the main, and the same very freight and narrow, in form of a gullet. At the first when the Town was summoned, the inhabitants trusting to the natural strength of the place, kept their gates shut against the Consul, and refused his summons. But after they saw once the ensignes displayed and marching against them, when they perceived the enemies defended under a pavoise to approach close to the gate, and the narrow freight and avenue aforesaid, beset with a band of them: before they would encounter and fight, they yielded themselves for very fear. From *Celerum* he marched on towards the *Dassaretians*, and war by assault the City *Pridum*. From thence he carried away the bondslaves, with the rest of the pillage: but all persons whatsoever free born, he let go at liberty without paying ransom. The Town he gave them again, after he had planted in it a strong garrison for it stood well, and in a very good place, for to make rodes and incursions into *Macedony*. Thus the Consul having ranged over the countrey of the enemies, brought his army back through the peaceable parts into *Apollonia*, where he began first to make war.

Now the *Ætolians*, the *Athamians*, and *Dardanians*, and many other wars rising suddainly at once, some from one place and some from another, had diverted and turned *Philip* a contrary way. Against the *Dardanians* (as they returned out of *Macedony*) he sent *Arbenagoras* with the footmen lightly armed and appointed, and the greater part also of the horse giving him in charge and direction to follow them hard at their heels as they departed, and to play upon their backs, and cut off the rail of their reeward: to teach them against another time, not to be so hasty to come abroad with an army again. *Democritus* the Pretor of the *Ætolians* (who in the Diet aforesaid held at *Naupactum* persuaded to take a longer time for to consult about this war) had in the next Council or Parliament following, moved the *Ætolians* to enter into arms: namely, upon the same that was spread abroad of the horsemens fight before *Oetolophus*, and also upon the coming of the *Dardanians*, and *Pleurains* with the *Illyrians* into *Macedony*: besides the arrival of the Roman fleet at *Oreum*, and the general voice and bruit that went, how *Macedony* should shortly be assailed also by sea, over sea above so many nations that from all parts about were come already by land. These motives regained *Democritus* and the *Ætolians* to friend the Romans again. Who joyning unto them *Aminander* the King of the *Athamians*, went forth together for to besiege *Ætolium*. They within the Town had shut their gates, whether by constraint, or willingly of themselves, it was not known for they had the Kings garrison within among them. However it was, within few dayes *Cerchum* was taken and burnt. As many as remained alive after that great defeat, as well bond as free one with another, were with the rest of the pillage carried away. This fearful example moved all the people inhabiting about the marsh of *Babe*, to abandon their cities, and to retire themselves for security into the mountains. The *Ætolians* for want of rich prey and booty (which they could not find there) turned from them and marched toward *Pryphasia*. In that quarter they won by force the City *Chryse*, and cruelly put it to the sack. The inhabitants of *Aradas* knowing of themselves without compulsion and were received into protection as allies. One of *Pythecus* *Arminius* was of advice and desirous to march against *Comptus* by reason that the countrey of *Athamania* bordered so neer upon that City, and it seemed best to be fought without much trouble. But the *Ætolians* fingers tickled and itched again to be doing within the rich and fertile fields of *Thessalie*, and thither went they to raise booties and seek pillage. *Aminander* followed still for company, albeit he liked well neither of these fashions of the *Ætolians* nor of their glory to make rodes and to spoil every where: nor of their manner of encamping and adventuring. In what places soever they chanced to come, without all consideration regard and care of fortifying and guarding the army. Fearing therefore lest their inconsideratelines and inpine negligence, might be an occasion that he or his should come to a throw and, and thus some damage, lost his time: and seeing them to incamp in a plain neer to the City *Pharsalus*, he took a little Hill little above half a mile off, where both he and his might with the help of any small guard, lie in security. Now when as the *Ætolians* seemed in manner to have forgotten that they were in the enemies country, but that they drove some booty: while they were some of them wandering and stragling, disbanded and half armed, others

others within their camp without any *surp. de guard* swelling and sleeping all night and day long, and made no difference of the times, *Philip* came upon them before they looked for him. And it being once known by the report of some that fled out of the fields in great affright, that he approached; then *Damocritus* and the rest of the Captains began to quake for fear. Now was it about noonetide of the day, at what time as most of them having taken their full lode of wine and viands, lay along fast asleep. Then they fell to awake and raise one another, and to give the alarm: anon they sent out every way to call in those that were spreading abroad in the fields. So much they were astonied, that for hast many of the horsemen went forth without their swords, and most of them forgot to put on their cuirasses. Thus being led out in post hast, and hardly in all (foot and horse together) able to make up the number of six hundred, they light upon the Kings Cavalry, for number, armour, and courage much better than themselves: And therefore at the first push were discomfited: for before they were well entred into skirmish, they fled shamefully away toward their camp. Some of them came short thither, and were either slain or taken prisoners, even as many as the Kings horsemen overtook, and gat between them and their other companies. *Philip*, when he saw his men approach neer unto their camp, commanded to sound the retreat: for both horse and man was weary, not so much with fight as with their long journey and the exceeding speed that they made. Whereupon he gave commandment, that the Horsemen by troops, and the light armed Footmen by their companies and Squadrons should water their horses one after another, and go to their dinner and repast. Others he kept still in armour for a guard attending the Regiment of the footmen, that came but slowly forward, by reason they were heavily armed at all pieces: who being come, they also were enjoined to pitch down their ensigs, and lay their weapons before them, and to take a short bait and hasty pittance, sending two or three at the most out of every band for to water the horses. All this while the horsemen, together with the light armed souldiers, stood well appointed and in readines, if haply the enemy would have given any attempt. The *Aetolians* bettowed armed men all about the gates and the rampier, intending to guard and defend their strength and fortifications, for now by this time they also that were scattered over the fields, had retired themselves into the camp. And so long as they beheld the enemies to keep quiet, and not stir, and were themselves in a sure hold, they made their bravadoes, and were very lusty: but after that the ensigs of the Macedonians began to advance forward, and march in order of battel well appointed, close unto their trench: all at once they abandoned their guards and quarters, and ran out at the back part of their camp, and fled to the foresaid hill, where the *Athamanians* were encamped. Many of the *Aetolians* were likewise in this hasty flight killed or taken prisoners. *Philip* made no doubt, but that the *Athamanians* also might have been driven from their hold, if there had been day enough behind: but the day being spent already first in the skirmish, and afterward in the ransacking of their camp, he set him down upon the next plain, hard at the foot of the hill aforesaid, intending very early the next morning to assail the enemy. The *Aetolians* scared as much now, as they were before when they quit their own camp, fled scattering away the night following. Here *Aminander* stood them in very good stead, by whose good guidance and direction, the *Athamanians* being skilful in the coasts of the country, conducted them into *Aetolia*, over the high mountains, whereas the enemies followed after them in blind and unknown by-ways. Some few of them happened in this confused and scattered flight to lose their way, and stumble upon the Macedonian horsemen, whom *Philip* by day light, had sent to cut off the tail of the enemies, so soon as he perceived the hill abandoned. About the very same time, *Athenagoras* a Captain under the King, overtook the *Dardaniens* as they returned into their country, and at the first put their reerward in disarray. But afterward the *Dardaniens* turned head again, and embattelled themselves: so they fought on even hand, and nothing was won nor lost on any side. The *Dardaniens* began not so soon to advance forward and march on again, but the Kings power, with their horsemen and light armed souldiers came upon them afresh, and put them to great trouble. For they had no such means of help, and were besides furcharged with heavy armour, and withal, the place gave great advantage to those of the Kings part. Very few were slain, more wounded, none at all taken prisoners: for the manner of the *Dardaniens*, is not to break out of their ranks and armies for a litle, and upon small occasions; but as they fight close, so they retire together, and part not. Thus *Philip* having restrained these two nations, by two brave exploits, which were as happily performed as bravely enterprised, recovered the losses again, by him received in the Roman war. These hapned besides, another occurrent, which diminished the number of his enemies the *Aetolians*. For *Scopas*, one of the chief noblemen of that nation, being sent from *Alexandria* by King *Ptolemy*, with a mighty mass of gold, caried away with him into *Egypt* six thousand footmen, and certain horsemen, waged for money to serve. Neither had he left behind him any of the flour and youth of *Aetolia*, if *Damocritus* had not chastised and rebuked them, and so by that means kept some of them at home; making remonstrances unto them, one while of the war that was toward, and another while of the desolation which was like to ensue thereupon. But whether he did this upon a good zeal and care that he had of his countrey, or only to cross *Serpes*, becaie he had not fed him well with rich rewards and fat presents, it is not known. And thus much concerning the affairs passed between *Philip* and the Romans for that summer.

The Roman fleet having in the beginning of the same summer committed to Sea from *Corynna*, together with the Lieutenant *An. Apustius* passed beyond the point of the cape *Malta*, and joyned

A joined with King *Demetrius* and *Sylla* to the city of *Heraclea*. Then the whole City and
 State of *Athens* upon hopes of peace and safety, sent *Demetrius* and *Sylla* to the City and
 shewed and shewed which they had conceived against *Philip*, and with a long time for very fear
 they had held in, and therefore kept themselves in good and reasonable terms with him. Now
 in this City there never was a tumult or any manner of sedition, and provoke the common peo-
 ple to a commotion, as did in all the rest generally. All kind of men are contained and
 born out by the favour of the multitude, so in *Athens* especially, where discipline is in most re-
 quest, and beareth greatest sway. Presently therefore an Act was put up and proposed unto the
 common people, and by them granted and confirmed. That all the Statues and Images of King
Philip, together with their names and titles, the wife of all his progenitors and predecessors, as
 well men as women, should be defaced, pulled down, and destroyed. That all the Festival
 daies, the sacrifices and sacrifices, which had been instituted and ordained for the honor of him,
 should be profaned and unallowed again. That the very places, wherein ought had been
 erected, or inscriptions given to his honour, should be held as detestable and accursed: and that
 from thence forward, it might not be lawful to set up there any of those things that ought to
 stand, and be dedicated in a pure and clean place. That the publick Priests of the City, in
 allies, for the preservation of their amities and armed forces, should desert and come by name King
Philip, his children and heirs, his forces both by land and sea, with all the race and name of the
 Macedonian nation. Moreover, it ran on in the decree, That if any man from that time forward,
 would prefer and propound any thing that might tend to the disgrace and infamy of *Philip*, the
 whole people of *Athens* should approve and allow the same whatsoever, and make an Act there-
 of. Contrary-wise, if any person say or do anything for honour, or to impeach and check his dis-
 honour, whatsoever should happen to kill the said party, he should be deemed and reputed, that
 he had killed him justly and lawfully. Finally, this branch was comprised within the decree, That
 all things ordained in times past against *Philip* and his line and progeny, should be observed and
 stand in force against *Philip*. Thus verily warred the Athenians against *Philip* with letters and
 words: wherein they are right valiant, and to say truth, good at nothing else. But *Arralus* and
 the Romans, having from *Heraclea* shaped their course for *Pyrrhus*, arrived there. And after
 they had sojourned some few daies in *Athens*, and were laden with a number of decrees, where-
 in the Athenians recounted the praises and commendations of their allies beyond all measure, like
 as they had before exceeded in shewing their malice against their enemies. They set sail from *Pyrrhus*
 to *Andros*. Where, riding at anchor in the bay called *Stauron*, they sent certain men to
 sound the minds of the inhabitants, whether they would chuse to yield the Town willingly, or
 rather abide the hazard of a forcible assault. Who answered again, that the Kings garrison being
 possessed of the Castle, and keeping it for *Philip*, they were not their own masters. Whereupon
 the King and the Roman Lieutenant for their forces on land, and with all preparation of engines
 and artillery fit for an assault, approached the City divers waies. The Roman standards and their
 arms, not seen before in those parts, the resolute courage of the soldiers, who so lustily and
 nimbly came near to scale the walls, terrified and amazed the Greeks, much more than any thing
 else. Therefore immediately they fled into the Castle, and the enemies were LL. of the City.
 Now, after they had for two daies space held out in the fortress, presuming more upon the
 strength of the place, than the force of their armout and weapons: they and the garrison together,
 compounded upon the third day to quit the place, so they might be brought with a convoy to
Delium, a Town in *Boeotia*, and every man to have one single suit of apparel. Then the Romans
 leaving the bare City unto King *Arralus*, ransacked it themselves, and took away with them all
 the pillage and ornaments that beautified the same. And to the end, that the Isle should not lie
 waste and desert, *Arralus* perswaded the Macedonians in manner all, and certain also of the *Andri-
 ans*, there to remain. Afterwards, they also who by composition were transported to *Delium*,
 were by the fair promises of the King drawn away from thence: which they gave ear and credit
 unto the sooner, for the love of their native country, the miseries whereof they might hardly brook.
 From *Andros* they crossed to *Cythera*. There they spent certain daies in assaulting the City, to no
 purpose: and seeing the gain would hardly quit their pains, they departed from thence. Next unto
Prasia, (which is a place of *Arralus* within the main) there joined unto the Roman fleet twenty
 pinnares of the *Isleians*, who were sent to rob and spoil the territory of the *Carystians*: the rest of
 the fleet remained at *Girafum*, a noble rode and port of *Euboea*, until such time as the *Isleians* were
 returned from *Carystum*. Then all together they made sail, and passing the mids of the main sea,
 they fell with the Isle of *Saxos*, near unto *Syracusa*. There they were staid for certain daies, by reason
 of the raging Northwind: which being once laid and the sea calm again, they passed to *Syracusa*, a
 City lately pillaged and ransacked by *K. Philip*. The soldiers ranged over the country, and brought
 com with them to their ships, & whatsoever else was fit for mans food. Other booty neither war
 there any nor deserved had the Greeks to be spoiled at their hands. Thence they bent their course
 for *Cassandria*: first they rode at anchor near unto *Aradus*, a village situate by the sea side, and be-
 longing to that State. From whence having sailed beyond the cape, & desirous to come about with
 their vessels, for to approach the very walls of the City, there arose a tempest & sudden gulf: wherein
 they had like to have been cast away: but scattered they were asunder, & having for the most part
 lost the tackling of their ships, they escaped with much ado to land. This tempest at sea, was also

a fore-taken pressing unto them, that they were to follow the war by Land and Sea, and to be in service for when they had brought all their ships together, and set them on shore, and they sailed the Town: but they had the repulse with many thousands slain before them (for there was a strong garrison of the King) whereupon they gave over their attempt, turned back and sailed over to Carthage, a City of Africa, and having doubled the point of Tunis they sailed on for Africa. There as they found the territory, they found the Town and made it. And for that their ships had their full freight and charge of pillage they sailed no farther forward, but returned from whence they came to Syrtis, and from thence to Sicily, where leaving behind them their main power, they went with smaller ships lightly appointed, so the Emperor of Sicily, for to parley with the Romans about the whole course and managing of the war. The chief of this embassy sent from the Senate, was one *Sipthianus* an Italian, who came to *Hieracles* for to treat and confer about the business together with the King and the Roman Lieutenant. They demanded of *Hieracles* by virtue of the accord and agreement before made, to furnish them with a thousand soldiers: for so many ought he by right to furnish and maintain, who offered they were to wage war against *Philip*. But this demand was denied to the Romans: in regard that sometime they likewise thought much to make a road to spoil *Hieracles*, at what time as *Philip* sent forth his fleet about *Syracuse*, burning all edifices before him, as well sacred as profane, when they might have drawn him perforce from thence into his own realm to look unto his proper affairs there. Thus the Romans were dismissed with more hope than help: for the Romans fed them only with fair words, and large promises of all things. Then *Aspilius* with King *Attalus* returned to the fleet.

After this they laid their heads together, and began to consult about the siege and assault of *Oronum*. A strong City this was both in regard of the walls, and also of a good garrison by reason that heretofore it had been once assailed. Now there were in full of Rhodian ships all close covered with harbores and docks, which under the conduct of Captain *Agessibronus* sailed joyntly with the fleet of *Attalus* and the Romans after the winning and conquest of *Andros*. These ships they sent to lie in the Bay of *Zelasum*, (a promontory or cape above the City *Damastium*, lying very conveniently over against *Isthmia*) for this intent, that if the Macedonian ships should come abroad from thence, they might be ready in hand to make sail against them. *Hieracles* an Admiral for King *Philip*, lay there at rods with the navy, attending either some opportunity or advantage of the enemies negligence, than by plain and open force. The Romans and *Attalus* in the mean time planted their ordnance against *Oronum* at divers parts. The Romans at the Castle side that standeth upon the sea. The King from the vale that lieth between two forts, where as the City is enclosed also with a wall. And as they assailed in sundry places for their manner of a sailing was much different, and their engines diverse. The Romans assayed to approach the wall with tortoises, pavoises and mantlets, and to shake it with the Ram. They of the Kings part used Crossbows, Balists, Catapults, and all manner of engines to shoot forth quills and darts, yea, and to level and weigh mighty stones of exceeding great weight. They undermined also: and in sum, they practised all means which they saw by experience did good during the former assault and siege. But the Macedonians were not only more in number than the time before to defend the City, but also of better courage and resolution: by reason that the King had rebuked them sharply for their fault passed: and they remembered well both his menaces, and also his promises for the time to come: in so much as the assailants had small hope to win the Town in haste. Mean while the Roman Lieutenant, supposing that some other exploit might be performed, leaving a sufficient number (as he thought) for the finishing of the Fabricks begun and other engines of assault, put over to the next places of the continent: where he surprised on a sudden *Lariss* (not that noble and renowned City in *Thessaly*, but another, which they call *Cremaste*) and won it, all but the fortrefs. *Attalus* in like sort took *Egeston*, fearing nothing lest that such an accident from them that were busie in besieging another Town. By this time, as the engines and other Fabricks without *Oronum* were at the point of finishing, and ready to perform the battery for which they were made: so the garrison within was overtoiled with continual pain and travail, spent with watching night and day, and faint with many grievous wound. Moreover, part of the wall, shaken underneath with a hurt and push of the Ram, was already fallen down in sundry places, in so much as the Romans entered by night at the open breach, and all the way above the Key, and so were possessed of the Castle. *Attalus* likewise by the break of day, after he saw the banner reared upon the fortrefs, and the signal which the Romans put forth, entered the City: for now the walls in many places lay along. The garrison and the Townsmen fled to a second citadel that they had, from whence after two dayes they yielded. The City was the Kings lot: the bodies of the prisoners were the Romans share. Now drew the sun near unto the Equinoctial line in Autumn, at what time the Euboean gulf called *Gelis* is dangerous, and not well trusted of mariners. Therefore being desirous to be gone into a place of safe retreat, before the troublesome winter weather overtook them, they turned their course and made head to *Pyræum*, from whence they came: where *Aspilius* leaving behind him thirty ships, set a compass about the cape of *Attalus*, and sailed to *Corinth*. But the King stayed still so long as the festival dayes of *Ceres* continued, because he would be present at the celebration of those solemnities. After the feast ended, himself likewise retired into *Asia*: but first he sent *Agessibronus* and the Rhodians home again. These were the affairs and exploits performed this summer by sea and land, by

A by the Roman Consul and the Lieutenant General, with the aid of King Attalus and the Rhodians against King Philip and his allies.

The other Consul C. Aurelius being come into his Province when the war was brought to an end, could not smother and conceal his anger conceived against the Prætor for fighting in his absence. When he had taken order therefore to send him into Etruria, himself with the legions invaded the country of the enemies: where by way of robbing and spoiling he warred so as he got more prey than praise. But L. Furius, seeing there was little to do in Etruria, and withal desirous rather than his life of a triumph over the Gauls (which he supposed to obtain with more ease, while the Consul was absent, who was both angry with him, and also envied at him) arrived at Rome before any man looked for him, and assembled the Senat in the Temple of Bellona. Where,

B after he had declared what acts he had achieved, he requested that he might be permitted to ride into the City with triumph. In great credit and account he was with many of the Senators, both for his noble and worthy deeds, in which regard they honoured him: and also for a special favour and love, in which respect they affected him. But the more ancient and elder Senators denied him triumph, as well for that he had warred with the army of another, as also because he had abandoned his own Province and government, upon a greedy desire to catch a triumph, by waiting his opportunity, and taking advantage: a thing not warrantable by any former precedent or example. And as many of them as had been Consuls said moreover, That above all things he ought to attend upon the Consul his return. "For well might he (say they) being encamped near unto

C "the City, have defended and guarded the Colony only, and so have drawn the time out untill his coming, and never needed to have fought a set battell for the matter. And although the Prætor have omitted to do, yet ought not the Senat to follow his example, but expect the Consul. When as therefore they have heard the Consul and Prætor discoursing and arguing the matter both together face to face, then they should be able to judge better and more soundly of the cause. A great part of the house was of opinion that they ought to look unto nothing else but the good service done, and whether he were lawfully called thereunto, as a Magistrate of himself, to manage his affairs by his proper conduct and the guidance of his own fortune. "For,

D "of the two Colonies (say they) which were oppoled as two forts and bulwarks to restrain the sudden impressions and tumults of the French: when the one was sacked and burnt, and the same fire like to leap from it to the other so near, (as from house to house that joyn together) what could the Prætor have done otherwise in that case? For if there might be nothing attempted without the Consul, it must needs follow, that either the Senat did amiss in giving the Prætor the charge of an army (for if their will was that the war should be managed not by the Prætors army, but by the Consuls, they might have limited it in the Commission by especial words, expressly forbidding the service to be done by the Prætor, but only by the Consul) or else the Consul hath committed a fault, who having commanded the army to go out of Tuscan into

E "France, came not himself in person to Ariminum to encounter the enemy, and be present in that war, which without him might not be lawfully fought. Over and besides, the occasions and seasons of war attend no staies, and tarry for no politick delays of Generals. And otherwhiles, fight a man must, not because a man is willing thereto, but because his enemy puts him to it. To conclude, the very battell itself, and the happy issue thereof, ought only to be considered and regarded. The enemies are defeated and slain; their Camp taken and ransacked; the siege raised

F "from the one Colony, and it preserved; the captives of the other recovered and restored to their friends: and to be brief, in one battell the quarrell is decided, and the war finished. And not only men have rejoyced for this victory, but also there have been processions for three daies space to the honour of the immortall gods; [For that L. Furius hath managed the Commonwealth well and happily and not ill and rashly.] Finally, these French wars fall by a fatall destiny to the house and race of the Furii. By these and such like remonstrances alledged by himself and his friends, the majesty of the Consul himself was overweighed with the reason born to the Prætor present. And so in a frequent assembly of Senators a decree was granted, That L. Furius should ride in triumph. Thus triumphed over the Gauls L. Furius Prætor, while he was in office. He brought into the common treasury 320000 Asles, 170000 pound weight of silver. But neither were there any prisoners led captives in show, nor spoils carried in pomp before his chariot, nor yet his souldiers followed after. So as it appeared, that all other things besides victory alone, pertained properly to the Consul.

After this were the plaies exhibited with great magnificence by P. Cornelius Scipia, which he had vowed in Affrick, during his Consulship. Also there passed an order for the lands of his souldiers: That for so long, as each one had served in Spain or Affrick, he should have two acres for every year: and that these lands should be set out and assigned unto them by ten Decemvirs for the purpose deputed. There were certain Triumvirs created for to supply and make

G up the number of the Roman Inhabitants in Venusia, by reason that during the time of Annibals his war, the strength of that Colony was much enfeebled and impaired. C. Terentius Varro, P. Quinctius Flaminius, and P. Cornelius Scipia the son of Cneus, enrolled new Coloners to inhabit Venusia.

The same year C. Cornelius Cethegus, who governed Spain as Pro-Consul, discomfited a great host of the enemies in the country of the Sederans. In which battell, by report, were slain 1500 Spaniards, and 78 military ensignes taken. C. Aurelius the Consul, when he was returned

out of his Province to Rome against the solemn election of Magistrates, complained, not as men made reckoning he would have done, (That the Senat expected not for his coming, nor that the Consul was not permitted to debate the matter with the Prætor) but found himself grieved, "That the Senat had decreed a triumph so, as the party only was suffered to speak who was to triumph, and none of them might be heard who were present at the battell. And whereas our forefathers ordained, that Lieutenants, Colonels, Marshalls, and Centurions, yea, and in one word, the souldiers should be at a triumph: for this end and purpose, that the truth might appear to the world, of all things achieved by him unto whom so great honour was to be done: Was there any one (quoth he) of all that army which fought with the Gauls, I say not a souldier, but so much as a lackey or horse-boy following the Camp, of whom the Senat might enquire, whether the Prætor spake true or false? This done and said, he published the day of assembly for the election abovesaid: wherein were created Consuls *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *P. Villius Tappulus*. After them were Prætors chosen *L. Quintius Flaminius*, *L. Valerius Flaccus*, *L. Villius Tappulus*, and *C. Bibius Pampilius*. Grain and other victuals that year were cheap. Great store of corn was brought out of *Affrick*, which the *Ediles* of the chair distributed to the people, at two *Asses* a *Modius*. They also set forth the Roman games and pastimes right sumptuously; yea, and represented them one day more than ordinary. Moreover, of the silver raised by fines and forfeitures, they made seven brazen statues, which they set up in the treasure-house of the City. The *Plebeian* plaies likewise were thrice renewed all over by the *Ediles* of the Commons *L. Terentius Maffalora*, and *C. Bibius Pampilius* Prætor elect. Finally, the funeral games that year were four daies together exhibited in the common place of the City, occasioned by the death of *M. Valerius Levi-Knus*: and celebrated they were by his two sons *P.* and *M.* who also shewed unto the people a brave spectacle ofencers at the sharp: wherein there were five and twenty couples that entered the lists and performed combat. *M. Anicius Cotta*, one of the *Decemvirs*, that year departed this life; and in his place *M. Acilius Glabrio* was subordained. In the solemn assembly for electing *Ediles* of the chair, it chanced that those two which were chosen might not immediately enter into office: for *C. Cornelius Cethegus* was created in his absence, while he governed the Province of *Spain*. And *C. Valerius Flaccus* who was present at his own election, might not be sworn to maintain the laws, because he was the *Flamin* or Priest of *Jupiter*. For lawfull it was not for any Magistrate to exercise his place above five daies, unless he were sworn to the laws. Then *Flaccus* preferred a petition that he might be dispensed with: whereupon the Senat ordained, That if the *Edile* would find one to swear in his name at the good pleasure and discretion of the Consuls, then the Consuls (if they thought it meet) should deal with the *Tribunes* of the Commons, to propound it unto the people that it might pass under their grant. So *L. Valerius Flaccus* (the Prætor elect for the year following) was presented to take the oath for his brother. Then the *Tribunes* put it to a canvass before the people, and they enacted, That the oath of his brother should be of the same validity as if the *Edile* himself had taken it in his own person. Concerning the other *Ediles* also there passed an act of the Commons. For when the *Tribunes* proposed unto the people, Which two they would have to go into *Spain* as *LL.* deputies, with command over the armies; the people ordained, that *C. Cornelius* the *Edile* of the chair might come home to bear his office, and *L. Manlius* also after so many years, depart out of his Province: the people ordained, that *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* and *L. Stertinus* should have the conduct and government in *Spain*, in quality and title of *Pro-Consuls*.

The two and thirtieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the two and thirtieth Book.

Many strange and prodigious sights (as they were reported from divers countries) are here related and set down: among which, this is one, that in *Macedony* there was a bay tree sprung up of itself in the poop of a galley. *T. Quintius Flaminius* the Consul fought fortunately against *Philip* in the streights of *Epirus*: and having put him to flight, he compelled him to return into his own kingdom. Himself, with the assistance of the *Ætolians* and *Athamans*, infested sore and plagued *Thessaly*, which bordereth upon *Macedony*. *L. Quintius Flaminius* the Consul his brother, by the aid of King *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, made conquest by war at sea, of *Eubœa* and all the sea-coast. The *Achæi* were received into amity. The conspiracy of slaves, that conspired to deliver and set at large the hostages of the *Carthaginians*, was detected and took no effect. The number of Prætors was increased to six. The Consul *Cornelius Cethegus* defeated the *French Insubrians* in battell. League and amity was concluded between the Romans and the *Lacedæmonians*, with their tyrant *Nabis*. Over and besides, there is contained in this book the winning of many Cities in *Macedony*.

The third and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

When the Consul and Prators were entred into office upon the * Ides of March, they ^{* 15 of March} call lots for the government of the Provinces. To *L. Lentulus*, fell *Italy*; and to *P. Vilius*, *Macedony*. As for the Prators, *L. Quintius* had the jurisdiction of the City of *Rome*; and *C. Babius* the government of *Ariminum*; *L. Valerius* ruled *Sicily*; and *L. Villius* his lot was to command *Sardinia*. *Lentulus* the Consul had order given him to levy new legions, and *Vilius* to receive the army of *P. Sulpicius*, with commission and licence to take up as many souldiers as he thought good himself to furnish the same with a fresh supply. Those legions which *C. Aurelius* Consul had in charge, were assigned over to *Babius* the Prator, with condition to keep them with him, untill the Consul were arrived in *France* with a new army; and so soon as he came, to discharge and discharge all the souldiers hometo their houses except 5000 milles: forasmuch as this number was thought sufficient to govern the Province about *Ariminum*.

The Prators of the former year continued still Commanders of their armies. *Cn. Scipius* was enjoyned to see and take order, that certain lands should be set out for those souldiers who had served many years together in *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Sardinia*. And *Q. Minucius* had in charge to go through with that inquisition of certain conspirators and traitors in the *Brutians* country, upon which he had siren already as Prator with great fidelity and diligence: and also to send unto *Locris* for to receive due punishment of those prisoners, whom being attainted and convicted of sacrilege, he had sent bound to *Rome*. And finally, to cause all the treasure taken out of the Temple of *Proserpina*, to be restored thither again, with an over-encrease, to make satisfaction and to raze out the wicked part committed. The Latine feasts and holy-daies were solemnized again by verne of an ordinance of the Bishops, upon this occasion, That certain Embassadors from *Ardea* complained in the Senat, how they had not their ordinary allowance of flesh at the Latine feasts aforesaid in the mount *Alba*, according to the old custome. News came from *Suessa*, that two of their City gates, and all the wall between, was smitten with lightning. Messengers also from *Farmia* reported: that their Temple of *Jupiter* was likewise blasted. Moreover, they of *Ofia* brought word of the like mischance with them in the Church of *Jupiter*. And from *Velitra* tidings came of the like mishap: fallen upon the Temples of *Apollo* and *Sangus*. And that in the Temple of *Hercules* there sprung up a bush of traile. Letters came also from *Q. Minucius* the Pro-Prator out of the *Brutians* country, that there was a colt soled with five feet, and three chickens hatched with three feet apiece. After all this, *P. Sulpicius* the Pro-Prator sent letters from out of *Macedony*, containing among other matters this news, that there was a Laurell tree grew of it self in the poop of a galley.

The Senat in regard of all the former prodigious sights, ordained, that the Consul should sacrifice greater beasts unto what gods he thought good: but about this last rehearsed, the Sooth-sayers that pry into beasts inwards, were sent into the Senat-house: and by direction of their answer, an Edict went forth, That the people should go in procession, and make supplications one day, and in all Temples and Altars of the gods there were sacrifices celebrated with great devotion.

The *Carthaginians* this year came to *Rome* with the first payment of the tribute imposed upon them: and forasmuch as the treasurers and receivers of the City made report, that the silver was not good and lawful, and being brought to chetrial, was found too light by one fourth part washed away: those *Carthaginians* were constrained to take up money of the bankers of *Rome*, and to make good the defect and loss of the silver aforesaid. They put up a petition besides unto the Senat, that it might stand with their good pleasure to re-deliver now their hostages. Whereupon an hundred of them were rendered back, and good hope there was of the rest, if so be they continued loyal and fast in their allegiance. And when they made a farther request in behalf of those hostages which were not delivered that they might be transported from *Norba* (where they were not to their good liking and ease) to some other place, granted it was, that they might remove to *Syracusa* and *Perrentinum*. In like sort, the *Gaditans* made humble suit, and obtained this liberty, that there should not be sent from the Romans a captain to govern *Gades*, any thing to the contrary to their covenant (concluded with *L. Marius Septimius*, when they yielded themselves under the subjection of the Romans) notwithstanding. Moreover, forasmuch as the Embassadors of *Narva* made complaint, that they had not their full number of inhabitants, and that there were certain strangers enmingled among them, not of their own nation, who bare themselves as Citizens: therefore *L. Cornilius* the Consul was commanded to create three Deputies of Commishoners, called *Trimvirs* for to reform this disorder. And chosen there were for this purpose, *Publius* and *Septimius* *Elus*, who had both of them the surname of *Patrus*, and *C. Cornelius Lentulus*. *Publius* was granted to them of *Narva*, was denied to the Embassadors of *Cossa*, who likewise requested that the number of their inhabitants might be increased.

The states thus finished at *Rome* that there were to be done, the Consuls went into their severall Provinces. *P. Vilius* so soon as he was arrived in *Macedony*, was welcomed at his first coming with a dangerous mutiny of the souldiers, which long afore being kindled, was not well quenched

at the first beginning. These were those two thousand, which after the defeat of *Annibal*, were sent out of *Affrick* into *Sicily*; and from thence, a year after almost, transported into *Macedony* for voluntary souldiers; but they thought it stood thowly to it, that it was no voluntary act of theirs, but that they were shipped by their Colonels and Tribunes full against their wills. And howsoever it was, whether they served willingly or unwillingly, it was but meet and good reason, that the time of their souldiery should run out, and their service have an end at length. All things, that for these many years they had not seen *Italy*; that they waxed old men under their harness, having borne arms in *Sicily*, in *Affrick* and in *Macedony*; that with toil and travel so tedious, they were weak and feeble; and after so many wounds and hurts received, they had no more blood to lose. The Consul made them answer, that their cause was good and reasonable, but marred in the handling; and meet he thought it, that they should be dismissed, if they could have requested it in modest terms: but neither it, nor any cause else whatsoever was warrantable to make a mutiny and sedition. Therefore, if they could be content to keep to their colours, and be at command as loyall souldiers, he would in their behalf write his letters unto the Senat, as touching their conge and dismissal: for be they well assured, that they shall get more by sober and gentle behavior, than by any such stubborn, toward, and wilfull demeanor.

At the same time *Philip* besieged the City of *Thaumaci* with terraces & mantelets in all forcible manner, so that he was now at the point to batter & shake the wall with the ram. But the sudden arrival of the *Ætolian* enforced him to surcease his enterprise; who by the conduct of *Archidamus* having passed through the midst of the Macedonian guards, & entered the town, never ceased day nor night to make sallies forth, one while upon their standing watch, other whiles upon their fabricks & engines. The natural situation of the place yielded them good help and vantage: for the town of *Thaumaci* is seated on high to amans thinking as he goeth from *Pyla* & the gulph of *Malaea* by the way of *Lamia* & sheweth it self aloft, seeming to overlook & command the streight passage of the forrests called *Cela*. Again, when one travelleth over the craggy places, and the crooked waies entangled with so many windings in the vallies of *Thessaly*, and is approached once near to the City, all on a sudden he may discover before him a mighty large and open plain, as it were a wide and vast sea. So: a man shall have much ado to reach with his eye so far as these downs lie out every way under him, and see all over them. And herenpon by reason of this strange and marvellous prospect, the City is called *Thaumaci*. Over and besides that the high grounds affordeth it security, it standeth also upon a huge rock, divided into divers crags and broken cliffs. These difficulties forced *Philip* to give over his attempt, and namely, when he considered and weighed withall, that the town it self when it was won, would not quit the painful labour, and pay for the danger about it. Besides, the winter was now at hand, when he departed from thence, and retired his forces into *Macedony*, there to harbor. Where, when all others, during the time that they could catch any repose and rest, refreshed their spirits and bodies with some recreations and disports; *Philip* only how much respite soever he had, either of intermission or remission from continual labour of marching in journey, and fighting in battell; so much more trouble he had in his mind while he couied and discoursed with himself, what the total and final issue might be of this war: while he stood not only in fear of the enemies, which persecuted him by sea and land, but also in doubt, as well of the hearts of his allies, as of the affections of his own subjects: lest the one in hope of the Romans friendship should revolt, and the other (even the Macedonians themselves) desire novelties, and long for a change. Therefore he addressed his Embassadors into *Achaia*, both to exact an oath of the *Achaens* for their allegiance (for they had capitulated in the accord and agreement made yearly to swear fealty unto *Philip*) and also to deliver in to their hands, *Orchomenus*, *Heraca*, and *Triphylia*. And when they demanded also *Aliphera*, the Embassadors answered, that the City never pertained to *Triphylia*, but that of right it ought to be restored unto *Philip*: as being one of them, which in the generall councill and assembly of the *Arcadians*, were assigned and set out for the building of *Megalopolis*. And thus verily he entertained firm alliance with the *Achaens*. As for the Macedonians he gained their hearts unto him, by occasion of *Heraclides*: for seeing that by means of him he incurred their exceeding ill will and hard conceit, and that he was charged with many grievous crimes, he cast him in prison to gratifie his own subjects: whereat the people took great joy and hearts content. Then made he preparation for war, with an earnest endeavor, as at any time before: he exercised as well the Macedonians as mercenary souldiers in pay, namely, to wear their armor and handle their weapons; & in the very prime of spring, he sent all his forrain aids and light armed souldiers, under the leading of *Athenagoras* into *Chaonia* by the way of *Epirus*, to seize upon the straight passage near to *Antigonis*, which the Greeks call *Stena*. Himself a few daies after followed with his main army more heavily appointed. And when he had well viewed & considered the situation of the country, and how it lay, he judged that the quarter consisting upon the river *Aous* was the meetest place to fortifie and encamp in. This river between two hills the one by the pealants of the country called *Epirus* the other *Asinus*, runneth within a narrow vale, and yieldeth but a small passage upon the bank side. He commanded *Athenagoras* to gain and fortifie *Asinus* with his light armed souldiers: himself encamped upon *Epirus*. And look what way as the hill was fenced with broken and cragged rocks, there he kept a small guard of some few souldiers: but whereas there was more danger, and easier access for the enemy, he fortified with trens, hes, rampiers and bulwarks. He planted also and disposed in convenient places a great number of engines to send out quarrels and other shot, for to keep the enemies aloof,

The sight of
the City *Thaumaci*.

* Admirable,
or wonderfull.

Above the royal pavilion of the King himself was pitched before the rampier upon a bank in a most conspicuous place of open fight, for to terrifie the enemy, and also to encourage and hearten his own men when they should see him so confident and resolute. The Consul advertized by *Charopus* the Epistat, what passages the King with his army was possessed of, after he had passed the winter in *Corcyra*, himself likewise in the beginning of Spring, went up into the main land, and held on his march toward the enemy. And being advanced almost within five miles of the Kings camp, he left his legions in a strong fenced place, and went himself in person forward with certain lightly appointed in especial to discover the quarters, and the morrow after held a consultation, Whether he might do better to assay to pass through the place which the enemy kept (notwithstanding he saw evidently before his eyes great trouble and hazard in that adventure) or to bring his army about and fetch a compass the same way, whereas the year before *Sulpitius* entered into *Macedony*. This deliberation held him for certain daies in even balance and suspense, untill news came unto him that *T. Quintius* was created Consul; and having the Province of *Macedony* allotted unto him made haste thither and was already passed to *Corcyra*.

Valerius Antias writeth how *Vilius* was entered the pass aforesaid & because he could not take the straight and direct way (by reason that the King and his forces had beset all places) followed the valley along, through the middle whereof the river *Aous* runneth: and having made a bridge over it, in great haste passed over to the bank, whereas the King was encamped, and there fought a battle: wherein the King was discomfited and put to flight, and driven out of his camp: that 1200 enemies were slain in that conflict, 2200 taken prisoners, 132 ensignes won and carried away, besides 20 horse. Also that during the combat there was a Temple vowed unto *Jupiter*, in case the Consul should well in the battell. But all other writers both Greek and Latine, at least wise whose Annals I have read, report that *Vilius* performed no memorable act, and that the Consul *T. Quintius* who next succeeded took in hand the whole and entire war himself.

While things thus passed in *Macedony*, the other Consul *L. Lentulus* who staid behind at *Rome*, held a general assembly for the election of Censors: And among many famous and noble personages who sued for that dignity, *P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus*, and *P. Aelius Paullus* were created Censors. These two agreeing together in great concord, both elected a Senat without defaming any person; and also farmed out the toll for portage of all things that were sold at *Capua*: Item, they set & so farmed let the custome for passage that way whereas the camp stood and where now there is a town built: and entold three hundred Coloners (for that number was limited by the Senat) there to inhabit. They sold also the lands of *Capua* lying under the hill *Tifala*.

About the same time *L. Manlius Acidinus* departed out of *Spain*, and was prohibited by *M. Porcius Cato* a Tribune of the Commons, to enter at his return into the City with the solemn pomp of an Ovation notwithstanding he had that honour granted by the Senat. So he came into *Rome* as a private person, and brought into the Chamber of the City 1200 pound weight of silver, and thirty pound weight well near of gold. The same year *Cn. Babius Lamphilus*, who had received the Province of *France* from *C. Aurelius* the Consul of the former year, engaged himself rashly within the marches of the French Insubrians, and was environed and enclosed round about, both he and in manner his whole army. He lost above 6600 men. See what an overthrow was received in a war, whereof there was no reckoning made, and from whence no danger was feared any more. This caused *L. Lentulus* the Consul to come out of the City of *Rome*, who being arrived into a Province full of trouble and tumult, after he had received the charge of a frightened and dismayed army, gave the Praetor a great check and rebuke, & took him up roundly with reproachfull terms, yea, and commanded him to get him gone out of the Province, and to repair to *Rome*. Neither performed the Consul himself any exploit worthy of remembrance by reason that he was called home to *Rome* for to hold the solemn election of Magistrates: which also was staid by *M. Fulvius* and *M. Curius* Tribunes of the Commons: who likewise would not suffer *T. Quintius Flamininus*, having been but Quaestor, for to stand for a Consulship. "Now adays, say they, the dignities of Aediles and Praetors are nought set by, and not worth the seeking for: and these noblemen will needs troinat into the Consuls place, not by steps and degrees of other offices, wherein they should make proof and give good testimony what their carriage is, but leaping over those in the midst, joyning the lowest and highest together. This debate which began in *Marcellus* in the assembly of the people, came at length to be decided before the Senat. And the Senat ordained, That forasmuch as he which sued for that dignity, was by law capable thereof it was reason that the people should have plenary and absolute power to create him, of whomsoever else they pleased. So the Tribunes submitted themselves under the authority of the Senators. And for Consuls were elected *Sex. Aelius Paullus*, and *T. Quintius Flamininus*. Then ensued the election of the Praetors, in which were created *L. Cornelius Merula*, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, *M. Porcius Cato*, and *C. Atilius*, who had been Aediles of the Commons. By whom the Plebeian plaies were re-commenced; and a solemn feast made in the honour of *Jupiter* in regard of those plaies. The Cnule Aediles likewise *P. Valerius Placcus*, who also was the Flamine Dialis or Priest of *Jupiter*, and *C. Cornelius Cethegus*, exhibited the Roman games with great magnificence. The great Pontifices or Bishops *Sex. Sulpicius* and *L. Galba* died that year: In whose places were entailed *M. Aemilius Lepidus* and *Cn. Cornilius Scipio*. Now when *Sex. Aelius Paullus* and *Titus Quintius Flamininus* the Consuls were entered into their Magistracy, they assembled the Senat in the Capitoll: where the

they gave orders, that concerning the two Provinces of *Macedony* and *Italy*, the Consuls should

Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. 2. c. 10. Melit. Pingo. Nigro. vavissa abia.

either agree between themselves, or else cast lots whether of them should govern the one or the other: And that he, whose hap was to have the charge of *Macedony*, should enroll of Romans three thousand footmen, and three hundred horsemen: Also of Latine allies five thousand foot, and five hundred horse, for to supply and furnish out the legions. And for the other Consul it was decreed, that he should have an army all entire and new. *L. Laetilius* the Consul of the former year, continued still Governour in the Province with expresse commandment, that neither himself should leave the government, nor withdraw his forces from thence, before the Consuls were come with the new legions. So the Consuls referred themselves to the direction of the lots. To *Publius* fell *Italy*: and *Macedony* to *Quintius*. As for the Prætors, who all were guided by lots, *L. Cornelius Merula* had the jurisdiction of the City of *Rome*, *M. Claudius* governed *Sicily*. To *M. Perseus* was allotted *Sardinia*, and *C. Helvius* his lot was to be *L. Deputy* in *Gaul*. After this they began to take musters. For over and besides the Consular armies, the Prætors also were charged to levy souldiers. To *Marcellus* were assigned four thousand footmen of Latine allies, and three hundred horsemen to go into *Sicily*. And for *Cato* three thousand foot of the same kind of souldiers with two hundred horse to serve in *Sardinia*: upon condition, that when both these Prætors were come into their Provinces, they should discharge all the old souldiers there, as well footmen as horsemen.

Then the Consuls granted the Embassadors of King *Attalus* leave to come into the Senate-house: where having audience given them, "after they had declared how their King and Master had assisted the State of *Rome* with his forces as well by sea as land, and shewed himself chearfull, ready, and obedient to this present day for to execute and perform whatsoever the Roman Consuls had enjoyned him to do: they said now, that they much feared lest from henceforward he would not be able to do the same, by reason he was impeached by *Antiochus*. For *Antiochus* taking his vantage, and finding the realm of *Attalus* disurnished of garrisons, and unprovided of forces both by sea and land, had invaded the same. For which occasion *Attalus* besought the *LL.* of the Senat there assembled, that if they minded to use his navy, and employ the means that he could make, in the service of the Macedonian war, they would then send him a sufficient garrison to defend his kingdom: but if they thought not well thereof, his request was to permit himself to return with his fleet and other forces, to the defence of his own. The Senat gave order to return this answer unto the Embassadors: "Whereas King *Attalus* had succoured the Roman Captains with his Armado and other means of war, the Senat accepted thereof in the best part. But as touching *Antiochus* the King, an ally and friend of the people of *Rome*, they neither would send any aid against him: nor yet detain the aids of King *Attalus* in any service of theirs, longer than the King himself should think it stood with his own commodity. For the manner of the people of *Rome* hath alwaies been to serve their own turn with the help and assistance of others, but yet at the good pleasure & discretion of others. And whosoever were willing to relieve the Romans, they were at their own liberty to begin and end when they would themselves. Howbeit they purposed to address their Embassadors unto *Antiochus*, to advertise him and let him understand, that the people of *Rome* employed the help of *Attalus* his ships and souldiers against *Philip*, a common enemy: and the Senat would take it kindly at his hands, if for their sakes he forbore the Realm of *Attalus*, and abstained from war. For meet and reason it was, that the Kings who were friends and allies to the people of *Rome*, should likewise entertain peace and amity among themselves.

T. Quintius the Consul made haste to be gone into his Province: and when he had levied and mustered his souldiers so, as that he had enrolled those old experienced servitors for the most part, who had given good proof of their valour in the service of *Spain* and *Affrick*, he was detained so long at *Rome* by occasion of certain prodigious signs reported, untill he had taken order for the appeasing of the gods, and expiation of them. The lightning scorched and blasted the great part way from *Venus*: the Common Hall likewise of publike assemblies, and the Temple of *Jupiter* in *Lavinium*: also the Temple of *Hercules* in *Ardea*: the walls besides and turrets of *Capua*, and the Temple there which is called *Ala*. At *Arretium* the sky appeared to be on a light fire. At *Velitra* the earth setled and sunk down, leaving a great gaping chink for the compass of three acres of ground. Word moreover was brought, that in *Suessa* a lamb was yeaced with two heads: and in *Sirussæ* a porker with a mans head. In regard of these prodigies, there was a procession and supplication one whole day, and the Consuls intreated devoutly to their sacrifices: and after they had pacified the gods, they took their journey into their Provinces. *Publius* together with *C. Helvius* the Prætor went into *France* and gave unto the said Prætor the army which he received of *L. Laetilius*, and should have dismissed and discharged of their service: because he purposed himself to employ in his own wars the fresh and new legions which he brought with him: but he performed no action worth the report. The other Consul *T. Quintius* having taken the sea, and departed from *Brundisium* sooner than other Consuls were wont, arrived at *Coryra* with eight thousand foot, and eight hundred horse. From thence he crossed the seas with a galley of five ranks of oars, directing his course for the nearest coasts of *Epirus*, and by great journeys made haste untill he was come to the Roman camp: from whence after he had licensed *Publius* to depart, and staid there some few daies, untill his forces which were at *Coryra* could overtake him, he called his Council together to resolve, Whether he should keep on his journey directly, and make way through the midst of his enemies where they lay encamped, or rather without any such

A such attempt (which could not but carry with it great pain and perill) fetch a compass about with safety, and to enter into *Macedony* by the way of the *Dardaniens* country and *Lingus*. And verily, this latter course of the twain had taken place, but that he feared, when he were retired once far from the sea, and had let the enemy slip out of his hands, if the King haply were minded (as he had done before) to defend himself within the deserts and forests, that he should spend all the long summer and do no good. Therefore come what would of it, he resolved to assail the enemy in that very place as difficult as it was, with all the disadvantage whatsoever. But as they determined in their intention thus to do, so they were not so ready in the means to execute and effect the same. Thus they sat still and spent forty daies within the eye of the enemy, and made no attempt. Then *Philip* conceived some hope to assaye a peace, by the means and intercession of the *Epitot* *B* *nation*. And after consultation had there were certain agents chosen for that purpose to wit, *Pan-fanias* the *Prætor*, and *Alexander* Generall of the horse: who brought the Consul and the King together for to pass unto a place whereas the river *Aous* is narrowest, and the banks nearest together. The demands of the Consul in sum were these: That *Philip* should remove his garrisons out of the Cities *Item*, That whose territories or towns he had pilld and spoiled, he should make restitution again unto them all those things that were extant and to be found: as for the rest, they should be prized and valued indifferently to their worth. *Philip* made answer again, "That all those peeces were not of like quality and condition. As for such as he had taken himself, he would be content to set them at liberty: but for those that were left unto him by his progenitors and predecessors, he would not forgo the possession thereof, since he held them lawfully in right of inheritance. Finally, if those Cities wherewith he had warred made complaint, that they were ever endamaged by him, he would report himself to what Cities and States they would themselves, and stand to their award, so they were neutrals, or in peace as well with the one side as the other. The Consul hereunto replied and said, That for this matter it was needless to refer themselves to the arbitrement or doom of any. For who seeth not evidently (quoth he) that he hath done the wrong who first took arms? And that *Philip* before ever that he was molested and troubled by any war from others, offered violence first unto all? After, when it was debated what Cities should be set free, the Consul named first of all *Thessalonicas* at which word the King was in such a heat of choler that he cried out aloud, "What harder condition O *Quintus* would you impose upon him that you had vanquished? and withall, he sung away in a chase from off the place of meeting and interview, and would no longer parle. And much ado they had on both sides to hold their hands from shooting one at another, for the river ran in the midst between them that they could not tryt out by the ears. The morrow after there passed many light skirmishes between the *corps de guard* on both parts by way of excursions, first in a plain that lay out broad enough for that purpose: but afterwards as the Kings men retired themselves into the narrow straights and rough fugged places, the Romans of an ancient desire to be fighting, entered thither soon after. The Romans had on their side the benefit of good order and military discipline and were furnished with such kind of weapons as were fit for to maintain a skirmish in a set battell. The enemies again for their parts had the vantage of the ground, and the help of sundry engines cast forth shot far off (as ballists and catapults) planted and ranged almost upon every cliff and rock as it had been upon the walls of a City. After they had on both sides given and taken many a wound, so as divers of them were left slain on the earth, as if they had fought in a full battell. At length parted them asunder.

Things thus standing in these terms, there hapned a certain herdsman sent from *Charopus* a Prince of the *Epitots* to be brought before the Consul: who gave him to understand that he kept cattell grazing in that Forrest (which then was overspread with the Kings pavillion) and knew all the banks, all the windings, turnings, and blind waies of those mountains: promising, that if he would send out a band of souldiers with him, he would conduct them thorow a place that was neither dangerous nor yet difficult and hard of ascent: which if they had once gained, they should browe their enemies heads and able to command them. And these things (quoth he) if you truly relye upon: for *Charopus* willed me to make declaration, That he could with you the Consul were Master of all rather than any other. The Consul was desirous to beleieve all, but doubt notted him. And thus being troubled in spirit, whiles he entertained in his heart both joy and fear together, at length the authority of *Charopus* induced him to resolve and give the adventure of this hope thus offered and presented unto him. And to the end that the enemy might distrust and suspect nothing, for two daies following he never ceased to assail and provoke him, sending companies of armed souldiers in every place, to charge upon him, and ever seconding them with fresh men as succed in the place of the wearied. After this, he delivered to a Tribune or Colonel four thousand chosen footmen, and three hundred horsemen: with this direction, to lead forward the Cavalry, as far as the ground would give leave: and when they were come to a place where the horsemen could not pass nor march farther, then to plant them in some plain and even ground: willing the footmen to march on as the guide should lead them, and point out their way. But after they were mounted above the enemies heads, according as he understood and made promise, then to give a sign by smok, and not to shout and to set up a cry untill one might see the smoke of battell by him given, the battell was begun. And the Consul gave commandment to march by night (for as good hap was, the Moon was at full, and shone through cloudy) and take their recreation and sleep in the day time. As for the guide aforesaid, he

he made unto him many fair and large promises, if it might appear, that he meant truth, and dealt faithfully: howbeit in the mean time he delivered him bound to the custody of the said Colonel. When these companies were thus sent away, the Roman Generall travelled and endeavoured so much the more to gain vantage of the enemies guards. All this while, the Romans that were sent out with the Colonel, marched forward: and upon the third day, when they had given token by smoke, that they had won the pitch of the hill as they intended, and held it still: then the Consul divided his forces into three squadrons, and entred the midst of the valley with the main strength of his army, but he led forth the wings of his battell, both the right and the left, against the very camp of the enemies. Who also for their parts were not behind to re-encounter and receive him. And all the whiles that they advanced without their fortifications of defence upon a hot desire of conflict, it fell out, that the Roman souldier had the better a good deal, as being more valourous, more skilful, and better appointed with weapons for that kind of service. But after that the Kings souldiers, whoe many were wounded or killed outright, retired themselves to places of safety, either by natural situation or by art of man, the danger returned upon the Romans heads, who inconsiderately were engaged into places of disadvantage, and into narrow streights, from whence they could not retire with ease. And surely they had not returned back again unpunished for their rashness, but that the Kings men hearing first an outcry behind their backs, and seeing also a skirmish begun, were astonished at the sudden terror, and put besides themselves. Some fled here and there away; others that made a stand and tarried still, for that they rather wanted ground to flee than had heart enough to fight it out, were environed by their enemies both before and behind. The whole army might have been utterly defeated, if the winners had lustily followed the chase. But the straights and the roughness of the waies hindered the horse, and the weight of armor cumbered the footmen. At first the King rode amain with bridle in horse neck, without regard of any thing, or looking behind him: but after he was got five miles before & guessing (as it was indeed) that by reason of the disadvantage of the place the enemy could not possible make way after, he rested upon a certain mount and sent his people all abroad over hills and dales, to rally his souldiers together that were dispersed. Thus with the loss not all out of two thousand men, the rest of the multitude met together, as if they had repaired to a *Rendezvous* upon some signal given. & so marched with a great train into *Thessaly*. The Romans pursued them as far as they might with safety, killing them, and rifling the dead, yea and ransacked the Kings camp which though it were naked without defendants, yet for the difficult access unto it, they had much trouble to win: & that night they lodged in their own camp. The next day the Consul made pursuit after the enemy along the straight, whereas the river runneth among the vallies. The King came the first day unto the hold or camp of *Pyrhus* (a place so called in *Triphilia*, belonging to the territory of *Melotis*). From whence the morrow after he made a mighty journey with his whole army (for needs he must go that fear drives) & approached the mountain *Lingos*. These mountains are in *Epirus*, situate between *Macedony* and *Thessaly*. The side that lieth to *Thessaly* regardeth the East; that which butteth upon *Macedony* hath the North directly before it. Covered they are and overspread with abundance of woods; yet so as the very tops do afford open plains and running waters. The King keeping his camp there for certain daies, was much troubled and perplexed in his mind, casting and revolving, whether it were expedient for him to return immediately into his own kingdom, or possible to retire himself into *Thessaly*. In sum, his resolution was to bring down his army into *Thessaly*. And so to *Tricca* he marched the next way he possibly could. From thence he passed in great haste through all the Cities that were in his way. As many men as were able to follow, he forced to quit their habitations and dwelling houses. The towns he set on fire: yet he permitted every one to carry away with him as much as he could of his own goods; all the rest fell to the souldiers share. No manner of cruelty there was, that the very enemy could exercise, but he practised among his own allies. And *Philip* himself in the execution thereof, grieved not a little, and was vexed at the heart: but alas he could do no other: yet his desire was, in that country which within a while should be possessed by the enemy to save the bodies at leastwise of his associates. In this manner were ransacked & spoiled these towns following, *Phacium*, *Iresia*, *Eubydrium*, *Eretia*, & *Palapharnu*. Against his coming to *Phera* the gates were shut upon him. And because it would ask some time to win that town by assault, and no leisure he had thereto, he gave over that enterprise, & passed into *Macedony*: for the bruit went that the *Stolians* also approached. Who having heard of the issue of the battell fought by the river *Aous*, first wasted and ransacked all the country near unto *Spartia* and *Marra Come* (as they call it) and having from thence passed over into *Thessaly*, won *Cymines* and *Angra* with the first assault. Howbeit, a repulse they took at *Metropolis*, while they harried the fields about it by reason, that the townsmen ran together to the defence of their walls. After this they gave the attempt upon *Callithera*, where they found the like resistance and violence of the enemies: but there they persisted longer, and gave not over, nay, they drove the enemies that issued forth within their walls, and contenting themselves with that victory, they departed thence seeing no great hope to force the town. Then they won and pilld two villages, *Thousma* and *Alathana*. As for *Acharra*, it was surrendered by composition. And upon the like fear *Xymia* also was abandoned of her own inhabitants. These Citizens thus driven out of their own houses, stumbled at a venture upon a garrison which was a leading into *Asbanania*, for the better guard of the forragers that were to purvey corn. This multitude, I say, marching disorderly without armour, pell-mell together, with a sort that were unmeet for war, was hewn in pieces by

by the armed soldiers, and *Xynia* was sacked, thus left and forsaken as it was. After this, the *Aeolians* won *Cyparissia*, a fort and town of strength, well seated for to empeach and command *Dolopia*. These exploits performed the *Aeolians* hastily, all in few daies.

Neither rested *Aminander* nor the *Athamians* quiet and still, after they heard the news of the prosperous battell which the Romans had fought. But *Aminander* reposing small trust in his own soldiers, craved of the Consul a small supply of other forces: and as he marched toward *Gomphi*, he surprized forthwith and forced a town named *Phoca*, situate between *Gomphi* and the straight that divide *Thessaly* from *Athamania*. From thence he advanced before *Gomphi*, and assailed the town, which was defended right valiantly for certain daies: but after that he had erected scaling ladders against it, he forced the townmen within, for very fear to yield and render all into his hands. The surrender of this City terrified the *Thessalians* exceedingly: in such sort, that the Citizens of *Argentea*, *Pharimium*, *Thimium*, *Lisium*, *Stimon*, and *Lampsum*, one after another submitted themselves, with other peeces thereby of small importance.

Whiles the *Athamians* and *Aeolians* (secured from all danger of the *Macedonians*) made spoil and raised again to themselves by the victory of others: whiles *Thessaly* was pillied and sacked by three armies at once, and knew not their friends from their foes, nor whom to trust: the Consul passed over into the country of *Epirus* by the way of the Straights which he had opened and made clear by reason that the enemies were fled. And albeit he knew full well which way all the *Epirots* in general went, and with whom they had sided, excepting only Prince *Charopus*, yet because he saw them not only careful to make amends and satisfaction, but also willing and

forward to do whatsoever he commanded, he esteemed and regarded them by their present state, more than by their demeanor past, and so by shewing himself inclined to mercy and came to pardon a fault, he won their hearts and gained them unto him for the time to come. After this he dispatched messengers to *Corcyra*, to will that the hulks and ships of burden should put into the gulph of *Ambracia*, whiles himself travelled by easie journeys: and the fourth day after pitched his tents upon the hill *Cercidius*: and thither he sent for *Aminander* to repair with his aids, not for any need he had of his forces, so as much as of his guidance to direct him in his journeys for *Thessaly*. Most of the *Epirots* also, for the same intent were received, who voluntarily offered their help and assistance. The first City that he assailed in *Thessaly*, was *Phaleria*, wherein there lay a garrison of two thousand *Macedonians*. Who at first held out and resisted most manfully, and as much as either armor or the walls were able to do, defended themselves. But the assault & battery continuing incessantly both night and day, overcame at length the constant and resolute valour of the *Macedonians*. For the Consul made this reckoning: That upon this point depended the hearts and dispositions of all the other *Thessalians*, if the first should not be able to abide the violence and force of the Romans. *Phaleria* was no sooner won, but there came Embassadors from *Metropolis* and *Piera* to render up their Cities into his hands, who craved pardon and obtained it. *Phaleria* was burnt and sacked. From thence he set forward to *Aginum*, but seeing the place defensible with any small garrison and in manner impregnable, he bestowed some small store of darts upon the next corps de guard, and turned his army toward the country against *Gomphi*, and from thence he marched down into the Plains of *Thessaly*. And because his army was dis-

persed of all necessities (for that he had forbore to make spoil in the territories of the *Epirots*) after he had sent out espies afore, to discover whether the hulks above said were arrived at *Ambracia* or *Ambracia*, he sent out his companies one after another to *Ambracia*, for to survey corn and victuals. The way between *Gomphi* and *Ambracia*, as it is lumberous and hard for passage, so again, it is but short and very compendious: So that within few daies he had transported certain convoies of wheat: from the port of *Ambracia*, whereby the camp was stored with plenty of all provision. From thence he passed to *Rhodes*, a town almost ten miles distant from *Larissa*. The Citizens thereof are descended from *Perrhabia*, and the City is self seated upon the river *Peneus*. The *Thessalians* were nothing afraid at the first coming of the Romans. As for *Philip*, like as he durst not himself in person march forward into *Thessaly*, so having taken a place within *Tempe*, which he held with a standing camp, he espied into what quarters the enemies intended to go, and even as he could find opportunity and advantage, sent underhand succour and relief thither accordingly.

Much about the same time that the Consul first encamped against *Philip* in the Straights of *Epirus*, *L. Quinctius* also, the Consul his brother, who by commission from the Senat had the charge of the fleet and the government of all sea-coasts, sailed beyond *Corcyra* with two Gallies of five banks of oars: and hearing that the navy was departed from thence, seeing also there was no staying there, he made sail after apace, and having overtaken them at the Isle *Zamma* he dismissed *Apollonius* in whose place he succeeded: from thence he went fair & softly, haling after him the most part of the ships which followed with the provision of victuals, untill he came to *Malea*. From whence, when he had given order, that the rest should make as good speed as possibly they could after him, he went with three Quinquereines lightly appointed, and arrived before at *Pyræum*, where he received the other ships that *L. Apollonius* the Lieutenant had left there for the guard and defence of *Athamania*.

At the same time there were two Armadoes set out of *Asia*, the one conducted by King *Antiochus*, consisting of four and twenty sail of Quinquereines: the other were of *Rhodians*, and stood of twenty coverd ships with decks and hatches, commanded by *Agemobrotus* the Admirall. These

These

Gomphi

Athamania

Golfo del Arta.
Strabo saith, it is a part of the mountain *Ampeles*.

A City is *Thessaly*, or rather *Thessaly*, of which name are ten more, according to *Oriens*.
S. Maura.

Salampra, or *Peneus*.

The pleasant meadows and fields along the river *Peneus*.

These fleets joyned together about the Island. And so crossed the narrow sea from thence to *Euboea*. And first they foraged the territory of the *Carystians*: afterwards seeing *Corinth* strong enough against them by reason of a garrison sent to them in all haste from *Chalcis*, they approached not to *Ererie*. *L. Quintus* having intelligence that King *Antalus* was come, repaired thither also with those vessels which had been at *Pyraeum*, & gave commandment, that as many ships arrived thither belonging to his fleet, should bend their course for *Euboea*. Now was *Ererie* by all forcible means assaulted, for not only the vessels of three joyned navies had brought thither all sorts of engines and artillery devised for to shake and batter the walls of Cities, but also the fields and country hard by, yielded them plenty of timber, and other matter to make new. The towns-men from the very first day shewed no valour and courage in defending their walls: and afterwards when they were wearied, and some of them hurt, and saw withall a part of their wall overthrown by the ordnance and engines of the enemy, inclined to yield: but they had amongst them a garrison of *Macedonians*, whom they feared no less than the *Romans*. Moreover, *Philotas* a Captain under the King, sent messengers unto them from *Chalcis*, assuring them, that if they could hold out still and endure the siege, he would in good time be with them, and bring relief. Thus hope and fear together constrained them to drive off longer than either they were willing or well able to do. But when they heard once that *Philotas* had a repulse by the way, and in great haste and fear was retired and fled to *Chalcis* again, then immediately they sent their Embassadors unto *Antalus*, to crave pardon and protection. Whiles they were wholly bent to seek peace (whereof they had some hope) and forelacked the affairs of war-service, opposing their *corps de guard* on that side only of the wall where the breaches were, and neglecting all besides, behold, *Quintus* in the night-season gave a camissado in that quarter which was least suspected, and with scaling ladders won the town. The whole multitude of the inhabitants fled with their wives and children into the Castle, which also afterwards was tended up. As for money, gold, and silver, there was no great store to speak of: but images, and painted tables of antique work, artificially wrought, and such like ornaments, there were more found, than for the proportion of the bigness, or other wealth besides, of such a City as that was. From thence they set sail, once again for *Carystus*, where the whole multitude before the enemies were put on land, having abandoned the City, were fled into their fortress: from whence they sent their Orators unto the *Roman* Generall, humbly craving their mercifull protection. The towns-men presently had their lives and libertie granted them. But the *Macedonians* were put to their ransom and they compounded to pay $\text{three hundred silver sesterces}$ apiece, and to give up their armour and weapons, and so to depart: With this sum of money having redeemed themselves they were set out disarmed into *Boeotia*. These forces at sea having in few daies gained two noble and renowned Cities in *Euboea*, coasted about *Sunium*, a promontory or cape within the territory of *Attica*, and arrived before *Cenchree*, a town of merchandise and traffick belonging to the *Corinthians*.

* 39 sh. 7 d.
engl sh, recko-
ning a Se-
sterce (which
is two allies
and a half) at
2 d. farthing.

The Consul all this while had a longer and more dangerous piece of service in the siege (of *Rhagus*) than all men looked for. And the enemies within made resistance, where he would have least of all suspected. For he supposed verily that all the trouble and difficulty would be in battering down the wall, & making some breach. For thus he thought that if he had once opened way for his armed souldiers to enter into the town, the enemies afterwards would either flee or be slain, as it falleth out commonly in Cities when they are forced. Howbeit, when part of the wall by the battery of the Ram lay flat along, and the enemies were got over at the breaches & ruins thereof: then began their labour and pains anew, as if they had had no trouble nor toil a fore. For the *Macedonians* in garrison, who were many in number, and those approved and select souldiers, thinking how honourable a service it would be to defend the City by valour and dint of sword, rather than by the strength of walls had ranged themselves in a battell within, strongly marshalled into many ranks and files close together, and when they perceived the *Romans* were mouning over the breaches to enter the City, they repelled and beat them back in that place of great disadvantage, where they had much ado to recover and retire themselves. The Col. hereat was much displeased, and vexed in him self: and making this account, that such a foul foil and disgrace was not only an occasion of a longer tract of time, before he could force that one City: but also material and important for the main progress and proceeding of the whole war, which commonly depended upon the occurrences of light matters and of small moment in the beginning: after he had rid and cleaned the place which was choaked up with the ruins of the half-broken wall lying there upon heaps, he reared a tower or frame of timber of a huge height to overtop the walls, consisting of many stories and floors one over another, which contained and carried a mighty number of armed men, and drave the same upon wheels and rollers close to the wall. Moreover, he sent out certain ensignes, one after another by turns, to break through by force (if it were possible) that strong and close battailon of the *Macedonians* (which they themselves call *Rhalanx*). But the place being so streight (for that the breach of the wall was nothing broad) the enemies had the vantage both in regard of the weapons which they used, and of the form of battell wherein they were ranged. For when the *Macedonians* standing close one to another with a continued roof or fence of targets over their heads, opposed their pikes before them which were of an exceeding length: the *Romans* neither with their darts could hurt them a far off, nor with their swords drawn come near them to fight close at hand, or cut their pikes in twos: and if it chanced that they whipt off or snapt any a funder, yet the steel and trunk of them thereof

A thereof being sharp still at the point (headless though it were) among the other pikes that were headed, served to make a fence as it were an hay or pallisade. Over and besides that part of the wall that stood whole and sound still, was a sure defence unto both flanks of the enemies: neither had the Romans any room at length to return, and from thence to fetch their beir, and so give a violent charge, which is the thing that usually breaketh and disordereth ranks. Moreover, there chanced one thing by meer fortune that encouraged them within: for as the tower aforesaid was in driving over a terrass or bank whereof the floor was not fast and soundly hardned with the rammer, one of the wheels hapned to sink in and make a deep rout in the ground, whereby the whole frame nodded so forward, that the enemies without thought verily it was ready to fall, and the armed souldiers standing upon it within, quaked for fear, and were put well-near besides their wits.

B Thus when nothing that was provided might avail and come to any great effect, the Consul was vexed at the heart, to see himself so over-matched in souldiers, in armour, and in manner of service; and withall he considered, that he had no help to force the City and to win it in any short time, nor could make means to pass the winter in those parts so far from sea, and left naked already and waste by those calamities that follow wars. Whereupon he raised the siege: and because there was no haven in all the tract and coast of *Acarmania* and *Etolia*, which was able both to receive and harbour all his hulks that brought victuals for his army, and also to yield winter lodging for his legions; he thought upon the Isle *Anticyra* within the country of *Phocis*; which lying toward the gulph of *Corinth*, seemed to him most fit and commodious for his purpose; because they should not remove far from *Thessaly*, and the territories belonging to the enemies having besides *Peloponnesus* affront even over against them, divided but by a small arm of the sea: as their back *Etolia* and *Acarmania*: and of each side *Locris* and *Bœtia*. At the first assault, the Consul without any resistance won *Panopea* in *Phocis*. *Anticyra* likewise long endured not the siege. Then *Ambrysus* and *Hyampolis* were received by composition. *Daulis* by reason that it was situate upon an high hill could neither be scaled nor forced by instruments and engines of battery.

C But the Romans by lancing their darts and shooting arrows against them that were in guard, trained them forth to skirmish; and after some light scuffings to no effect, whiles one while they seemed to flie, and other whiles to pursue, they brought them to be so careless, so negligent and so little respective, that when the enemies fled back within the gate, they entered pell-mell with them, and so were Masters of the town. Other small forts likewise of *Phocis* yielded rather for fear than any force offered unto them. *Elæia* kept their gates shut, and made a countenance, that unless they were driven thereunto, they would receive within their walls neither Roman captain nor army.

D While the Consul lay at the siege before *Elæia*, there was presented unto him the hope of a greater matter, namely, of withdrawing the nation of the *Achaes* from the Kings alliance to the amity of the Romans. For they had expelled and banished *Cycliades* the chief of that faction that sided with *Philip*: and *Aristhenus* who friended the Romans and sought to be confedered with them, was Prætor for the time.

Now the Roman *Attalus*, together with *Attalus* and the Rhodians, rode at anchor in the haven of *Cenchrea*, and they all were agreed in common to assail *Corinth*. But the Consul thought good, before that they should put that designment in action, to send Embassadors to the State of *Achaia*, promising, if they would revold from the King and turn to them, to deliver *Corinth* into their hands, for to be incorporate into the ancient league and councill of their nation. And so by the advice of the Consul, there were Embassadors addressed to the Achæans from his brother *L. Quintius*, from *Attalus*, the Rhodians and the Athenians. And at *Sicyone* was there a Councill and Diet held for to give them audience. Now the Achæans were not all of one mind and alike affected. The Athenians (a dangerous, an ordinary, and continuall enemy of theirs) put them in fear of one side: the Romans they had in dread and horreur of another. To the Macedonians they were obliged and bound by many good turns and favours, as well old as new. The King himself they held in jealousie for his cruelty and treachery: and casting a proof and conjecture by those

F courtes which he then took, and by his practises for the time, they foresaw well, that after the war ended he would be intollerable and a very tyrant over them. They were besides not only ignorant, what every man had said in the severall counsels of every particular State, and in the general Diets of the whole nation, when they were required to deliver their opinions; but also uncertain and unresolute among themselves in their own minds what to will or wish. Unto men thus doubtfully disposed and unsettled, the Embassadors aforesaid were admitted, and license was given them to deliver their message. First, the Roman Embassador *L. Calpurnius*: after him, those that were for King *Attalus*: and in the third place, the Rhodians spake and made discourse: and consequently, the Embassadors of *Philip* were permitted to speake. The Athenians had audience given them last of all, and were reserved of purpose to confute whatsoever should be spoken and alledged by the Macedonians. And these Athenians inveighed most sharply and bitterly against the King, for none had received either more wrongs, or suffered the like indignities at his hands as they had. So this assembly verily for that time (by reason that the day was spent in hearing the continued orations of so many Embassadors) brake up about sun-setting. The morrow after they assembled again: where the Magistrates by the voice of the Beadle or publike crier (after the custome of the Greeks,) gave liberty to every person to deliver his mind, and no man stepped forth. Great silence there was, and not a word among them for a long time, looking wistly

The Oration
of Arifthenus.

wisly one upon another who should begin first. And no marvell if they whose spirits were afflic-
 med in some sort within them; when they of their own accord cast and tossed in their minds
 things so different and contrary, were now more troubled and perplexed by those orations besides
 that had lasted all the long day, broaching, uttering, & advising many matters so harsh, so difficult,
 and unpleasant unto them. At length, because the Councill should not be dissolved without some
 speech and parl, *Arifthenus* the Prator of the Achæans began to speak, and said: "What is be-
 come (my Masters of *Achaia*) of those hearts of yours and couragious stomacks, whereby at all
 your feasts and in your private meetings (when talk is ministred of *Philip* and the Romans) you
 can hardly hold your hands, but are ready to fly one in anothers face? And now, when as this
 honourable Cour of Parliament is published & holden for the same purpose only; when ye have
 heard the reasons & allegations of the Embassadors of all parts; when the Magistrats propound I
 the matter to be debated in council; when the publike crier calleth you to give your opinions, ye
 are mum and mute? If the regard of the common good and welfare of us all, will not cause you
 to open your lips; cannot the private respects and affections neither (which have enclined and
 carried your minds to the one side or the other) fetch out a word from any of your mouths?
 Considering especially, that no man is so gross and blockish, who can be ignorant that now is
 the very time or never for each one to say and deliver his mind as he will himself, and as he thin-
 keth best, before we resolve and determine of any course: and when a decree or act is once pas-
 sed, that all men are bound (even they themselves that before misliked it) to defend and main-
 tain the same, as a good and profitable accord. This admonition of the Prator was so far short
 of drawing any one of them to utter his opinion, that it caused not so much as the least noise or
 humming in so frequent an auditory and congregation of so many States together. Then *Arifthe-
 nus* the Prator began again and followed his speech in this manner. "It seemeth (my Masters
 and friends of *Achaia* here assembled) that ye are not so much to seek for counsell and advice,
 but ye are as short of your tongues and loath to speak. And every one here is unwilling to pro-
 vide for their generall good for fear least he should incur some particular perill. My self likewise
 peradventure would be silent and hold my peace if I were a private person: But now being Pra-
 tor, I see thus much: That either there should have no audience at all been given unto the Em-
 bassadors, or else, that they ought not to be sent away from hence without an answer: and an-
 swer them how can I without your ordinance? now seeing that there is none of you all, who
 have been summoned hither to this Councill, that either will or dare say a word to the cause: I
 will examine thoroughly and consider well in lieu of your opinions, those speeches which ye-
 sterday were pronounced by the Embassadors: let us (I say) revise them so, as if they had not de-
 manded those things which concerned their own good and commodity, but as though they pro-
 posed such points they esteemed profitable and expedient for us all. The Romans, the Rhodi-
 ans, and King *Antiochus* require our alliance and amity: and in that war which they wage against
Philip they think it reason to be aided from us. *Philip* again putteth us in mind of our society
 with him and of our oath. One while he requireth us to stand and band with him: otherwhiles,
 he saith he will be content that we should sit still, and meddle neither one way nor other. Is
 there no man here knoweth the reason, why they that are not yet our allies demand and crave
 more than he that is our ally already? It is neither the modesty of *Philip*, nor the impudency of
 the Romans that is the cause hereof. The ports and haven-towns they be of *Achaia*, which mi-
 nister confidence and assurance to those demanders, and take away the same from them again.
 From *Philip* we see nothing but only an Embassador. The sea-forces of the Romans and their
 fleet, ride in the harbor of *Cenchrea*: they carry afore them in shew the spoiles of the Cities in
Euboea. The Consul himself with his land-army of the legions we see disjoyned from us by a
 small arm only of the sea, ranging at their pleasure all over *Phocis* and *Locris*. Marvell now lon-
 ger if you can, why *Cleomedon* the Embassador of *Philip* demanded erewhile so coldly and diffi-
 dently, that we should take arms for the King against the Romans: who, if we by vertue of the
 same league and oath, wherewith he seemed to charge us in conscience, required of him again,
 that *Philip* should defend us both from *Nabis* and the Lacedæmonians, and also from the Ro-
 mans; would be to seek not only of a garrison and power of armed men to shield us, but like-
 wise of a very answer to shape us. And verily he would be no more ready to satisfie us, than
Philip was himself the last year: who notwithstanding he frankly promised to levy war against
Nabis & thereby assailed to train and draw the flower of our youth from hence into *Euboea*, af-
 ter that he saw once that we neither agreed to send him that power, nor yet were willing to en-
 tangle our selves & be interested in the Roman war; forgot soon that society that now he stan-
 deth and vanteeth so much of, and left us to the mercy and devotion of *Nabis* and the Lacedæ-
 monians to be spoiled, pilld, & wasted at their pleasures. And surely so much as I can conceive
 of *Cleomedon* his Oration methinks it hangeth not well together and one peece thereof sorteth
 not well with another. He seemeth to speak of the Roman war contemptuously: as if it were a
 matter of nothing; saying the event & issue thereof would be like the former, which they main-
 tained with *Philip*. How is it then, that he keepeth himself away, and in his absence demandeth
 our help rather than with his personall presence protecteth us both from *Nabis* & the Romans?
 Yes, I say, his ancient allies? But what speak I of us? Why hath he suffered them to re-force and
 win *Euboea* and *Cynus*? Why endured he, that so many Cities of *Thessaly* should be lost?
 How could he abide *Locris* and *Phocis* to be over-run so as they are? And *Elaris* now at this
 day

* *Negropont.*

- A "day so freightly besieged, and horly assaulted? Why quit he the freights of *Epirus*, and abandoned those impregnable holds upon the River *Aous*, by force, for fear, of his own accord, or howsoever? and when he had forgone and disleised himself of that pais which he held, why retired he into the inland parts of his realm for his safety? If willingly and of his own accord he abandoned so many of his allies, and lets them to be ipoiled and ransacked by the enemy, what can he alledge or say for himself, why those allies aforesaid may not provide for themselves the best they can? If for fear, let him pardon us likewise, if we be afraid. But if he were vanquished by force of arms, and therefore retired back, shall we, good *Cleomedon*, sustain and endure the Roman puissance and their mighty armies, against which ye Macedonians were not able to stand? Or, would you have us to believe you, that bear us in hand, how the Roman war not at this present, either with greater numbers or stronger forces than they have done heretofore, rather than trust our own eyes, and that which daily we see before our faces? In those daies they succoured the *Ætolians* with their navy, and warred neither under the conduct, nor with the army of a Consul. The maritime Cities of the confederats of *Philip*, were then in trouble and tumult: but all the mediteranean parts within the continent, were to secure and fortified from the Roman forces, that *Philip* spoiled and foraged the *Ætolians*, imploring and seeking for help of the Romans, but all in vain. But now at this day the Romans having finished the Carthaginian war, which for sixteen years space they supported in the very heart and bowels of Italy, have not sent a garrison to succour and maintain the *Ætolians* in their wars, but are come themselves, as leaders and commanders General, and by Land and Sea at once have warred upon *Macedony*. And this is the third Consul of theirs, who at this present mainraineth mortal war upon it, to the uttermost of his power. *Sulpicius* hath encountred the King in the midst of *Macedony*, bidden him battel, discomfired and put him to flight, after he had laid wast and desolat the wealthiest quarter of all his Kingdom. *Quintius* lately hath driven him out of camp and field, notwithstanding he were possessed of the freight avenues of *Epirus*, and bare himself boldly and confidently upon the natural situation of the grounds, of his strong defences, and force of a complete army: and having pursued him as he fled into *Thessaly*, hath taken the garrison Towns of the King, and in manner within his own sight, won by mere force his conederate Cities. Suppose and say, that all those things which the Athenians erewhile have alledged concerning the cruelty, the avarice, and unbridled lust of the King, be not true, but supposed slanders: admit that those enormities and wicked parts committed within the Attick land, against the Gods of Heaven above, of the infernal spirits beneath, touch not us at all, and are much less pertinent, than those outrages which the *Elauntii* and the *Abydens*, so far remote from us, have endured. Forget we our selves, if ye will, the hurts, the wounds, and losses that we have received, the murders, the pilling and rifling of the goods of *Messena* in the midst of * *Peloponnesus*. * *Moria*. Likewise, how his friend and host *Garitenes* at *Cyparissia*, was killed against all Law of God and man, even in a manner sitting at the board with meat in his mouth. Say we nothing also of *Attalus* the father and son, both *Sicyonians*, who were cruelly massacred, and yet he was wont to call the silly and wretched old man, Father. Also forbear we to speak of the sons wife, who was carried away into *Macedony*, to make her his harlot and concubine, and to abuse her at his pleasure. Let other rapes of virgins, forcings of honorable dames be forgotten: let us imagine that we have nothing to do, nor to meddle with *Philip* for fear of whose cruelty ye were all so mute, and could not open your mouth. For what other cause of silence had ye, being called hither to this counsel? Let us put the case, that we were to debate the matter with *Antigonus*, that most mild and just Prince, at whose gracious hands we have received so many favours and pleasures above all other Kings: would he demand, think ye, that we should do that which possibly then could not be done? *Peloponnesus* is a demy Island, joined to the firm continent and main land, by the narrow freight or bank of *Isthmus*, lying open and exposed to nothing more than to Sea-forces. If one hundred covert and decked ships with hatches, and fifty lighter vessels which are open, together with thirty Brigantins or foists of *Issa*, should come to pill and spoil our sea coasts, and begin to assail our Towns and Cities that lie open upon the River, even on the very strand and Sea banks: should we retire our selves, think ye, into our Cities within the Land? Why? what else? As though we were not already afflicted and plagued with intestine war, which sicketh even within our ribs and bowels? When *Nabis* and the *Lacedemonians* by land, the Roman navy by Sea shall lie upon us, to do us all annoy, how should I call upon the Kings society, or for the help of the Macedonians? Or shall we of our selves, by our own strength and means save our Cities which shall be assaulted against the puissance and power of the Romans? For in the former war we bravely defended (did we not?) the City of *Dyma*. We have examples enough of the fearful calamities and losses of others, that we need not to make our selves examples unto others. Take heed (I beseech you) how you set light and disdain, that the Romans have of their own motive offered their friendship and alliance, which indeed ye were to wish for, and seek all that ever ye could. It is for very fear (no doubt) that they are driven, being in a strangeland to flie unto you for your alliance, because they would gladly shroud themselves under the shadow of your wings, be harboured within your havens, and sustained by your victual and provision. No, no, Lords they are first of the seas, who can deny it? there is not a land they set foot into, but immediately it is their own, and in subjection unto them: whatsoever they seem to request, they can command if they list. And because they are willing to spare and forbear you, therefore

“ therefore it is that they suffer you not to enter into any action that might be cause of your ruin
 “ and overthrow. For whereas *Cleomedon* erewhile seemed to shew and lay before you a mean and
 “ indifferent course, and that forsooth, which should be the safest way that you could take, name-
 “ ly, to enter into no arms at all, to sit still and sleep in a whole skin; that, I say, is no middle way, no,
 “ nor (to speak truth) any way at all. For besides this, that ye must either accept or refuse the alli-
 “ ance with the Romans, what else wil become of us, but to be a prey unto the conqueror, having
 “ lost the grace and favour both of the one and the other? as men that like neutrers, expecting the
 “ issue of the war, frame our designments and counsels to the blind direction of fortune. Well, once
 “ again I say, take heed you think not scorn of that which with all your heart you should wish &
 “ pray for, only for that it is tendered and presented unto you. And never think, that because to
 “ day you have the choise of both in your own hands, therefore ye shall ever have the same liber-
 “ ty hereafter. Occasions & opportunities are not alwaies the same, neither do they continue long.
 “ All this whiles have ye had a desire to save and free yourselves from *Philip*, but evermore by
 “ wishes & prayers in secret heart, rather than by taking arms in open hand. Now there are those
 “ which with great armies & armadoes have passed the seas, who without your pain and peril are
 “ ready to deliver you from his hands. These men, if ye reject and refuse for your allies, ye are not
 “ well in your wits, & have them you must either your allies or your enemies, there is no remedy.

After this Oration of the Pretor, there arose a muttering and noise in the assembly, whiles some
 approved and gave assent unto that which he said, others rebuked in churlish wise those that ac-
 corded. Insomuch, as they jangled not one with another in particular, but the very States there
 assembled were at variance, yea, and this debate between the Magistrates of the whole nation
 (whom they call *Demiurgi*, and ten they are in number) was as hotly maintained, as among the
 multitude. Five of them said, they would propound unto the people, and debate with them in
 counsel about accepting the alliance of the people of *Rome*, and put it to voices. The other five
 protested, that this was directly against a law, in that case provided, forbidding expressly that no
 Magistrats should either propound or determine ought in any Diet, prejudicial to the society and
 league with *Philip*. Thus was this day also spent in debating and wrangling, and nothing done.
 There remained one day yet of a full Diet and Councel, for by law they were to conclude and de-
 cree somewhat within three dayes at the farthest. Against that time, the parties were so hotly
 bent one against the other, that the fathers could hardly forbear to offer violence to their very
 children. There was one *Rhisiastus* of *Pelleræ*, who had a son named *Memnon*, and he was a *Demi-
 urgi*, who took part and sided with them that would not permit the matter to be put to questio-
 on, and determined by a scrutiny of voices. This *Rhisiastus* having instantly a long time importuned
 his son, and besought him to suffer the Achæans to provide for their weal publick, and not by his
 peevish stowardnes undo the state of the whole nation: when he saw once that all his prayers
 prevailed nothing, he swore a great oath that he would kill him with his own hands, and not take
 him for his son, but for an errant enemy. By which his menaces, he gained thus much in the end,
 that content he was the next day to joyn with them that put the matter to question: who now
 being more in number than the other, made a report, and proposed the cause to the assembly: and
 when all the States in manner there met, enclined thereto, and approved thereof, so as they avo-
 wed openly what they would ordain: the *Dymzans*, *Megapolitans*, and certain *Argives*, before
 the decree was enacted, rose up all at once, and departed out of the assembly, and no man either
 wondred at it, or blamed them for it. As for the *Megapolitans*, no longer ago than in their grand-
 fires dayes, at what time as they were expelled out of their country by the *Lacedemonians*, *K. An-
 rignonus* had restored them again. The *Dymeans* being but lately taken prisoners, and ransacked by
 the Roman army, *Philip* having given order that they should be redeemed wheresoever they were
 in slavery and bondage, he not only set free, but also replanted in their own country. The *Argives*
 last of all, besides that they are of a settled opinion and belief that the Macedonian Kings are de-
 scended from them, were for the most part linked unto *Philip* in the right and regard of privat ho-
 spitality, and familiar friendship. In these respects, they went out of that assembly which inclined
 to the contract of alliance with the Romans, and were held excused for this departure; being thus
 obliged unto *Philip* the adverse part, by great favours and benefits, yea, and those newly received
 at his hands. All the other States of the Achæans, when they were demanded their opinions, with-
 out delay confirmed by their immediat decree, the society with *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*: but
 the league with the people of *Rome*, because it could not be ratified and established without the
 Act of the people, was referred and put off until the time that Embassadors might be sent unto
Rome. But for the present it was thought good that three Embassadors should be addressed unto
L. Quintius, and that all the forces of the Achæans should march toward *Corinth*, for that *Quintius*
 having won the port of *Cenchrea*, was already at the siege and assault of that City.

These Achæans encamped themselves over against that gate that openeth toward *Sicyone*: the
 Romans lay against that part of the City which looketh toward *Cenchrea*, and *Attalus* having led
 his army through the narrow freight of *Isthmus*, assailed them of *Lechaus* side, which is an haven
 of the other Sea. At the first they made no hot assault, hoping that there would be some mutiny
 between the Towns-men and the Kings garrison. But perceiving they were all of one mind and
 resolution, and that both the Macedonians defended the City, as their own native country:
 and also the Corinthians were content to be at the full command and direction of *Androsthenes* the
 Captain of the garrison, as well as if he had been their fellow-citizen, and lawfully chosen by
 their

A their own election and suffrages: then the assailants had no other hope but in the violent force of arms and engines. And of all sides they had raised banks and mounds, and were come close to the walls, although with hard access thereto. Now had the Ram, from that quarter where the Romans lay, beaten down a good part of the wall. To which breach, because it lay naked without defence, all the Macedonians ran to guard and defend it by strength of arms: where there was a cruel fight between them and the Romans. At the first the Romans were soon repulsed by means of the great numbers of defendants: but after the succours of the Achæi and *Arctus* came unto them, they received them with equal valour: neither doubted they but to be able with ease to drive the Macedonians and the Greeks from their standings, and force them to retreat. But there were within the Town a multitude of Italian fugitives revolted and fled from the Romans: part of them, a residue left of *Annibal* his army: who having transgressed the laws, for fear of punishment were fled from the Romans, and took part with *Philip*: part also were mariners and seafaring men, who for hope of more honorable intertainment and service, had abandoned their ships, and were gotten into the City of *Corinth*. These fellows past all hope of life, if the Romans haply should have the better hand, sared more like mad men than hardy and audacious souldiers. Now there is over against *Sicyone* a promontory of *Iune*, which they call the Cape of *Acree*, and it runneth into the Sea: from whence the passage over to *Corinth* is a cut almost of seven miles. Thither *Philocles*, a Captain also under King *Philip*, had conducted through *Boeotia* 500 souldiers: and certain Brigantines of *Corinth* were there ready to embark that supply of aid, and to transport them to *Lycheus*. By this time *Arctus* advised to let on fire the engines and fabricks that they had made, and presently to give over the siege. *Quintus* persisted yet more obstinately in his enterprise begun. But he also seeing the Kings guards ranged and quartered at every gate, and that if they should hap to fall out, their violence would hardly be sustained, was of the same mind with *Arctus*. So without effecting any thing, the Achæians were dismissed, and the rest returned to their ships, *Arctus* to *Piræum*, the Romans to *Corcyra*.

During this service by Sea forces, the (other) Consul who lay in camp before *Elate* in *Phocia*, first assaid to gain the City by conference and parly with the principal citizens thereof: but after answer made, that it lay not in their hands, and that they who were for the King, outwent the Towns-men both in number and strength: then at once from all parts he gave an assault unto the City both by force of arms, and also by engines of artillery. The Ram was bent against the walls, and as much thereof beaten down with a mighty crash and fearful noise, as stood between the Towers: whereupon the Town was dismantled and laid naked, and withal a cohort of Roman souldiers entred at the open breach: so as from all parts the defendants abandoned their guards, and ran to that place that thus was distressed by the enemies. And at one instant the Romans advanced themselves over the breach, and set up scaling ladders against the wall which was standing, and while the enemies were amused wholly, and had their eye only upon that one place where the conflict was, the wall in many parts was scaled, and armed souldiers mounted into the City. At which suddain tumult and alarm, the armed men having quit the place which they guarded with a thick troop fled all into the castle for fear: and the unarmed and naked multitude followed after. Thus the Consul was master of the City: which being ransacked, he sent unto the Castle certain messengers, promising life to as many of the Kings garrison as would depart away without arms, and offering liberty to the *Elatians*: and after security given hereof, within few dayes the Castle also was rendred into his hands. Moreover, by the arrival of *Philocles* (a commander for the King) in *Achaia*, not *Corinth* only was delivered from siege, but the City also of the *Argives*, was by certain of the principal rulers betrayed unto *Philocles*, who before had sounded and solicited the minds and affections of the common people. There was a custome in this City that upon the first day of their general assemblies, the Pretor should in token of good luck pronounce the names of *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, and *Hercules*: and afterwards ordained it was besides by a law, that the name of *Philip* should make up the fourth. Now after the alliance accorded between them and the Romans it hapned that the beadle or publick cryer left out the name of *Philip*: whereat the multitude first began to mutter and grumble: then arose a loud cry of those that put him in mind to name the King, willing him to give him his honor due by law: until at last his name was also pronounced with great applause and consent. Upon the confidence and assurance of this favour *Philocles* was sent for, who by night seized upon an hill that commandeth the City, which commonly is called the fort of *Larissa*, and having put a garrison there, the next morning betimes he advanced forward with banner displayed, and came down toward the common place lying under the fortels aforesaid: where there encountered him a band of armed men well appointed in order of battail. These were the garrison of the Achæi lately there placed, to the number of 500 elect men chosen forth of all the States of *Achaia*: and one *Ensidemus* a Dymeian was their commander. Unto him *Philocles* (one of the Kings Captains aforesaid) addressed a special messenger to persuade and exhort him to quit the City: giving him to understand, That he and his Company were not able to match the Town-men alone, who carried the same mind that the Macedonians had done: much less then should they stand out when the Macedonians were joined unto them: the Macedonians (I say) whom the very Romans themselves could not sustain at *Corinth*. At first he did no good either with leader or souldier: yea, and when within a while they beheld the *Argives* also marching armed against them with a great troop from another part, and saw present death before their eyes, yet it seemed they would have put it to the hazard of a conflict,

and fought to the last man, in case their Captain would have stuck to it, and not relented. But *Ensilinus* for fear left together with the City, the flower of all the youth of *Achaia* should perish, espoused with *Philotes*, that they might be permitted to depart and go their way: but himself kept his ground till in his armour, with some few of his followers and vassals, and removed not a foot. Then *Philotes* sent out unto him, to demand, What he meant thereby? Unto whom he gave no other words, but holding forth his shield before him made answer, That armed as he was he would live, and die in the guard and defence of that City which was committed to his charge. Then by the commandment of the Captains, the Thracians lanced their darts and shot at him, and so both he and the company about him were slain every one. Thus after the accord of alliance between the Achaeans and Romans, two most noble and famous Cities (*Argi* and *Corinth*) came under the subjection of the King. These were the acts achieved by the Romans as well by Land as Sea this summer.

In *France* there was no exploit performed worth remembrance by *Sext. Aelius* the Consul, notwithstanding he had under his government two entire armies: the one that he retained still with him, which by order he should have discharged, and was the same that had before been commanded by *L. Cornelius* the Pro-consul, and now by him was committed to the charge of *C. Aelius*: the other, that he brought himself with him into the Province. So that he employed the whole year almost in compelling the men of *Cremona* and *Placentia* to return into their Colonies, from whence by sundry casualties of war they were chased and dispersed. As *France* that year was in quiet beyond all hope and expectation, so about the City of *Rome* there had like to have been a commotion and tumult of bondslaves. The Carthaginian hostages were in guard and kept at *Setia*, where they had attending about them (as meet was for the children of the chief Nobles and Princes of *Carthage*) a mighty train and retinue of servants. The number of them was the greater by occasion of the late African war; during which time and presently after, the *Setins* also themselves had bought up many of that nation which were taken captives, and came in port-ſle with the rest of the prizes. These having conspired together, sent out certain of their own company to sollicite also the other slaves that were in the territory of *Setia*, and so forth, as many as they could find about *Norba* and *Circelii*. Their plot was, that when all things were provided aforehand, they should upon the very day of the solemn games and plaies (which shortly were to be exhibited and set forth in *Setia*) take the opportunity of the time, when as the people were busy in beholding the spectacle and shew repented unto their eye, and to run upon them: and when they had by massacre in this suddain hurlyburly possessed themselves of *Setia*, then to go forward and surprise *Norba* and *Circelii*. This horrible complot and conspiracy was detected, and information given at *Rome* to *L. Cornelius Merula* Pretor at that time of the City. For two bondslaves early in a morning before day, presented themselves unto him, and opened from point to point in order, namely, what had been contrived and done, and what remained yet to do. The Pretor having taken order for their safe custody at home within his own house, called the Senate together; where, after he had recounted and declared unto them what these informers had revealed, he was commanded to go abroad to search out and repress this conspiracy. Forth he marched with five Lieutenants of the camp, and look how many he could meet with in his way all over the fields, villages, and hamlets, he rendered unto them a military oath, and constrained them to arm and follow him. Thus in this hasty manner of levy, he armed well neer 2000, and with them all together (who knew not whither he meant to go, nor to what peece of service he led them) to *Setia* he came. At his first entrance, he suddainly in great hast apprehended the principal heads of the conspiracy; whereupon the slaves fled out of the Town. Then were sent out certain into the fields, to trace and to find them out by their tracks. In this business there were two bondslaves and one free man that performed singular good service. Unto him the LL. of the Senate gave order, that there should be paid 100000 Asles in brass coin: but unto the slaves 25000 and their freedom. For the redemption of whom, their masters were contented their full price out of the Chamber of the City. Nor long after, it was reported that the remnant of this conspiracy purposed to surprise *Preneſte*. Thither marched *L. Cornelius* the Pretor of the City, where he executed about 500 persons who were found guilty. The City was in great fear to see how the hostages and captives of the Carthaginians practised such troubles. Therefore in *Rome* a standing watch was kept in every street: and the inferior Magistrats were charged to see to it and to walk the round, and the *Triumvirs* likewise (or three Sheriffs) to have a better eye and look to the Quarry-prison. The Pretor also directed his letters into all quarters of the Latin nation to this effect, That all the hostages should be kept within doors, and not suffered to go abroad into the streets; that all captives and prisoners should have gyves about their heels of ten pound weight at least, and be kept in no other ward but in the common goal.

The same year came Embassadors from King *Attalus*, who presented in the Capitol a golden Crown of 246 pound weight, with great thanksgiving unto the Senate, that King *Antiochus* in regard of the authority and countenance of the Roman Embassadors, had withdrawn his forces out of the confines of *Attalus*. The same summer two hundred men of arms, ten Elephants, and 200000 Modii of wheat sent from King *Masaniſſa*, arrived at the camp in *Greece*. Likewise out of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, there was sent great store of victual and liveries for the army. In *Sicily* *M. Marcellus* was L. Governour, and in *Sardinia* *M. Porcius Cato*, an upright man and living without touch and reproach, save only he was thought somewhat too severe in restraining of luxury.

See the account of the first Clallis, l. 1.

ss 6 lib. English in angel gold, or there about,

A usury. He banished out of that Island all usurers: he abridged also and cut off clean, the charges which the allies were wont to defray for the entertainment of the Pretor.

Sext. Atilius the Consul being returned to Rome out of France in regard of the general assembly for election of Magistrats, created Consuls *Cn. Cornelius Cethegus* and *Q. Minutius Rufus*. And two daies after, the election was held for Pretors. This year first were chosen six Pretors, by reason that the number of Provinces encreased, and the Roman Empire and Seignory extended farther. And these were they, to wit, *L. Manlius Volso*, *Cn. Sempronius Tuditanus*, *M. Sergius Silius*, *M. Helvius*, *M. Minutius Rufus*, and *L. Atilius*. Of these, *Sempronius* and *Helvius* were *Ædiles* of the Commons; *Q. Minutius Thermus* and *T. Sempronius Longus* *Ædiles* of the chair. The Roman games this year were four times renewed. *Cn. Cornelius* and *Q. Minutius* being Consuls, above all things went in hand with the Provinces of Consuls and Pretors: and first they dispatched those that concerned the Pretors (a matter that might be decided by casting lots.) To *Sergius* fell the jurisdiction of the City, and to *Minutius* the forein, over strangers. *Atilius* was appointed to *Sardinia*, *Manlius* to *Sicily*, *Sempronius* to that part of Spain between Italy and *Iberus*; and *Helvius* unto the other beyond the River.

Six Pretors first created,

When the Consuls were upon the point to cast lots likewise for their provinces; namely, Italy and *Macedony*, *L. Oppius*, and *Q. Fulvius* Tribuns of the Commons, interposed themselves and staid them, alledging, "That *Macedony* was a province lying far off, and there was no one thing that had more impeached and hindred the proceeding of wars to that day than this, That in so remote parts, the Consul ever of the former year was called home before he were settled in his affairs, and when he should be employed most in wars. Now have there four years already gone over our heads, since we decreed and concluded, to follow the *Macedonian* war; during which time, *Sulpitius* spent the greater part of his year, in seeking after the King and his army; *Villius*, when he should encounter the enemy, was called away before he had effected any exploit; as for *Quintius*, he was kept at Rome till for the most part of the year, in attendance about Church-matters and sacrifices: howbeit the affairs of wars under his conduct were managed so well, that if either he had gone sooner into his province, or the winter had been later, he might have dispatched the wars there: and now, that he is ready to retire into his standing camp and wintring harbors, the report is, that he hath brought the war to that good pass and forwardness, that unless he be not hindred by a new successor, in all likely-hood and apparence, he will make a final end thereof the next summer."

D With these speeches they prevailed so much, that the Consuls for their part promised to be ordered and set down by the Senat in this behalf, upon condition, that the Tribuns would be content to do the like. Now when of both sides, they had referred themselves to a free and absolute consultation, the LL. of the Senat assigned to both the Consuls the government of Italy, and continued the command of the army still with *T. Quintius*, until there came another to succeed him. Two legions were appointed for the Consul, with commission to war upon the Gauls between Rome and the Alps, who had revolted from the people of Rome. And for *Quintius* ordained it was, that there should be sent into *Macedony* unto him, a new supply of 5000 foot, 300 horse, and 3000 sea-servitors and mariners. And likewise, that the same *L. Quintius Flaminius* should be Admiral of the navy, as before. For the Pretors who were to go into Spain, there was an allowance of 8000 footmen out of the allies of the Latin nation, and 400 horsemen, so that they dismissed the old souldiers out of Spain: and enjoined they were to limit and set out the bounds of their severall provinces, whereas the higher Spain and the lower should part. And for *Macedony* there were two Lieutenants more for the army appointed, to wit, *P. Sulpitius* and *P. Villius*, who had been Consuls both, and in that province.

Before that either Consuls or Pretors went out into their provinces, it was thought good to take order for the prodigious tokens which hapned. For at Rome the Temple of *Vulcan* and *Saturnus*, at *Fregella*, the wall and a gate of the City, were stricken with lightning. At *Frusino* it appeared light (as it had been clear day) in the night season. At *Asculum* a Lamb was yeained having two heads and five feet. Also at *Formie* two wolves entered into the Town, and worried somewhat were in their way. Last of all, at Rome there was a wolf, that not only came into the City, but went forward as far as to the Capitol.

C. *Atilius* a Tribun of the Commons proposed a law, that there should be five Colonies conducted to the Sea side, and there planted: two at the mouth of the Rivers *Vulturnus* and *Liternus*, one at *Paucoli*, another in the Burrough Town of *Salernum*, and to make the fift * *Buxantum* was assigned to the rest. Into every Colony order was taken, that there should be thirty households sent. The three Commissaries, called *Triumvirs*, for the conducting of these Colonies were created: namely, *M. Servilius Geminus*, *Q. Minutius Thermus*, and *T. Sempronius Longus*. These three had commission to continue in the charge of this office three years. After the manner, and all other matters accomplished, pertaining to God and man, that were by the Consuls to be performed, then they set forward both, into their provinces. *Cornelius* took his way directly against the *Insubrians*, who accompanied with the *Cenomans*, were entred at that time into arms: *Q. Minutius* in his journey bare on the left hand of Italy toward the nether sea: and conducting his army to *Genoa*, began with the *Ligurians* to make war. *Clefidium* and *Litubium*, Towns both of the *Ligurians*, likewise two States of the same nation, the *Cesclars* and the *Cerdiciars* surrendered unto him, inasmuch as all the country on this side the *Po*, were in subjection to the Romans,

* *Puzzele*.
* *Piscotta* N.
gro, or *Forez*.
Liguria.

Romans, except the Boians among the Gauls, and the Illuats among the Ligurians. By report H there were fifteen Towns containing twenty thousand men, which yielded unto them. From thence he led the legions into the territory of the Boians. The army of the Boians had passed over the Po a little before, and joined with the Insubrians and Cænomans: for hearing that the Consul would war jointly with both their forces, they intended likewise to make themselves more strong, by uniting and bringing their power together. But the bruit being blown abroad, that once of the Consuls invaded and fired the country of the Boians, presently there arose a tumult. For the Boians demanded, that they all in general would help them in their distress. The Insubrians refused and said, That they would not abandon their own confines: by which occasion they distended. The Boians went to the defence of their own country, and the Insubrians with the Cænomans, sat them down upon the banks of the River *Minusio*. Five miles beneath that place, the Consul *Cornelius* also encamped himself near the said River: from whence he sent certain messengers all about the villages, and to *Brixia*, the head City of that nation: and being advertised sufficiently that the youth was up in arms, without the warrant and consent of their ancients; and that the Cænomans joined not with the Insubrians in their rebellion by vertue of public counsel and authority: he sent for the principal persons among them, and began to labour and deal with them, that the Cænomans would forsake the Insubrians, and openly with their ensigns advanced, either to return into their own country, or turn to the Romans. This they could not bring them to: howbeit they assured the Consul, that in the field they would either sit still and do nothing, or else, if any good opportunity was presented unto them, they would aid the Romans. The Insubrians knew nothing of this complot: and yet, some doubt and suspicion they had, that their allies balked, and were not found of all four: and therefore when there was occasion to lead forth to fight a field, they durst not trust them with either of the two wings and points of the battel, for fear if they recreated like false brethren, they should hazard the main chance: but placed them behind the ensigns in the reergard. The Consul in the beginning of the battel vowed a Temple to *Juno Sospita*, in case he discomfited the enemies that day, and put them to the rout. The soldiers set up a shout, and cried aloud that they would bring it to pass that the Consul should have his desire, and therewith charged the enemy right fiercely. The Insubrians could not abide the first shock. Some write, that in the very conflict the Cænomans also suddenly set upon their back, whereby they were distressed and in danger both before and behind; and that there were slain enclosed in the midst five and thirty thousand of the enemies, and seven hundred taken prisoners, and among them *Amilcar* the General of the Carthaginians, who was the cause of this war: also that there were a hundred and thirty ensigns carried away, and of chariots above two hundred. All the Towns that followed this revolt, yielded to the Romans.

Manlius the Consul, at the beginning made excursions into the country of the Boians, wasting and spoiling it all over: but afterwards when they had forsaken the Insubrians, and were retired home to defend and save their own, he kept himself within camp, making full account to tie a set battel with the enemy. Neither would the Boians for their part have been behind, but ready to have answered them, had not the rumor of the Insubrians overthrow, daunted and broken their hearts. Whereupon they forsook their leader, quit the camp, and bestowed themselves in the Towns and Villages to guard every man his own, and quite altered the course of their enemy his war, and put him besides his account. For the Consul lost all hope now to determine the quarrel in one ranged battel, began again to forrage the fields, burn all buildings, and force Towns by assault. Much about the same time *Clasidium* was set on fire. And from thence the legions were conducted against the Illuats among the Ligurians, who only stood out and would not come in, and yield obedience. Which nation likewise hearing that the Insubrians were defeated in a battel, and that the Boians were so scared, that they durst not venture the fortune of a field, submitted themselves. At the same time the letters of the Consuls, containing their happy affairs in *France*, were brought to *Rome*. *M. Sergius* the Pretor of the City first read them in the Senat, and afterwards by the advice of the Senate, rehearsed them in a full audience and assembly of the people. And a procession was decreed for the space of four daies.

Now was winter come, and whiles *T. Quimius* after the winning of *Elania*, wintered his armies in divers harbors within *Phœcia* and *Lycia*, there arose a mutiny in *Oppi*. The one faction lent for the *Ætolians* their near neighbours to side with them: and the other for the Romans. The *Ætolians* came first, but the mightier faction would not suffer them to enter in: for having dispatched a messenger to the Roman General, they held the Town until his coming. The Kings garrison kept the fortres, neither could they be brought to abandon it either with the menaces of the *Opuntians*, or the authority and countenance of the Roman commander. The only let and stay why it was not immediately assaulted was this; Because there was come an herald from the King, requesting time and place of a parle, which with much ado was granted to the King: not because *Quimius* of himself was not desirous and wished that he might be thought to have ended this war, either by force of arms or conditions of peace; for as yet he knew not whether one of the new Consuls should be sent to succeed him, or his government continued still unto him (according as he had given his friends and kinsfolks in charge to bring that about by all the endeavour and means that he could make:) but he supposed verily, that this parling would be to good purpose for him, if it might be in his liberty to drive matters unto war if he stayed still, or draw to a peace if he departed home. So upon the strand and shore of the gulf *Mæla*, they chose a place near unto *Nova*.

Thither

A Thither came the King by water from *Demetrias* with five brigantines or pinnaces, and one ship of war with a brass beak-head. There accompanied him the chief *Lysimachus*, and *Cycliadas* a noble personage of great mark among the Achæans, and one that was from thence banished. With the Roman General were King *Antiochus*, *Dionysidorus* an Ambassador of King *Attalus*, and *Agathinobrotus* Admiral of the Rhodian fleet, *Phaneas* the chief and principal Magistrat of the *Ætolians*, and two Achæans *Aristobolus* and *Xenophon*. The Roman General in the mids of these, advanced himself forward to the edge of the very shore, even to the bank side, while the King came forward to the foredeck of his ship standing at anchor: and thus he began and said unto the King: "Sir, you may do better to come ashore that we may commune and confer together close, and both speak and hear one another more easily. The King refused so to do: and why so? quoth B "Quintius, who is it that you fear, if a man may know? Then with an haughty spirit and kinglike: I fear none (quoth he) but the immortal Gods; but I trust not the fidelity of all that I see here about you, and namely, the *Ætolians* least of all other. Why (saith *Quintius* again) this is the common case of all them that come to parly with enemies; namely, to be in danger one of another. Yea marry, quoth the King, but by your leave *Quintius*, the price and recompence of treachery and falsehood (if it should come to that) is not all one for killing *Philip* and *Phaneas*: for the *Ætolians* should not find it so hard a matter to substitute another Pretor, as the Macedonians to create another King in my room. This said, there was not a word more to the point: while the Roman General thought it reason that he should begin who sought for a parle; and the King supposed it meet that it was his part to speak first who should give conditions, and not for him that stood at receipt, and was to accept thereof. Then *Quintius* began and said, that his speech should be plain and simple: for he would say no more, but propose only those points, which if they might not be performed, there would be no peace upon any condition at all. First, that the King must withdraw his garrisons out of all the Cities of *Greece*. Item, That he is to deliver up all the prisoners and fugitive revolts that he hath, unto the allies of the people of *Rome*. Item, That he restore again to the Romans all those pieces in *Illyricum*, which after the peace concluded in *Epirus*, he had seized upon. Last of all, that he surrender unto *Ptolemæus* King of *Egypt*, all those Cities which he possessed himself of, after the death of *Ptolemæus Philopator*. These (saith he) are the conditions, that I and the people of *Rome* do demand: but meet it is besides, that you hear the demands also of the allies. Then the Ambassador or agent for King *Attalus* required, that the ships and captives which had been taken in the Sea-fight before *Chios*, should be rendered, and that *Nicomachia* and the Temple of *Pennus*, which he had pill'd and spoiled, should be restored as good and entire, as they were before. After him, the Rhodians made claim to *Peræa* (a country in the continent right over-against their Isle, and an ancient appurtenance of their Seignory) and demanded within, that the garrisons should quit *Iassus*, *Baryllæ*, and the City of the *Euromenians*, and about *Hellasponus*, likewise the Cities of *Sestus* and *Abydos*. Item, that *Panopolis* should be restored unto the *Bizantins*, with the ancient charter of their franchises and liberties. Finally, that all the Merchant Towns and Ports in *Asia* might be freed from paying custome. Then came upon him the *Achæans*, and challenged *Corinib* and *Argi* as their own. After them, when as *Phaneas* (the Pretor of the *Ætolians*) had demanded in a manner the same that the Romans had before; namely, that the Kings forces should depart out of *Greece*, adding moreover, that those Cities should be rendered unto the *Ætolians* which in times past belonged to their dominion and jurisdiction: then one of the heads of the *Ætolians* named *Alexander*, an eloquent man among them, as any other, presently inferred and said: "That he had a long time sitten still, and opened not his mouth, not because he thought that in all this conference they would grow to any point or conclusion, but for that he would not interrupt any of his allies in their speech. And as for *Philip*, quoth he, he dealeth not soundly and *bona fide* in treaties of peace, no more than ever heretofore he hath managed his wars with vertue and true valour. For in all these parlies and conferences he lieth in trains, and lieth to catch advantages: in war he never striketh a battail in plain field, nor cometh to close fight hand to hand; but in his retreats and flights, burneth and sacketh Cities: and thus being himself vanquished, spoileth and maketh havock of that which by right is the due reward and recompence of conquerors. But the noble Macedonian Kings in old-time, took no such courses. Their manner was to fight it out in open field, and to spare Cities and Towns, all that ever possibly they could; to the end that their dominion might be more wealthy and puissant. For what kind of policy is it, for him to ruinate and destroy utterly that, about the possession whereof he is in question, and reserve nothing for himself but only war? This *Philip* the year past hath laid desolate in *Thessalia* more Cities of his allies there, than all the enemies have done that ever *Thessalia* had: and hath taken more from the *Ætolians* themselves, while he was a confederate friend with them, than all the time that he was their professed enemy. He hath seized upon *Lymnachia*, expelled their Pretor, and chased out the garrison of the *Ætolians*. C *Chios* also, a City under his own subjection he hath raised, subverted and quite destroyed. By semblable falsehood and deceit he is possessed of *Thebes* in *Phthia*, *Echinum*, *Larissa*, and *Pharsalus*. *Philip* yelled and galled at these words of *Alexander*, commanded that his ship should approach neerer to the bank, to the end that himself might be better heard. And as he began to frame bitter invectives against the *Ætolians* principally, *Phaneas* cut him off, saying, That the quarrel was not to be decided by word, but with the sword: and either he must win it by mere force, or yeeld obedience to the mightier. That is true, quoth *Philip*, and so evident, that a blind man may see it; jesting

For distinction of *Thebes* in *Egypt* and other places.

jesting merrily at *Phœneus*, who was troubled with a pair of bad eyes. And given he was by nature H
 to be pleasantly conceited, and fuller of his frumps, I was than belicemed the Majesty of a
 King: so as many times even in treaty of serious matters and of great consequence, he could not
 forbear but make himself merry and laugh a good while. "Afterwards he fell to a fit of choler and
 "indignation, that the *Ætolians* should take upon them like Romans to command him out of
 "Greece, who if they were put to it, were not able upon their knowledge to set down the bounds
 "of Greece & limit how far it reached. For asmuch as the *Agrei*, the *Apodeotes* and *Amphilochi*,
 "which take up a great part of *Ætolia*, are not within Greece. And what just cause (quoth he) of
 "complaint have they, in that I have not spared some of their allies? Why? even they themselves
 "hold this old custome for a law, namely, to permit their youth to take arms and serve against
 "their own allies, so they do it without the publick order and warrant from the State: and very I
 "often a man may see *Ætolians* in contrary armies, & come to aid as wel the one side as the other.
 "As for *Chins*, it was not I that forced it: I did no more but aid *Prusias* my friend and ally, in the
 "siege and assault thereof. And as touching *Lysimachia*, I defended it against the *Thracians*: but
 "for asmuch as of necessity I was called away from the guard thereof unto this war, the *Thraci-*
 "ans now hold it. Thus much by way of answer to the *Ætolians*. Now concerning *Attalus* and
 "the *Rhodians*, by right I owe them nothing: for it was not I but they, that began the war.
 "Howbeit, for the honor that I bear to the Romans, I will make restitution to the *Rhodians* of
 "Perea, and restore I will to *Attalus* the ships and the captives as many as are forth coming and
 "may be found. As for the restitution and making good again of *Nicephorium* and the Temple of
 "Venus, what answer should I return to them that demand it, but this, that I will endeavour and K
 "be at charge of planting new trees (which is the only way and means whereby groves and
 "woods that are cut down and fallen, may be recovered again) seeing that ye will needs have it,
 "that Kings (forsooth) must commune and reason to and fro about such matters as these. In
 "the last place, he framed his speech to answer the *Achæans*: wherein, first he began with the
 "benefits and pleasures that *Antigonus* had done unto that nation; then, of the favours and good
 "turns they had received from his own self; and with all he commanded their decrees and edicts
 "to be read, containing all kind of honors as well divine as human: adding moreover the late
 "and fresh revolt of their army from him: and albeit he inveighed sharply against their disloy-
 "alty and treachery, yet he promised to render *Argos* unto them. As for *Corinth*, he would con-
 "fer and consult with the Roman General, and demand of him, whether he thought it reason I
 "that he should depart from those cities which he won by arms, and held by right of conquest, or
 "dispossess himself of those also, which he received from his progenitors as his lawfull inheri-
 "tance? The *Achæans* and *Ætolians* addressed themselves to answer those points; but the sun
 "was welnear down: whereupon the conference was adjourned until the morrow. *Philip* retired
 "to the harbor from whence he came, and the Romans with their allies to their camp. The day fol-
 "lowing, *Quintius* at the time appointed was ready before the City of *Nicea* (for that was thought
 "a convenient place.) But *Philip* appeared not, nor for the space of certain hours came there any
 "at all from him, not so much as a messenger. Now when they were out of all hope of his repair
 "thither, behold of a suddain his ships were descried. For himself he said by way of excuse, that
 "considering how hard, how grievous and intolerable indignities were imposed upon him, he had M
 "employed all that day time until then in consultation, and could not resolve. But it was generally
 "thought among them all, that he had of purpose prolonged the time, and made it so late even to-
 "ward evening, because the *Achæans* and *Ætolians* should have no leisure to answer unto him.
 "And this opinion of theirs himself confirmed, in that he requested that he alone might parly
 "with the Roman General himself, and that all others should go aside and absent themselves: to
 "the end they two might spend and lose no more time in debate and wrangling, but go briefly to
 "the point, and make an end one way or other. This petition of his would not at first be accepted
 "by *Quintius*, pretending that he would not have it seen that the allies were excluded out of the
 "conference. But afterwards upon his importunat suit, by the advise of them all, the Roman Ge-
 "neral together with *Ap. Claudius* a Colonel, when the rest were voided away, advanced forward N
 "to the bank side: the King with the other two whom he had with him the day before came a land.
 "There after they had parled in secret together a certain time, they parted. What *Philip* related
 "unto his company is not certainly known: but *Quintius* made report unto his allies of their con-
 "ference in this wise: namely, that *Philip* was content to quit the whole coast and tract of *Ibri-*
 "cum, for the Romans to enter upon. Item, to send back all the traitorous renegats, and as many
 "captives as were to be found. Item, to redeliver unto *Attalus* the ships and the mariners taken
 "prisoners therein. Item, to render unto the *Rhodians* the countrey of *Perea*: but in no wise to be
 "disseised of *Iassus* and *Bargylla*. Item, to deliver unto the *Ætolians* *Pharsalus* and *Larissa*, but not
 "Thebes in any case. Last of all, to part not only with *Argos*, but with *Corinth* also, for the behoof of
 "the *Achæans*. There was not one of them all well pleased at this limitation and setting out of par-
 "ticular parts, which he would deliver, and which he would not. For in this reckoning & account
 "they should be more losers than winners. For unless (say they) he remove his forces and garrisons
 "out of all Greece throughout, he will never cease to give or take occasions of quarrel. As they all
 "cried out from the whole assembly to this effect, their high voyce was heard of *Philip*, albeit he
 "stood aloof. Whereupon he requested *Quintius* to refer the whole matter once more unto the next
 "day; and then certainly without fail, he would either perswade him and his allies and bring them
 "to

A to his mind, or else would come off and suffer himself to be perswaded and over-ruled by them. The place of meeting was appointed upon the strand near *Thurinus*: and thither they repaired on both parts betimes. There *Philip* first and foremost, belought both *Quintius* and all those that were present, not to disturb the hope of peace, but that it might come to some effect: and in conclusion, craved time, wherein he might send his Embassadors unto the Senat of *Rome*: assuring them, that if he could not obtain peace under those articles above said, he would accept of any other conditions, which it should please the Senat to put upon him. All the rest misliked hereof, supposing, that he sought for nothing else but delays and tract of time, whiles he might gather his forces together. But *Quintius* inferred again, That well it might so be and a truth indeed that they alledged, if it were summer time and a season fit for war and martial exploits: but now, considering winter was at hand, they could lose nothing by granting him respite to address an embassage. B For neither (qd. he) will any capitulation and composition which we should make with *Philip* stand good and firm without the approbation of the Senat: and in this one winter (when of necessity we must surcease from war) it may be known what the Senate by their authority will approve. To this advice the chief of the confederats accorded, and therein rested. So there was a cessation of arms for two moneths granted: in which mean time it was thought good, that each of them likewise should dispatch one Embassador to advertise the Senate, to take heed they were not over-raught by the subtilty and fraud of the King. But provided it was in the covenant of the truce aforesaid, That incontinently the Kings garrisons should void the territories of *Phocis* and *Locris*. *Quintius* also, himself sent (together with the Embassadors of the allies) *Aminander* King of the *Atthamans*: and to make the embassage more honourable, *Q. Fabius* (his own wives sisters son) *Q. Fulvius* and *P. Claudius* accompanied the King.

C When they were arrived at *Rome*, the Embassadors of the allies had audience given them before those that were sent from King *Philip*. Most of their speeches were spent in railing against the King: but in this one point they most of all moved the Senat to give ear unto them, namely, when they described by demonstration (as in a map) the situation of those countries as well by Land as Sea, that all men might plainly see, that if the King might hold in his hands the City *Demetrias* in *Thessalie*, *Chalcis* in *Euboea*, and *Corinth* in *Achaia*, *Greece* could not possibly be at liberty, considering that *Philip* himself was wont to term them (no less truly than tauntingly) The shackles and fetters of *Greece*. After them were the Kings Embassadors permitted to enter into the Senate-house: and having begun to make a long Oration, their speech was cut off with this one brief and short interrogatory. Whether *Philip* would quit those three Cities aforesaid, or no? Whereunto they made this answer, That they had no exprels warrant in their commission touching that matter by name. So the Kings Embassadors were sent away without conclusion of any peace: and *Quintius* had full authority to determine of war or peace at his pleasure. Who seeing plainly by this, that the Senat was not weary of war, and being himself more desirous of victory than peace, he would never after grant *Philip* any more parties, but gave him to understand, that he would admit no other embassage from him, but that which should bring him news of his departure quite out of *Greece*.

D *Philip* seeing no other way now but that he must needs fight and trie the issue by a main battle, and that he was to gather his forces together from all parts: being perplexed most of all for the Cities of *Achaia* (a countrey far remote from him) and yet more careful in regard of *Argi* than *Corinth*: he thought it best policy to make it over (as it were upon trust) into the hands of *Nabis* the tyrant of the *Lacedemonians*, upon condition, That if he obtained the victory, *Nabis* should deliver it up unto him again: but if ought should come to him but well, then *Nabis* himself to have and hold it as his own. Unto *Philocles*, Governor of *Corinth* and *Argi*, he dispatcheth his letters, That he should himself in person commune with the tyrant above-named about it. *Philocles*, besides that he came now with a present, added moreover of his own head (for the better assurance and pawn of amity between the tyrant and the King) That *Philip* would give his daughters in marriage to *Nabis* his sons. The tyrant refused at the first to accept of that City, F unless he were sent for, by a decree of the *Argives* themselves to come for to aid the City. But afterwards when he heard say, That in a frequent assembly there, they not only rejected him, but also detested and abhorred the very name of a tyrant, as an execrable abomination: supposing now that he had a good occasion and quarrel offered to make a spoil of them, he willed *Philocles* to deliver the City unto him when he would. So the tyrant was received into the Town in the night season, without the privity and knowledge of any person: and by break of day he seized upon all the higher places. The gates were shut, and few of the principal heads in the beginning of the tumult made shift to escape. Those that were absent had their houses ransacked and their goods pilld: as many as were present, had all their gold and silver taken from them: besides, great sums of money were imposed upon them to be paid. They that made speed and G were not long about it, but tendered ready coine, were let go without any outrage or hurt done unto their bodies: but such as were suspected either to hide or keep ought back, were mangled and tortured like bondslaves. After this, he assembled the people together and published two Laws: the one, for crossing all debt-books and cancelling obligations: the other, for division of Lands among the people by the poll: two fire-brands to serve their turn that seek for change and alteration in a State: enough to set on fire the Commons against the Nobles and chief of the City.

When

When the City of *Argos* was thus brought in subjection under *Nabis*, the tyrant never remembering at whose hands, nor upon what condition he had received it, sent his ambassadors to *Quintus*, likewise to *Attalus* winning them in *Argos*, certifying them, That *Argos* was in his hands and at his devotions: and if *Quintus* would repair thither to parle with him, he should not but they two should agree well enough in every point. *Quintus* granted to come thither to the end, that by this means he might discomfitt *Philip* of that garrison: and he sent likewise to *Attalus*, willing him, that he would depart from *Argos*, and meet him at *Sicyone*: himself looked from *Amicyra*, and with ten Gallies called *Quinquetermes*; which (as hap was) *L. Quintus* his brother some dayes before had put to sea out of the wintering harbor of *Coryra*, crossed over to *Sicyone*. Now was *Attalus* there already, who making remonstrance unto *Quintus*, That it became a tyrant to come unto a Roman General, and not a Roman General to go unto a tyrant, induced *Quintus* to condescend unto his opinion, and not to enter the City of *Argos*. Not far from the City is a place called *Mycenica*, where they agreed to meet and commune together. *Quintus* came to the place, accompanied with his brother and certain Colonels. *Attalus* was guarded with his Princely and Royal train. *Nicostratus* the Pretor of the Achæans repaired thither, attended with some few auxiliary souldiers: and there they found the tyrant expecting their coming with all his forces. And armed as he was, with his guard likewise armed, he advanced himself into the midst (well neer) of the plain that lay between. *Quintus* unarmed, came forward with his brother and two Colonels. King *Attalus* likewise between the Pretor of the Achæans of the one hand, and a courtiour of his on the other, both unarmed. The tyrant began the speech with an excuse, That being in arms and attended with a guard of armed men, he presented himself to a parle, seeing the General of the Romans and King *Attalus* unarmed: and said that he stood not in fear of them, but of certain exiled persons of the Argives. After this, when they came to treat as touching the conditions and covenants for the contract of an amity, *Quintus* the General demanded two things: the one, That *Nabis* would make an end of warring with the Achæans: the other, That he would send with him certain aids against *Philip*. And verily to send succour he granted: and in lieu of peace he was content there should be a truce, until the war with *Philip* was dispatched. Also about *Argos* King *Attalus* began to enter into some question, saying: That having the City treacherously betrayed unto him by *Philoctes*, he now held it by force of arms: but he answered again, That he was sent for by the Argives themselves, for to protect them. Then the King required that the Argives might be assembled together, that he might know the truth. The tyrant made no denial thereof. The King replied again, that the assembly should be free, and at their liberty to speak, and to that effect the garrisons were to be removed out of the City, and no Lacedæmonians intermingled among them: to the end that the Argives might frankly speak their mind. But the tyrant flatly denied to withdraw from thence the guards. So this arguing came to no conclusion, and the conference braken up, after that the tyrant had given the Roman General 600000 Can-didots, and a truce made for the term of four moneths, between *Nicostratus* Pretor of the Achæans, and *Nabis* the tyrant of the Lacedæmonians. From thence *Quintus* departed to Corinth, and approached the gate, with a Regiment of Cretensians, that it might appear to *Philoctes* the Kings Captain there that the tyrant was revolted from *Philip*. *Philoctes* also entered into a parle with the Roman General and when he was exhorted by him to depart out of hand and yeeld the City, he returned such an answer unto him, that he seemed rather to defer, than to deny the thing. From Corinth *Quintus* crossed the Sea to *Amicyra*, from whence he sent his brother to found the nation of the Acarnanians. And *Attalus* departed directly from *Argos* to *Sicyone*. Whete the City not only encreased the ancient honours of the King, with the addition of new: but also the King over and besides that he had purchased for them in time past, the sacred land of *Apollo*, with a great sum of money: because he would not seem now also to pass by this friend City allied unto him, without some royal bounty and munificence, he gave freely unto them six talents of silver, and 10000 Medimns of corn: and so returned to his ships at *Cenchrea*. *Nabis* also having strengthened the garrison in *Argos*, returned to *Lacedæmon*: and after himself had robbed the men of their mony and goods, he sent his wife thither to do the like by the women. Who sending for the honourable & worshipful dames of the City, inviring them one by one to her house, and otherwhiles many together at once, such as were of kin one to another, by flattering and by threatening gat from them not only all the gold that they had, but in the end stript off their apparel also, and all the jewels and ornaments that they wore.

The three and thirtieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the three and thirtieth Book.

Titus Quintus Flaminius the Pro-consul, ended the war with *Philip*, after he had vanquished him in a pight field neer Cynoccephala in Thessalie. L. Quintus Flaminius, brother to the said Pro-consul,

A consul, having forced Leucas the head City of Acarnania, received the Acarnanians upon their submission and surrender. C. Sempronius Tuditanus the Pretor was slain, and his army defeated by the Celerians. Attalus being suddenly sick, was removed from Thebes to Pergamus; and there departed his life. Peace was granted to Philip upon his suit, and liberty restored to Greece. L. Furius and C. Claudius Marcellus, the two Consuls, subdued the Boians and Insubrians in Gaul, Marcellus triumphed. Annibal having practised in Affrick to raise war, but to no effect, was thereupon accused unto the Romans, by letters sent from the principal of the adverse faction: but for fear of the Romans, who had dispatched their Embassadors to the Carthaginian Senat about him, he fled unto Antiochus King of Syria, who also prepared then to make war upon the Romans.

B The beginning is not extant in the Latine.

adjoyning in those quarters to Acarnania. There was a streight pass or gullet there, half a mile almost in length, but not half a mile in breadth: at the end of this streight standeth the City Leucas planted against an hill that turneth to the East, and looketh toward Acarnania. The base Town is built upon a plain, reaching along the sea that divideth Leucadia from Acarnania. Whereupon the City, as well on the land side, as by sea, is easie to be forced. For the foords of the water relemble a standing lake rather than a Sea, and the whole soil is a light earth, minable and easie to be wrought into, so that in many places at once the walls either undermined or shaken with the ram, came tumbling down. But as the Town it self was assaultable, so the hearts of the Townsmen were invincible. For night and day they gave not over, to repair the cracks of the shaken wal, to fill up the open breaches and ruins, to make head lustily, and skirmish with the enemy, and rather to defend the walls by force of arms, than to save themselves by strength of their walls. And surely a longer siege they would have made of it than the Romans hoped, but that certain banished persons, Italians born, dwelling in Leucas let in and received armed souldiers on the Castle side. Howbeit, the Leucadians embattelling themselves in their market place, encountred them as they ran down from the higher ground with a great cry and noise, and maintained battel with them for a long time. In this mean while, the walls in diverse places were scaled with ladders, and the enemies mounting over the heaps of stones that lay at the breaches, entred the Town. And now by this time the Lieutenant in person, with many companies environed them as they fought: some slain in the midst, others flung away their weapons, and yielded to the conquerour. After few dayes, upon the news of the field fought at Cynocephala, all the States of Acarnania came in, and submitted themselves to the Lieutenant.

At the same time, whiles fortune turned thus about, and bare down a side all at once; the Rhodians also sent out Pausistratus their Pretor, with 800 footmen of Achaes, and about 1900 souldiers well armed, gathered out of all sorts of auxiliaries, to regain and reconquer from Philip the country of Perae, lying in the main and firm land, which had been held sometime, and possessed by their ancestors. And these aids were compounded and mixed of French, Nisquets, Pisuets, Tanians, and Arcans of Affrick, and Laodiceans of Asia. With these forces Pausistratus encamped in the territory of Stratonicea, and there he seized of a commodious place, and very good for his purpose, unware to the Kings company that had holden the same. Thither came also to aid them in very good time, a Regiment of a 1000 foot and a 100 horse of Achaeans, levied for that purpose, and were commanded by Theoxenus. Dinocrates a Captain under the King, willing to recover the said hold again, first pitched his tents, hard against the enemies camp. But afterwards he removed to another fort in the territory likewise of Stratonicea, which they call Astragon: and having rallied together all the garrisons dispersed afunder in divers places, and sent for the auxiliary bands also of Thessalians, even from Stratonicea, he took his way and marched toward Alabanda; where the enemies were. The Rhodians likewise for their part were ready for battel, and after they were encamped of both sides neer together, immediately they entred into the field to fight it out. Dinocrates placed in the right point 500 Macedonians, and the Agrians he put in the left, in the main battel he bestowed all those that he had gathered together out of the garrisons belonging to the forts abovesaid, who for the most part were Carians, the points he flanked round about with his corners of Horse. The Rhodian cohort was marshalled in this manner: The auxiliaries of the Candiot and Thracians kept the right point, the hired souldiers (and they were a power of elect footmen) stood in the left, in the midst were the aids (a mixture of many nations:) the Cavalry and all the light armed souldiers that were, compassed the corners like wings. All that day the two armies stood only upon the bank of a brook which ran between them with a small and shallow water: and after some loose shot discharged, they retired into their tents. The next day they were ranged in like order, and struck a battail exceeding the proportion of their number: for on each side there were not above three thousand foot, and upon a hundred horse: but they were even matched not in number only and armour, but also in equal courage and hope alike. The Achaei first passed over the said brook, and charged upon the Agrians: afterwards the whole army ran as one would say, over the River. The fight continued long doubtful. The Achaei being of themselves in number a thousand, disordered some four hundred of the other, and forced them to retreat, and afterwards the entire right point of the battail began to shrink and give ground. As for the Macedonians, so long as their battaillon called Phalanx, kept their array and stood close together, could not possibly be stirred or removed; but after their left side was laid naked, and they began

began to reach out on all hands their long pikes against the enemy, charging them across upon the flank, they were presently troubled: and first they put themselves in disarray, afterwards they turned their backs, and last of all flung their weapons from them, and ran away for life; until they were come to *Bargilia*. Thither also was *Dinocrates* fled. The Rhodians having followed the chase as long as they had any day to see, retired into their camp. And for certain it is known, if in this train of victory they had presently made speed to *Stratonicea*, they might have been masters of the Town, and never drawn sword for it: but whiles they spent time in recovering the burrough Towns and forts of *Peraa*, they let this opportunity slip out of their hands, and lost it for ever. For in the mean space, they that lay in garrison and held *Stratonicea*, were encouraged, and took better heart. *Dinocrates* also anon with those forces of his that remained, put himself within the walls. Then was the Tower besieged and assailed, all in vain, neither could it be forced and won but by *Antiochus*, a certain time after. Thus went the affairs in *Theffalie*, in *Achaia*, and in *Asia*, much about one and the self-same time.

* Otherwise called *Tripolis*, of three cities therein.

Philip being advertised that the Dardaniens were entred within the confines of his realm, and wasted the high country of *Macedony*, albeit he saw that almost in all parts of the world unhappy fortune still followed and coursed both him and his wheresoever they were: yet esteeming it more grievous and heavy than death it self to be disseized of the possession of *Macedony* also, he made a levy in great hast out of all his cities of six thousand foot, and 500 horse; with which power of Macedonians, he suddainly surpris'd the enemy (unprovided and not aware of his coming) about *Stobi* in * *Pelagonia*. Great numbers of men were slain in conflict, but more in the fields, such as were disbanded, and ranged abroad for greediness of booty and pillage. But as many as could make means to flie more readily and easily away, never stood out the tryal of a battail, but returned home into their own countrey. Having thus put life as it were again into his men by this one expedition and exploit (a matter of no consequence to the total adventure of his whole estate) he retired himself to *Theffalonica*.

The Punick war was not atchieved and brought to an end so happily and in so good a time for the Romans (who otherwise should have warred at once both against the Carthaginians and *Philip*) but it fell out as well and in as fit a season, that *Philip* was now vanquished; just against the time that *Antiochus* in *Syria* prepared to levy war against them. For besides that the service was much more easily managed against them single and apart, than it would have been if they had banded both at once, and brought their forces together, it chanced also that *Spain* about the very same instant brake out to a tumultuous insurrection.

* Bora, or Bo-calbalber.

* *Turcomania*, and *Finichia*.

Antiochus being returned to *Antioch* there to winter, after he had the summer before brought under his subjection all the Cities belonging to *Prolomanus*, within the country of * *Cale-Syria*, was yet never the more at quiet, and mindfull of peace afterwards. For when he had assembled a puissant power both of Land and also of Sea-forces, and purposed to employ the whole strength of his realm, he sent afore by Land in the beginning of the spring, his two sons *Arduus* and *Mithridates* with a mighty army, commanding them to attend him at *Sardis*: himself in person set forth a Voyage by Sea, with a fleet of a hundred sail of covert ships with decks and hatches, besides two hundred lighter Vessels, as *Galions* and *Brigantins*, purposing at one time to assay all the Cities in * *Cilicia* and *Caria*, coasting along the Sea side, which were within the Dominion of *Prolomanus*: and withal to aid *Philip* as well with shipping as souldiers, for as yet *Philip* was not utterly subdued, nor the war with him brought to a final end. Many brave and worthy exploits enterprised the Rhodians both by Sea and Land, in their loyalty and faithfulness to the Romans, and for the safeguard and defence of all the Greekish Nation. But no one thing shewed their magnificence more than this, that being nothing terrified at that time with such a World of wars threatned against them, they sent Embassadors to the King, to let him understand, that if he failed forward and stayed not his Armado, they would encounter him at the Bay of *Nepheleis* (which is a promontory or Cape of *Cilicia*, renowned for the ancient league of the Athenians.) And this they did, not upon any hatred they bare to his person, but to impeach him only for coming to join with *Philip*, thereby to hinder the Romans in their good course of setting *Greece* at liberty. At the same time *Antiochus* was busied in the siege and assault of *Coracesum*, against which he had placed all ordnance and engins of battery: for he was already master of the Cities of * *Zephyrium*, *Soli*, * *Aphrodisias* and * *Corycus*, and having doubled the point of * *Anemurium* (a Cape or forland also of *Cilicia*) he had won likewise the City of * *Selinus*. All these, and many other forts of that coast being yeilded unto him by composition, either for fear or willingly, without any assault, only *Coracesum* shut their gates against him, and staid his progress beyond his expectation. There the Embassadors of the Rhodians had audience. And albeit that embassie was such as might have set a King into a fit of choler and chafed his blood, yet he tempred his anger, and made answer that he would send his Embassadors to *Rhodes*, and give them in charge to renew the ancient rights and privileges as well of his own as of his ancestors with that City and State, and to will them not to stand in fear of the Kings coming, for that neither they nor any allies of theirs should sustain harm or damage by him. For it was no part of his meaning to infringe and break the amity which he had with the Romans, as it may appear as well by his late embassie sent unto them, as also by the honorable decrees and answers made by the Senat and sent unto him. For it fortuned that even then the Embassadors of King *Antiochus* were returned from *Rome*, having had a friendly audience there, and a gracious dispatch, according as the time required:

* *Scandoloro*.
* *S. Theodoro*.
* *Curcu*, or
* *Charachisar*.
* *Stalemus*.
* *Isteno*.

As quitted for as yet the issue of the war against Philip was uncertain. While the Kings Ambassadors delivered these points in the assembly of the Rhodians, there arrived a post with news, that the war was ended by means of a victory achieved by the Romans against Philip at Cynoscephale. The Rhodians being once heard, the Rhodians past all fear now of Philip were of advice to meet at sea with their navy. For they had a second care besides which they neglected not, to maintain the liberty of those allied Cities pertaining to King Ptolemy, against which war was menaced from Antiochus. Some they succoured with sending aid unto them, and others by force and giving them warning of the designments and enterprises of their enemies: whereby they were enabled, that the Cnethi, Mandii, they of Halicarnassus and Samos enjoyed still their ancient freedom. But needles it is for me, to prosecute all the occurrences and affairs that passed in these parts, considering how I shall have enough to do, and hardly be able to set down and go through with those that properly concern the Roman war. At the same time also King Antiochus was brought sick from Thobes to Pergamus, and there departed this world in the seven and twentieth year of his age, when he had reigned forty four. This man was beholden to fortune for nothing else but riches, that might commend him to the hope of a kingdom. He employed the same with such wisdom and magnificence, that first in his own conceit, and afterwards in the judgment of others, he was not thought unworthy to be a King. Afterwards when he had vanquished in one battle the Gauls (a nation at that time newly arrived in Asia, and therefore the more dread and terrible) he took upon him to be stiled King, and ever after carried a mind answerable to the grandeur and Majesty of that name. His own subjects he governed with singular justice. To his allies he shewed himself most fast and faithfull. His friends he used with all kindness and bounty. A wife and four children he had living when himself died: and left his kingdom so full and well settled, that the possession thereof continued firm to the third descent and generation after him.

The commendation of King Antiochus.

While things stood thus in Asia, Greece, and Macedonia, and the war with Philip scarcely ended, or at leastwise peace not fully concluded, there arose a mighty war in the Province of Spain beyond the river Iberus. M. Helvius at that time was governor there, who by his letters advertised the Senat. That Colcas and Luscinus, two Princes in those parts, were gone out, and had taken arms: that with Colcas there banded seventeen towns, and with Luscinus the strong and puissant Cities Carde and Bardo: that the whole sea coast, which hitherto by open revolt shewed not their rebellious heart, would doubtless upon the commotion of those their neighbours, make likewise an insurrection together with them. After these letters were read by M. Sergius the Prator, who had the jurisdiction between Citizens and aliens, the LL. of the Senat ordained, that after the election of new Prators was past, he to whose lot the government of Spain fell, should propose unto the Senat in all convenient speed as touching the war in Spain.

About that very time the Consuls repaired to Rome, (from their Provinces) who held an assembly of the Senat in the Temple of Bellona: and when they demanded triumph in consideration of their good service, and happy exploits in war achieved: C. Atinius Labeo and C. Ursinius Tribunes of the Commons required, That the Consuls should speak severally by themselves concerning triumph: for suffer them they would not jointly to propound that thing in the house to the end, that equal and semblable honour should not be conferred upon persons of unlike quality, worth, and desert. And when Minutius interred again and said, That the Province of Italy fell unto them both in one commission, and Cornelius seconded him withall, averring, That he and his companion in government had managed all their affairs with one mind by common counsell and advice: that the Boians who passed over the river Po against him for to succour the Istubrians, and Cenomans, were forced to turn back again to defend their own, by reason that the other Consul his Colleague made such waste and pillage in their fields and villages. The Tribunes confessed, that Cornelius indeed had achieved so worthy exploits in war, that there was no more doubt to be made of his triumph, than of sending praise and thanks to the immortal gods: but neither he nor any other Citizen stood ever at any time in such grace, favour, and credit, that having obtained the honour of a triumph for himself, he should impart that glory unto his Colleague and fellow, if he were so shameless as to crave it. As for Q. Minutius (say they) he made some slight skirmishes with the Ligurians not worth the talking of: many in France he lost a good number of his soldiers. And with that they named T. Juventius and Cneus the brother of Labeo, two Colonels of Tribunes of the camp, who were slain in an unfortunate battle, with many a brave and hardy man besides as well Citizens as allies. And to conclude, there were some few towns and villages colourably yielded and rendered up for the time, without any assistance and security. These janglings and debates between the Consuls and the Tribunes continued for two months: but in the end, the Consuls being overcome with the importunity of the Tribunes, were content to propose the matter distinctly by themselves. And with the generall voice and record of all, a triumph was decreed for Cn. Cornelius. The Placentins also and men of Cremona, were a great cause that this Consul found more favour: by reason that they gave thanks, and reported on his behalf, that they were delivered by his good means from the siege, yea, and most of them recovered from servitude out of the hands of their enemies. Q. Minutius having only once proffered and made an assay of proposing his cause to the Senat, seeing them wholly banded and set against him, did aloud, That in maintenance of Consular authority, and by verue of

* In token
that they were
by him freed
from captivity.

encommes de T.
and to consub
warr.

that place, yea, and according to the good examples of divers noble and renowned personages, he would triumph, and take them no leave in the mount *Alban*. But *Q. Quinctius* whilst he was still in office, triumphed over the *Insubrians* and *Canonians*. He carried in pomp before him a number of military ensignes, he caused great store of French spoil and pillage to pass in a pageant upon chariots taken from the enemies. Many Noblemen of France were led in a shew before his own triumphant chariot: among whom (as some write) was *Amilcar* General of the *Carthaginians*. But above all others, the goodliest sight was, a number of Colonies and inhabitants of *Cremona* and *Placentia*, who with bonets or caps of liberty on their heads followed his chariot. He bare in triumph 237500 Sesterces, 7900 Bigats of silver coin; He divided among his horsemen seventy Asles apeece, to every horseman he gave double, and to each Centurion treble so much. *Q. Metellus* likewise triumphed in mount *Alban* over the *Ligurians* and the *Boians* in *Gandy*. The honour of this triumph as it was less, in regard of the place, and of the name that went of his acts, as also because all men knew full well, that the charges went not out of the common Chest or Chamber of the City: so for number of ensignes, of chariots and spoils gained from the enemies, it was in manner equal and comparable to the other. And of money he brought well near as much as *Cornelius*: for of brass coin he had in shew 254000 Asles, of silver coin in Bigat peeces 52000. To common souldiers or footmen, to Centurions and horsemen, he gave as much as his Colleague. After this triumph there was a generall assembly held for the election of Magistrates: wherein were created Consuls, *L. Furius Purpurio*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*. The next day after these Prators were chosen, *Q. Fabius Buteo*, *T. Sempronius Longus*, *Q. Minucius Thermus*, *M. Atilius Glabrio*, *L. Apustius Fullo*, and *C. Lelius*.

In the end of that former year, letters came from *T. Quintius* with this intelligence, That he had fought in battell ranged with King *Philip* within *Theffaly*, where the army of the enemies was defeated and put to rout. These letters were first read in the Senat by *Sergius* the Prator, and then by order from the LL. in the publike assembly of the people. For this happy successe, it was obtained, That there should be solemn processions for five daies. Shortly after, there arrived Embassadors both from *T. Quintius*, and also from the King. The Macedonian Embassadors were brought without the City to the place or hamlet called *Villa publica*, where they were appointed their lodging, rich presents were given them, and allowed they were the charges for themselves and their train. In the Temple of *Bellona* the Senat was assembled, where there passed not many words by reason that the Macedonians promised, That the King should perform whatsoever the L. Senat would see down. So (according to the ancient custome and manner) there were appointed ten Committees or Delegates, by whose advice and counsell *T. Quintius* the Generall, was to present and tender unto *Philip*, articles and conditions of peace: provided, that in the said number of Delegates, *P. Sulpitius* and *P. Valerius* should be comprised by name; who when they were Consuls governed the Province of *Macedony*. The same day, the Consuls demanded and made suit, That the number of their Colonies or inhabitants might be augmented: whereupon an order was granted, That there should be a thousand new enrolled to the former: with this proviso, that in this number none of them should be matriculated, who after the Consulship of *P. Sulpitius* and *P. Villius* had been enemies to the people of *Rome*. The Roman games and plaies were that year exhibited as well in the *Circus* as upon the stage in the Theatre, by the *Ediles Curule* *L. Cornelius Scipio*, and *Cn. Manlius Vulso*: which, as they were set out with more state and magnificence than ever before, so they were beheld with more joy, contentment, and pleasure, in regard that all things fell out so fortunatly in the wars: and they were renewed and represented all thrice over. As for the plaies called *Plébeis*, they were set forth no less than seven times one after another. *Atilius Glabrio* and *C. Lelius* exhibited those pastimes: who also of their silver that arose of fines and forfeitures, caused three cast images of bras to be made, and erected them to the honour of *Ceres*, *Liberty*, and *Liberty*.

* Varr.

Now when *L. Furius* and *M. Claudius Marcellus* were entred into their Magistracy, and after question made concerning their Provinces, the Senat passed a decree, That both of them jointly should govern *Italy*: they requested that they might cast lots for *Macedony* and *Italy* together. *N. Marcellus* more desirous of the twain of the Province of *Macedony*, alledged, that the peace was not found but counterfeit, pretended, and deceitfull; and that the King would take arms and war again, in case the army were withdrawn from thence: by which words he put the LL. of the Senat into a deep study and suspence, what to do, or to think of it. And haply the Consuls had obtained their request, but that *Q. Martius Rex*, and *C. Atinius Labeo*, two Tribunes of the Commons, protested, that they would oppose themselves and cross it by their negative voice, unless they might first propose unto the people to know, Whether their will and pleasure was to entertain peace with King *Philip*, or no? This bill being preferred and read in the Capiroll before the people, was granted, and all the tribes or wards, even five and thirty, every one gave their affirmative voice, *Ut rogastis* [i.e. So be it as ye demanded.] And to the end, that all men might have more cause to rejoyce that peace was confirmed with *Macedony*, there came heavy news out of *Spain*, and letters were divulged abroad, containing thus much, That *C. Sempronius Tuditanus* the Vice-Prator in the hither Province of *Spain*, was vanquished in battell, that his army was discomfited and put to flight, and divers men of name and mark slain. That *Tuditanus* himself was carried forth of the conflict grievously wounded, and soon after died. The Province of *Italy* was assigned for both the Consuls with those two legions which the former Consuls had in charge, and order

A order granted, that they should levy and enroll four new legions, whereof two should be sent whither it pleased the Senat to appoint; And *T. Quintius Flaminius* was commanded to rule his Province still with the same army, and his Commission of longer government was renewed. After this, the Prætors cast lots for the parting of their Provinces. *L. Apustius Fullo* obtained the jurisdiction of the Citizens of *Rome*, and *M. Acilius Glabrio* was *L. Chief Justice* between Citizens and forrainers. *Q. Fabius Buteo* had the government of the base or farther *Spain*, and *Q. Minutius Thermus* of the higher or hither *Spain*. To *C. Lælius* fell *Sicily*, and *Sardinia* to *T. Sempronius Longus*. And ordained it was, that unto *Q. Fabius Buteo*, and *Q. Minutius*, to whom the rule of the Provinces in *Spain* befell, the Consuls should out of those four legions which they had enrolled, deliver one legion apeece, which they thought good and of allies and of the Latine nation, four thousand footmen besides, and three hundred horsemen to either of them. And these Prætors were enjoined to go to their charges with all speed possible.

The war in *Spain* began afresh, in the fifth after that the former together with the Punick war was ended. But before that these Prætors went forth to this war (which may be counted as it were new, in regard that the Spaniards now first, and never before, warred in their own proper name, without either leader or army of *Carthage*) and before that the Consuls themselves departed out of the City, order was given, that according to the old custome they should provide for the prodigious tokens that were reported. *L. Julius* as he rode on horseback into the Sabins country, was both himself and his horse under him stricken dead with lightning. The temple of *Feronia* in the territory of *Capena*, was likewise smitten and blasted from heaven. At the Temple of *C. Moneta*, the Iron heads of two spears were sent to burn on a light fire. A Wolfe happened to enter into the City at the gate *Esquilina*, and ran through the most populous part thereof as far as unto the market place, and so forward to the Tuscan street, and from thence through the *Melium*, and passed forth again at the gate *Capena* untouched, and in manner without taking any harm.

These prodigious signs were purged by the sacrifices of greater beasts. At the same time *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus*, who had governed the Province of high *Spain* before *Tuditanus*, entered the City by order from the Senat in a kind of triumph, and carried before him in pomp 1515 pound weight of gold: of silver likewise in bullion 20000 pound weight; and in coin 34550 deniers. *L. Sturtinius* from the nether *Spain*, brought into the treasury 50000 pound weight of silver, and never pretended any hope that he had to obtain a triumph. Moreover, of the prizes and spoiles won from the enemies, he caused two arches to be erected in the beast market, even before the Temple of *Fortune*, and the goddess *Matuta*: and one besides in the grand Cirque or shew-place. And upon these arches he set up gilded Statues. These were all the affairs, to speak of, that passed this winter-season.

These wintered at that time in *Athens* *Quintius*. And among many other suiters that came unto him with their petitions, the *Bæotians* exhibited a request, and obtained the same, to wit, that as many of their nation as had served in the wars under *Philip*, might be restored and sent home again unto them: which was easily granted by *Quintius*, not so much, for that he thought them worthy of that favour, but because he was to win the love and affections of the States in *Greece* unto the Roman name, now especially that he had some doubt of King *Antiochus*. They were not delivered so soon, but seen it was, how little the *Bæotians* would be beholding to him for it. For they sent presently unto *Philip*, and gave him thanks for the rendering of those men, as if they had been delivered by him, and not by *Quintius* and the Romans. And in their next assembly generall for their solemn election, they chose one *Barcillus* for their *Bæotarches*, or Lord governor of *Bæotia*; for no other reason, but because he had been the Colonell of those *Bæotians* that bare arms for the King: but they passed by *Zenippus Pistratus*, and others, that had persuaded to make a league with the Romans. This wrought discontentment in these persons for the present, and fear for the time to come. For thus they reasoned with themselves, If they would do thus while the Roman army lay encamped near to their gates, what should become of them when the Romans were departed into *Italy*, and whiles *Philip* was so near at hand to assist those that sided with him, and to annoy those of the adverse part and faction? Therefore they consulted and concluded in the end to make away *Barcillus*, the head of the Kings bend, whiles the Roman forces were at hand. And so chusing a convenient and fit opportunity for their purpose, at what time as he returned homeward drunk from a publike solemn feast, accompanied with certain pleasant and effeminate persons, who to make sport and mirth had been at that great feast; he was tormented and beset with six armed men, whereof three were Italians, and three *Ætolians*, and so murdered. His train that attended him ran away, and raised hue and cry, and called for help. Much trouble and hurly-burly there was throughout the City, much running to and fro with torch-light. But they that did the deed were escaped out at the next gate. In the morning beimes the people in great number assembled in the Theater, being called together by the voice of the common Beadle, as if the murderers had been detected. Openly it was in every mans mouth, that he was killed by his own retinue, even those filthy wanton persons that he had about him: but secretly in their minds they deemed *Zenippus* the author of the murder. For the present it was thought good to apprehend them that were in his train, and that they should be examined. While search was made for them, *Zenippus* came forth into the assembly, with the like intent to overturn all suspicion of crime from himself, saying, that men were much deceived to think that so horrible and strange a murder was committed by such weaklings & persons as they were.

This he argued and discoursed by many likelihoods and probabilities to the same effects by which H means some were verily perswaded, that if himself had been guilty of the fact, he would never have offered and presented himself in the face of the assembly, or broached any words at all of the murder; especially when no man urged him thereto. Others there were again, who made no doubt, but by this impudent face, his drift was to prevent an accusation, and to turn away all suspicion from himself. The innocent and guiltless creatures within a while after being examined upon the rack and tortured, knowing what was the general opinion and conceit of men, made their use of the same for to bolt out and reveal the fact; and so they named *Zensippus* and *Pisistratus* for the principals; without any presumption or light given how they should seem to come to the knowledge of any thing. Howbeit *Zensippus* accompanied with one *Stramonidas* fled by night to *Tanagra*, fearing the remorse and prick of his own conscience more than the appeaching and information of those persons who neither were party nor privy to any thing. But *Pisistratus* making no regard of these accusers, remained still at *Thebes*. Now had *Zensippus* one bondslave, (whose hand was in all this action, and had been a courier between) whom *Pisistratus* feared that he would bewray him, and by that very fear caused him to open and declare the whole matter. He dispatched therefore his letters unto *Zensippus*, advising him to rid that slave out of the way, who was privy to their dealing; advertising him, that in his conceit he was not so meet to conceal the thing now done, as he was a fit instrument at the time to execute the same. The bearer of these letters he straightly charged to deliver them unto *Zensippus* immediately with all speed. But he, because he could not spy a convenient time to meet with him himself, gave the letters to the very same slave, whom he supposed to be most fast and trusty to his Master: adding moreover, and saying, That they came from *Pisistratus* unto *Zensippus*, and imported matter of great consequence. The bond slave promised to deliver them incontinently, but being touched in conscience, he was so bold as to break them open; and when he had read them through, he fled back in great fear to *Thebes* (where he bewrayed *Pisistratus*). *Zensippus* troubled in spirit for the flight of his bondman, retired himself to *Athens*, supposing it a place of more security to live in, as a banished man. As for *Pisistratus*, after he had been divers times examined upon the rack, was put to death in the end. This murder wondrously estranged the Thebans and Boeotians, and set their hearts against the Romans; inasmuch as they hated and detested them to death, taking great indignation that *Zensippus* (a principall and chief personage of their nation) had committed so foul and hainous a fact. To rebell in open terms, they had neither force sufficient to maintain them, nor a principall head I to direct and lead them. Whereupon they fell to that which is next cousin to plain war, even to thieving and robbing by the high waieside, in such sort, as they surprized as well some soldiers who lodged near unto them, and were their guests, as others that wandered and ranged abroad from the garrisons in winter time, and travelled about their affairs, who otherwhiles were caught up by the way, and came short home. Some passengers were killed in the port-rode-waies, by those that lay in wait for them in notorious thievish corners: others were trained and led deceitfully through by-lanes into desert places, there to take up their innes and lodging, and then were murdered. At length they plaid these pranks, not only of malice unto them, but also for greedy desire of booty and spoil, by reason that commonly these waifaring men went about their trade and merchandise, and therefore had some charge about them, and carried silver in their belts. M Now when as at first there were some out of the way, and every day more than other many men missing, and no man knew what was become of them, all *Boetia* began to have an ill name, and the soldiers were more affraid to travell there, than in the enemies country. Then *Quintius* sent certain Embassadors to all the Cities for to make complaint of these robberies and enormities. Many footmen there were found dead about the mear or lake *Copais*, where their carcases were raked forth of the mud and mire, and drawn out of the standing water, tied and fastned as they were to heavy stones or some great vessels, that by their poise they might be plunged, and sink to the bottom. Many such like outrages were found to have been committed at *Acraphea* and *Coronea*. *Quintius* at the first demanded to have the offenders delivered unto him, and for five hundred soldiers (for so many were caught up by the way and murdered) he enjoined the Boeotians to make payment of five hundred talents of silver. But the Cities would do neither the one nor the other: only they paid with bare words, and excused themselves in that nothing had been done by publike warrant or counsell from the State. Whereupon the Embassadors were sent to *Athens*, and into *Achaia*, to make protestation unto their allies, that they would pursue the Boeotians with open war upon good ground and just cause offered. And so after he had given commandment unto *P. Claudius* to go unto *Acraphea* with one part of his forces, himself with the other set him down about *Coronea*, and planted siege unto it. But first the territory was laid waste, all the way as the two armies marched from *Elania* in divers quarters. The Boeotians plagued with these losses and calamities, seeing nothing but fear and flight in every place, sent their Embassadors unto him; but when they could not be admitted into the camp, the Achæans and the Athenians were O fain to come with them. The Achæans were of greater credit, to entreat in their behalf: for unless they might obtain pardon and peace for the Boeotians, they determined also to enter into the quarrel, and to make war themselves. By whose mediation the Boeotians had access unto the Roman Generall, and audience granted. Who after they were enjoined to deliver up the offenders and malefactors to Justice, and to pay thirty talents for amends and satisfaction, obtained peace: and so the siege was raised.

* *Stramuzupa*.* *Lago Bivo*.

After

A After some few daies, the ten Delegates or Committees from Rome were arrived, by whose advice and counsell peace was articulated and capitulated with King Philip upon these conditions: *Imprimis*, That all the Greek Cities, as well in Europe as in Asia, should enjoy their liberty, and live under their own laws. *Item*, That Philip should withdraw his garrisons out of as many of them as had been in subjection under him. *Item*, That he do the like by those which were in Asia, to wit, *Eurymus, Pedusa, Bargylla, Iassus, Myrinus, Abydus, Thassus, and Perinthus*: all which, the Romans required to be free. As concerning the liberty and freedom of the *Cyans*, it was covenanted, That *Quintus* should write his letters to *Prusias* the King of Bithynians, giving him to understand the advice and pleasure of the Senat, and the ten Delegates aforesaid. *Item*, That Philip render all the prisoners and fugitive traitors to the Romans, and yield up all the covered ships with hatches: and over and besides, one huge royall Gallie or Argosy, which by reason of the exceeding bigness was unweildy and offitile use, and was disarmed with sixteen banks of oars on a side. *Item*, That he should not have above five hundred men in arms, nor one Elephant at all. *Item*, That he should not war (but by leave and permission of the Senat) without the marches of *Macedony*. *Item*, That he pay unto the people of Rome a thousand talents, the one half in hand, and the other at ten payments, within the term of ten years. *Valerius Antias* writeth moreover, that there was imposed upon him a tribute of four thousand pound weight of silver yearly, for ten years: and besides, twenty thousand pound weight presently. The same author saith, that expressly it was capitulated, that Philip should not war at all with *Eumenes* the son of *Attalus*, who was newly come to the crown. For the assurance of these covenants, there were received hostages, and amongst them *Demetrius* King Philip his son; *Valerius Antias* hath written moreover, that the Island *Agina*, and certain Elephants were given in pure gift to *Attalus* in his absence: and that upon the Rhodians was bestowed *Syracomea*, a City in *Caria*, with other Cities also which Philip had possessed. To conclude, that the Athenians received of free gift these Isles following, to wit, *Paros, Imbros, Delos, and Scyros*.

When all the States of *Greece* approved and thought well of this peace, only the *Aeolians* secretly muttered & found fault with this order set down by ten Delegates aforesaid: giving out, that they were but bare letters and vain words, shadowed with a counterfeit apparance of liberty. For to what end, say they, should some Cities be delivered to the Romans, and those not named? others again be named, and yet order taken, that they without delivery should be free? but only for this purpose, that those Cities which are in Asia should be set free, because they be far off and therefore in more safety; but those that are in *Greece*, being not precisely named, should be spoiled upon by them, to wit, *Corinth, Chalcis, and Oronum*, with *Eretria*, and *Demetrias*. And to say a truth, this finding fault of theirs was not altogether frivolous, and without occasion given: for some doubt there was of *Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias*: because in the order and act of the Senat, by vertue whereof those ten Delegates aforesaid were sent from the City, all other Cities of Asia and of *Greece* were doubtless in plain terms freed: but as touching these three before named, the Delegates had in commission to take order, as they should see it stand with the good of the Common-wealth, according to their own judgment and discretion, and the trust that was committed unto them. For well they wist that King *Antiochus* would pass over into Europe, so soon as ever he could bring his affairs about to his mind; and unwilling they were on any hand, that these Cities to commodious for his designs, should lie open and ready to his hand for to seize upon at his pleasure. So *Quintus* together with the ten Delegates sailed from *Elaia* to *Anticyra*, and from thence to *Corinth*, where they held their Council and consulted of their affairs. *Quintus* would very often say unto them, That all *Greece* might be delivered and set at liberty, if they could refrain the tongues of the *Aeolians*: if they were willing that their good affection should be deemed sincere, and the majesty of the Roman name maintained among all: finally, if they would pretend and make it known abroad, that they were passed the seas to set *Greece* free, and not after they had shaken off the seignory of Philip, to translate it unto themselves. The other again contradicted nothing as touching the liberty of those Cities: howbeit, they made remon-
F rance, that it was the safer course for them, to remain awhile under the protection and safeguard of the Romans, than that instead of Philip they should receive *Antiochus* for their Lord. In conclusion decreed it was, That *Corinth* should be rendered to the *Achzans*, but yet so, that there should be a Roman garrison in the highest quarter of the City called *Acrocorinthus*. *Item*, That *Chalcis* and *Demetrias* should be retained still, untill such time as they were no more in fear and doubt of *Antiochus*.

Now approached the ordinary solemnity of the Isthmian games, unto which at all times usually there was great recourse of people, as well in regard of the naturall disposition of that nation (desirous to see such sports and pastimes, wherein was represented the trial of masteries in all kind of arts, in all feats either of mere strength, or of agility and nimbleness of the body) as also in respect of the commodious feat of the place: wherunto from all parts of *Greece* they repaired
G thither by two divers and sundry seas. But being amused in expectation to know what the estate of *Greece*, and what their own particular condition would be hereafter, divers men not only deviled secretly with themselves, but also gave out and whispered in their speech and talk. Well, the Romans were set to behold this solemnity: and the publike Crier with a trumpetter went forth into the midst of the Cirque or show-place, from whence the manner was to proclaim the sports and games aforesaid in a solemn set form of words: and after he had by sound of trumpet
made

made silence, he pronounced with a loud voice in this manner, "Be it known unto all men, that the H
 "Senat of Rome, and T. Quintius the General of their army, having vanquished King Philip and
 "the Macedonians, do ordain, that the Corinthians, the Phocensians, and the Locrenians, be all
 "free, and delivered from all taxes whatsoever, and to live according to their own laws, *Item*, That
 "the Isle *Eubœa*, the Magnesians, Thessalians, Perrhebiens, Achæans, and Phthiotians do enjoy the
 "like freedom and immunity. And consequently here rehearsed all the nations which had been in
 "subjection to Philip. Upon this proclamation of the beadle there was such joy, that men were
 not able to conceive and comprehend it. Every man could hardly believe that he had heard the
 thing which he so wished and desired afore to hear: one looked upon another wondering at the
 matter, as if it had been a vain vision or illusion of some dream: and well they trusted not their own
 ears in hearing that which particularly concerned every one, but enquired of them that stood next
 unto them. The Crier was called back again: such a desire had each one not only to hear the glad
 tidings, but also to behold the happy messenger of this their liberty: and no remedy there was, but
 once again he must publish and pronounce the same. Now when their joy was once confirmed,
 they set up such a shout, and followed it so with clapping of hands, redoubling the same so often,
 as evidently it appeared, how there is no earthly good in the world more pleasing and welcome
 unto a multitude than is liberty. After this, the games were performed in such haste, that neither
 the mind of any man was bent to intend, nor the eye busied to behold the sight thereof, so wholly
 had that one joy possessed them and forestalled the sense of all other pleasures and delights. But
 when the pastimes were once ended, they all in manner ran apace to the Roman General, in such
 sort, that his person was in some danger of the multitude, crowding so hard upon him alone, for
 desire they had to come unto him, to touch his right hand, and to cast garlands of flowers and la-
 bels of sundry colours upon him: but being a man fast upon three and thirty years of age, both
 the vigour of youth, and also the joy that he took for the accomplishment of so glorious an act,
 afforded him strength enough to abide the press of the people. This gladness of all men shewed it
 self not only for the present, but continued also for many daies space, entertained not only in
 thankful minds, but expressed also in joyful discourses: namely, "That there was one nation yet in
 "the world, which at their proper cost and charges, with their own pain and perill made war for
 "the freedom of others: who afforded this favour and pleasure not to the neighbours and bor-
 "derers only, or to those that were joyned near to them in the continent and firm land, but pas-
 "sed over the seas to the end, that throughout the whole world there should be no unjust and
 "tyrannical government, but in all places, right, reason, and law, might prevail most and carry
 "the greatest sway. Lo, how by the only voice of one Beadle all the Cities of Greece and Asia are set
 "free. To conceive and enterprise so great a thing proceedeth from a brave mind and noble heart:
 "but to effect the same is a singular vertue and rare felicity."

This done, Quintius and the ten Delegates gave audience to the embassages of divers Kings and
 Princes, Nations and States. And first of all others were the Embassadors of King Antiochus cal-
 led in: who used the same speech in manner that they had at Rome, vinting great words without
 any ground and substance of credit. But answer was returned unto them, not covertly by way of
 circumstance as aforetime (when Philip was on foot, and things stood doubtfull) but openly in
 plain terms, *Inprimis*, That Antiochus must quit and abandon all the Cities of Asia, which belong-
 ed at any time either to King Philip or King Ptolemæus; *Item*, That he meddle not with any free
 City or State, and especially with those of Greece: but above all, warned he was and forbidden,
 either to pass over himself, or to send any forces into Europe. After the Kings Embassadors were
 licensed to depart, all the nations and states had a generall session and meeting together, which
 was the sooner dispatched, for that in the decrees of the ten Delegates all the Cities and States
 were pronounced by name. Unto the Orestians (a people in Macedonia) for that they revoked
 first from the King, their own lands and priviledges were restored. The Magnesians, the Perrhebi-
 ans and Dolopians were likewise declared free. Unto the people of Thessaly over and above the
 grant of their liberty, the Phthiotian Achæans were annexed, excepting the City of Thebes in
 Phthia and Pharsalus. As for the Etolians who required, that according to covenant Pharsalus
 and Leucas should be rendred unto them, they were put over unto the Senat. But they awarded
 them the Phocensians and Locrenses, with other appertenances adjoyned before by vertue of the
 decree. Corinth, Triphylia, and Heræa (which also is a City of Peloponnesus) were rendred unto the
 Achæans. Moreover these ten Delegates gave Orestum and Eretria unto Eumenes the son of Atta-
 lus, but by reason that Quintius would not agree thereto, the matter was referred over to the Se-
 nat for to be decided: and the Senat granted freedom unto these Cities, together with Carissus.
 Unto Pleurani were freely given Lingus and Parthenium, which were two nations in Thracum,
 and had been both subject to Philip. It was ordained also, that Aminander should hold those
 Castles still, which during the wars he had won from Philip. When the assembly was dissolved,
 the ten Delegates having divided between themselves their severall charges, departed every man to
 set free the Cities of their particular regions and quarters. P. Lentulus to Bargylla; L. Sertinius to
 Hephestria, Thassus, and other Cities of Thracia; P. Villius and L. Terentius toward King Antio-
 chus; and Cn. Cornelius toward Philip. Unto whom, after Cornelius had declared his Commission
 concerning some smaller matters, and withall demanded of him, Whether he could with patience
 abide to hear himself not only profitable unto himself, but also necessary? The King made answer
 again and said, That he would not only give him the hearing, but also yield him thanks besides.

A in case he would deliver ought unto him for his good. Whereupon he perswaded him earnestly, that forasmuch as he had obtained peace already, he should send his Embassadors to *Rome*, to crave league also and amity: to the end, that if *Antiochus* began to stir, he might not be thought to have attended and waited for some occasions and opportunities to make war. [This conference and communication with *Philip* was at *Tempe* in *Thessaly*.] And when he answered, That he would immediately dispatch his Embassadors: *Cornelius* came to *Thermopyla*, where a solemn Diet and assembly of all *Greece* is wont to be held upon certain set daies, and thither resort great numbers of people. Which meeting is called *Pylaeum*: where he advised the *Aetolians* especially to persevere constant and faithfull in the amity of the people of *Rome*. Some of the principall *Aetolians* seemed to complain between whiles, that the *Romans* were not so well affected to their nation after victory, as they were in time of the war: but others, more sharply blamed and reproached them, yea, and upbraided them with this, That *Philip* could not have been vanquished no, nor the *Romans* ever able so much as to pass over into *Greece*, without the help of the *Aetolians*. *Cornelius* forbore to make answer again to those points, for fear of farther wrangling and altercation; and promised, that if they sent to *Rome* they should obtain any thing that was reason. Whereupon by his advice and approbation there were deputed Embassadors. This was the issue and end of the war with *Philip*.

While these affairs thus passed in *Greece*, *Macedony*, and *Asia*, all *Tuscan* in manner was gone out and risen up in arms, by occasion of a conspiracy of bondslaves. For to enquire into these troubles and to repress the same, there was sent *M. Acilius* a Praetor (who had the civill jurisdiction between Citizens and aliens) with one of the two legions of Roman Citizens. Some of them, who were already assembled together and grown to an head, he overcame in fight: of whom many were slain, and many taken prisoners. Others he scourged and round trussed up, hanging them on gibbets, even as many as were the principall and chief of the conspiracy: and others there were whom he sent home again to their Masters.

Now the Consuls were gone into their Provinces. *Marcellus* so soon as he was entred into the marches of the *Boii*, and had over-wearied his souldiers with marching all day long, laid him down upon a certain rising of a hill, and there as he was encamping himself and his men, *Corolamus* a Prince or great Lord of the *Boii*, with a mighty power assailed and charged him, and slew upon three thousand of his men. In which sudden and tumultuary skirmish, certain brave men D of mark were slain; among whom were *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, and *M. Junius Syllanus* two Colonels of the allies: also *A. Ogulnius* and *P. Claudius* two Knight Marshals or Tribunes of the second legion. Howbeit the *Romans* strongly fortified their tents and defended them valiantly, which the enemies upon their fortunat victory had long assailed to no effect. And in the same standing camp he continued certain daies, whiles he cured his souldiers of their wounds, and recovered their hearts after so great a fright. The *Boii* (as they are a nation that of all things cannot endure any tedious delay of time) dispersed themselves into their towns and forts. Then *Marcellus* presently crossed the *Po*, and led his army into the territory of *Comum*, where the *Insubrians* lay encamped after they had solicited and caused those of * *Comum* to take arms. The legions E charged them so hotly, that they forced the forefront of the battell to give ground. Which when *Marcellus* perceived, fearing lest being once discovered they should be repulsed and discomfited, he made a cohort of *Mansians* to make head: and at once set forth all the troops of the *Latine* Cavalry against them. Their first and second charge both, mightily impeached and quailed the enemy, advancing forward lustily and pressing upon them in great fury: whereby the rest of the *Roman* army taking heart again and being encouraged, at the first received them manfully and made resistance only, but afterwards followed fiercely upon them: insomuch as the *Gauls* were able no longer to abide their violence, but turned their backs, took them to their heels, and ran away by heaps. *Valerius Antius* writeth, that in this battell there were forty thousand men slain and above five hundred and seven military ensignes taken, with 432 chariots: besides many chains F of gold, whereof *Claudius* presented one (very massie above the rest and of great weight) unto *Jupiter*, which was hung up within the Temple in the Capitoll, as he writeth. The same day was the Camp of the *Gauls* forced and ransackt, and the town of *Comum* also within few daies taken by assault. Upon this there were eight and twenty boroughs or forts that fell away and revolted to the Consul. But the Historiographers agree not upon this, Whether the Consul led his forces against the *Insabrians* first, or the *Boians*; and whether he raised out the dishonour of a former foil and defeat by a fortunate victory in this battell: or contrariwise, after a prosperous fight achieved before *Comum*, he blotted and defaced the same with a shamefull overthrow received at the *Boians* hand.

During this variable and alternative fortune, *L. Purpurio* the other Consul, marched into G the *Boians* Country through the tribe *Sappinia*. And when he was approached near to a Castle called * *Mutilum*, he feared lest he should be enclosed and intercepted by the *Boians* and *Ligurians*; whereupon he retired with his forces the same way that he came, and fetching a great compass about through the open country in safety and security, he came at length to his Collegue. Who having joyned both their powers together, first ranged over the *Boians* territories, wasting and spoiling untill they came as far as * *Felsina*. This Town with other strong burroughs and forts, and in a manner all the *Boians* yielded themselves, save only their youth, who were up

* *Comum*.* *Mutilum*,
Blando, Modio,
ana, Leandro.* *Belogna*.

up in arms to pill and spoil, and were at that time retired unto the forests and glins out of the way. After this the army marched toward the Ligurians. The Boians making full account to assail the Roman army at unawares, which marched without good regard of themselves, and none close together (for that their enemies seemed to be far off) followed after through the blind and covert forests. But when they saw that they could not overtake them, they suddenly all at once passed over the Po in small bothoms and punts, and after they had spoiled and pilld the Levians and Libuans, as they returned from thence with a booty raised out of the country, they chanced in the utmost frontiers of Liguria, to light upon the army of the Romans in their march. Sooner and with more eagerness fell they to fight, than if they had appointed both time and place, and been prepared aforehand to strike a battell. There it well appeared, of what force anger is to prick on and sharpen mens spirits to conflict. For the Romans more greedy of murder and bloodshed, than of victory, fought so, as they scarce left the enemies one messenger to carry the news of their unhappy overthrow. In regard of these exploits, upon the Consuls letters brought to Rome, ordained it was, that there should be a solemn procession and thanksgiving to the gods for three daies. Shortly after *Marcellus* came to Rome, unto whom was granted a triumph with great content of the LL. of the Senat; and whiles he was in his Magistracy he triumphed over the Insubrians and Comians, leaving for his Colleague good hope likewise of a triumph, because himself (to say a truth) in that nation fought but unfortunately, whereas his Colleague sped well enough, and had a lucky hand. Much spoil of the enemies was carried in a pomp, upon the Chariots that were taken and won from them. Many ensigns and banners were born in a shew, besides in money, to the value of 320000 asses of brasse coin; and 234000 bigate peeces of silver. The footmen had 800000 given them apiece, every horseman and centurion had thrice as much.

The same year King *Antiochus*, whiles he kept his winter at *Ephesus*, assaied to reduce all the Cities and States of Asia unto the ancient form of government and subjection, assuring himself, that the rest would not be hard to be subdued and brought under, because the towns were either situate upon plains, or nothing well fortified with walls, and not furnished with men and munition. As for *Smyrna* and *Lampsacus*, they stood upon their freedom, and challenged it. Doubted it was, and great danger, that if he should let them go clear away so, some Cities in *Hellespontus* and *Ionis* would take after *Smyrna*, and others in *Hellespontus* follow the example of *Lampsacus*. Therefore both himself sent from *Ephesus* to lay siege unto *Smyrna*, and gave commandment, That the forces which were at *Abydus* (leaving only a small garrison behind) should be lead to the siege and assault of *Lampsacus*. And yet he threatned and terrified them not so much with forces and violence, but assaied them rather by fair means, sending to them his Embassadors, so as, partly by flattering and gentle words wherewith he entertained them, and partly by mild reproof for their rashness and obstinacy, he endeavoured to put them in some hope, that shortly they should have whatsoever they desired: and then, both they themselves, and all others should evidently see, that they had obtained their liberty by the especial grace and favour of the King, and not usurped and gained it by occasion of some advantage and opportunity. To this they answered again, That *Antiochus* ought neither to marvel, nor be offended and displeased at them, if they could not well endure the hope which they had of freedom, thus to be deferred from time to time. Then he departing from *Ephesus* in the beginning of the spring sailed unto *Hellspontus* with his fleet. His land forces he transported over to *Madytus* a City in *Chersonesus*, and joyaed them to his strength by sea. And because they shut the gates upon him, he environed the town with armed men, and when he was at the point to give the assault, and to bend his engines of battery against the walls, it was surrendered into his hands. Upon the like fear the Inhabitants also of other Cities in *Chersonesus* yielded themselves. After this he came to *Lyfimachia* with his whole power, as well of land-souldiers as sea-servitors. And finding it abandoned, ruinat, and lying (as it were) along, (for but few years before the Thracians had forced, sacked, and burnt it) he had a great desire to rear and set upright again that noble and famous City, seated in so good and commodious a place. And therefore he took great care, and employed all his endeavour to re-edifie the walls, to re-build the edifices, to redeem and ransom the Lyfimachians that were in slavery, to seek out all those that were dispersed over *Hellespontus* and *Chersonesus*; and gather them together, yea, and to enroll new inhabitants upon hope of gain and profit, and by all means possible to store and people the City again. And withall, because he would ease them of the fear they had of the Thracians, he went in person with the one half of his land-forces to waste and spoil the confines of *Thrace*; the other part with all the sea-souldiers and mariners he left hard at work about the repairing of the City.

About this time as *L. Cornelius* (being sent by the Senat to compose the controversies and variance between the two Kings, *Antiochus* and *Ptolomeus*) abode at *Selymbria*; so of the ten Commissioners above said, *P. Lentulus* departed from *Burgylla*, *P. Villius* and *L. Terentius* from *Thasus*, and arrived all three at *Lyfimachia*: where *L. Cornelius* likewise met them from *Selymbria*; and a few daies after King *Antiochus*, being newly returned out of *Thracia*, The first meeting and salutation between him and the Commissioners was friendly and courteous, yea, and there passed to and fro afterwards divers amiable kindneses and loving entertainments mutually. But when they entered once to parl of their Commission that they had in charge, and of the present State of Asia, then there was fretting and fuming and their blood up. The Roman Agenes stuck not to tell him to his face, that all that he had done, since he took the sea, and departed with his fleet out of *Syria*

was

* *Ismyr*, Leunclavio.
* *Lepseke*, Leunclavio.
* *Epheso*.

* *Maicos*.

* *Hexamili*, Sorpbiano Policastro, Nardo.

A was displeased unto the Senat, saying, "That they thought it meet, that all the Cities should be restored unto King *Ptolomeus*, which had been under his dominion. For as touching those towns, which sometime *Philip* had been possessed of, and which *Antiochus* had surprized and seized upon, taking his time and vantage, when *Philip* was employed another way in the Roman wars, it was no reason, nor a thing tolerable, that the Romans should for so many years space, by land and sea endure so great toil, and hazard such perils, and suffer *Antiochus* in the end to go away with the fruit and reward of all the service. But set the case, that the Romans would take no knowledge of his coming into *Asia*, as a matter impertinent unto them; can they dissemble also, that now he is come over into *Europe* with all his forces both for land and sea, and little wanteth of making open war upon the Romans? Mary, as for him, he will not let to deny

B that he levieth any war, although he were arrived and landed in *Italy*. To these challenges the King made answer, and said, That he law well enough and knew before, that the Romans were inquisitive and curious enough to search what King *Antiochus* ought to do, but they never once thought of their own selves, how far forth they should by right proceed, as well by land as by sea. As for *Asia*, it appertained not at all to the people of *Rome*, neither had they more reason to enquire what *Antiochus* did in *Asia*, than *Antiochus* to search into the actions of the people of *Rome* in *Italy*. As concerning *Ptolomeus*, from whom they complain, that he had taken certain Cities; he did them to understand, that there was amity between him and *Ptolomeus*, and they were now in terms of knitting themselves shortly in nearer bonds of alliance and affinity. Neither sought he the spoil of *Philip*, and to enrich himself by his adversity and misfortune: or passed o-

C ver into *Europe* against the Romans * * * But when he was vanquished once, all that ever he had, by right and law of war, became the possessions of *Seleucus*, and so consequently (as he took it) appertained unto him. And during the time, that his progenitors and predecessors, were busied and troubled with other affairs, first *Ptolomeus* caught at some things, and *Philip* after at other, and so between them they usurped and seized upon other mens possessions, and namely, of certain places near and hard by in *Thacia*, which without all controversie belonged unto *Lyfimachus*. Forto reduce which into their ancient State, he was thither come, and now was in hand to re-edifie *Lyfimachia* anew, lately destroyed by the violence of the Thracians, to the end, that *Seleucus* his son might hold it as the royall seat of his kingdom. Thus as they continued arguing and debating for certain daies, there ran a rumor, but without any certain author,

D that King *Ptolomeus* was dead: whereupon they could grow to no conclusion of all their piffles: yet they made semblance on both sides, that they heard nothing thereof. And as well *L. Cornelius*, who was sent in Embassage to both the Kings, *Antiochus* and *Ptolomeus*, requested respice of some small time to confer with *Ptolomeus*, to the end that himself might be arrived in *Egypt*: before any alteration were made in the new possession of that kingdom: as also *Antiochus* made reckoning, that *Egypt* would be his, if this good occasion then were presented unto him. Therefore having dismissed the Romans, and left his son *Seleucus* behind him with all the land-forces, for to finish the building again of *Lyfimachia* which he had begun, himself with all his fleet sailed to *Ephesus*: and having sent his Embassadors to *Quintius* to treat soberly about a league and amity, he coasted along *Asia* and so arrived in * *Lycia*. And when he heard for certain at * *Paraya* that *Ptolomeus* was

E yet living, he gave over his purpose of sailing into *Egypt*: yet nevertheless he shaped his course & set sail for *Cyprus*: and when he had doubled the point of *Chelidonium*, he staid awhile in * *Pamphylia* about the river * *Eurymedon*, by occasion of a mutiny among the mariners & oar-men. From thence he weighed anchor, and when he was sailed as far as a place called [The heads of the river * *Sarus*] there arose a gulf and fearful tempest, wherein he had like to have been cast away and drowned with all his fleet. Many of his ships were run aground, & many of them swallowed up of the sea, so as there escaped not one of them by swimming to land. A number of men there perished, not of base mariners only, and unknown common souldiers, but also of his near and special friends. Having rallied the disperied reliques of this shipwrack, seeing he had no means and was not able to reach and gain *Cyprus*, he returned again to *Seleucia*, with an army nothing so puissant nor so

F well furnished, as when he set out in his voyage. There he commanded his ships to be haled a-land, and laid up in their docks (for winter now approached) & himself took his journey to * *Antiochia*, there to lye all that winter time. And in these terms stood the affairs of the Kings.

At *Rome*, there were first instituted in this year three Triumvirs called *Epulones*, to wit, *C. Licinius Lucullus*, *T. Romuleius* (who was the man that put up the bill for their creation) and *P. Porcius Lecca*. And by a law in that behalf ordained, these Triumvirs were allowed as well as a Bishop, the long embrodered robe of purple. But in this year great debate & variance there was between the Questors or Treasurers of the City *Q. Fabius Labeo* & *L. Aurelius* of the one side, and all the Priests on the other side. These treasurers were at some fault for mony, because they were minded and appointed to make the last payment unto certain privat persons, for the loan-silver which

G they had disbursed for the wars: these monies the Treasurers demanded of the Augurs and Bishops, to furnish out the said payment: for that during the wars, they only had not been contributors in any levy. The Priests appealed to the Tribunes, and called for their lawfull favour: but all was in vain, and so they were forced to satisfie all the arterages for the years past, wherein they had paid nothing. This year there died two Bishops, and new were installed in their rooms, *M. Marcellus* the Consul entered in place of *T. Sempronius Tudicanus*, who deceased Prxtor in *Spain*; and *L. Pulvius* instead of *M. Cornelius Cotheus*. *Q. Fabius Maximus* also an Augur died a very young

Some what wanting in the Latine.

* *Bricquia*, *Giravaz*.
* *Patera*.
* *Cecilia*, where of the North part is called *Caraman*, and the rest *Scandolorum*, *Niger*.
* *Zacuth*, *Theveo*.
* *Sangro*.

* *Antiochia*, *Nigro*, *Aleppo*, *Villenovanos*

young man, before he had born any office of State: But for that year there was not substituted a new Augur in his room.

After this, *M. Marcellus* the Consul held the solemn assembly for the election of Consuls. And Consuls were created *L. Valerius Flaccus*, and *M. Porcius Cato*. Then were the Prætors chosen, namely, *C. Fabricius Luscinus*, *Cn. Atinius Labeo*, *C. Manlius Volsus*, *Ap. Claudius Nero*, *P. Manlius*, and *P. Porcius Lecca*. The Ediles of the chair *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, and *C. Flaminius* divided among the people 1000000 Modii of wheat, at two asses a Modius. This store of corn had the Sicilians brought to Rome for the honour of *C. Flaminius* and his father. And *Flaminius* was content that his companion in office should reap a full part of the thanks for this gratuity. The games called Roman were exhibited in most sumptuous manner, and thrice represented all over again. The Ediles of the Commons *Cn. Domitius Aenobarbus*, and *C. Sempronius*, who also was the high Patriarch-Priest, and Superintendent, called *Curio Max.* called in question many of the City Bailiffs that gathered their rents for pastures, judicially to answer upon their accounts before the people. Three of them were condemned, and of their silver raised upon their fines, they built the Temple of *Faunus* in the Island. The Plebeian plaies were renewed for two daies, and a solemn public feast was celebrated in regard of them.

The same day that *L. Valerius Flaccus* and *M. Porcius Cato* entred their office, they proposed unto the Senat concerning the government of the Provinces. And order was given by the LL. of the Councill, that so far as the war increased so in Spain, as required not only a Consular army, but a Consul also for the Leader; the Consuls should either agree between themselves for the government of the two Provinces, to wit, the hither Spain, and Italy, or else to cast lots therefore: That he whose hap it was to rule Spain, should have with him two legions, five thousand Latine allies, and five hundred horse; and likewise to have the conduct of a fleet of twenty galleies of war: that the other Consul should levy and enroll two legions; which were thought sufficient to defend and keep France in obedience, considering the courages of the Insularians and Boii, were well cooled and abated the last year. *Cato* by lot had the charge of Spain, and *Valerius* of Italy. Then the Prætors cast lots for their Provinces. To *C. Fabricius Luscinus* fell the jurisdiction over the Citizens of Rome: to *C. Atinius Labeo* over the strangers. *C. Manlius Volsus* governed Sicily, and *Ap. Claudius Nero* the farther Spain. *M. Porcius Lecca* was assigned to rule *Pisa*, to the end he might be upon the back of the Ligurians, and *P. Manlius* was appointed as an assistant and coadjutor to the Consul in the higher Spain. As for *T. Quintius*, his Commission was renewed for one year longer, in regard that not only *Antiochus* and the Etolians, but also *Nabis* the Lacedæmonian Tyrant, were doubted and suspected not to stand found to the Romans; and for him were set out two legions: and if need were of any supply to make up the companies thereof, the Consuls were enjoined to enroll new souldiers, and to send them over into Macedonia. Also *Appius Claudius* had a warrant to take up 2000 foot, and two hundred horse, over and above that legion which *Q. Fabius* had. The like number of fresh horse and foot was appointed for *P. Manlius* to be sent into the higher Spain: and the same legion was granted unto him, which was commanded by *Minutius* the Prætor. Moreover, *P. Porcius Lecca* was to have the leading of two hundred footmen and fifty horse, drawn out of the Gauls army, for to lie in *Hetruria* about *Pisa*. Last of all, in *Sardinia* *P. Sempronius Longus* continued still in place of command. Thus the Provinces being distributed, the Consuls before they departed out of the City, by advice and counsell of the Bishops performed the solemnity of the sacred Spring which was vowed before by the Prætor *C. Cornelius Mammula*, according to the mind of the Senat and the good liking of the people, in the year when *Cn. Servilius* and *Cn. Flaminius* were Consuls: and so it was celebrated one and twenty years after it was first vowed. Much about this time was *C. Claudius Pulcher*, the son of *Appius*, elected Augur, and invested in that Sacerdotal dignity, in the place of *Q. Fabius Maximus*, who died the year before.

When as men began now to marvel that there was so little account made of the war begun already in Spain, there were letters brought from *Q. Minutius* with news, That he had fought a fortunate field before the town of *Turba*, with *Budares* and *Besafides*, two Spanish Generals and great commanders: that he had slain twelve thousand enemies, taken *Budares* the General himself prisoner, and that the rest were discomfited and put to flight. Upon the reading of these letters, less fear there was of Spain, from whence they looked for great wars.

After the return of the ten Delegates or Commissioners abovesaid, all the care was, and no talk else but about *Antiochus* and his affairs. These men, after they had declared first how their proceeding went with King *Philip*, and upon what conditions they had granted peace, informed and gave them to understand, "That there was as great a war behind from *Antiochus*: that he had passed over the seas into Europe with a mighty Armado, and as puissant an army for land service; and had not been averted another way by a vain hope to invade and seize upon Egypt, which he conceived of a vainer bruit and rumor of *Ptolemy* his death: all Greece would have been anon on a light fire, and up in arms. For the very Etolians themselves, a nation naturally of an unquiet spirit, and incensed besides against the Romans, would not have sit still and been in rest. Moreover, there was another malady and mischief as dangerous, seated as it were within the ribs & in the very heart of Greece: to wit, *Nabis*, the tyrant at this present of the Lacedæmonians only, but shortly, if he may be let alone, of all Greece: who for avarice and cruelty is equal to all the famous and noted tyrants that ever were: and if he be suffered to posses

HA "possess himself of *Argos*, and to hold it as a fortress to command all *Peloponnesus*, when the Roman armies shall be once transported home again into *Italy*, in faith, *Greece* may make small boast of being delivered from *Philip*: for this they shall be sure of at least, if of nothing else, to have a near-neighbour tyrant, instead of a King far off, for to be their Lord and imperiously to command them. The ancient Senators, hearing these intelligences from grave persons of good quality, and who made report of all things not by hearsay, but upon their own knowledge, were of advice and resolved to have a good eye and regard with all speed unto *Antiochus*, considering the King was passed already into *Syria*, whatsoever the occasion was. But as touching the Tyrant, after they had disputed and debated the matter long time, Whether they had sufficient cause already to determine upon some final conclusion, or should refer unto the wisdom and judgement of *T. Quintus* the managing of those affairs, therein to proceed and do according as he should deem it good and expedient for the Common-wealth: in fine, they permitted him to use his own discretion concerning the Lacedaemonian Tyrant: supposing that the matter was not of such weight and consequence as to concern the main state of the weal-publike so materially, whether it were hastened or protracted; but rather it behoved them to be advised and consider well, what *Annibal* and the Carthaginians would do, if haply the war with *Antiochus* were begun and once aloof. They [at *Carthage*] that sided with the adverse faction of *Annibal*, had sent divers and sundry letters unto the principall LL. at *Rome*, every one privately to his friends to this effect. That there passed messengers and letters from *Annibal* to *Antiochus*, and that there were Embassadors again that secretly came from the King to him. And like as there be some beasts so wild and savage as never can be tamed; so the courage and spirit of that man was such, as might not possibly be dulced or appeased. For he daily complained that the City languished and grew feeble with idleness, and by sitting still and doing nothing, was overgrown as it were with moss, and impossible it was to raise and stir it up but with sound of armour and weapons. These advertisements carried likelihood of truth and good credit with them, in regard of the late war, so fresh in memory, which he alone began first, and managed to the last. Over and besides, he had provoked by a late act of his, many great and mighty personages, who set their hearts against him. The order and degree of Judges at that time bore chief sway and sovereign authority in *Carthage*: in this respect principally, for that the same Judges were perpetual. The goods, the honour and reputation, yea, and the life of every man lay in their hands. He that displeased one of that bench, was sure to have all the rest his enemies and to be upon him: and there never wanted one promoter or other to carry tales and give information to these judges against a man, if they saw them ill affected once and bent against one. During the time of this imperious and tyrannical rule of theirs, (for as their power was exceeding all measure, so they bare themselves therein as outrageously beyond the limits of civility) it was *Annibal* his hap to be Prator; and by virtue of his place he sent for one of the treasurers to come before him: but he made no reckoning of his authority, and refused to obey: for the said treasure was one of the contrary side: and because from the degrees of those treasurers they mounted presently into the highest order of the Judges, therefore he carried with him an haughty mind already, in regard of the high room that he was shortly to step into. *Annibal* you may be sure took this as a great disgrace and indignity to his person, and therefore he sent a purfivant or serjeant to attach the body of the Treasurer aforesaid: and presently calling the people to a generall assembly, he commanded him there to be presented: where he accused and blamed the party himself, no more than the whole order and degree of the Judges: through whose insolent pride and excessive power, both laws and Magistrats were nothing regarded but trodden under foot. And perceiving that these words of his tickled the itching ears of the people, considering also that their proud demeanor prejudiced the liberty of the meanest persons: immediately he published a law, and got it enacted, That those Judges should be chosen every year, and that thenceforth one and the same man might not be a Judge two years together. But look how much thank he had at the Commons hands for this act, so much he offended many of the great men and principals of the City. Another thing besides he did, whereby he purchased to himself the ill will of some private persons, in tending the common good of the weal-publike. The finances and revenues of the State, partly, through negligence went to decay, and partly, were shared out in dividends between some certain of the head Citizens and Magistrats: and more than that, the money which by way of tribute was to be paid yearly unto the Romans, was too short and not to be found: and it appeared, that a sore levy would be imposed upon private persons shortly to make those payments out of their own purses. *Annibal*, after he had cast up the books, and made an estimate and just abstract how much the rents and revenues of the City amounted unto, as well from customs by sea as land, and to what uses they were employed; and perceiving thereby what was defrayed in the ordinary charges of the State, and what went a wrong way, and was diverted by these cheeves to their own selves, he pronounced aloud in open audience of the whole assembly, That the arrearsages should be gathered up and brought into the common Chest: and so privat persons might be discharged and eased of their impositions of tribute, and the Common-wealth would be rich enough and able to perform and furnish out the monies due to the people of *Rome*. And as he thus said, so he was as good as his word, and executed it accordingly. Then these caterpillers, who for certain years lived by robbery of the common treasure, turned upon the fruits of the City, rared spitefully against *Annibal*, as if he had done them

them great wrong in taking their own goods from them, and not proceeded in justice to wrest out of their hands their flon substance: and in great malice and bitterness ceased not to provoke against *Annibal* the Romans, who were ready enough of themselves to pick some quarrell to him, to seek occasion of hatred, and to find an hole in his coat. *Scipio Africanus* for a long time gave the deaf ear unto them, and misliked the course: for he supposed it was not for the honour and majesty of the people of *Rome* to subscribe unto those imputations charged upon *Annibal*, to entertain the spite and hatred of men, and to interests and insert publike authority within the privat factions of the Carthaginians; and not to be content to have vanquished *Annibal* in war, unless they also took upon them the persons of accusers, and preferred a slanderous libell & bill of indictment, and ware thereto *Billa vera*. But at length they wrought and brought about, that Embassadors should be sent to *Carthage*, who in the Senat there might charge *Annibal* categorically, with plotting and practising with *Antiochus* for to wage war against them. And these three were addressed to this Embassie, *C. Servilius*, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *Q. Terentius Culles*; who being arrived there, caused it to be given out to as many as should demand the cause of their coming, (and all by instruction from the adversaries of *Annibal*) that their errand was to compose and end the debates between *Masaniissa* King of the Numidians, and the Carthaginians. This was commonly divulged and beleaved for truth. But *Annibal* found them straight and smelt this juggling, and was not ignorant that he was the only man that the Romans shot at, and howsoever peace was granted to the Carthaginians, yet they continued an endless and inexorable war with him alone still. Whereupon he resolved to frame himself to give place to the time and yield unto fortune. And being furnished aforehand with all things requisite to take his flight, when he had of purpose all the day long shewed himself in the publike place of assembly very formally, to turn by all suspicion of his intended resolution, so soon as it began to be dark night, in his Citizens gown as he went a day, and attended in the Hall, he gat him forth straight to the City gate, accompanied only with two persons, and those not privy at all to his purpose and designment. And having found his hories ready in the place appointed, he mounted and rode apace that night untill he was come to a certain quarter of the territory of *Voca*: and by the next morning, he passed between *Acylla* and *Thapsus*, and recovered a tower of fort of his own: where he was embarked in a ship ready rigged and appointed with sail and oar to take sea and away. Thus departed *Annibal* out of *Affrick*, lamenting more often the hard hap and calamity of his country, than of his own friends and kinsfolk. And the same day he fell with the Island *Circina*: where the Carthaginians found in the rode certain barks charged with merchandise: and when at his coming ashore out of his ship, there came many running toward him for to salute and welcome him thither, he charged his own company, that if any asked concerning him, they should make answer, That he went upon an Embassage to *Tyrus*: but fearing lest any of their barks should disanchor that night, and make report at *Thapsus* or *Acylla* that he was seen in *Circina*: he caused a beast to be killed for sacrifice, and invited the Masters of the ships and all the Merchants to supper; and therewith commanded all the sails and cross sail-yards to be had out of the vessels, to make thereof a large pavillion, that they might sit in the shade at their supper: for that, as it fell out, it was then midsummer. And as the time and such provision as they had, would give leave, he set out a feast and banquet: he spared for no wine, and continued the merriment far within night. Then *Annibal*, so soon as he could espy his time for to deceive those that were in the harbor, weighed anchor. The rest were fast asleep: and when the next day they awoke and roused themselves, with their drunken and drouzy nols (and far forth day it was, and late ere they arose) they were faine to spend some hours in fitting their oars again in their right places, and the tackling of the ships in good order.

In this while, at *Carthage* the ordinary multitude that used to frequent the house of *Annibal*, repaired as their manner was to his gate-house: and when it was voiced abroad, that he was not to be found, all the company gathered together in the market place, seeking and enquiring for the principall and chief personage of their City. Some gave out (as the truth was) that he was fled: other said plainly, that he was murdered and made away through the falshood and villany of the Romans; and this they yicked not to avouch. There might a man have seen sundry and divers countenances (as it is rarely commonly in Cities where there is siding and parts-taking) as each one is affected to his own party and faction. At last, news came that he was seen at *Circina*. The Roman Embassadors having upon audience given, declared in the Senat of *Carthage*, that the LL. of their Senat had certain intelligence, that both aforetime, King *Philip* was by *Annibal* especially solicited and set on to make war with the people of *Rome*; and also now there hath been letters and messengers with credence sent from him to King *Antiochus*; and that he would never rest untill he had set all the world together in arms: and therefore if the Carthaginians were desirous to content and satisfie the Romans, they should not suffer these parts of his to escape unpunished: then the Carthaginians made answer, and said, That nothing of all this passed by publike councill or consent or allowance of the State, howbeit they would be willing to do whatsoever the Romans thought to be reason.

Annibal this while had a boon voyage, and with a merry gale of wind arrived at *Tyrus*, where he was received of the Tyrians, the first founders of *Carthage*, as if he had been in another country of his own: received he was, I say, and entertained with all kind of honour, becoming a man so famous and renowned. After he had so journeyed there some few daies, he sailed to *Antioch*: where

A Where understanding that the King himself was already departed from thence, he repaired to his Inn, and conferred with him, as he was setting out an yearly solemnity of games and plaies near *Daphne*, and being courteously also by him intreated, he made no stay, but to ship-board and Sea again. And at *Ephesus* overtook the King, whom he found floating and wavering still in his mind, and unresolved what to do as touching the Roman war. But this coming of *Annibal*, was no small point to turn the balance, and to move him to enter into the enterprise thereof. The *Etolians* likewise at the same time were estranged and alienated in affection from the Roman league and society, whose Embassadors demanding to have *Pharalum* and *Lencas* again, with other Cities, according to the tenor and form of the first league, the Senat turned over and referred to *Quintius*.

The four and thirtieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the four and thirtieth Book.

C The law *Oppia* proposed and enacted by C. Oppius a Tribune of the Common, in the time of the Punic war, for the abridging and restraint of the excess in womens apparel, was after much variance and debate repealed, notwithstanding that Porcius Cato laboured to the contrary, that it might not be abolished. This Cato made a voyage into Spain, and by force of arms (beginning first to war as *Emporix*) brought the hisher province of Spain on this side *Iberus* to quietness. T. Quintius Flamininus levied war against the *Lacedemonians* and *Nabis* their tyrant, in which he sped fortunately, and so prevailed, that he made an end thereof, granted them peace to his own good liking and pleasure, delivered *Argos*, and set it free, which was before in subjection to the tyrant. The Senat then, and never before, beheld the publick games and pastimes by themselves, apart from the rest of the people. Which to bring about *Sex. Albius Pictus* and L. *Corneilius Cethegus* the Censors, set in foot and intermeddled themselves, to the great indignation and discontentment of the Commons. More colonies were planted with Roman citizens. M. *Potitius Cato* triumphed over Spain. The wars also which fortunately were achieved against the *Boii* and the *French Insabres* are here recorded. T. Quintius Flamininus, who had vanquished *Philip King* of the *Macedonians* and *Nabis* the tyrant of the *Lacedemonians*, yea, and freed all *Greece* from their oppression, for these many and noble exploits, rode in triumph three daies together. The *Carthaginian* Embassadors brought word, that *Annibal* who was fled unto *Antiochus*, banded with him and combined to make war. *Annibal* had besides assured by means of one *Aristo* a *Tyrian* (sent as a courier with credence only and no letters, to *Carthage*) for to move and sollicite the *Carthaginians* to rebellion.

The four and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

B Etwen the troublesome cares of great wars, which either were not fully ended, or at hand ready to begin, there hapned an occurrence, which in it self being but a small matter to speak of, and of little regard; considering the sides and part-taking about it, grew to a mighty head and contention in the end. M. *Fundanius* and L. *Valerius* Tribunes of the Commons, preferred a bill unto the people touching the abrogation of the Law *Oppia*. For C. *Oppian* sometime, even when the Punic war was at the hottest, and whiles *Q. Fabius* and T. *Sempronius* were Consuls, had promulged a Statute, by virtue whereof, No woman of what degree soever might neither have in Ornaments and Jewels above half an ounce weight of gold, nor wear any habiments wrought of sundry colours, nor yet ride in Coach within the City of *Rome*, or any other Town, nor nearer than a mile from thence, unless it were upon occasion of some solemn feast or publick sacrifice. Now M. *Junius Brutus* and P. *Junius Brutus*, both Tribunes likewise of the Commons, stood in defence and maintenance of the said law *Oppia*, and affirmed plainly they would not suffer it to be annulled. Many a nobleman was seen in this quarrel: some spake for the Law, and others gain-said it. The Capitol was full of people, either taking part and favouring the cause, or else opposing themselves, and urging the contrary. The very dames of the City themselves could neither by perswasion and advice, nor by any reverent and womanly regard, nor yet by the express and absolute commandment of their husbands be kept within doores: but do what they could, they bespread all the streets of the City, beset and kept all the waies into the common place, besetting and entreating their husbands as they passed by, and went down thither, to permit and give their consent. That seeing the good estate of the Common-wealth now flourished, and the private wealth of every man increased daily, their wives also and matrons might be allowed to have their ancient ornaments and gay attire again. The number of these women grew every day more then other, for now they flocked also out of the Towns, Villages, and other places of resort in the country, and shewed themselves at *Rome*. In so much, as they took heart at length, and were so bold as to encounter the Consuls, the Pretors, and other Magistrates, requesting and be-

The Oration
of M. Porcius
Cato, in main-
tenance of the
law Oppia.

* Lemnos.

beseeching their favour, to stand with them, and forward the cause. But as for one of the Con-
suls, *Marcus Porcius Cato* by name, they could not with all their prayers entreat him to incline
unto their suit: who in the maintenance of the said law, and that it might not be revoked, take in
the frequent assembly of the people to this effect. "My Masters and citizens of *Rome*, If every
one of us had fully resolved and purposed with himself to hold his own, and keep the rightful
authority and preheminance that he hath over his own wife, less ado and trouble we should
have had with them all together at this day. Now having given them the head at home so
much, that the curtness and shrewdness of women hath conquered our liberty and freehold
there; behold, here also in publick place it is trodden down and trampled underfoot: and be-
cause we were not able every man to rule his own in severall, now we stand in fear and dread
them all in general. Certainly, I my self thought ever until now, that it was but a feined fable
and devised tale that went of a certain * *Island*, wherein by a conspiracy of women, all the men
were murdered every one, and that sex utterly made away and footed out. But well I see now,
be they creatures never so weak, so silly and feeble, let them once have their meetings, their con-
venticles and secret conferences, they will work mischief in the highest degree, and be as dan-
gerous as any other. And surely for mine own part, I cannot resolve in mine own conscience
and determine, whether of the twain be worse; the thing I mean in it self, or the precedent ex-
ample and consequence thereof, considering the manner how it is handled. Of which two, the
one toucheth us that are Consuls and the rest of the magistrats, the other concerneth you rather
my masters and citizens of *Rome*. As for the matter in question, and proposed unto you, whe-
ther it be good and expedient for the weal-publick or no, that resteth in you to determine and
judge, who are to give your voices and suffrages. But this seditious insurrection here, of wo-
men, be it of themselves, or procured by your motion and instigation, *M. Fundanius* & *L. Valeri-*
us, no doubt it argueth and implieth a great default in the Magistrats, and I wot not whether it
will be a fouler blot and dishonour to you that are Tribuns, than to us Consuls. Yours will the
blame be if ye have brought women now to raise and stir up tribunitious seditions; and ours
the shame, if we needs must admit and accept of laws, whether we will or no, for fear of a com-
motion and separation of our women, as sometimes we were forced to do by the departure and
insurrection of our Commons. I assure you for mine own self, when I passed erewhile into this
common-place through the press and throng of these women, I was abashed & could not chuse
but blush. And had I not been more respective of the reputation, the honour and reverence of
some in particular than of them all together, because it should not be thought & said, that they
had been checked and taken up by the Consul; I would have said unto them, What new fashion
is this good wives, to run gadding abroad into the open streets, to beset the passages, and to as-
front, yea, and hang upon other womens husbands as ye do? What? could ye not every one at
home have dealt with your own good-men in the cause, and craved their help? or can ye speak
fair and flatter better, can ye be more pleasant and affable abroad in the Town, than within your
houses? or make love to other men, rather then to your own husbands? And yet to speak up-
rightly, if wives were of that modesty and womanly carriage, as to keep themselves within the
compass and bounds of their own liberty, and pass no farther; it were not besitting you I wot, so
much as at home to trouble your selves about our laws here, nor to busy your brains, to know
either what new Statuts passed, or what old were cased. Our ancestors in old time would not,
that women in any wise should dispose so much as of their own privat matters without the ad-
vice and direction of a Governor and Overseer: and therefore in great wisdom they ordained,
that they should be ordred and ruled, by their parents, by their brethren, by their husbands. But
we (and God will) can abide them to intermeddle in state-matters, to govern the weal-publick,
to converse with us in the common place, in publick assemblies and courts of parliament. For
what else do they now in the streets, in the cross waies & at all avenues, but, some of them give
their voyces that the bills of the Tribuns may pass and others advise and be of opinion, that the
law *Oppia* may be repealed? Let this outrageous & unreasonable nature of theirs have the head;
let these unruly creatures and untamed animals have their wil; and bridle them not; see then how
of themselves they will keep a mean and measure in their licentiousnes, unless you curb them &
hold them in. Tush, this is the least matter of all that displeaseth these women: there are a 1000
things besides that they think hardly of, and are discontented to be held unto by old customes
and positive laws. Liberty in all things; nay, to speak more truly, a loose and dissolute licentious-
nes is the very thing they long after and desire. For go they away cleer with this once, what is
it that they will not attempt and give the venture for? Do but run through and count the laws
provided in this behalf for women, whereby our fore-fathers and predecessors have kept down
and restrained their disorderly appetites, and with which they have sought to subject them to
their husbands: yet, hardly can ye with the help of them all, keep them in awe and tied fast, but
break out they will, and have their own waies. What then? how and if ye suffer them to catch
this and that, and t'other thing to it: if I say, ye let them wrest from you one thing after another,
until at length they be check-mates with their husbands, think ye that ever you shall be able to
support and endure them? Begin they once to be equals, they will soon be superiours: make them
your fellows, and streight-ways they will be your masters. But alas, we lay too hardly to their
charge! The thing that they stand upon is no more but this, That no new Act and statute pass
against them: for no equal and reasonable thing do they refuse: their desire and prayer is only
that

- A "that they might not be wronged. No, no, it is cleane contrary: That law which ye have received
 "and admitted, that which by your suffrages you first granted, that which by the practise and ex-
 "perience of so many years you have allowed and approved, they would have you to revoke and
 "abolish: which is as much to say, as by annulling that one, to infringe, impair, and diminish the
 "authority and vertue of the rest. No law is there so well devised, that is good, commodious and
 "agreeable unto all. This only is intended principally to be considered, that it may be profitable
 "to the most part, and serve in general. For if as each person shall find an act prejudicial, hurtful,
 "and offensive to himself, he may be allowed by and by to undo and demolish the same: to what
 "end should all the people assemble together to the making of those statutes, which they anon a-
 "gainst whom they were enacted, may abolish & overthrow? But gladly would I know the great
 B "occasion and cause, for which our dames in such trouble and uprore run out into the streets, and
 "have much ado to forbear the common place, and to mount up into the *Rostra* to make an ora-
 "tion to this audience? Is it for this, to redeem out of the hands of *Annibal*, their fathers, their
 "husbands, their children and brethren, whom he keepeth prisoners? Nay, that calamity is far e-
 "nough off at this day, and far may it ever be I pray God from our City and Common-weale. And
 "yet when the time was of that hard fortune and calamity, yon would not hearken to their pite-
 "ous and kind prayers in that behalf. But it may well be, that it is neither natural love and kind
 "affection, nor careful regard of their dear friends, but meer touch of conscience and sense of reli-
 "gion that hath brought them thus together in a congregation. And ready they are, it may be, to
 "receive and intertain dame *Cybele* or *Ida*, coming from *Pescinus* out of *Phrygia*. What honest
 C "colour and shew, so much as in word only can be pretended to bear out and cover this muti-
 "nous sedition of women? May this (say they) that we may glitter in our golden jewels, and
 "shine in purple robes to be seen a far off: that as well on work daies as holy-daies, we may be
 "set up and ride in our coaches and chariots through the City, as it were in triumph, for the con-
 "quest and victory of a law by us repealed and disannulled: for winning from you, and wringing out
 "of your hands, manure your beards, the liberty of your voices and suffrages: to the end that we
 "might not be stinted and gaged in our excessive expenses, in our dissolute profusion, in costly va-
 "nities and superfluities. Many a time ye have heard me complain of the wasteful and sumptuous
 "bravery of women: and as often have you known me to inveigh against the lavish spending of
 "men, not privat persons only, but magistrats also in higher place: and how this City of ours is sick
 D "as it were at one time of two contrary diseases and maladies, to wit pinching avarice, and super-
 "fluous prodigality, two plagues I say, that have been the bane and overthrow of all great Mo-
 "narchies and flourishing empires. These pestilent mischiefs I dread so much the more, as our
 "state and common-weal encreaseth to the better; groweth wealthy every day more than others;
 "and as our dominion extendeth still farther and farther. And now that we are gotten over into
 "Greece and Asia, provinces full of all enticing pleasures and alluring delights of the world, now
 "that we are come to finger and handle the rich treasures of mighty Monarchs, I fear me that even
 "these things have rather captivated us, than we them. The goodly images, statues and pictures
 "that came from *Syracusa*, are (trust me truly) dangerous to this City, and threaten no less than so
 "many ensignes of the field displayed against it. And I hear say already, that there are many, and
 E "too too many, that praise and have in admiration the beautiful ornaments of *Corinth* & *Athens*,
 "and begin to make a scorn and game of the images of the Roman Gods made of potters earth
 "only, laughing much at them, where they see them standing forth of the walls. Well, for my part
 "I had rather have these gods so propice and favorable to us as they be than such as those: and so
 "I hope they will ever be, if we can suffer them to abide still in their usual shrines and places ac-
 "customed. No longer ago than in our fathers daies, King *Pyrhus* sent his Embassador *Cyneas* of
 "purpose, and assayed by rich and goodly gifts, to tempt the minds not only of our men, but also of
 "our women. There was no law *Oppia* as then in force to bridle and keep down the costly pomp
 "and bravery of women: and yet not one of them all received ought at his hands. And what think
 "ye was the cause? even the same and no other, for which our ancestors in times past, never so
 F "much as thought upon the providing of any such law. There was no pride then, nor riotous su-
 "perfluity to restrain. And like as the skill and knowledge of diseases, must precede and go afore
 "their cures and remedies: even so evil desires and enormous lusts had need to bud forth & spring
 "before the laws, which should repress and cut them down. What caused the law *Licinia* to be
 "made, concerning 500 acres of ground, forbidding that no man should possess above, but the
 "exceeding covetousnes of men, encroaching still and laying land to land? What brought in the
 "law *Cincia*, as touching gifts and presents, but this, that the Commons began already to be vassals
 "as it were and tributaries to the Senat. No marvail therefore it is, nor strange may it seem, that
 "neither the law *Oppia*, nor any other providing for the cutting off the unmeasurable expences of
 "women, was required and thought needful in those daies; when gold, when purple freely tendred
 G "and offered unto them was refused. If now at this day *Cyneas* were come, and went with such
 "gifts round about in the City, he should find receivers enough of women, standing in every street
 "ready for him. And verily, with all the wit I have, I can not devise what the cause and reason
 "should be of many lustful desires and appetites that reign in this age. For say, that if one of you
 "were kept short and debarred of that, which another might lawfully have: peradventure there
 "might rise in your hearts (through infirmity) some shame and abashtment in nature, or else dis-
 "pleasure and discontentment in reason: so being all as ye are brought within one compass of fur-
 "niture

The Oration
of L. Valerius
against the
law Oppia.

“mixture and apparel, and no odds at all between you, what need any one of you to fear, lest she
“should be looked into, marked or observed, more than another. I must needs say, the shame that
“followeth & attendeth either upon niggardie or poverty, is worst of all others: but the law quit-
“teth and freeth you of both, when you want but that only which by law ye may not have, and
“no man wil reproach you therefore. Yes mary, quoth some rich and wealthy dame, this same e-
“quality and no distinction at all among us, of all things I cannot abide: Why may not I according
“to my calling, be seen arrayed in purple, and adorned with gold? And why is not the poor estate
“of others known, but lieth hidden under this pretext & cloak of a law: so as they may be thought
“yet (were it not for the law) that such and such things they would have; where as indeed they
“are not able to maintain and bear it out? Would ye (in faith) my masters and citizens of Rome,
“have your wives to strive thus, that the richer sort might deserve to have that, which no other I
“can reach unto: and the poor again, because by that means they would not be despised, over-
“strein themselves to go above their calling and ability? Certainly I dare avow, if they begin once
“to shame at that which is not shame-worthy, they will not abash at any thing; be it never so
“shameful. Have it she will out of her own, so long as it lasteth: and when all is gone, to her hus-
“bands purse she will go. Alas poor man and wo begunn is that husband, as wel he that is intrea-
“ted by his wife, to stretch his purse strings, as he that is not, when he shal see another man to give
“her that, which he would not allow himself. And even now ye see how openly in the street (un-
“shame-faced as they be) they are in hand with other womens husbands, yea, & that which more
“is, they keep an intreating for to cal the law, & for the favour of their voices only. For of some
“they have got the good will no doubt already, whiles themselves wil not be intreated, but draw
“misery upon thee, upon thy state, and upon thy children. Wel, let the law once cease to set down
“a gage and proportion of thy wives expences, and never think to have remedy, and to stay the
“same of thy self with all thou canst do. Be not deceived firs, to think that the world will be ever
“again at the same paise, as it was before this law took place. And as it is a safer course and lesse
“dangerous to let a naughty and obstinat perion alone, that he be not called into question at all;
“than after he is once accused to suffer him to be quit and go away unpunished: even so this ex-
“cessive superfluity, would have been more tolerable, if it had not been medled & tempered with-
“al, than it wil be now upon the very binding and curbing thereof: much like a wild and savage
“beast let loose after it hath been tyed up a time, and so made more fell and angry. To conclude
“therefore of this opinion am I, that of no hand the law Oppia be repealed: and so I pray all the
“Gods to vouchsafe for to bleis and turn to good, whatsoever you do or go about. When he had
“thus said, those Tribuns also of the Commons, who openly promised and protested to oppose
“themselves, and to crosse the repealing of the law, made some brief speeches to the same effect.
“Then L. Valerius rose up to maintain the bill by him proposed for the revoking of that law, and
“spake as followeth. If privat men had stepped forth and advanced forward either to approve
“and perswade, or to reject & disswade that which by us is proposed, I my self also without open-
“ing my mouth would have attended your wil & expected the delivery of your suffrages, as think-
“ing it had been sufficiently debated and discoursed already, whatsoever might be said for both
“parties. But now sith that the Consul M. Porcius Cato, a man of great reputation & gravity, not
“only by his countenance and authority, (which alone without any word at all spoken had been
“important enough & effectual) but also in a long premeditate Oration framed with much study
“and forethinking, hath impugned and inveighed against our proposed ordinance, I must of ne-
“cessity answer him again as briefly as I can. Who nevertheless hath spent more words in repro-
“ving and chastising the matrons & dames of the City, than he hath bestowed reason to the pur-
“pose in disswading our new law: & all verily for this intent, that he might leave it doubtful, whe-
“ther the women had done that which he blamed them for as indued by their own motives, or
“seduced by us and our suggestions. As for me the protection directly of the cause I will take in
“hand, and not busy and trouble my head in defence of our persons, against whom the Consul
“hath rather glanced and girded at, by way of big words, than charged indeed by sound reasons.
“It hath pleased him to cal this, An assembly and mutinous meeting: yea, and otherwhiles he ter-
“meth it, An insurrection and secession of women: because the wives in open place intreated you
“to repeal that law, now in time of peace, in the flourishing and blessed state of the Common-
“weal, which during those troublesome daies of war, had been enacted against them. I wot full
“well, that both these words and other besides are very significant, sought out, and picked for the
“purpose, to enforce and aggravate the matter. And we all know, that M. Cato is an Orator not
“only grave and earnest, but otherwhiles also fell, sharp and bitter: how ever otherwise by natural
“disposition he be of a mild spirit and courteous enough. But to the point. What new & strange
“thing is this that our wives have done, in coming abroad and assembling themselves in compa-
“nies, about a matter that so much concerneth and importeth themselves? What were they ne-
“ver seen before now, abroad in open street? I will take the pains, O Cato to turn over your own
“book of Originals against your self. Listen and mark how often they have done the semblable,
“and alwaies truly for the common good and benefit of the State. And first and foremost, in the
“very beginning and infancy of this City, even in the reign of K. Romulus, when the Capitol was
“taken and held by the Sabins: when in the midst of the Common place, they were ranged in bar-
“rel array and ready to fight a bloody field, was not the quarrel ended and the conflict stayed by
“the dames and wives that ran in, & put themselves between the two armies? After the KK. were
“driven

- A "driven out and expelled, What hapned tho? When as the legions of the Volscians under the conduct of *C. Martius* incamped within 3 miles of *Rome*, were they not the matrons of the City that turned back this army, which doubtless would have forced our City & put it to ranck? And is not this likewise true, that when the Gauls were possessed of *Rome* and masters thereof, the dames of the City and none but they, even by the consent of all men, came forth into the open streets, made a contribution, and laid down that gold which paid for the ransom and redemption of the City? No longer since than in the last Punick war (because I will not stand so much upon antiquities) was it not thus, that not only when the City was at a fault for money, the widows stocks supplied the want of the common treasure? but also at what time as we were driven to seek for new Gods, and to send for them afar off to succour us in our extremities; all the wives & matrons of the City went to the Sea side for to receive the goddess Mother *Idea*?
- B "The occasions (qd. he) are different, and the case is not alike. Neither is it my purpose or any part of my meaning to compare causes, and to prove they are all one. This only I stand upon, and take it sufficient to excuse and cleer the women, for bringing up no strange novelty, in that they shewed themselves in open place. To proceed therefore: seeing that no man made any wonder then, of that which women did in undertaking the affairs that concerned all alike as well men as women: marvail we now that they do the lemmable, in a cause that properly and peculiarly pertaineth to themselves? And what great thing was it they did? Now in good faith we are too coy and squeamish of our hearing, and our ears over nice and delicate, if when masters disdain not to hear the prayers of their servants and slaves, we scorn to give ear to the requests of ladies and dames of honor. But now I come to the matter in question, in regard whereof the Consul his Oration consisted in two points. For first, he took it very ill, that any law at all once enacted should be revoked: and secondly, he stood upon this, that above all others the law devised and made for repressing the superfluous ornaments and attire of women should remain in force for ever. So it should seem, that the first part (a common defence as it were, of all the laws) was a speech besitting the place and person of a Consul: but the other against the exceeding pomp of women, more properly became a man (as himself) of most severe life and precise carriage. And therefore it is great doubt and to be feared, lest we should seduce you into some error, if we lay not down and shew plainly the vanity and defect both in the one and in the other. For as I confess, that of those laws which are devised and established not for a time and by occasion of some particular occurrence, but for ever and to the perpetual good of a City, none ought to be abolished; unless it be so that by use and experience the same be checked and found hurtful, or by some change of the State become needles and superfluous: so I see evidently, that those statutes and ordinances which are brought in to fit and serve some seasons, are mortal (if I may so say) and mutable with the times. And oftentimes we see, that war disclaimeth those laws which peace proclaimeth; and peace pulleth down that which war set up: like as in the government and rule of a ship, one thing is requisite in fair weather and calm Sea, another in foul and troublesome tempests. These things thus being in nature divers and distinct, let us consider I pray you, of whether sort is this law that now we are in hand to revoke. What? is it one of the ancient and royal laws made by the Kings, and equal in time with the foundation of our City? or (that which is the next in time and authority) was it set down and written in the twelve Tables by the Decemvirs, created of purpose to devise and make laws? Is it of that nature without the which as our ancestors were of opinion, that the honesty and honour of matrons could not be preserved: so we are to fear likewise, lest by the repealing thereof, we overthrow the modesty, chastity, and integrity of married women? Why? who knoweth not that this is a new law of 20 years standing and continuance and no more, made whiles *Q. Fabius* and *T. Sempronius* were Consuls? And seeing that without it, wives lived so many years before in good name and fame, and in passing good order: tell me what danger can ensue, and why we need to fear lest if it be annulled, they should break out to all loosenes and disorder. Mary, if this law had been made at first, to cage the wantonness of women, believe me then it were greatly to be doubted, that the putting down thereof would stir them up again to their former outrage. But to what end it was devised, the time it self is able to shew and testify. *Annibal* being in *Italy*, had won a victory at *Cannae*; he was now master of *Tarentum*, Lord of *Arpi*, and possessed of *Capua*: every hour men looked when he would march forward and advance his ensigns against *Rome*: our allies were revoked and gone: souldiers we had no more of our own to supply and make up the decayed bands; no mariners and Sea servitors could we find for the maintenance of our Armado: all our treasure in the City Chamber was spent and consumed. Driven we were to this exigent, as to rake up bondslaves for to serve in wars, and to buy them of their masters for day, yes, and to make payment of their price after the war was ended. For want of money also the Publicans and Farmers of our demain and publick profits, undertook to serve the army with corn, and to furnish us with all things needful for war at a certain price, and gave us the like day and time of payment. The Gally slaves that served at the oar we found and maintained with our own proper and private charges; and a rate and proportion was set down according to our revenues and worth in the subsidy book, what number every one should be charged with. All the gold and silver that we had in private we brought forth in common, and the Senators themselves led the way first, and gave good ensample. The widdows and orphan Children brought in their stocks or money to the City Chamber. Streight order was given, that

"we should not have in our houses either of gold or silver, wrought in plate or otherwise above
 "so much, nor of silver and brasse in coin and currant money beyond a certain proportion limit-
 "ted. At such a time, our dames (belike) were set all upon their braveries, pruning, trimming, and
 "tricking themselves, in such sort, as the law *Oppia* must needs be devised, there was no other
 "remedy to keep down their excessive pride and superfluous expence in their attire and orna-
 "ments: even then, I say, when by occasion that the solemn feast and sacrifice of *Ceres* was dis-
 "continued, by reason of the general mourning and heavy cheer of all the wives of the City, the
 "Senat was fain to take order, that they should finish and end their sorrowful mourning within
 "thirty dayes. Who is so blind that seeth not, how in regard only of the poverty and extream
 "calamity of the City, and because all the monies of private persons should be converted into a
 "common stock, and for a publick use, this law was first framed, drawn, and set down, so long
 "only to stand in strength and vertue, as the cause of penning and writing it should endure and
 "continue? For otherwise, if those acts and decrees of the Senat, if those orders and ordinances
 "of the Commons, respective unto that present time, should be in force, and observed for ever;
 "Why make we payment of the loan money unto private men? Why do we set and to sell let
 "our commodities, our customes and revenues of the City, unto farmers for ready rent? Why put
 "we forth our publick works for present money paid down upon the nail? Wherefore buy we
 "not slaves to serve in our wars? Lastly, why are we not put to find mariners and oarmen, at our
 "own proper charges, as then we did? All other estates and degrees, all men else, of what calling
 "soever, feel a great change in the state of the City, from wo to weal, from adversity to prosperi-
 "ty; and shall our wives only miss the good thereof, and not once tast nor enjoy the fruits of
 "peace, and publick repose and tranquillity? Shall we that are men, be in purple and scarlet? shall
 "we wear our embrodered gowns and robes when we are Magistrats? shall we put on our rich
 "amyces and copes, when we exercise the function and ministry of the high Priests? shall our
 "children go in their sode garments, purfled afore with purple? shall we permit and priviledge the
 "head Officers and Magistrats in our Colonies and Burrough Towns? nay, shall we suffer here at
 "Rome the Masters and Constables of every parish, the meanest and basest officers of all other to
 "wear embrodered gowns, & studded with purple? and not only so, sort to grace and credit them-
 "selves, with these goodly ornaments and badges of worship and honour during their life, but al-
 "so after their death, the same to be burned and buried with them? And shall we debar and for-
 "bid our women only to use purple and scarlet in their apparel? And when you the husband may
 "have purple and scarlet, carpets, counter-points, and foot-cloths, what reason is there to deny
 "your wife, the mistress of the house, a gown or mantle of the same? And shall your horse be trap-
 "ped and barbed more richly, and better set out with his caparison, than your wife arrayed in her
 "apparel? But in truth, for purple and scarlet, which are the worse for the wearing, and waxeth
 "bare, me thinks I see some reason, such as it is (although it be very hard) of sparing and restraint:
 "many for gold, wherein little or nothing is lost but the fashion and workmanship, what niggard-
 "ise, what misery is this, to make spare of it, and to deny it them? Nay, I dare avow and abide by
 "it, there is great benefit and use thereof in time of extremity; and it may help at a pinch both in
 "publick affairs, and in private occasions, as ye have found by good experience. But *Cato* said
 "moreover, There would be no emulation and envy between this good wife and that, if neither
 "one nor other were allowed that liberty of apparel and ornaments. True it is, but instead there-
 "of they all are mightily discontented and grieved at the heart in the mean while, disdaining to
 "see the wives of our allies of the Latine name and Nation, permitted to wear those ornaments
 "which they are forbidden to have, to see them, I say, all gorgeously set out with spangles and
 "jewels of gold, clad in their purple and scarlet cloths, riding in their coaches all over their cities,
 "whiles they at Rome take pains to go afoot on their ten toes, as if the State of the Empire were
 "seated in their Towns, and not in this their own City of Rome. This indignity were enough to
 "wound the hearts of men, and make them bleed: what hurt doth it then, think you, to silly wo-
 "men, whom small matters, God wot, are wont to trouble? Alas poor souls: no magistracy and
 "place of government in State, no sacerdotal dignities in the Church, no triumphs, no ornaments
 "and titles of honour, are they capable of, no gifts, no spoils and prizes gotten in wars, can fall to
 "their shares. Neatness and fineness, gay garments, trim attire, and gorgeous habiliments, are the
 "honour and ornaments of women: in it they take delight, on it they set their hearts, of it they
 "make their joy. And therefore well have our ancestors called all furniture for the decking of
 "women [*Mundus Muliebris*]. What lay they off in time of sorrow and mourning, but their gold
 "and purple? what put they on and resume again, when their mourning is past, but their gold and
 "purple? what hang they on them besides in time of publick joy and solemn processions but their
 "better apparel, their richest attire & most costly ornaments? But peradventure, after ye have once
 "repealed the law *Oppia*, it will not be in your power to over-rule them, if haply you should for-
 "bid them to wear any thing that now the law restraineth them of. And perhaps some shall have
 "more ado with their daughters, their wives, and sisters, and find them less tractable and pliable
 "unto their minds, than now they are. Never fear that: women cannot shake off their obedience,
 "so long as their Governors (be they fathers, husbands, or brethren) are alive; nay, of all other
 "things they abhor and cannot brook to be at their own liberty, when it cometh by the death ei-
 "ther of husbands or parents: Widows state and Orphans life, they may not abide. Be sure there-
 "fore, they had rather have their ornaments and attire to be at the disposition of your selves, than
 "of

A "of the law. And therefore, to speak a truth, you must in equity and reason protect and defend them in kindness, and not oppress them with hardness and bondage: delight ye must to be called their fathers and husbands, rather than their Lords and Masters. It pleased the Consul erewhile to give them hard words and odious terms, calling this their meeting, A mutiny of women, and a very insurrection and departure of theirs: and danger there is, no doubt, lest being up once, they will seize upon the mount *Sacer*, as sometimes the Commons did in their furious anger, or else possess themselves of the *Aventine*, and there encamp and keep an hold. Well, this weak and feeble sex, born to bear, must suffer and endure whatsoever ye shall ordain and set down against them. But take this withal at the loose for a final conclusion, that the greater power and authority ye have over them, the more discretion and moderation ye ought to use in that sovereignty of yours. After debate of words passed in this wise, in favor and disfavor of the law, the day following the women flocked in greater multitudes into the open streets, and banding themselves together, as it were, in one troop, they beset the dores and houses of the *Bruni*, who by interposing themselves, had hindered and crossed the bill preferred by their fellow Tribuns: and never gave they over to keep this stir, until those Tribuns flaked in their opposition, for to inhibit the same. Which done, there was no doubt then, but all the tribes with one voice would abrogate and abolish that law. Thus twenty year after the enacting thereof, it was repealed and annulled. The law *Oppia* repealed.

M. Porcius Cato after the abrogation of the law *Oppia*, presently departed with a fleet of five and twenty Gallies, whereof five were set out by Allies, and arrived in the Port of *Luna*, to which place he commanded his forces to assemble: and after by vertue of an edict sent out along the Sea coast, he had gathered together vessels of all sorts as he loosed from *Luna*: and proclaimed that they should all follow after him to the Port of *Pyrenum*, from whence he purposed to set forth against the enemy, with an Armado of many sail, and well appointed. Who having passed beyond the mountains of *Liguria* and the gulf of Gaul, arrived and met all together, at the day and place appointed. From thence they came against *Rhoda*, where they expelled the Spanish garrison that held the fortrels. From *Rhoda* with a good gale of wind, they sailed to *Emporia*. Where, all the whole army, excepting the mariners, were set a land. At the same time *Emporia* were two Towns, separate one from the other by a wall. The one of them was inhabited by Greeks, who came from *Phocaea*; from whence the Massilians also are descended: the other was possessed by Spaniards. But the Greek Town lieth out into the Sea, so as the whole compass of the wall is not half a mile about: but the Spanish Town seated farther into the Land, and divided from the Sea, is defended with a wall three miles in circuit. A third sort of Roman inhabitants were joynd unto them by *Cesar* the Emperor of famous memory, after he had vanquished *Pompey's* children. And at this day, they are confused and mingled one with another, and become one entire body, by reason that first the Spaniards, and afterward the Greeks, were made free denizens of the City of *Rome*. A man might well marvel, seeing how open they lie of the one side to the main Sea, how exposed they are on the other side to the danger of the Spaniards, a Nation so fierce and warlike, what thing it was that guarded and protected them? Discipline it was, and good government, and nothing else, which maintained and preserved them in that weakenes of theirs: discipline I say, which is ever best intertaind of them, who live in fear of the mightier that are round about them. One quarter of the wall looking to the fields, is passing strong and exceeding well fortified, having but one gate in all that side: which ordinarily is alwayes warded by one of the Magistrates. In the night, one third part usually of the citizens kept watch upon the walls. And this watch they maintained not for custome and fashion, nor by vertue of any law: but they performed it with as great care, yea, and went the round and saw to the sentinels with as much diligence, as if the enemies were hard at gates. A Spaniard came not within the City: neither went they forth themselves, unless it were upon just occasion. But on the Sea side the issue was open for any man at his pleasure. By that gate which turneth toward the Spanish Town they never used to go forth but in great number, even a third part welneer of the Townsmen; and those who the night before had watched upon the walls. And this cause induced them to go abroad, for that the Spaniards being no men at Sea, gladly would traffick and trade with them: willingly buying of them their strange merchandise from forein parts brought in by ships: and venting unto them again their Land commodities and fruits arising of the main. The desire of this mutual commerce and necessary intercourse was the cause, that the Spanish Town was open to the Greeks. And in greater safety and security they were also, by reason that they were shadowed under the wing of the Roman amity, which they intertaind with as great loyalty as the Massilians, although they were nothing so mighty and puissant. And even at this time they received the Consul and his army with great courtesie and liberality: *Cato* sojourned there some few dayes, while he was advertised by his spies where his enemies abode, and what their forces were: and because he would not be idle while he stayed there, he bestowed all that time in training and exercising his soldiers. It hapned to be that season of the year, when the Spaniards had their corn within their granges ready for the thrashing floor, whereupon he forbade the cornpurveiors to provide grain, and sent them home to *Rome*. War, saith he, shall feed and maintain it self. Being departed from *Emporia*, he wasted and burnt the territory of the enemies, forced them to run away in every place where he came, and put them in exceeding fright. At the same time, as *M. Helvius* departed out of the farther Province of *Spain* with 6000 garrison soldiers delivered unto him by the Pretory, he was encountered by a great army of the Celti-

* Porto Venere.

* Rhoda.

* Julius.

* Emporium
Stephano,
Ampuria,
Clusio.

Celtiberians, before the Town *Illiturgum*. *Valerius* wiseth, that they were 20000 strong: that 12000 of them were slain, the Town *Illiturgum* won again, and all above 14 years of age sent to the sword. From thence *Helvius* marched to the camp of *Cato*: and because the country was clear from enemies, he sent back the garrison into the nether Spain, and took his journey to Rome, where he entered the City *Ovunt* in petty triumph, for the happy success achieved in his affairs. He brought into the treasury, of silver in bullion or Ingots, 14732 pound weight: of silver coin 17023 bigate peeces: and of *Oscane* silver 120338 pound weight. The cause why the Senat denied him full triumph, was this, for that he warred under the conduct and name of another, and not in his own province. But it was two years before he returned, by reason that the year between he was layed there, lying sick of a long and grievous disease, and put over his government to *Q. Minutius* his successor. Whereupon *Helvius* likewise entered the City of Rome in that manner of triumph, two months only before his successor *Q. Minutius* triumphed. He likewise brought into the Chamber of the City 34800 pound weight of silver in mass: of bigats in coin 78000: of *Oscane* silver 278000 pound.

All this while the Consul lay encamped in Spain not far from *Emporia*. Thither repaired unto him from *Bilfages* a Prince of the *Ilergets*, three Embassadors, whereof his son was one: complaining that their forts were assailed by force of arms, and they had no other hope to make resistance, unless they might have a guard of Roman souldiers to defend them, 5000 say they will be sufficient: for never would the enemies abide by it if such a power came against them. The Consul answered them and said, that he had a feeling and compassion of the peril or fear (whether it was) wherein they stood: howbeit, he was not at that time furnished with such forces, that he might safely spare so many out of his main army, thereby to dismember the same and to impair his strength, considering a mighty host of his enemies was not far off, with whom he looked every day, and he knew not how soon, to joyn battail in open field with banner displayed. The Embassadors hearing this, fell down prostrate at the Consuls feet, and shed tears, humbly beseeching him not to forsake them in this piteous plight. "For whither (say they) shall we go, if we be repulsed from the Romans? No allies we have besides, nor other hope in all the world. This danger we might have avoided well enough, if we would have been false and disloyal: if we would have banded and rebelled with other Spaniards: but no menaces, no terrors presented unto us, could drive us to renounce our fealty, hoping alwayes that we should have help and succour enough from the Romans: but now if no help, if no relief come from thence: if we be denied at the Consuls hand; heaven and earth we call to witnes, that we must be forced, full against our wills and upon mere necessity, to revolt from the Romans, for fear we drink of the same cup that the *Saguntins* have done afore us: and chosse we will to die with the rest of the Spaniards for company, rather than perish alone by ourselves. So for that day they were dismissed without other answer. But all the night following, the Consul was much distracted in mind, and careful in both respects. Unwilling he was to cast off his allies and see them destitute: and as unwilling again to break his army: considering that in so doing, he might either delay the opportunity of giving battail, or endanger himself in the very instant of conflict. But at length he resolved in no wise to diminish his own forces: doubting lest in the mean while he should receive some dishonor at the enemies hand. As for his associates, he thought it best to intertain them with good hopes, for want of better helps: considering that oftentimes and especially in war, outward semblances and vain shews, are held and taken for truth and substance, and serve the turn well enough: and when a man is thoroughly perswaded that he hath aid and succour, the very trust and confidence thereof hath ministered heart to give the venture of some exploit and preserved him as well as the thing itself. The next morrow he delivered this answer unto the Embassadors, That albeit he feared to abate his own strength, in serving other mens turn with any part of his forces, yet he had at this present more regard of their occasions and dangerous estate than of his own. Whereupon he gave commandment, that a third part of all his bands and companies should have warning to bake and dresse viands with all speed, for to bestow and lay in the ships: and straightly he charged, that they should be rigged and ready appointed against the third day: and willed withal, two of the Embassadors to report so much to *Bilfages* and the *Ilergets*. As for the young Prince his son, he detained still with him, used him graciously, and bestowed favours and rich gifts upon him bounteously. The Embassadors took not their leave nor departed, before they saw the souldiers embarked: and thus by making relation hereof, as a thing assured and past all peradventure, they filled the heads not of their own friends only; but also of the enemies, with the bruit of Roman aids coming neer at hand. The Consul now, when he had set this countenance of the matter, and made sufficient semblance to serve his purpose, gave order that the souldiers should be disbarked again & set a land: and himself seeing now that the time of the year approached commodious for action and execution of martial affairs, dislodged and removed his standing winter camp within a mile of *Emporia*. From whence (as any occasions and opportunities were presented) he led forth his souldiers a foraging and plundering into the enemies land, sometime one way and sometime another, leaving alwayes a competent guard to defend the camp. Ordinarily their manner was to steal out by night, to the intent, that both they might go on still farther from their leaguer, & also surprise the enemies at unawares and unprovided: by which means not only his new & raw souldiers were exercised, but also many of his enemies were caught up and came short home: whereupon they durst no more peep out of their forts & holds of defence. Now after he had made sufficient

A proof of the hearts as well of his own men as of his enemies; he commanded all the Marshals, Colonels, Horsemen, and Centurions, to assemble before him: and unto them he made this speech.

The Oration
of Cato to his
Captains and
gallants.

"The time (quoth he) is now come, that you so often have wished for: in which you may shew
"at full your verue and valour. Your service hitherto hath been more like the manner of for-
"ragers than warriors: but now shall ye come to a main battail, and as enemies, fight hand to
"hand with professed enemies. From henceforth you may if you will, not wait their fields only
"and spoil their territory, but ransack the pillage of rich and wealthy cities. Our fathers before
"us and ancetours in times past, when as in *Spain* there were both Generals and armies of Car-
"thaginians, having themselves no leaders and commanders, no souldiers and tores there, yet
"would they needs have this article among others capitulated in the accord and composition
B "with the Spaniards, That the River of *Iberus* should limit their Seignory and dominion. Now
"at this day, when two Pretors and a Consul, when three entire Roman armies have the go-
"vernment and charge of *Spain*: now, I say, after ten years space almost, wherein no Carthagi-
"nians have set foot and been seen in all these quarters of both provinces, we have lost our seig-
"nory on this side *Iberus*. This must ye recover and win again by force of arms, by manhood and
"valour: yemust I say, compel this nation, more rash and inconsiderate in rebelling, than con-
"stant and resolute in maintaining war, for to receive once more the yoke or subjection, which
"they have shaken from off their necks. Having exhorted and encouraged them in this manner,
he gave them to understand, that he would set forward in the night and lead against the enemies
camp. And so he let them depart to refresh their bodies. At midnight, after he had devoutly
C taken with him the signs and approbations of the birds for his better speed, he put himself in
his journey: and because he might be seized of some place to his liking before the enemies should
descrie him, he set a compass in his march, and led his souldiers clean beyond their camp. And
having by day light set his companies in battel array, he sent out three cohorts, even cloie to the
rampier and trench of the enemy. The barbarous people wondering to see the Romans shew
themselves behind at their back, ran to and fro to take arms. Mean while, the Consul held his
men with these and such like speeches: "My souldiers (quoth he) there is no other hope now
"left, but in mere strength and valour, and I of very purpose have wrought it so. Between us
"and our camp the enemies are encamped all: behind at our back we have our enemies Land.
"The bravest courses are ever safest, namely, to build and ground our hope surely upon vertue.
D And herewithal he gave order, that the cohorts aforesaid should retire of purpose to train forth
the barbarous people, by making semblance of retreat and flight. And so fell it out in very deed
as he thought and supposed: for they imagining that the Romans for very fear were retired, issued
forth by heaps out of the gate, and bespred with armed men all the ground, that lay between
their own camp and the enemies battel. And whiles they made great hast to embattel themselves,
the Consul who was already arranged in battel array, and in all respects well appointed, charged
upon them before they were marshalled and set in order. First he put forth the corners and wings
of horsemen from both points and flanks of the battail: but they of the right side were straight-
wayes repulged, and by their hasty and fearful retreating, caused the footmen also to be mightily
affraid. Which the Consul perceiving, he commanded two elect cohorts of footmen to wheel
E about the right flank of the enemies, and to shew themselves at their backs before the other
companies of foot encountred and charged one another. This suddain terror affrighted the ene-
mies, but set all upright again and recovered the battail of the Romans, which through the fear
of the Cavalry began to shrink and go down. Howbeit the horsemen and footmen both of the
right point, were so troubled and so far out of order, that the Consul was forced to pluck some
of them back with his own hand, and turn them with their faces affront the enemy. Thus all the
while that the shot lasted, the skirmish was doubtful: so as now the Romans in the skirmish, had
much ado to make head and stand to it in the right side, whereas the fright and flight first began.
But on the left and all affront, the barbarous had the worst, and with great horror they looked
behind and saw their enemies how they played upon their backs and relied not. After they had
F done with flinging their iron darts and lancing their fiery javelins, they drew their swords; and
herewith began the conflict afresh. They were not wounded now from a far off by blind chance
and hap-hazard, they knew not from whence; but foot to foot they stood, and hand to hand
they coped and let drive one at another: no hope at all was now but to trust in pure strength
and main force. The Consul seeing his men wearied, encouraged and refreshed them by sending
for to relieve and maintain the fight, certain cohorts out of the rereward. This new battailon
well in heart, and with fresh weapons, charged the enemies toiled and tired: and being ranged
in pointed wise like a quoin or wedge, at the first hot onset brake their arraies: and being once dis-
ordered, they put them to flight, and in scattering wise they ran as fast as their legs would carry
them, to their camp. Cato seeing them flie on all hands, mounted on horseback and rode him-
G self to the second legion which was in the rereward for supply, and commanded to advance the
standards and ensigns before him, to march apace, and to approach the camp of the enemies for
to give an assault. If he espied any one to step out of his rank, he would ride before and rap him
with his light javelin that he had in his hand; commanding the Marshals and Captains to cha-
stise him for it. Now was the enemies camp at the point to be assaulted, and the Romans were
with stones, pikes, perches, and all kind of weapons set back and driven from the trench. But when
this fresh legion approached neer, then both the assailants were more encouraged, and also
the

the enemies fought more lustily in defence of their rampier. The Consul cast his eye all about him, to see how to break in at some place or other where least resistance might be made: and seeing the guard thin about the left gate, thither he conducted the Principals and the Hastati of the second legion: but the *corps de guard* which warded that gate, was not able to endure their violent charge. The rest on the other side, seeing the enemies within the rampier, abandoned the camp, and flung away their ensigns and weapons. The souldiers of the second legion followed the chase and killed them as they ran away, while the other ransacked and rifled their tents. *Valerius Antias* writeth, that there were 60000 fell that day upon the edge of the sword. *Cato* himself (that never loved to make the least of his own praise-worthy acts) saith, there were many slain; but setteth not down what number. He is thought to have performed that day three peeces of service worthy of great praise and commendation: first, in that he set a compass with his army far from his ships, far from his camp, and gave battail in the midst of the enemies, where his men could repose no hope at all but in their own vertue and valour: secondly, for sending those cohorts behind the enemies to charge upon their backs: and thirdly, for that he caused the second legion to march a great pace under their colours displaid, ranged as they were and ordered in battail array, for to approach and assail the gates of the enemies camp, while all the rest were disbanded and spread all abroad to pursue the enemy in chase.

After this victory atchieved, he sat not still in rest and repose, but having founded the retreat and brought his own souldiers laden with pillage into the camp, he allowed them some few hours for their night sleep, and led them forth into the territory of the enemy to forrage and spoil: which was as effectual to enforce the Spanish Emperitans, and all their neighbour borders to yeeld subjection, as the unhappy battel fought the day before. Many also of other Cities, which were retired to *Emporia* for refuge, rendered themselves to his devotion: whom he entertained all with gracious words, and when he had made them good cheer, bestowing wine and cates plentifully upon them, he sent them home to their own houses. Then immediately he dislodged and removed his camp. And all the way as he marched with his army there resorted Embassadors from divers States that yeilded themselves unto him. By that time that he was come as far as *Taracón*, all *Spain* on this side *Iberus*, was wholly subdued: and the barbarous people brought in as presents unto the Consul, all the captives and prisoners, as well Romans as Allies, and namely, Latins, who by many and sundry chances had been taken in *Spain*. The bruit went commonly abroad, that the Consul would lead his power into *Turdania*. There was a false alarm likewise given, and spoken it was, That he would visit the mountaineers that lay out of the way. Upon this vain and headless rumour, there were seven forts belonging to the State of the Bergistans that revolted from him: but the Consul led his army against them, and without any memorable battel reduced them under obedience. And the Consul his back was no sooner turned, and he gone to *Taracón*, but they rebelled again, even before he was departed from thence in any other expedition. Subdued they were the second time, but they found not the like favour as before, to have pardon: for they were all sold like slaves in open market, under the garland, because they should not thus every while trouble the peace.

In this meantime *P. Manlius* the Pretor, after he had received the old army at the hands of *Q. Mutius* whom he succeeded, and joined thereto the other army of old souldiers belonging to *Appius Claudius*, and which were come out of the farther *Spain*, he made an expedition into *Turdania*. Now these Turdetans of all other Spaniards are counted to be the worst souldiers, howbeit, in confidence of their great numbers and multitudes they came forward and encountered the Roman forces. But the men of arms had no sooner charged them, but presently, they were disarraied. As for the footmen, they fought in manner not at all. The old approved souldiers, who knew the enemies very well, and were experienced in feats of arms, made a quick dispatch of this skirmish, and soon put all past peradventure. Howbeit, the war was not so ended, nor determined in one battel. The Turdetans levied and waged 1000 Celtiberians, and so maintained war afresh with forrain mercenary forces.

The Consul being stung already with the Rebellion of the Turdetans, and supposing that other Cities would do the like, upon any good occasion and opportunity, disurnished all the Spaniards on this side *Iberus* of their armor and munition. Which they took for such an indignity, that many of them for very melancholly killed themselves: a martial and warlike nation, that thought they were as good be out of the world, as turned out of their arms; and reckoned no life, without their weapons. The Consul having intelligence hereof, commanded the Senators of all those Cities to repair unto him: and when they were assembled together, he used this speech unto them. "It concerneth you (qd. he) no less than us, to give over this rebelling and warring. For never yet to this day have ye entered into the action, but with more loss and damage of Spaniards, than toil and travel of the Roman army. To prevent this mischief that it should not happen, I suppose one good way it is, to contrive and work so, that ye might not possibly be able to rebel. Effect this I would fain, by the easiest mean and course of all other. Assist me I pray you herein with your good counsel: I assure you I will not be directed by any advise more willingly, than by that which you yourselves shall give me. When they held their tongues, and would not speak a word, he said unto them again, that he was content they should pause upon the matter, and consult thereof a few daies. When they were called again, & kept silence in this second meeting and conference as well as in the former, he made no more ado, but in one day rased the wals of all their Cities: which

A which done, he went forward against those that hitherto were not come in, not yielded obedience: and into what quarters soever he came, he received all the States one after another, there bordering and adjoining, into his protection: save only *Segisica*, a wealthy City and of importance, the which he forced with mantelets and rolling pavories, and such like fabricks. More difficulty in subduing these enemies he found, than others afore him who first came into *Spain*; in this regard, for that in times past the *Spaniards* at the beginning revolted unto them, as being weary of the tedious yoke of subjection under the lordly government and tyranny of the *Carthaginians*. But *Cato* had more ado with them now, in that out of liberty and freedom, which they had usurped and been used to, he was to ingage them (as it were) bond, and to bring them again to servitude. Besides, he found all out of frame and order, while some of them were up in arms, others B were forced by siege to revolt, as not able to have held out long, unless they had been rescued and succoured in time. But of this nature and courageous mind was the Consul, that he would himself in person be present and manage all affairs, as well those of smallest moment, as also those of greatest weight and consequence: and not only devise and give direction what was best to be done, but would himself set to his hand, and execute most of the exploits and effect them fully. There was not one amongst them all, that he commanded with more severity and rigour, than his own self. In living nearly in spare feeding, in much watching, in painful travel he strived to surpass and outgo the meanest common soldiers. And no privilege challenged he, no advantage sought he to himself in his whole army above others, but only honour and sovereign command.

The Pretor *P. Manlius* had the more trouble in his war-service, by reason of the *Celtiberians*, C whom (as it hath been said before) the enemies had levied and hired with their money. And therefore the Consul being sent unto by the Pretor his letters, led his legions also thither. Being there arrived, (now the *Celtiberians* and *Turdians* were severally encamped apart one from the other) the Romans fell presently to maintain light skirmishes with the *Turdians*, and ever and anon charged their *corps de guards*: and how rashly and inconsiderately soever they began the game, yet they ever went away winners. As for the *Celtiberians*, the Consul sent certain Tribuns or Knight Marshalls unto them to compare, giving them in charge to make them an offer and tender unto them the choice of three conditions. First, if they could be content to arrange themselves to serve under the Romans, and to receive at their hands double wages to that they bargained for with the *Turdians*. Secondly, whether they would be willing to go their waies home under safe conduct and publick security, besides that their siding with the Roman enemies should not be laid to their charge, nor bring them within the compass of any danger. Thirdly, if they had more mind to war, than, that they should set down some time and place, when and where they might come to an issue, and trie it out in a set battail. The *Celtiberians* required to take a day for to consider better upon these points. So they assembled together in council, with great trouble and confusion, by reason that some *Turdians* were thrust in amongst them; upon which occasion, they might worse grow to any conclusion. Now albeit uncertain it was, whether there would be any war or peace with the *Celtiberians*, yet the Romans gathered their provision out of the territory and boroughs of their enemies, like as in time of peace: yea, and more than that, they entered oftentimes within their fortifications and defences, as if there had been some common traffick E and commerce agreed between them, by way of private truce. The Consul seeing he could not draw the enemy to a battail, first led certain companies lightly appointed with banners displayed, to raze booties in one quarter of the country, which as yet was free, and not tasted of the wars: but afterwards hearing that all the bag and baggage and other cariage of the *Celtiberians* was left at ** Saguntia*, he set forward thither to give an assault to the Town. But seeing that nothing would move and stir them, he paid not only his own soldiers their wages, but also the Pretors Army their due, and leaving the main host in the Pretor his camp, himself returned to the River *Ebro*, accompanied only with seven cohorts. With these forces, as small as they were, he won certain Towns, and there revolted unto him the *Sederans*, *Ansetans*, and *Suessetans*. The *Lacetans* (a Nation living out of the way after a savage manner within the wilds and woods) kept F still in arms, not only upon a natural and inbred wildness, but also upon a guilty conscience, in that whiles the Consul and his army was employed in the *Turdulois* war, they had made suddain rodes and incursions into the Lands of their Allies, and pitifully wasted the same. And therefore the Consul advanced forward to assault their Town, and led against it not only his own cohorts and bands, but also the youth of his Allies, who had good cause to be angry, and to oppose themselves unto them. The Town which they inhabited, lay out in length, but was nothing so wide and large in breadth: and within one half mile or less, he pitched down his ensigns, and planted himself. There he left behind a guard of choise companies, and straightly charged them not to stir out of that place, before he came unto them himself. The rest of his forces he led about unto the farther side beyond the Town. Of all the aid-soldiers that he had about him, the greatest number were the youth of the *Suessetans*, and those he commanded to approach the wall for to give assault. The *Lacetans*, when they took knowledge of their armor and colours calling to mind how often they had overrun them at their pleasure, and wasted their lands without the least emperehment, how many and sundry times they had in ranged battel discomfited and put them to flight, all at once set open the gate, and sallied out upon them. The *Suessetans* were so little able to sustain the forcible charge of their onset, that they hardly could abide the first cry. The Consul seeing now, that come to pass indeed which he suspected would be

* *Gigoma* in *Andalusia*, *Mo* *tali*.

he so, rode a gallop upon the spur to those said cohorts of his own that were left on the other side under the Town, and taking them with him in great haste, whilst all the Townsmen were spread abroad in following the chase after the Suesetans, he led them into the Town at a place where there was no noise, no stirring, and not a man to be seen; and made himself master of all, before the Lacetans were returned back: but within a while he received them to mercy upon their submission: who, poor men, had nothing to yeeld and lole but their bare armor and weapons. Immediately he followed the train of this victory, and led his forces against the hold or strong Town of *Vergium*. This was a receptacle and place of sure receipt for certain Rovers and Theeves, who from thence used to make many rodes into the peaceable parts of that Province. The principal and chief person of *Vergium* quit the place, and betook himself unto the Consul, and began to excuse as well himself as the Townsmen; saying, that the government of the Town and the state thereof lay not in their hands. For why? these robbers after they were once received in among them, seized themselves wholly of that strength, and had all at their command. The Consul willed him to go home again, and to devise and forge some likely and probable cause why he had been absent and out of the way; with this charge and direction, that, when he saw him approach under the walls, and the robbers aforesaid wholly amused and occupied in defence thereof, then he should remember to join with the rest of his part and faction, and be possessed of the fortresse and hold of the Town. This put he in practise and execution accordingly. So whilst the Romans of one side scaled the walls, and they on the other side had taken the fortresse, these barbarians were suddenly at once surpris'd with a two-fold fear before and behind. The Consul when he had gotten the place into his own hands, gave order, that all those who were gotten into the Castle and held it, should remain free, themselves and all their kindred, and likewise enjoy their goods. The rest of the Vergetans he commanded the Treasurer to sell and make money of them. As for the Rovers, they suffred according to their deserts. After he had set the Province in quiet, he laid great tributes and imposts upon the mines of iron and silver: which being once ordained and established, the whole province grew in wealth and riches, every day more than other. For these his exploits achieved in *Spain*, the LL. of the Senat decreed, that there should be a solemn procession at *Rome*, to endure for three dayes.

The same winter, *L. Valerius Flaccus* the other Consul, fought in *France* a set field with the power of the Boians, neer the forest of *Lutania*, and wan the victory. And by report, there were eight thousand Gauls there slain: the rest abandoned the war, and slip't every one into their own Hamlets and Villages. The rest of the winter the Cos. kept his army at *Placentia* and *Cremona* about the *Po*, and repaired in these Cities whatsoever had been decayed and demolished during the wars.

The affairs in *Italy* and *Spain* standing in these terms: when *T. Quintius* had so passed the winter in *Greece*, the setting aside the *Aetolians* (who neither had been recompenced according to the hope that they conceived of the victory, nor yet could long time like of repose) all *Greece* throughout in general enjoying the blessing of peace and liberty, flourished and maintained their state exceeding well, admiring no less the temperance, justice, and moderation of the Roman General after victory, than his valour and prowess in war: there was an Act of the Senat of *Rome* brought and presented unto him, importing thus much, That war was determined against *Nabis* the tyrant of the Lacedemonians. Which when *Quintius* had read, he published and proclaimed a general Diet or Council at *Corinth* against a certain day, when and where all the States associates should assemble by their delegats and Embassadors. Now when there was met together from all parts a frequent number of Princes and great personages, in such sort, that the very *Aetolians* also were not absent, *Quintius* used unto them this or the like speech. "The Romans & Greeks have warred against King *Philip* as ye well know; and as with one mind and common counsel they have so done, so either of them had several quarrels unto him, and privar causes and occasions by themselves to take arms. For *Philip* had broken the league and amity with us Romans, one while by sending aid and maintenance to the Carthaginians our enemies: otherwhiles by assailing our allies in these parts: and to you wards he hath so demeaned himself, that albeit we could not forget and put up all the wrongs that he hath done unto us, the very injuries that ye have received at his hands, minister sufficient cause unto us to war against him for your sake. As for this dayes consultation, it resteth wholly in your selves. For, this I propound unto you, Whether your will is to suffer *Argos* (which as ye know your selves *Nabis* the tyrant holdeth) to remain still under him in obedience: or whether you think it meet and reason, that a most noble and ancient City as it is, seated in the very heart of *Greece*, should be reduced unto liberty, to enjoy the same condition and state wherein other Cities of *Peloponnesus* and *Greece* do stand. This consultation I say, as you well see, entirely toucheth you and your good, and concerneth us Romans no farther than thus, that by the servitude of that one only City, we can not have the full and entire glory of setting *Greece* wholly in liberty. But if you regard not the state of that City, and are not moved with the example thereof and the danger, for fear the contagion of this mischief spread farther: we for our parts are content, and take all in good worth, and will not set you down and teach you what to do. Only I require your advice in this point, minding to resolve upon that, which the Major part of you shall carry by voices. After the Roman General had ended his speech, all the rest began to deliver their opinions. And when the deputed delegate or agent for the Athenians had magnified and extolled as highly as possibly he could, the good

A good demerits of the Romans towards Greece, yielding them great thanks, that upon their request they had granted them aid against *Philip*, and without any petition at all, offered their help and succour against *Nabis* the tyrant; and seemed therewith to be offended and displeased at some, who nevertheless in their talk and speeches found fault and carped at these so great favours and deserts; yea, and spake badly of future events, whereas it behoved them rather to acknowledge and confess how much they were bound and beholden already to the Romans for good turns past: it well appeared that he pointed out directly the *Ætolians*, and girded at them, "Whereupon *Alexander*, a principall and chief man of their nation, inveighed first against the Athenians, who having been in times past the head Captains and maintainers of freedom, betrayed now the common cause, for love of their own privat flatteries. Moreover, he complained that the *Acheans*, who first served *Philip* in his wars, and at the last (when they saw him down the wind and fortune to frown upon him) fell away like disloyal traitors & possessed themselves of *Corinth* to their own behoof, praesiding also to compass and gain unto them the City of *Argos*. As for the *Ætolians*, the first and principall enemies of *Philip*, and alwaies allies and friends to the Romans, howsoever they had expressly and precisely covenanted in the league, to enjoy their towns and territories, after *Philip* was vanquished, were notwithstanding put besides *Echinum* and *Pharsalus*. He charged the Romans with fraud and deceit, who pretending an outward shew, a vain title and colour of liberty, held the Cities of *Chalcis* and *Demetrias* with strong garrisons: and yet when *Philip* made some stay and halting to withdraw and void from thence his armed guards, they were ever wont to object and say, that *Greece* would never be in freedom, so long as *Chalcis*, *Demetrias* and *Corinth* were in his hand: and finally he alledged against them, that under pretence of *Argos* and *Nabis*, they sought occasion to remain still in *Greece* and keep their armies there. Let them (quoth he) transport their legions once into *Italy*, the *Ætolians* would then undertake and promise, that *Nabis* should remove his garrison out of *Argos*, upon composition and with good will, or else they would compell him by force and arms, to be over-ruled by the puissance of all *Greece* united together in one generall consent. By this vain babble of his, he roused *Aristennus* first, the Prator of the *Achaens*, who spake in this wise. Never will *Jupiter Opt. Max.* quoth he, and Queen *Juno* the Patroness of *Argos*, suffer that City to be the recompence or prize between the Lacedæmonian Tyrant, and these pilling and thieving *Ætolians*: to be brought to this hard point and these terms of extremity, as to sustain more misery and calamity when it is recovered by us, than when it was won and taken by him. O *Quintius*, it is not the sea lying between us and them that can defend us from these robbers. What will then become of us, in case they should make themselves a fort and Castle of strength in the midst of *Peloponnesus*? Nought have they of the Greeks but their language, like as they carry nothing of men but their shape and visage. For look into their manners, their fashions and behaviour, they are more rude and cruell than any barbarians, nay, they are more savage than the most wild and ravenous beasts that be. We beseech you therefore O Romans, both to recover *Argos* out of the hands of *Nabis*, and also to establish the State of *Greece* in such sort, that ye leave these parts also safe and secure enough from the robberies and theiving hostility of these *Ætolians*. The Roman Generall *Quintius*, seeing them of all sides to blame and rebuke the *Ætolians*, said, that he would have answered them himself, but that he perceived them all so hatefully bent against them, that more needfull it was that they were to be appeased, than farther provoked. And therefore holding himself satisfied and contented with that opinion which was conceived of the Romans and *Ætolians*, he said, that he would demand what their pleasure was to advise, concerning the war against *Nabis*, unless he rendered *Argos* to the *Achaens*? And when they all were of one mind to make war, he exhorted them to send aids proportionably to the power and strength of each State and City. To the *Ætolians* he sent an Ambassador, more to discover and lay open their intention (as it fell out accordingly) than upon any hope he had to obtain ought at their hands. Unto the Provost Marshals of the camp, he gave commandment to send for the army from *Elatia*.

About this time, when the Ambassadors of King *Antiochus* came unto him to treat about alliance and a league, he answered, That he could say nothing to them nor determine of that point in the absence of those Delegates above said; and therefore they were to repair unto the Senat of *Rome*. Then, himself in person prepared to make an expedition and voyage against *Argos*, with those forces which were brought from *Elatia*. And when he was about *Cleona*, *Aristennus* the Prator, with 10000 foot of *Achaens*, and 1000 horse met him in the way: and not far from thence they joyned both their forces and encamped together. The next day after they came down into the Plain of *Argos*, and chose a place to fortifie and lye in leaguer about four miles from *Argos*. Now was *Pythagoras* the Captain of the Lacedæmonian garrison, who had both married the tyrant his daughter, and was his wives brother besides. This *Pythagoras* against the coming of the Romans, had fortified with strong guards both the Castles (for two there are within *Argos*) and other places, which either had easie access, or were suspected, but as he was employed in these provisions and preparations, he could not dissemble and hide the fear which this arrivall and approach of the Romans strake into him: and beside this forrainterrour from without, there happened also an intestine murther within. There was one *Damocles* an *Argive*, (a young Gentleman of more spirit and courage than wisdom and discretion) who at the first by interposing a mutuall and reciprocal oath, had conspired with certain persons of good sufficiency, about expelling the garrison; but, while he studied to strengthen the conspiracy and his own side, he was not well

assured of their fidelity, and could not judge which of them were true and which not. At he raised upon a time with his complices, the Captain of the garrison sent for him by one of his guards: whereupon he perceived that his complot was revealed: he exhorted therefore the conspirators that were in the way to take arms with him, rather than to die by torture upon the rack: and so with some few about him he marched forward into the market-place, crying often aloud, That as many as loved the safety of the Common-weal should follow him as their head and maintainer of their liberty: but no man moved he with his speech to go after him and take his part: for no hope saw they of any succour at all near at hand: so far off were they from making good account of a sure guard of defence. And as he spake those words, the Lacedæmonians were come round about him, and killed both him and his fellows. After this were others also apprehended: the most part of them were slain, and some few cast into prison. A great number the night following slid down the wall by ropes, and fled to the Romans. These assured the Romans, that if their army had been near the gates, the commotion and conspiracy aforesaid would have taken effect: and in case their camp approached nearer, the Argives would not be in quiet, but make some insurrection: whereupon *Quintius* sent out the footmen lightly appointed, together with the horsemen; who skirmished with the Lacedæmonians about *Cylarabis* (a publike school and place of exercise about a quarter of a mile out of the City) who were sallied out at the gate, and without any great difficulty chaled them within the town: and in that very place where the conflict was, the Roman Generall encamped. One day he spent in escouting an espial, whether any new trouble and uproars arose among them within the City. But when he perceived once that they were all amored for fear, he assembled a Councill to take advice, Whether he were best to give the assault upon *Argos*, or no? All the heads of *Greece*, (except *Aristonius*) agreed with one accord, that since there was no other cause of war elsewhere, it should begin there especially. *Quintius* in no case would like of that course, but willingly he gave ear with evident approbation unto *Aristonius*, as he discoursed and reasoned against the generall opinion and consent of them all: and over and besides added this of himself, That considering the war was enterprised and taken in hand in the behalf of the Argives against the tyrant, there was nothing less befitting and more without sense, than to leave the enemy himself, and to assail and batter the poor City of *Argos*. For his part he would fight at the head, even against the Lacedæmonians and their tyrant, the principall cause of this war. Then having dissolved the Councill, he sent certain cohorts lightly appointed to purvey store of grain. As much as could be found ripe in those parts was cut, mowed, and reaped down immediately and laid up: all that was green they trampled under foot and spoiled, that the enemies soon after might have no good thereof. So he dislodged and removed from thence, and having passed over the mountain *Parthenius*, at three daies end he encamped in the territory of *Carya* near to *Tegen*. In which place he expected the aids of his allies before he would invade the territory of the enemies. From *Philip* there came a thousand and five hundred Macedonians, and of Thessalians forty horse. The Roman Generall staid not now for succours of men (whereof he had sufficient and plenty) but for his provision of victuals, which he had commanded the towns bordering near hand to furnish him withall. Besides there came great forces by sea, and met him there: for by this time was *Lucius Quintius* arrived with forty sail from *Leucas*: also eighteen covered ships of *Rhodes*. And now also was *Euменes* the King, about the Islands *Cyclades*, with ten close hatched and decked ships, thirty gallions, with other smaller vessels among of sundry sorts. Likewise of Lacedæmonians that were exiled and banished persons, there were very many: who, chased and driven out by the oppression and wrongfull dealing of their tyrants, repaired now into the Roman Camp, in hope to recover their native country again. Now a great many had been expelled in divers and sundry ages, since time that the tyrant first usurped rule, and were possessed of *Lacedæmon*. The chief of these exiled persons was one *Agepsolis*, a man to whom by right of descent and lineage the inheritance of the kingdom of *Lacedæmon* appertained. He whiles he was but an Infant hapned to be expelled by *Lycurgus* after the death of *Cleomenes*, who was the first tyrant at *Lacedæmon*.

The tyrant beset thus round about with wars threatening both from sea and land, and destitute in manner of all hope, (considering the proportion of his forces to the power of his enemies:) yet nevertheless neglected not to wage war, but levied out of *Greece* one thousand more (even the chosen flower of all their youth) to the other thousand that he had from thence already. He had besides of mercenary souldiers three thousand in arms: also ten thousand of his own subjects and Citizens of *Lacedæmon*, together with those that he had taken out of the burroughs and villages in the country. Moreover, he fortified the City with trench and mure. And that there might arise no trouble and stir within the town, he held the spirits of men in awe with fear of sharp and rigorous punishments. And forasmuch as he could not hope nor imagine that they desired and wished his good and safety, for that he held some Citizens in suspicion and jealousy: after he had brought forth all his forces into the plain, which they call *Dremos*, he commanded the Lacedæmonians to assemble together without any armour and weapons to an audience: and when they were assembled he environed them with his armed guard. And after some few remonstrances by way of a short preamble, Why they ought to hold him excused at such a time, if he feared every thing, and made all sure as well as he could: considering withall, it was expedient even for them also (as many as the present state of the world might bring in suspicion) to be kept short for being able to execute any attempt, rather than be surprized in the midst of their practices and complots, and

A and so be punished accordingly: even for this cause (saith he) I will have certain persons in safe custody andurance, until such time as the worst of the rebellion which now it is, be ended: And when the rebels be once vanquished, from whom it is thought there will be in case of domesticall rebellions may be prevented: then incontinently will I enlarge them, and for them at liberty. This said, he commanded the names to be called of such persons as themselves of the principall of the youths and as every one of them answered to his name, he clopeth him up fast in prisons: and thence night following, was deved then every one. After this, certain illes (these were they who ever of old time were the Burghers and Villagers, a kind of soldiers and country herds) were accused so have intended to lie unto the enemy and to band with him, who likewise were whipped & sent forth throughout all the isles, and then put to death. By the second example of this cruelty, the rage of the commoners were well cooled and abated, & repaid so thoroughly, that they durst not once quench nor give attempt of any new designes tending to change and alteration. His forces he kept within his strength and places of defence, for neither thought he himselfe strong enough to enter the field and fight a set battell, nor durst abandon the City, seeing the minds of men so wavering, and their affections so unconstant.

Quintus having made his provision and set all things in good order, departed from his standing camp, and the second day came to *Salaria* upon the river *Quana*: in which very place *Antigonus* sometime King of the Macedonians struck a battell (men say) with *Glorius* the tyrant of the Lacedemonians. And there, having intelligence, that from thence he was to mount up in hard ascent and narrow passage, he set a short compass through the mountains, having sent before certain men to level the ground and make the way even, and so got into a large and broad portage, until he came to the river *Eurasus*, which runneth in manner hard under the walls of the City of *Sparta*: where, as the Romans were pitching their tents, even as *Quintus* himselfe with the horsemen and light van-couriers gone before, the Auxiliaries of the tyrant charged upon them who looking for nothing less, because no man had encountered them all the way as they marched, but passed on in their journey as in a peaceable country, were much troubled and affrighted herewith. This fear of theirs continued a good time, while the horsemen called upon the footmen, and they again unto the horsemen; and both the one sort and the other trusted in themselves but little or nothing at all. At length the standards of the legions with their ensignes came forward: and were within sight, and so soon as the companies of the vanguard advanced forth to fight,

D they who erewhile terrified others, were driven in fearful haste themselves into the City. The Romans being retired so far from the wall, as that they were without dart-shot, stood a while ranged in battell array. But after that they saw none of the enemies come abroad against them, returned to their leaguer. The next day after *Quintus* took his way and marched with his army in order of battell along the town side, near unto the river hard at the foot of the hill *Maurus*. The companies of the legionary footmen led the march in the vanguard, the light footmen and the horsemen followed in the rearward, and flanked the rest. *Nabis* kept within the walls his mercenary soldiers (in whom he reposed greatest confidence) arranged under their ensignes, and in readines to fight, purposing to charge the back of his enemies. And the rearward of the Romans was not so soon passed by, but they sallied out of the town at sundry places at once, with as tumultuous a noise as they made the day before. *Appius Claudius* had the leading of the rearward, who having prepared beforehand the hearts of his soldiers, and aduertized them to be prest and ready for what occurrent soever might happen, presently turned the ensignes, and set a compass with the whole army to make head against the enemies. Whereupon there ensued a hot fight which endured a good time, as if two armies had directly encountered one another. In the end, the soldiers of *Nabis* began to give ground and flie: in which flight of theirs they had made less hast, and better ordered themselves, but that the Achaeans who were acquainted well with the ground, and knew the coasts of the country, hotly followed the chase: these made a foul slaughter and butchery among them; and the most part, such as were disperfed here and there in their flight, they disarmed.

E Then *Quintus* encamped near unto *Amphela*, and having harried and wasted all the territory round about the City (which places were very well peopled and very pleasant) when he saw no enemies issue out at the City gates, he removed his camp hard to the river *Eurasus*. From whence he made excursions, wasted all the vale lying under the hill *Targitus*, and the lands bounding and adjoining close to the sea.

Much about the same time *Quintus* made himselfe Master of the towns, situate on the sea side: some yielded willingly, others for fear or perforce. And being afterwards advertized, that the town *Gynethum* served for a place of safe retreat and refuge unto the Lacedemonians in all their exploits and service at sea, and that the Romans lay encamped not far from the sea side, he resolved to assaile it with all forcible means. This town at that time was very strong, well peopled with Citizens and other inhabitants, and sufficiently furnished with all warlike provision and munition. G And in very good time it fell out, that as *Quintus* was entered into this difficult enterprise, King *Eumenes* and the Rhodian fleet arrived. A mighty number of mariners and sea-servitors, gathered out of other Armadoes, within few daies made and furnished all engines and munitions, which were to assault a City so well fortified both by sea and land. Now was the town-wall broken down with the undermining of the fortiers, now was the wall shaken by the push of the ram, and with all there was one rumor that by continuall battery was overthrowen, and with the fall thereof all the wall that stood of each side was tumbling down and lay along. And the Romans endeavour-

redet and there to reach the town, both from the sides where the passage was more than in the
 the end, that the enemies might abandon the defence of the more open place, and might
 the breach made in the wall, and they might but very hard a combat there where they were
 did, but the hope they received of yielding the City, which reason was closed upon and there
 cleaving, said their opinion and their desire. *Demophilus* and *Quintus* governed the town
 sign in equal authority. *Demophilus* had dispatched a courier to the Roman Generall, to
 him that he would betray the town, and when this time and place of execution of this generall
 was agreed upon between them, the water was killed by *Demophilus* by occasion whereof
 the City was the better defended with more careful heed by him alone, yet and the assault there
 of had been more difficult, but that *Quintus* came to succour and help with four thousand
 and five hundred. He was no sooner discovered with an army ranged in battell array from the
 brow and top of the hill that is now far distant from the town, while *Demophilus* within from
 another side followed the assault with his ordnance and artillery both by sea and land, but *Demophilus*
 then began himself to despair in desperado, and was driven perforce to take the very chance which
 in another he had punished by death: and upon composition that he might depart and have away
 with him those soldiers which he had in garrison, he delivered up the City to *Quintus*.

Before that *Quintus* was rendered, *Pythagoras* left his Capitaine *Argos*, leaving the guard and
 defence of the City into the charge of *Timochares* of *Phoenia*, came with a thousand waged sol-
 diers, and two thousand Argives unto *Nabis* at *Ugentium*. And *Nabis* like as at the first arrival
 of the Roman fleet, and the tumults within of the town standing by the sea side, was much af-
 frighted, so he had recovered again some little hope and was well cheered in mind, to long as *Op-
 idius* held out still in his garrison within the town kept their own. But after he heard once that
 it also was yielded unto the Romans, and lost, being no hope left by land side, which was wholly
 possessed by the enemies, and that he was altogether shut up from the sea, he thought it best to
 yield unto fortune. And first he sent an herald into the camp, to know whether the enemies would
 permit and suffer him to send his Ambassadors unto them. Which being granted, *Pythagoras* re-
 ceived unto the General with no other charge and commission, but only to request that they
 might part with the Roman Generall. Hereupon the Council was assembled, and generally
 opined it was, that there should be granted unto him a conference, inasmuch, as both time and
 place was agreed upon and appointed. Now when they were come to the hills standing in the
 midst of that quarter, with some small companies of soldiers attending on either side upon them,
 they left their colours behind them, standing in guard, within the open view and sight of both
 parts: and then *Nabis* came down with a certain chosen guard for his body, and *Quintus* ac-
 companied with his brother, *Ennius* the King, *Sabinus* the Rhodian, and *Aristhenus* the Prætor
 of the Achæans, with some few knight Marthals and Colonels. And then the tyrant being put to
 his choice, whether he would speak first, or hear another, began his speech in this wise.

The Oration
 of *Nabis*.

If I could have bethought my self, O *Quintus*, and you all that are here present, & imagined
 what the cause should be, that you either proclaimed or made war first against me, I would have
 attended the issue of my fortune with silence. But now I could not have that Mastery and com-
 mand of my self to forbear, but that before I perish, I would needs know the reason and cause
 of my ruin and overthrow. Surely, if ye were such men as the Carthaginians are reported to be,
 persons whom there is no regard of truth, no trust and security in covenants of society and alli-
 cence, I would not then marvel at all if you made small reckoning, & cared but little what mea-
 sure ye offered unto me. But now, when I behold and advise you well, I see you are Romans,
 whose manner is to entertain most duly and precisely the observation of holy fires & divine Re-
 ligion, and the faithful keeping of human league and alliance. When I consider and look into my
 self, I hope and think verily that I am one, with whom in generall, as well as with the rest of the
 Lacedæmonians ye are linked by virtue of a most ancient league, and in particular regard of my
 self, a private amity and society hath been lately renewed by the war with *Philip*. But peradven-
 ture some man will say, That I have broken and overthrown the same first, in that I hold the Ci-
 ty of the Argives. And how shall I be able to answer this, and excuse my self? Shall I plead to the
 substance of the matter, or to the circumstance of the time? The thing it self presenteth unto me
 a twofold plea for my defence. For being called by the inhabitants themselves of the City, who
 offered the town unto me, I received it at their hands, and in no wise seized upon it by force: I
 received it, I say, when it sided and took part with *Philip*, before it was comprised within your
 league. As for the time it justifieth and cleareth me also and my doings. For even then when as I
 was possessed of *Argos*, I was allied and associated with you in good accord, and in our covenants,
 we articulated and capitulated to send aids unto you for your wars, and not to withdraw the gar-
 rison from *Argos*. And verily, in this difference and question about *Argos*, I have the vantage as
 well in regard of the equity of the fact, in that I received a City not of yours but of your ene-
 mies received it I say, nor surprised by force, but offered and delivered willingly. It also by your o-
 wn confession, for that in the conditions of the association agreed between us, ye left *Argos*
 free unto me. But it may be that the name of tyrant hurteth me, and some of mine actions con-
 demn me much, and namely, that I set slaves free, and divide lands to the poor commons. As for
 the name, thus much I am able to answer, that, such as I am, better or worse, still I am the very
 same man, and no other than I was when you, even you O *Quintus*, entered alliance with me:
 then, I remember well, I was called King among you, and now I am termed a Tyrant. And
 therefore

A "therefore if I my self had changed the staid stile of my dignity and government, I must have yielded a reason and account of my levity and inconstancy: but seeing you have altered it, ye ought to answer for your levity. Now as concerning the multitude so augmented by the enfranchising of slaves, as touching the land, also, parted and distributed among the poor and needy, I can maintain and justify my doings herein, & protect me under the defence and privilege of the very time. For all these things, as they as they be may, I had done already, when ye made a league and covenant with me, and received aide at my hand in the war against Philip. But in case I had done so at this very present, I stand not now upon this, whether I either had offended you or broken your amity, but thus much I aver, that done I had according to the custom and fashion of our ancestors. And ye must not think to square and try the practice of *Lacedaemon* according to the rule and square of your laws and ordinances. For to let pass many other things (and needless it is to compare particulars: ye chuse your gentlemen or men of arms according to their revenue: according to revenue, ye chuse likewise the footmen. Your will is that some few should excell in wealth and power, & the commons be subject and vassals unto them. Our Law-giver thought not good, that the common-wealth should be ruled by a few, whom you call a Senate: nor that one or two States should excel & have preeminence in the City; but he thought that in the equality of wealth & worship, there would be many more to bear arms for their country. I have made it longer discover, I confess, than the ordinary and natural brevity of our speech in these parts will bear. And I might have knit all up in one word and said, that I had done nothing after I was entered into amity with you, where with you needed to have taken any offence & been duplicated. Then the Roman General made answer to these points in this manner. No friendship nor association at all have we made with you but with *Peloponnetus* & lawful R. of the *Lacedaemonians*; whereof I must needs say that the tyrants also who afterwards held the signory & sovereignty of *Lacedaemon*, have usurped the right, and enjoyed the benefit during the time that we were otherwise employed, and wholly busied one while in the Punick wars, another while in the Gauls, and evermore in one or other: like as you also have done in this last Macedonian war. For what was less unfitting and more absurd, than for us who waged war against Philip for the liberty of *Greece*, to conclude amity with a tyrant and such a tyrant, as of all others that ever have been is most cruel, most violent and outrageous with his own subjects? And considering that we were entered into the couple and train of letting all *Greece* at liberty, albeit you had not possessed your self of *Argos* by covin, nor held the same by force, yet it behoved us to restore *Lacedaemon* also to her ancient liberty, and to settle her in her own laws, whereof ere while you would seem to make mention, as if you had followed the steps of *Lycurgus*. Shall we make care and take the pains to void the garrisons of Philip out of *Iassus* & *Bargilla*; and when we have so done, leave to be trodden under your feet, *Argos* & *Lacedaemon*, two most noble Cities, the two lights as it were in times past of all *Greece*; which remaining still in servitude and slavery, might deface the rest of our glory, & mar the title that we aim at, of Saviours and Deliverers of *Greece*? But you say, that the Argives friended Philip and took his part. We are content well enough, that you should not trouble your self, and be angry for our sake. For we know for certain, that this was the fault of two or three persons at most, and not of the whole City: and we know as well, that it was not agreed in any publike councill, that you and your garrison were sent for and received into the Castle. As for the Thebans, the Phocians, & Locrians, they sided with Philip, we won right well, by a general consent of all; and yet when we enfranchised all *Greece* besides, we also set them at liberty. What think you then should we do in regard of the Argives, who are innocent for any publike counsel intended against us? You said that you were blamed & charged sore for setting bondslaves free. No small objections these are. I assure you, nor of little importance. But what are they in comparison of other bad parts and heinous facts, committed by you and your followers day by day, one in the head of another? Grant but liberty of an Assembly general either at *Argos* or *Lacedaemon*, wherein the people may speak their minds freely, and what they know by you without impeachment: if you would learn the truth indeed, and hear the particular of a most proud and unsupportable dominion and tyranny. And to let all old matters go by. What a bloody massacre committed this son in law of yours *Pythagoras*, even almost within my very sight in *Argos*; what a slaughter and butchery made you your self, when when I was well-near within the manches of *Lacedaemon*. But come on those persons whom in a general assembly you caused to be stretched, and promised in the presence of all the Citizens to keep them safe and sure in ward: some on, I say, command them to be brought forth, and bound as they be, that their poor fathers & mothers may understand they are alive, whom they have mourned for so much without cause, as if they had been dead. But you will say for ease of the heart, what is that to you *Romans*? Dare you indeed break out and say so much to those that deliver *Greece* and their free? To those I say, that for the freedom thereof have passed the seas, have warred both by land and sea? And yet all this while (say you) I have not directly & strictly charged you, nor properly intimated & broken your friendship and amity. No have you not? How often would you have made complaint of the contrary? But I will not use many words & much circumstance, but come to the very crutch and point of the matter. What be the things I say, your friendship is commonly broken? I take it they at these two especially, namely if you take my friends for your foes, and joyn your self to my enemies. You have done both these and the other, for you have taken by force and arms *Messana*, a City received

* Hereupon it is, that they who use few words and pithy, are said to speak *Laconice*: and that manner of speech is called *Laconismus*. The answer of *Quintus*.

"into our society and alliance by the very same conditions and covenants that *Lacedæmon* was:
 "you I say our allies, have forced a City allied unto us. Again, with *Philip* our enemy, you have not
 "only concluded amity, but (God save all) contracted alliance and affinity by means of *Philetes*
 "a Colonell and Commander of his: and making war against us, you have kept the seas all about
 "*Malen* with your men of war and rovers: and I think I may safely say, you have taken prisoners,
 "and killed more Roman Citizens than *Philip* himself. And the whole sea-coast of *Academy* hath
 "less infested our ships that use to bring provision unto our armies, and been more safe for passage
 "than the promontory & cape of *Malen*. Do you forbear therefore to make such vaunt of such
 "fury: spare you, of all other, to speak of the rights of alliance: and laying off the mask of popular
 "language and civil speech, talk as a tyrant and enemy as you are. Upon this, *Ariftnus* dealt with
 "*Nabis*, one while admonishing and advertising him, another while requesting and entreating him,
 "now that the opportunity was offered, to provide for himself and his whole estate: he began to
 "discourse unto him of the Tyrants of all the states confining thereabout one after another by
 "name, who when they had resigned up and laid down their absolute sovereignty of command,
 "and restored liberty to their subjects, passed their old age among their Citizens, not only in re-
 "pose and security, but also in great honour and reputation. These words uttered & heard between
 "them to and fro, the night drew on apace & parted the conference. The morrow after, *Nabis* pro-
 "mised, seeing the Romans would have it so, to quit the City *Argos*, to withdraw his garrison from
 "thence, and to deliver again all the captives and fugitive traitors that were under his hands: and
 "if they demanded any more of him, he requested that they would set it down in writing, that he
 "might consult thereof with his friends. So, both the Tyrant had respite and time granted to take ad-
 "vice, and also *Quintus* sat in Council with the principall heads of his allies what to do. The
 "most part were of opinion to maintain the war still, and to kill the tyrant out of the way: for
 "never would the liberty of *Greece* be otherwise firm and sure: and better far had it been, never to
 "have entred into arms with him, than being once begun, to give it over. And he will, say they, be
 "greater and more strong hereafter, as if his tyrannicall government were approved, and no doubt
 "he would vouch the people of *Rome* for author of his unjust rule and dominion, and will induce
 "and incite by his example many in other free States and Cities, to lie in wait to work means to o-
 "verthrow the liberty of Citizens, and to bring them into thralldom and bondage. The Generall,
 "of himself was more affected and inclined to peace: for he saw, "that if the enemy were once di-
 "ven within the walls, there was no way but to lie in siege against the City, and that would re-
 "quire long tract of time: forasmuch as it was not *Gythion* (and yet that was betrayed and ren-
 "dred and not forced by assault) but *Lacedæmon*, a most strong town both for men and munition,
 "that they were to lay siege unto and assault. And whereas the only hope was, that when they
 "approached with the army, there might some dissention and sedition have risen among them-
 "selves within: now when as they saw the ensignes in manner advanced hard to the City gates,
 "there was not one that mutined or stirred at all. He added moreover and said, That *Vilius* the
 "Embassador newly returned from *Antiochus*, reported, how all was not found there, nor the
 "peace like to continue: and that he had passed over into *Europe* with far greater forces both for
 "land and at sea, than at any time heretofore: and if (quoth he) the army should be wholly em-
 "ployed in the siege of *Lacedæmon*, what other power have we to maintain war withall against
 "so puissant and mighty a Prince as is *Antiochus*? These were the remonstrances that openly he
 "gave out: but secretly he was troubled in mind for fear lest a new Consul should come in his place,
 "and have the government of the Province of *Greece*: and so he should leave unto his successor,
 "the honour of the victory of a war commenced by him, and in good forwardness. But when he
 "perceived that his allies were nothing inclined to his waies, notwithstanding all his contradic-
 "tion and bending to the contrary, by making semblant that he now drew with them and was of
 "their mind, he won them all to approve his designment and intention. "Well, God speed our
 "hand (quoth he): let us besiege *Lacedæmon* since ye will needs have it so: but considering that
 "the laying siege unto Cities, is a thing as ye well know, that goeth so slowly forward, and of-
 "tentimes maketh the assailants sooner weary than the defendants: you ought even now to call
 "this account presently with your selves, that we must lie all winter long about the walls of
 "*Lacedæmon*. And were there nothing but travel and perill, that during so long time we were
 "to endure, I would exhort and encourage you to suffer and abide the same, with stout bodies
 "and resolute minds. But besides all that, we must be at great cost and expences about fabrics,
 "engins, and instruments of artillery, requisite to the assault of so great a City: we must I say be
 "provided of victuals good store against winter, as well to serve us as you. Be well advised
 "therefore to the end that you should not suddenly in haste huddle up these matters, or after ye
 "are once entred into the action, give over and abandon it with shame) that ye dispatch
 "your letters aforesaid every one to the State wherein he liveth, and sound them to the depth,
 "how their hearts serve them and what strength and forces they have. Of aids & succours I have o-
 "enough and to spare: but the more in number we are, the more maintenance shall we need. At
 "this time the territory of our enemies hath nothing but bare soile and naked ground: and
 "withall, the winter is coming on apace, all which season, carriage (especially far off) is cum-
 "bersome and hard. This Oration at the first caused them every one to regard and look homeward
 "to domestick difficulties and inconveniences, namely, the idleness, the envy and backbiting
 "of those which tarry at home, against them that are employed in warfare: the common liberty
 "(which

A (which causeth men of one society and commonalty hardly to accord and sort together) the publicke want of treasure, and the niggardice of private persons, when they are to part with any thing out of their own purses. And therefore suddenly changing their minds, they put to the discretion of the Roman Generall, to do and determine what he thought expedient for the good of the people of *Rome* and their allies. Whereupon *Quintus* taking the advice only of his own Lieutenants and Provost-Marshalles, engrossed these Articles and conditions following, according to which peace should be concluded with the Tyrant. *Imprimis*, That there be a truce made for the term of six months between *Nabis* and the Romans, King *Eumenes* and the Rhocians, *Item*, That both *T. Quintus* and *Nabis* should immediately send Embassadors to *Rome*, that the peace might be raised and confirmed by the authority of the Senat. *Item*, That from that day forward, where-
B in the conditions put down in writing should be presented unto *Nabis*, the truce aforesaid should begin. *Item*, That within ten daies next after ensuing, all the garrisons quit *Argos* and the rest of the towns within the territory of the Argives: and then those peeces to be delivered void and free unto the Romans. *Item*, That no slave taken captive in wars, belonging either to the King, or to any publicke state, or private person, be had away from those towns: and if any before time had been carried forth, they should be restored again duly to their right Masters. *Item*, That *Nabis* should deliver again those ships that he had gotten from the maritime Cities, and that himself have no vessel at all but only two gallions, and those to have no more than six and twenty oars apiece to direct and rule them. *Item*, That he render all the runagate Traitors and captives unto all the Cities confederate with the people of *Rome*, as also make restitution to
C the Messenians of all their goods again, that either could be found, or the owners know certainly to be theirs. *Item*, That he restore to all the banished Lacedæmonians their wives and children: but of the wives, so many only as would be content to follow their husbands: and that none of them should be compelled against their wills to go with any exiled person. *Item*, That to as many mercenary souldiers of *Nabis*, as were either gone from him into their own Cities, or to the Romans, all their own goods should be justly and truly delivered again. *Item*, That in the Island of *Creta* he should not be possessed of any one City: and look what Cities he then held, he yield them to the Romans. *Item*, That he enter into alliance with no Candior, nor with any other whatsoever, nor yet make war with them. *Item*, That he remove all the garrisons out of all the Cities that himself had delivered up, and which had surrendered themselves and all they had, under
D the protection and obedience of the people of *Rome*, and not molest them neither by himself nor any of his. *Item*, That he build no town nor Castle, either in his own land or in any other. *Item*, That for the more assurance of performing these covenants, he give five hostages, such as it should please the Roman Generall to choose: and namely, his own son for one of them. Last of all, That he make present payment of one hundred talents of silver, and fifty more yearly untill the term of eight years be run out. These Articles engrossed, were sent to Lacedæmon, after the Camp was removed nearer to the City. But nothing well pleased was the tyrant with any of them. Only he was well apaid, that beyond his hope and expectation, there was no mention at all therein of reducing the exiled persons home into the City. But that which offended and displeased him most was this, that both shipping was taken from him, and also the maritime
E port towns: for great commodity he gat by the sea, in scouring the coast from the cape of *Malea* with his pyrats and men of war: and besides, the youth and able men of those Cities, served his turn very well to furnish and man his ships with the very best souldiers and men of service that were. And albeit he scanned and considered upon these articles in great secrecy with his friends, yet were they all of them divulged abroad and current in every mans mouth: so vain are these counsels commonly and hardly to be trusted, as in all things else so especially in keeping of secret counsell. These conditions were controlled and found fault with, not so much by all men in generall, as by each one in particular, as they took exceptions against those points that touched and concerned themselves. They that had married the wives of the banished, or were possessed of any part of their substance, chafed, and stormed thereat, as if they were to lose and forgo their
F own, and not to render and restore the goods of others. The slaves who had been freed by the tyrant, were now not only to lose the benefit of that freedom, but also to endure harder servitude and bondage than aforesaid: setting before their eyes how they should return again into the houses and hands of their old Masters, angry and incensed now against them. The hired souldiers were malecontent, for that they saw they should lose their pay after peace concluded: and saw full well, that there was no being for them in those States and Cities, who hated the tyrant themselves no more than their followers and attendants. At first they muttered and murmured, whispering these things among themselves in their secret meetings and conventicles: afterwards they mutined, and on a sudden ran and took arms. The Tyrant seeing the multitude disquieted enough of themselves with this tumult, assembled the people together. Where, after he had declared the conditions imposed upon him by the Romans, and in every article had unjustly put to somewhat of his own devising, to aggravate all matters and make them seem more grievous and intollerable, at the rehearsing of every particular the whole assembly one while cried out, and another while the sundry parts thereof, set up a note of interdislike. Then he asked their opinion what answer they would have him to return unto those Articles, and what to do? They all in manner with one voice accorded and said, that there was no answering of the matter, but that he should plainly go to war, and make no more
G ado.

add. And that every man for his own part (as the usual manner is of a multitude, when they are together) should take a good heart, and hope the best, saying that Fortuna favoured Fortitude. The tyrant incited with these their words, seconded them himself, & assured them that the Achaean and the Aetolian would take their parts and assist them, and if they did not, yet were they strong enough of themselves, and had sufficient means to endure the siege. No more talking now, nor thinking of peace, but every man was ready to run in hand to his several quarters, and stand upon their own guard, without any rest or repose from thenceforth. The Romans (so soon as they saw some few of them to sally out of the City, and to discharge their darts among them, were soon put out of all doubt, that no other remedy there was, but they must to war again. After this, there passed certain light skirmishes four daies together, at first without any assured issue of good speed, either of the one part or the other: but the fife day after one conflict fought in manner almost of a set battell, certain Roman souldiers following the chase upon their enemies, and killing them in their flight, entered the City at certain void places, where the wall was not united; for in that order were the walls built of that town in those daies. *Quintus* then verily, having well bridled and tamed by this terror his enemies for making any more excursions, and supposing that there remained no more, but lustily to go to an assault, sent out certain of purpose for to call the mariners & sea-servitors from *Gythium*, whiles himself in person, accompanied with the Provost Marshalls, rode about the walls to view the situation of the City. This *Sparta* in times past stood without murage. And the tyrants of late daies had built walls against the open flats and plain fields. The high ground and of harder access, they fortified with strong corps de guards of armed souldiers, instead of bulwarks of defence. When *Quintus* had sufficiently considered every corner, he supposed there was no other way but to invest it round about, and thereupon with all his forces united (which being all together Roman Citizens and Latine allies foot and horse, and souldiers and sea-servitors one with another, amounted to 50000 fighting men) he compassed and environed the City. Some brought scaling ladders, some fire, every man one thing or other, not only to give an assault, but also to terrifie and amaze them: with direction and expresse commandment, with a loud cry and shout at once in all places to approach the walls, & give the venture upon them: to the end, that the Lacedaemonians affrighted at one instant on every side, might not know which way to turn them, and be to seek, where first to make head against the enemies, and in what place to come with succours. Having therefore divided the whole power of his army into three parts, he gave the one of them in charge to assault that quarter which was called *Phaedrum*; a second likewise to set upon that which is named *Daphneum*, and the third to force the canon *Hephyronia*; places all lying open and without a wall. The City being thus seized on all sides, with so great fear, the tyrant moved and troubled to hear those sudden outcries & fearful news brought unto him by hasty messengers: according as any place stood most in danger, at the first, either presented himself in proper person, or else sent some to help; but afterwards, seeing the fear so general, and no one place void of danger, he was so astonished, that unable he was either himself to give good direction to others, or to hear theirs. So void was he, and disurnished of advice and counsel, and bereft of his right wits and senses. The Lacedaemonians at first had sustained the furious violence of the Romans in the narrow streights and passages, & at one time in diverse places, three armies fought on either side; but afterwards, as the heat of the fight increased, the service was nothing equal of both parties: for the Lacedaemonians discharged shot from which the Roman souldiers easily saved themselves, by means of their large targets, and with all much thereof either fell short, and besides, or else so feebly slied from them, that little or no harm they could do. For by reason of the streightness of the place, and the multitude so thronged and thrust together, they had not only no space to take their run, when they should lance their darts, the best means of all other to enforce them, but not so much as fore footing, and at ease to drive and level them with all their strength. In so much as of all the darts and javelins which were directly shot at them, none at all pierced to their bodies, & very few so much as stuck in their bucklers. Many some happened to be wounded from the higher places, by those that stood near unto them, and about their sides. And anon as they advanced forward they chanced to be hurt, not only with arrows & darts from off the houses, but also with tiles and slates ere they were aware. But afterwards, they covered their heads with their targets, which they set so close united together one under the other, featherwise, that not only there was no place of entrance for the darts thrown and cast at random, no, nor so much as any room for a weapon to get between, levelled though it were, and aimed near at hand: so as under this target-fence they approached nearer and nearer in safety. At the first the narrow and straight passages filled with the throng both of themselves and also of the enemies so thrust and crowded together, staid them for a while; but afterwards, when they had by little and little gathered upon the enemies, and put them back, and were come into a larger and more spacious street of the City, then their force and violence could not possibly be endured any longer. Now when the Lacedaemonians turned their backs, and fled apace to gain the higher places for their vantage, *Nabis* verily for his part trembling and quaking as if the City had been quite lost, looked about him on every side, which way himself might escape and save himself. But *Pythagoras* as in all things else he performed the devoir and part of a courageous Captain, so he was the only cause that the town was not lost: for he commanded to set fire on the houses standing next to the wall, which in the minute of an hour burned out on a light flame, as being set forward by the help of those who otherwise were wont to quench the like carefires: whereupon

A which upon the Roman side swelling and bubbling down upon the Roman heads, and not only the soldiers but also the master pieces that were left upon the slain soldiers, the flame spread still far and near, and the smothering smok put them in fear of more danger than was. And therefore, as well these Romans who were without the City in the hottest of their assault, retreated from the walls as also those that were within already, for fear by the fire behind them they should be separated from their fellows, retired themselves. *Quintus* also seeing how the case stood, caused to sound the second ward so being recalled they returned out of the City which they had as good as again into the camp. And *Quintus* conceiving more hope by the fear of the enemies than of the thing itself and the service done, but as gave over for three daies to terrifie them partly by skirmishing, and partly by intrenching and Ropping up certain quarters, that they might have no passage to fly and look for themselves. The tyrant continued at length with these dangers menaced, sent *Pythagoras* again in to *Onoratus* *Quintus*. But he at first rejected him and commanded him to want out of the camp. Yet in the end after he had made most humble supplications, and set himself prostrate at his knees he gave him audience. The beginning of his speech was this, that he yielded altho the discretion and former award of the Romans. But seeing that he gained nothing thereby, and that his words took no effect, they grew at length to this point, that upon the same capitulations which few daies before were exhibited up in writing, a truce should be made, and henceforth was both the money and also the hostages received.

B While the tyrant was besegged and assailed, there came post upon post to *Argos*, that *Lacedaemon* was at the point of being lost: whereupon the *Argives* took such heart and courage into them (by reason that *Pythagoras* with the best part of the garrison soldiers was departed before out of their town) that concerning the small number which remained in their fortres, under the leading of one *Archippus*, they expelled the rest of the garrison. As for *Antocrates* of *Pellene* their Captain, because he had behaved himself in his charge and government gently and mildly, they sent him away alive with safe conduct. At the very instant of this joyfull occurrent, *T. Quintus* arrived after he had granted peace to the tyrant and sent away from *Ephedamon*, *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians* together with *L. Quintus* his brother to the fleet. The City of *Argos* in great joy proclaimed the celebration of their most solemn feast, and those so famous and renowned games and pastimes called *Nemean*, against the coming of the Roman army and their Generall, which they had forelet upon the ordinary time and day by occasion of the troubles of war. And for the

D honour of *Quintus*, they ordained him to be the overseer of these solemnities. Many things there were so redouble and increase this their joy and solace to the full. The Citizens were redeemed from *Lacedaemon* whom *Pythagoras* of late and *Nabis* aforesaid had carried away. They also were returned home again who had fled and escaped, after the conspiracy of *Pythagoras* was detected, and the massacre begun. Now they saw their liberty again, whereof they had lost the light a long time: now they beheld the Romans the authors thereof, and who for their sakes were induced to take arms and enterprise the war with the tyrant. Also upon the very day of the *Nemean* games, the liberty of the *Argives* was published and proclaimed by the voice of the publicke beadle and crier of the City. But look how much joy and hearts content the *Achaeans* conceived in their common and generall Council of all *Achaia*, for the restoring of *Argos* into their ancient freedom, so much troubled they were again, in regard that *Lacedaemon* was left still

E in servitude, and the tyrant so near unto them ready ever to prick their sides, whereby their joy was not so sound and entire. But the *Etolians* in all their Diets inveighed mightily against this, saying, That the Romans never gave over the war with *Philip* before he had abandoned all the Cities of *Greece*: as for *Lacedaemon*, it was left still under a tyrant and in the mean while the lawfull and naturall King who had been in the Roman camp, and all the rest of the noblest Citizens should live in exile. For now the people of *Rome* was become a pensioner to guard the body of tyrannizing *Nabis*. Then *Quintus* brought back his army from *Argos* to *Elatia*, from whence he departed to the Spartan war. Some write, that the tyrant when he fought with the Romans, came not immediately out of the City: but that he was lodged without by himself full opposite to the Roman camp: and that after he had made good a long time, expecting the aid of the *Etolians*, he was driven in the end to a battell by occasion that the Romans charged upon the forragers and purveyors of his camp: in which battell he was vanquished and beaten out of the field, and craved peace, after that fiftie thousand of his men were slain, and four thousand taken prisoners, and above

G At one and the same time in a manner were letters brought both from *T. Quintus* touching the affairs achieved at *Lacedaemon*, and also from *M. Porcius* the Consul out of *Spain*. And by order from the State, there was granted in the name of either of them a solemn procession to come to the *Comitia*. *M. Porcius* the Consul, after he had governed his Province in quietness upon the defeat of the *Boians* about the forest of *Enna*, returned to *Rome* against the generall assembly for election of Magistrates, and created Consuls, *P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus* the second time, and *T. Sempronius Longus*, whose fathers had been Consuls in the first year of the second Punic war. Then the Assembly was holden for the election of Praetors, wherein were chosen *Publius* *Scipio* *Africanus* the second time, *Cornelius*, the one *Merenda*, and the other *Blasio*: *Cn. Domitius* *Calpurnius* *Severus* *Dignatus*, and *T. Junius* *Tullus*. When these elections were finished, the Consul went again into his Province. That year the *Ferentinians* assailed to obtain a new privilege, requiring that as many *Latines* as were enrolled in any Roman Colony, should be

be Citizens of *Rome*. But they of *Patris Sclavonia* and *Buxentum*, who were Colonies, had their names entered there, and by that means claiming themselves as Roman Citizens, were adjudged by the Senat to be no Citizens of *Rome*.

In the beginning of this year, wherein *P. Scipio Africanus* was Consul the second time, with *Sempronius Longus*, two Embassadors of *Nabis* the tyrant arrived at *Rome*. For to give satisfaction, the Senat assembled together without the City in the Temple of *Asclepius*. There getting word that the peace agreed upon with *Quintus* might be ratified, and their aim was gained. When it was moved, as touching the government of the Provinces; the Senat (assembled in great frequency) were all of this opinion. That forasmuch as in *Spain* and *Macedony* the war was ended, both Consuls should have the government of *Italy*. *Scipio* was of advice, That one Consul was sufficient for *Italy*, and that the other should be employed in *Macedony*. And why? there was great fear, lest he might be taken from King *Antiochus*: himself already was passed over into *Europe*. And when they think yet, quoth he, will he then do, when the *Atolians* (who doubtless are enemies) shall beside shall solicit and call upon him for to war, and *Antiochus* a warlike and commander to be renowned for the defeats and overthrowes of the Romans, shall pitch him forward to the action. While they debated thus about the Province of the Consuls, the Prætors cast lots for their severall governments. The City jurisdiction fell to *Q. Domitius*, the forraine to *T. Junius*. To *P. Cornelius* the former *Spain* was allotted, and the latter to *Sax. Digitius*. *Ca. Cornilius* had *Sicily* assigned unto him, and *Marcus* was charged with *Sardinia*. It was not thought good that a new army should be transported over into *Macedony*. But concluded it was, that the army there should be brought back by *Quintus* into *Italy*, and discharged. Item, That that the army likewise should be called, which had served under *M. Porcius* in *Spain*. Item, That both Consuls should govern *Italy*, and levy two legions of Citizens to go thither, that when those forces were dismissed and licensed to go home, which it pleased the Senat to set at liberty, there should be eight Roman legions in all, and no more in pay.

In the former year, when *M. Porcius* and *L. Calpurnius* were Consuls, there had been held a solemnity of a sacred Spring. But when *P. Licinius*, the high Pontifex made report first to the Colledge of the Priests, and by the advice and authority of that Colledge, unto the L.L. of the Consuls. That there was some error committed, and that it was not performed accordingly: the Senators ordained, that it should be done again, according to the discretion and direction of the Pontifex aforesaid. Also that the great Roman Plaies, which together with that Spring were allowed, should be exhibited with the accustomed cost and expence: And that all young men that fell between the Calends of *March*, and the last day of *April*, in that year wherein *P. Cornelius*, *Scipio* and *T. Sempronius Longus* were Consuls, should be accounted as consecrated for that sacred Spring above-named. After this, there was an assembly held for the choosing of Censors, wherein were created *Sex. Elius* *Petrus*, and *C. Cornilius Cethegus*: who chose *P. Scipio* the Consul, President of the Senat, like as the Censors before them had done. In the survey and review of the whole Senat, they left out and discarded three only, and none of them who had borne office of State, and sat in the Ivory chair. Great love these Censors won amongst them of that calling and equality, in giving commandment to the *Ediles curule*, that at the Roman games and plaies they should set out places apart from the rest of the people for the Senators to behold the said sports. For aforesaying they beheld the sports and pastimes all together, without regard and distinction. Few also of the Gentlemen or Knights of *Rome* had their horses of service taken from them: and rigorously dealt they with no estate and degree. The porch of Liberty, and the bannet called *Vila publica*, were by them repaired and enlarged. The sacred Spring was celebrated, and the games vowed by *Se. v. Sulpitius* the Consul, were by them exhibited. And while all men were amused, and their minds occupied thereupon, *Q. Pleminius*, who had been cast in prison for divers and sundry outrages committed at *Locri*, to the great offence of God and man, had procured certain persons, who in the night season at one instant should set on fire many places of the City, to the end that while all the people were affrighted in this night tumult, he might break prison and escape. This complot was discovered and reported to the Senat by some of them that were privy and accessory thereunto. And *Pleminius* was let down into a lower dungeon, and there killed.

That year were certain Colonies of Roman Citizens conducted to *Patris*, *Tulturnum*, and *Buxentum*, and three hundred men planted in each of them. Likewise Colonies of Roman Citizens were brought to *Salernum* and *Buxentum*. The Triumvirs who had the placing of them were *T. Sempronius Longus*, Consul for the time being, *M. Servilius* and *Q. Adianus* *Thibullus*. The territory of the Campans was divided amongst them. Three other also deputed for the like purpose, *D. Junius Brutus*, *M. Babius Tampilus*, and *M. Helvius* placed a Colony of Roman Citizens in *Sipontum* to enjoy the lands of the *Aprians*. Likewise other Colonies of Roman Citizens were planted in *Tempe* and *Crotone*. The lands belonging to *Tempe* were won from the *Arrians*, who had expelled the *Greeks*: and the *Greeks* remained in *Crotone*. The Triumvirs for *Crotone* were *Cn. Octavius*, *L. Brutus* *Paulus*, and *C. Platerius*: and for *Tempe* *L. Cornilius*, *Adianus*, and *C. Salentinus*. Also that year were kept at *Rome* divers wonderful and prodigious sights, and others were reported from other parts. In the common place place, in the public Hall, Comitium, and Capitol, were seen certain drops of blood. And oftentimes it rained earth. The third of *October* was seen fire. News came that at *Turraunum* there ran a stream of milk. Also that at *Antium* there were

A were two Infants both of free condition, born without eyes and nose, and another in the Picene country handless and footless. These strange tokens were by order given from the chief Pontifices, looked unto and expiated, and a Novendial sacrifice continued for nine daies, because the Adrians brought word that in their territory it rained stones.

In Gaul near to Mediolanum, L. Valerius Flaccus the Pro-Consul, fought a fier field with the French Insubrians and Boians, Which Boians under the conduct of Dorulacus passed over the river Padus, for to sollicit and raise the Insubrians. In which conflict were slain ten thousand enemies. About the same time his Colleague in government M. Porcius Cato triumphed over Spain. In this triumph he carried in pomp and shew 25000 pound weight of silver in bullion, and in coin 123000 Bigar pieces: of Olean silver 540 pound weight, and of gold 400000 pound weight. Of B the booty won from the enemies he dealt among his souldiers that were footmen 270 asses a-piece, and trebble so much to every man of arms.

T. Sempronius the Consul having put himself in his journey toward his Province, led first his legions into the Boians country. Boetix at that time their Prince with his two brethren, having raised the whole nation to rebellion, encamped in certain commodious places: so as it appeared that if the enemy entred their confines, they were ready to give him battell. The Consul perceiving how strong and confident the enemies were, dispatched a courier to his Colleague, to make halt if he thought to good and come unto him: for untill his coming he would fall off, seem to retire and not fight. But the same cause that moved the Consul to stay, gave occasion to the Gauls to make more haste: for besides that the delaying & lingring of the Consul, encouraged the

C enemies, they were desirous to have the triall of a battell before the forces of both Consuls were joynd together. Howbeit, for two daies space they did nothing but stand ready ranged for fight, if any should come forth to brave and dare them. On the third day they approached the trench and rumper of the Consuls Camp, and on every side at once gave the assault. The Consul immediately commanded the souldiers to arm. And when they were armed, he kept them in awhile, with intent to encrease the foolish confidence in the enemies, and to dispose of his own forces, and give direction, what companies should sally out at every gate. The two legions he commanded to issue forth under their colours at the two side gates called *Principales*: but in the very passage without the Gauls stood thick and made head again, so that the way was stopped up. A long time they fought in those very straights. And they bestirred themselves no more

D with their hands and swords, than they pressed one upon another with their bodies and targets: while the Romans strived to advance their epigns out of the gates, and the Gauls endeavoured no less, either to enter themselves within the camp, or else to impeach the Romans for going forth. But in this conflict there was nothing between them either won or lost, no ground gained the one of the other, before that Q. Victorius a principall Centurion of the *Pilani* in the second legion, and C. Arinius, a Tribune or Marshall of the fourth, caught the banners from the ensign-bearers (a thing often practised in time of extremity) and slung them among the enemies. For whiles these laboured and strained themselves to recover each one a banner, they of the second legion first brake through and got forth of the gate: so as now, they maintained skirmish without the trench, and the fourth legion stuck still in the gap. By which time there

E arose another tumult and noise in the contrary side of the camp: for the Gauls were broken in at the Quæstors gate (or the gate against the * *Quæstorium*) and slain those that valiantly made head and held them play; to wit, Lucius Posthumus a treasurer surnamed *Tympanus*, Marcus Arinius and Publius Sempronius two Colonels of the allies, and well near two hundred souldiers besides. Thus the camp on that part was won, untill such time as one extraordinary cohort was sent from the Consul to defend the Quæstors gate aforesaid: which either slew those that were within the rampier, or else drave them forth, and so withstood those that would have rushed in. And much about that very time the fourth legion also with two extraordinary squadrons brake forth at the gate. Thus at once there were three severall battels in sundry places about the camps, and the dissonant cries and noises (according to the divers occasions of each party ministered by their fellows) turned and withdrew the minds and spirits of

F those that were in fight, from the present skirmish before them. In this manner maintained they the fight till noon, equally matched in strength and number, and little or no odds between them for hope of victory: but tedious travell and extremity of heat compelled the Gauls (whose bodies are soft and open, and soon running to sweat, and who of all other things can least away with thirst) to abandon the battell: and those few that remained behind, the Romans ran upon, mist their colours, and chased them into their own hold. Then the Consul sounded the retreat, at which signall given the most part retired themselves: but a sort of them, upon a hot desire of fight, and good hope to be Masters of their camp, persisted still close to their trench. The Gauls discarding their small number issued all forth out of their Camp: and then the Roman

G being discomfited, were glad now of themselves, for fear and flight to studge unto the strength of their own hold, which they would not retire unto at the commandment of the Consul. Thus on both sides there was one while victory, and another while fearfull flight: howbeit, when all cards were told and the reckoning made, the Gauls had the worst of the game: for of them were slain eleven thousand, whereas of Romans there died but five thousand. Then the Gauls retired themselves into the most inward parts of their country, and the Consul marched with his legions to *Placentia*. Some write, that *Scipio* and his Colleague with their

* The quarter and lodging of the Treasurer.

this joynt forces, invaded and spoiled the countries of the Boians and Ligerians; so far forth as they could pass for woods and bogs: others again record, that he, having done no memorable exploit at all, returned to Rome about the assembly for election of Consuls.

The same year T. Quintus spent the whole winter season at *Elania* (whither he had retired his forces for winter harbour) in hearing mens causes and ministering justice to every one; also in reforming and redressing all such disorders as had passed in the States and Cities, through the licentious government and jurisdiction either of Philip himself or his Captains, whiles he advanced those favourits of his own faction, and put down the right and liberty of others. In the beginning of the spring he came to *Corinth*, where he had given summons, that there should be holden a general Diet of the States. There in the assembly of all the Embassadors and agents from the Cities, gathered about him as it were to hear an Oration, he made a speech unto them: beginning first with the amity contracted between the Romans and *Greece*: and proceeding to the acts achieved in *Spain* by the Generals afore him, and those also of his own. All that he spake was heard and received with great applause, untill he touched the point concerning *Nabis*: for it was generally thought unfitting, that he undertaking to set all *Greece* at liberty, had left a tyrant (not only a grievous oppressour of his own subjects, but also dangerous to all the Cities about him) to remain still as a fearfull malady seated in the very bowels and heart of a most noble and renowned State. Quintus, not ignorant of their affections and dispositions, confessed, that he should not indeed have any ear at all to the motion or mention of peace with the tyrant, in case that *Lacedaemon* could have stood in safety without so doing: but now since that *Nabis* might not possibly be confounded and overthrown, without the present ruin and fearfull downfall of the City, he thought it a better course in policy to leave the tyrant enfeebled and disarmed of all means to offend and hurt any man, than to suffer so goodly a City to die is the cure, and under the hand as it were of the Physician, amidst those quick and sharp remedies which it were never able to endure: and so in seeking to recover liberty, to perish and die for ever. And after he had discoursed of things past, he intreated, that his purpose and intent was, to go into *Italy*, and to have away with him his whole army: also that within ten daies they should hear news how all the garrisons had quit *Demetrius* and *Chalcis*: and that he would deliver out of hand unto the Achaeans in their very sight, the fortalls of *Corinth*: that all the world may know, whether it be the Romans guile, or the fashion of the *Aetolians*, to over-reach and lie: who in their common talk have not let to discourse, to sow fumes, and to buzze into mens heads, that it was dangerous for *Greeks* to put their liberty into the Romans hands: & that they had but made a change of their lordly rulers, admitting the Romans in lieu of the Macedonians. But as for them (quoth he) their tongue is no sword, being such persons as never took heed and made regard what either they did or said. But the other Cities he advertised to weigh their friends by deeds and not by words: to be wise and well advised whom they are to trust, and whom they are to beware of: to use their liberty in measure and moderation; which if it be well tempered and qualified, is good and wholesome to particular persons and general States: but excessive if it be, it would not only be grievous and unsupportable to others, but also unruly, dangerous, and pernicious to themselves that have it. He gave them counsell, that the Princes and States in each City should maintain concord not only among themselves, but also with all other in one community: for so long as they accord and agree together, no King nor tyrant should be strong enough for them: whereas discord and sedition maketh overture and openeth easie way to enemies that lie in wait for the vantage: considering, that the side which in civill contention is the weaker and goeth to the walls, will band rather with a forrainger, than give place and stoop to a Citizen. In conclusion, he advised them, to keep and preserve by their careful regard, this their liberty purchased for them by forrainger forces, and delivered unto them with faithfull security of strangers and aliens: that the people of *Rome* might see, that they have given freedom to well deserving people: and this their great benefit hath been well bestowed upon worthy persons. Whiles they hearkned to these sage admonitions, as uttered out of the mouth of a very father, the tears gushed plentifully out of their eyes for kind heart and joy: insomuch as they troubled him in the delivery of the rest of his speech. For a while there was a plausible noise heard among them as they approved his words, and advised one another to ponder these sage sayings, and to imprint them deeply in their hearts, proceeding as it were from divine oracle. After silence made, he requested them to seek up all those Roman Citizens (if haply there were any) who lived in servitude and slavery among them; and within two months to send them unto him into *Italy*: for it were a great ignominy and shame even for them, that in their countries there should remain in bondage any of those, by whose means they themselves were set free and delivered out of bondage. With that, they all cried aloud with one voice, That for this above all the rest they rendered thanks unto him, in that they were admonished and warned by him, to perform their devoir and duty, so honest, so religious, and so necessary. Now a mighty number there was of captives in the Punick war: such as *Annibal* (when their friends redeemed them not by ransom) had sold in open market. And how great the multitude of them was, this may prove and testify which *Polybius* writeth to wit, that the cost the Achaeans for their part *one hundred talents: and yet they ordained and set down, that there should but 300 *Denarii* be repaid unto their Masters for the redemption of every poll: for by this account Achaea had 1200 of them. Add now unto them as many as all *Greece* was like to have by that proportion [and see what number may arise.]

* By this account of Livy, a talent in this place amounteth to 127 li. 10. sh. sterl.

A The assembly was not broken up and dismissed, before they might see the Garrison descending from the fortress of *Corinth*, who marched thence to the gate and went back wiles. The General presently followed them and being accompanied with them all, who called him with a loud voice, Their Saviour and Redeemer, he took his leave and bid them farewell: and so returned the same way he came to *Enna*. From thence he sent his Lieutenant *A. Claudius* with all the forces, commanding him to conduct the army to *Orion*, by the way of *Theffalle* and *Epirus*, and there to expect and wait his coming: for he purposed there to take Sea and set over his army into *Italy*. He wrote also to *L. Quinctius* his brother and Lieutenant and Admiral likewise of the fleet, to gather all the ships of burden from along the Sea coast of *Greece* into that place. Himself went to *Chalcis*, and having withdrawn the garrisons not only from thence but also from *Oreum* and *Eretria*, he held a general Council there of all the Cities of *Euboea*: and after he had made remonstrance unto them in what case he found them, and in what estate he left them, he dismissed the assembly. From thence he departed to *Demetrias*, where also he removed the garrison, and being attended with a train of all the citizens, like as at *Corinth* and *Chalcis* before, he took his journey into *Theffalle*: where the cities were not only to be let free, but also to be reformed, and from a general disorder and confusion wherein they stood, to be reduced and framed into some tolerable order and form of government. For they were not only tainted and infected with the corruption of the times, and the violent current of licentious outrage, which had taken head under the government of the King; but also of an indred troublesome spirit and humor of their own, whereby, since their first beginning and uprising, even unto our daies they never held Parliaments, Elections, Diets, Councils, or any other assemblies whatsoever, without much trouble and sedition. He chose the Senate and Judges there in regard especially of their wealth, and in all Cities he made that part more mighty, unto which it was more expedient and beneficial to have all quiet and in peace. Thus having visited *Theffalle*, and taken a general review thereof, he came by the way of *Epirus* to *Orion*, from whence he intended to cross the seas. From *Orion* all his forces were transported to *Brundisium*, and so they passed forward throughout *Italy* to the City of *Rome*, in manner of triumph, sending before them as great a train of prizes by them taken, as they made themselves in their march. After they were come to *Rome*, the Senat assembled without the City for *Quintus*, where he had audience to declare and discourse of his worthy exploits: and willing they were to grant him triumph, according to his deserts. Three daies together he rode in triumph. The first day he made a shew of all the armour, as well defensive as offensive, also of brassen and marble images, of which he had taken more from King *Philip*, than he found in the sackage of the cities. The second day there was carried in pomp, the gold and silver both unwrought and wrought into plate, yea, and cast into coin. Of silver unwrought there was 18000 pound weight: of wrought, 270 pound weight. Many vessels of plate of all sorts, and most engraven, some of right curious and exquisite workmanship. Likewise brassen vessels, cunningly and artificially made: and besides, ten shields of silver, and in coin eighty four thousand Attick peeces of silver, which they call *Tetradrachma*, weighing almost four Roman deniers apeece: of gold there was three thousand seven hundred and fourteen pound weight, and one shield full and whole of beaten gold: and of *Philip* golden peeces in coin, fourteen thousand five hundred and fourteen. The third day were born in view for a pageant, a hundred and fourteen coronets of gold, which were the presents of Cities given unto him. Moreover, there were led that day the beasts for sacrifice: and before his chariot went many noble prisoners and hostages, and among them, *Demetrius*, King *Philip* his son, and *Armenus* the son of *Nabis* the tyrant, a Lacedaemonian born. Then rode *Quintus* himself in a chariot into the City, and a great number of souldiers followed after, by reason that his whole army was retired with him out of his province. To every footman he gave two hundred and fifty Ases, double as much to a centurion, and triple to an horseman. Those who were redeemed out of captivity, followed his chariot with their heads shaven, and much beautified the glory of the triumph.

In the end of this year, *Q. Atilius Tubero* a Tribune of the Commons, presented a request or bill into the people, and they granted and enacted it, to wit, that two Colonies of Latins should be conducted, the one into the Britian country, and the other into the territory of *Thurium*. For the conduct and blessing whereof, there were ordained three Deputies called *Triumvirs*, whose commission was in force for three years, namely, *Q. Nevius*, *M. Minucius Rufus*, and *M. Furius Crassipes* for the Britians: and for *Thurium*, *A. Manlius*, *P. Atilius*, and *L. Apustius*. For the choosing of these officers, *Cn. Domitius* the Pretor in the City, called two several assemblies in the Capitol. In that year were certain Temples dedicated, one of *Iuno Sospita* in the herb-market, which had been vowed and set out to building four years before, by *C. Cornelius* the Consul, during the war with the French: and he in his Consulship dedicated it. Another Temple of *Faunus*: the Ediles *C. Sempronius* and *Cn. Domitius*, had likewise bargained for the building thereof two years before, and laid by the money therefore; and this *Cn. Domitius* being now Pretor of the City dedicated it. Also *Q. Minucius Ralla*, dedicated a Temple to *Portuna Primigenia* upon the hill *Quirinalis*, having been created *Dumvirs* himself for that purpose. *Sempronius Sophus* had vowed the same ten years before, in the time of the Punick war, and agreed for a certain price to have it built. Also *P. Atilius* the other *Dumvir* consecrated the Temple of *Jupiter* within the island. Vowed he was five years before in the Gallic war by *L. Furius Purpurio* Pretor, and by him afterwards (when he was Consul) order was given for the edifying thereof. And these were the affairs which passed that year.

P. Scipio returned out of his Province and government of *Gaul* for the election of new Consuls, and to that purpose was the general assembly summoned: wherein were chosen L. Cornelius Merula, and Q. Minutius Thermus. The next morrow after were created Pretors, L. Cornelius Scipio, M. Fulvius Nobilior, C. Scribonius, M. Valerius Messala, L. Porcius Licinius, and C. Flaminius. C. Atilius Serranus, and L. Scribonius Libo, Ediles of the chair, were the first that exhibited the Stage-plays called *Megalæta*. And the Roman plays or games, represented and set out by these Ediles, the Senat now first and never before beheld apart from the rest of the people. And this (as all novelties and new fashions) ministred much talk: whiles some gave their opinion and said, That now at length that was given to this most noble and honorable State, which long ago was due; others again confirmed thus, and gave out, "That whatsoever was added to the Majesty of the Senators and Nobles, was derogatory from the dignity of the people: and that all such kind of distinctions, whereby estates and degrees are severed one from another, are prejudicial as well to common peace as publick liberty. For these five hundred and eighty years say they, these plays and games have been beheld and looked upon in common, without any such precise difference. What new accident is suddainly befallen, why the Nobles should not be willing to let the Commons be intermingled with them in the Theatre? and why a rich man should disdain his poor neighbour to sit by him? This is a new appetite and strange longing of theirs indeed, full of pride and arrogancy, a thing never desired nor taken up and practised by the Senat of any nation whatsoever. So as in the end even *Africanus* beshrewed himself (men say) and repented thereof, for that he in his Consulship moved and perswaded the bringing up of this new fashion. So hard a matter it is to alter an old custome, and make a new order to be well liked of. And men are ever more willing to keep them to ancient customes, unless they be such, as practise and experience do evidently check and condemn.

In the beginning of the year, wherein L. Cornelius and Q. Minutius were Consuls, news came so thick of many earth-quakes, that men were not only weary of the thing it self, but also of the holy dayes and solemnities that were published and proclaimed in that regard. For the Consuls could not intend either to assemble the Senate and sit in Councel, or manage the affairs of the Common-weal, for being wholly employed about sacrificing and appeasing the wrath of the gods. In conclusion, the Decemvirs were commanded to peruse the books of *Sibylla*, and according to their answer and direction, a procession and supplication was for three daies solemnised. And before the Altars and shrines of the gods and goddesses, they made their prayers with garlands and coronets on their heads: yea, and commandment was given, that every household and family by it self should fall to their prayers and devotions. Also the Consuls by order from the Senat made proclamation, That upon what day a feast or solempny was ordained by occasion of one earthquake, no man the same day should bring news of another. Then the Consuls cast lots for the government of their provinces, and after them the Pretors did the like. Unto Cornelius befell *Gaul*, and to Minutius the *Ligurians*; C. Sempronius had the charge of the civil jurisdiction, and M. Valerius of the forraign: L. Cornelius governed *Sicily*, L. Porcius *Sardinia*, C. Flaminius high *Spain*, and L. Fulvius the lower. The Consuls looked for no war that year: but even then at that instant were letters brought from M. Cincius Lord President of *Pisa*, which gave notice, that twenty thousand *Ligurians* were up in arms, having conspired together in all market Towns and places of resort throughout the whole nation, and that they had already wasted the territory of *Luna*; and having invaded and passed through the *Pisan Land*, had over-run also the Sea coasts. Wherefore Minutius the Consul, unto whom the government of *Liguria* was allotted, by the advice of the LL. of the Senat mounted up into the pulpit *Rostra*, and published an act, That those two legions of Roman citizens, which the former year had been enrolled, should within ten daies present themselves at *Arretium*, in lieu whereof he would levy two other legions out of the City. Also he commanded the allies and Magistrats of the *Latin* nation, and their Embassadors leagers, who owed knight-service, and were bound to find souldiers to come before him into the Capitol. And from among them he enrolled fifteen thousand foot and five hundred horse, according to the number of young and serviceable men that were to be found in each State: which done, he commanded them forthwith, to go directly from the Capitol to the gate of the City, and presently to take musters that all might be done with greater expedition. Unto Fulvius and Flaminius were appointed three thousand Roman footmen and two hundred horsemen apiece, for to supply and strengthen their forces: also five thousand foot to either of them of allies of the *Latin* nation, with two hundred horse. Moreover the Pretors were charged to dismiss and call the old souldiers, so soon as they were arrived into their provinces. Now, when as the souldiers who were enrolled in the City-legions, resorted thicket unto the Tribuns of the Commons, that they should take knowledge of as many of them as were exempted from warfare, for that they either had served out their full time by law appointed, or were sickly and diseased: behold the letters of Sempronius dashed all this, and cleared every difficulty and scrupulosity: wherein it was written, that fifteen thousand *Ligurians* were entred the territory of *Placentia*, and had made great wast and laccage therein putting all to fire and sword as they went, even as far as to the very walls of the Colony it self, and the banks of *Padus*. Also that the nation of the *Boii* made countenance and gave suspicion of rebellion. In which regards seeing there was a tumultuous and suddain war toward, the Senat passed a decree, wherein they signified that it was not their pleasure that the Tribuns should accept any excuses pretended by the souldiers, but that they should all meet

A meet and assemble together, according to the Edict. Over and besides they gave order, that the allies of the Latin nation, who had served in the armies of P. Cornelius and T. Sempronius, and were discharged from soldiery by them being Consuls, should now be ready to shew themselves, against that day which L. Cornelius the Consul should appoint, and at what place soever of *Herruria* he should command by way of proclamation: Also that the said L. Cornelius the Consul in his march and journey toward the Province, might take up, enrol, and arme, what souldiers he thought good, out of all the burroughs and villages in his way, and have them with him whither soever he would, yea, and have commission to dūmīs whom of them he thought good, and when soever he listed at his good pleasure.

After that the Consuls had taken musters, and were gone into their Provinces, then T. Quintus demanded to have a day of audience in the Senate concerning those affairs that he had concluded with the assistance of the ten Delegats above said: and that it would please them to confirm and establish the same by vertue of their assent and authority. Which they might do with more ease, in case they would hear the Embassadors themselves speak, who were come out of all Greece, a great part of *Asia*, and from the Kings. These embassies were admitted into the Senat by C. Scribonius the Pretor for the City, and all dispatched with a gracious answer. But because the dispute about *Antiochus* required long time of debate, therefore it was referred and put over to the ten Delegats, of whom some had been in *Asia*, or at *Lysimachia* with the King. And Quintus was commanded, that together with those said Delegats he should hear what the King his Embassadors could say, and so return unto them such an answer, as might stand with the honor and welfare of the people of Rome. The chief of this embassy from the King were Menippus and Hegesanax. Then Menippus began and said, "That he knew no such perplexed difficulty in their embassy, considering they were come simply to treat for peace, and to contract a league and alliance. For, saith he, there are three sorts of confederacies and associations, whereby States and KK. ordinarily conclude league and amity one with another. The first, when they that are vanquished in war, have conditions and articles imposed upon them: for when all is yeilded into the hands of him that is the mightier and more puissant, then it is in his power and at his discretion and will, to give unto the conquered party what he list, or to take from him as he pleaseth. The second is, when they that are equal in warlike forces give over on even hand, and be content to make peace and amity, upon indifferent and equal conditions, one with the other: in which case, demand and claim is made, restitution and amends performed according to the accord and agreement: and if in time of the wars, any have been molested and troubled in their possession, they fall to composition either by the form and tenor of ancient law, or respective to the good and profit of both parties. The third is, when they that never were enemies, meet and confer together about concluding some friendship, by way of solemn alliance and society, who neither give nor take any conditions: for that belongeth properly to Conquerors, and those that are conquered. Seeing then that *Antiochus* is comprised in this last kind, I marvel (qd. he) that the Romans should think or say. It is reasonable to tender articles unto him, or to prescribe and set down, what Cities of *Asia* they would have to be free and exempt, and which they would have to be tributary: and into what Cities they would expressly forbid the King his garrisons, or the King himself to enter and set foot. For in this wise ought they to make peace with *Philip* their enemy in times past, and not to draw a contract of amity and association with *Antiochus*, a friend at this present. To this Oration Quintus shaped his answer in this sort. "For asmuch as it pleaseth you to make your speech thus distinctly by way of division, and severally to rehearse all kinds of confederacies and accords, I also will set down as methodically in order two conditions, without which, you may let the King your master to understand, that he must not look to entertain any friendship with the people of Rome. The one is this, that if he would debar us to intermeddle with the Cities of *Asia*: he likewise himself have nothing to do with all Europe. The other, that if he cannot contain himself within the compass of *Asia*, but will needs encroach upon it, the Romans likewise may have liberty and power both to maintain those amities which they have already, and also to entertain new with the States of *Asia*. Hereat Hegesanax inferred and said, "That this was an indignity intolerable, and which he could not abide to hear, namely, that *Antiochus* should be dislaid of those Cities of *Thrace* and *Chersonesus*, which *Seleucus* his great grand-father had conquered with singular honor from King *Lysimachus*, whom he vanquished in war and slew in field, and setled the same in him as his rightful inheritance. As for the same cities possessed by the Thracians, *Antiochus* himself with as great praise and glory hath partly by force of arms regained out of their hands, and partly re-peopled with the old inhabitants called home again, whereas they lay abandoned and desolat, and namely, *Lysimachia* it self, as all the world seeth: and more than that, hath re-edified to his exceeding charge and expence, those that lay along in their ruins, and were consumed with fire. What likenes then is there between these two demands: namely, that *Antiochus* should quit the possession of that which either he acquired or recovered in that sort: and that the Romans should abstain and forbear *Asia*, which never appertained unto them? To conclude, *Antiochus* saith he is desirous of the Roman friendship, but in such terms as may stand with his honor, & not purchase himself shame and reproach. Then Quintus rejoyned again in this manner: "For asmuch as qd. he, we balance and weigh things according to honesty (as in truth it is befitting the chief and principal state of the world, and so great and mighty a King to prize that only or at leastwise

leastwise principally above all other regards) I would gladly know of you. Whether ye think it more honest of the Swain, either to will and wish that all the Cities of Greece whatsoever and wheresoever should enjoy liberty: or to make them homagers and tributary? If *Antiochus* thinketh it be an honorable thing for him to reduce into servitude and bondage as his own, those Cities which his great grand-father held by right of arms, and whereof neither his father nor grand-father afore him were in possession: the people of *Rome* likewise esteemeth it a material point that toucheth their faithfulness and constancy, not to forsake the Greeks, whose protection and defence they have enterprised and taken in hand. And like as they have freed Greece out of the hands of *Philip*, so they intend to deliver those Cities of *Asia* which are of Greekish race and descent, from the subjection of *Antiochus*. For the Greek Colonies were not sent into *Eolia* and *Ionia*, to live in servitude under the King, but to increase and multiply, that a most ancient nation might spread over the face of the whole earth. Now when as *Hegefanax* knew not how to shift and turn himself, and could not deny but that the cause of liberty which the Romans pretended in the title of their quarrel, was of more honesty and credit, than that other of slavery: Let's lay away all these circumstances of words (quoth *P. Sulpitius*, the ancientest person of all the ten Delegates) and choose ye one of the two conditions which even now were expressly offered unto you by *Quintius*, or else make no more talk about amity with the Romans. Then quoth *Menippus*, As for us, we may in no case, neither will we capitulate and covenant any thing prejudicial to the Kingdom and royal State of King *Antiochus*. The morrow after *Quintius* when he had brought all the Embassies of Greece and *Asia* into the Senat, that they might know what affection the people of *Rome* carried, and what mind *Antiochus* bare to the Cities of Greece, he declared before them all as well his own demands, as those of the Kings part: willing them to make report unto their own Cities, and assure them, that the people of *Rome* would maintain them against *Antiochus* (unless he departed out of *Europe*) with the same vertue, valour, and fidelity wherewith he had defended their liberty against *Philip*. Then *Menippus* was earnest with *Quintius* and the LL. of the Senat, beseeching them instantly not to proceed in haste to a decree whereby they should fet all the world in trouble and uprore; but both take leisure themselves and give respite unto the King to deliberate farther of the matter: for no doubt, upon the relating of the conditions, he would consider upon them, and either obtain somewhat at their hands, or for peace sake yeeld his consent to all. Thus was the matter wholly and entirely deferred: and agreed it was, that the same Embassadors should be addressed unto the King, who had been with him at *Lyfimachia*, to wit; *P. Sulpitius*, *P. Villius*, and *P. Elins*.

Scarcely were they gone from the City and entred upon their journey, but Embassadors arrived from *Carthage*, who reported, that without all doubt *Antiochus* made preparation for war, and therein used the hand and ministry of *Annibal*: in so much, as it was feared also that a third Punick war would break out withal. *Annibal*, as we said before, having fled his native countrey, repaired unto *Antiochus*, and was in great account and estimation with the King, for no other cause and policy in the world, but that the King who projected and plotted long time in his spirit to levy war upon the Romans, could find no man more fit than *Annibal* to break his mind unto, and with whom to discourse upon a matter of such consequence. *Annibal* his long and resolution was ever one and the same still, namely, To make war within *Italy*: and that *Italy* was M able to furnish a forrain enemy, with men munition and victuals. For this he cast with himself and considered, that if all were quiet there and no troubles set a foot, but that the people of *Rome* might with the forces and riches of *Italy*, furnish themselves to make war without *Italy*, there was no Monarch nor nation under the sun able to make head against the Romans. He demanded therefore to have the command of 100 close ships with hatch and deck, 16000 foot, and 1000 horse: and with the said fleet he would first sail into *Affrick*, where he assured himself that he should be able to solicit and induce the Carthaginians to rebellion: but if they held off and made it goodly and strange, yet would he settle in some part of *Italy* and levy war against the Romans. His advice and counsel furthermore was, that the King should with all his other forces pass into *Europe*, and in some one part of Greece keep his power together, and not to take the Sea, but to be ready ever to cross over; which would be sufficient to make a shew and raise a bruit all abroad of war. When he had perswaded the King to this designment and resolution, supposing that he was likewise to sound and prepare the hearts afore-hand of his own countrymen to this purpose: he durst not dispatch any letters unto them, for fear they might chance to be intercepted by the way, and so discover the whole plot. He hapned at *Ephesus* upon a Tyrian one *Arifon*, a man whose industry and dexterity he had tried in some small services wherein he had employed him. Him he plyed with gifts in hand, but fed him more with large promises of great rewards, which King *Antiochus* also himself seemed to make good and give his word for; and so sent him to *Carthage* with credence and instructions. He acquainted him with the names of all those persons with whom he was to talk and confer: he furnished him with secret tokens, whereby they might assuredly know, that he was no counterfeit, but came with a message from him. Now whiles this *Arifon* conversed in *Carthage*, the friends of *Annibal* knew no sooner about what errand he came, than his very enemies. At the first, much talk and discourse there was in every corner of the City, where they met, and at their feasts and merriments, of this matter: Afterwards at their council-table some stuck not to say, that the exile of *Annibal* was to little or no purpose, if whiles he was absent he could contrive and compass new plots, and by soliciting and tempering mens minds, disquiet

A disquiet and trouble the state of the City. There is a stranger, say they, one *Ariston* a Tyrian, hither come with instructions from *Antibal* and King *Antiochus*: certain men there are, that daily have privy conference with him, and devise in secret of that, which anon will break out to the utter ruin and overthrow of all. "Whereupon they all cried with one voyce to convent *Ariston* presently before them, and to examine him about what business he was thither arrived: and unless he would bewray & declare the matter, to send him with Embassadors of purpose, to *Rome*: "For why? we have (say they) felt the smart enough, and paid sufficiently for the folly and rash head of one harebrained man already. Let privat persons bear their own load hereafter, and at their own peril commit a trespass: provided alwayes, that the Common-weal be preserved cleare not only from all fault, but also from all apparance and bruit of any such intent. *Ariston* being

B called before them, stood stiffly upon his integrity and excused himself, and evermore used this for his best and surest defence, That he had brought no letters at all to any person: howbeit he could not render a ready & sound reason of his coming thither: but especially he was shrewdly troubled and put to his trumps when they charged him, That he had talk and communication with those only of the Barchine faction. Hereupon arose some debate and altercation in the house: whiles some were of opinion that he should be apprehended for a spie, and clapt up fast in ward: others again were of mind that there was no cause to make such a stir and tumult: for it was an evil precedent to be given, that strangers coming to their City, should be troubled and hardly intreated: and the like measure no doubt would be offered to the Carthaginians in *Tyrum* & in other Towns of marchandise, whereunto they use to have resort for exchange and traffique. So for that day the matter was put off. *Ariston* framing himself to play the crafty Carthaginian among these Cartha-

C ginians, wrote a certain bill, and in the shutting in of the evening, hung it up in the most conspicuous and publick place of all the City, even over the seat where the head Magistrate useth daily to sit: and himself about the third watch gat to shipboord and escaped. The morrow after, when the Suffetes were set on the bench to minister law, the bill aforesaid was seen, taken down, and read: wherein to this effect was written, That *Ariston* was not come with a message to any person in particular, but to all the Seniors or Elders in general (for so they call the Senat.) After that the thing was by this means made a publick matter, and the whole state of the Senators reputed culpable, they were not so earnest to search into privat persons. Howbeit thought good it was, that Embassadors should be sent to *Rome* to give information hereof to the Consuls and the Senat, and withal, to make complaint of certain wrongs done by *Masanissa*.

D *Masanissa* understanding that the Carthaginians were suspected and in some ill name among the Romans, and also at jar and variance within themselves; and namely, that the great and principal men were had in jealousy by the Senat for their conferences with *Ariston*: and their Senate likewise suspected by the people, by reason of that writing above-named of the said *Ariston*: taking this for a good advantage and opportunity to do them some injury, not only invaded their maritime parts and made spoil, but also forced certain tributary Cities to the Carthaginians for to pay himself tribute. That quarter of the countrey they call *Emporia*. It is the Sea coast of the lesser *Syrtis*, and the country is exceeding fertile: there is in it one only City named *Leptis*, which paid to the Carthaginians for tribute, a talent every day. All this region *Masanissa* then had plagued sore,

E yea, and for one part thereof he made some claim, as being litigious whether it pertained to his Kingdom, or the Seignory of the Carthaginians: and because he knew for truth, that the Carthaginian Embassadors were about to go to *Rome*, as well to purge themselves of some crimes where-with they were charged, as to complain of him: therefore himself also addressed his Embassadors to *Rome*, who should lay open more matter against them of deeper suspicion, and debate withal as touching the right of those tributes. The Carthaginians were no sooner heard speak concerning that Tyrian stranger, but the LL. of the Senat grew into some doubt lest they should wage war with *Antiochus* and the Carthaginians both together. And this presumption of all the rest made the suspicion most pregnant, because when they had the party among them and were purposed to send him to *Rome*, they neither made the man himself sure, nor the bark wherein he arrived. After this,

F they fell to debate and argue with the Kings Embassadors, about the territory and land in controversy. "The Carthaginians pleaded for themselves, and stood much upon their bounds and limits, for that the land in suit lay within that precinct, by which *P. Scipio* the Conqueror limited out that territory which pertained to the seignory of the Carthaginians. Also they alledged the confession of the King himself, who at what time as he pursued *Spheres*, that fled out of his own realm, and with a company of Numidians ranged abroad about *Cyrena*, made request unto them to give him leave to passe through this very ground, as if (without all question) it belonged to the Carthaginians. The Numidians answered again to these points & said plainly to their faces,

G "that they lied in their throats, as touching that supposed limitation and bounding by *Scipio*: "and moreover, if we would go (say they) and search the very original indeed of the law, what land at all ought the Carthaginians have of their own proper inheritance? For being but meet strangers, they had after much praier and entreaty, as much ground allowed them and no more, to build them a City in, as they could compass with thongs cut out of one bull hide: And look whatsoever they had encroached upon; without that nest and fear of theirs in *Byssa*, they gat and held it by force and violence. And as for the land now in strife, they are not able to prove, that they alwayes held the same in possession, no, nor that they kept it any long time together. But as occasion and opportunities served of advantage, one while they, and another while the Numidian

"Kings made reentry and enjoied it, and evermore he went away with the possession thereof. That was the stronger, and had the keener sword. In these considerations they requested the Romans to leave the thing in that state and condition, wherein it stood before that the Carthaginians were enemies, or King Masanius a friend and allie to the Romans; and not so intermeddled between, nor take a part, but let the winner wear it; and him have it that can hold it. In conclusion, it was thought good, that to the Embassadors of both parties this answer should be returned, namely: That they would send certain Commissioners into Affrick, to decide this controversy about the land in question, between the people of Carthage and the King. So there were sent of purpose, P. Scipio Africanus, C. Cornelius Cethegus, and M. Minutius Rufus. Who having heard what could be said, and seen the thing, left all hanging still in suspence and undecided, without adjudging it by their definitive sentence to the one or the other. But whether they so did, on their own head and self-accord, or by direction from the Senat, is not so certain as it seemeth agreeable unto that present time in policy, to leave them as they found them, and the controversie still depending. For unless it were so, Scipio himself alone, in regard of the knowledge that he had of the thing, and of his authority with the persons (so much bound they were unto him on both sides) might with a word of his mouth, or a nod of his head, have ended all this matter.

The five and thirtieth Book Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the five and thirtieth Book.

Publius Scipio Africanus being sent Embassador unto Antiochus, talked at Ephesus with Annibal (who had sided with Antiochus) to this end, that he might rid him of that fear which he had conceived of the people of Rome, as touching the taking away of his life. Among other matters passed between them, when he demanded of Annibal, whom he judged to have been the noblest and greatest warrior that ever was, he answered, that it was Alexander King of the Macedonians: for that he with a small power had discomfited and defeated an infinite number of armies, and withal, passed through a host far distant and remote parts of the world, unto which a man would not believe, that it were possible for any person to go and see them. When he asked again of him whom he deemed for the second: Whom, Pyrrhus (qd. he) because he taught the manner how to pitch a camp, & besides, no man had the cost to gain places and holds for advantage, nor could set his corps de guard, or plant garrisons better than he. And when he proceeded still to know whom he took to be the third, Annibal named his own good self. At which answer Scipio fell a laughing: And what would you have said then (qd. he) if your hap had been to have vanquished me? Marry then (saith he) I would have set my self before Alexander, before Pyrrhus, and before all other. Among other prodigious fights, whereof there were reported very many, it is said, that in the year wherein Cn. Domitius was Consul, an Ox spake, and said these words; Rome, look to thy self. The Romans prepare to war with Antiochus. Nabis the tyrant of the Lacedemonians, provoked by the Aetolians, who solicited both Philip and also Antiochus to wage war against the people of Rome, revolted from the Romans; and after he had levied war against Philip, then Pretor of the Achaens, was by the Aetolians slain. The Aetolians likewise abandoned the friendship of the people of Rome, with whom Antiochus King of Syria banded: who warred upon Greece, and surprised many Cities, and namely, Chalcis and Euboea among the rest. Besides, this book containeth the martial affairs in Liguria; and the preparation of Antiochus for the war.

The five and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

IN the beginning of that year wherein these affairs thus passed, Sext. Digintus Pretor in high Spain, fought battels (rather ordinary, and for number many, than otherwise memorable and worth the speaking) against those States, whereof after the departure of Cato a great sort had rebelled. And those battels for the most part were so unfortunate, that hardly he could deliver up to his successor the one half of those souldiers which he had received. And doubtless all Spain would have taken heart again, if the other Pretor, P. Cornelius Scipio, the son of Cneus, had not sped better in many of his conflicts beyond Iberum. Upon which terror, no fewer than fifty good Towns revolted unto him. And these exploits performed Scipio as Pretor. Who also in quality of Propretor, encountred the Lusitans upon the way, as they returned homeward charged with a mighty great booty raised out of the base Spain, which they had utterly pillied and spoiled: where he fought from the third hour of the day unto the eight, with doubtful event. For number of souldiers he was inferior to his enemies, but for all things else he had the vantage and went beyond them. For his battailions were well appointed and close compacted of armed men, and so he charged upon the enemies marching in a long train, and the same encumbered with a deal of cattle: besides, his souldiers were fresh and in heart, whereas the other were wearied with long travel.

* After Sun.
ring.

A yet. For the enemies set forth at the third watch, and besides their night journey, they had marched three hours also of the day, and without any repose or rest at all, they came to a conflict presently upon their travel on the way. And therefore at the beginning of the battel, so long as they were in any heart, and their strength served, they troubled and disordered the Romans with the first charge they gave; but afterwards for a while they came to be equal in fight. In which hazard of doubt in issue the Propretor vowed to set forth certain solemn games to the honour of *Jupiter*, in case he might discomfit the enemies, and kill them in chace. At the length the Romans advanced forward more holily, and the Lusitans retreated, yea, and anon turned their backs quite. And when as in this train of victory the Romans pursued them hard in the rout, there were of the enemies slain upon 12000, 500 and forty taken prisoners, all in manner horsemen; and of military B ensigns they carried away one hundred thirty and four. Of the Roman army seventy and three only were lost. This battel was fought not far from the City *Ilipa*. And thither brought *P. Cornelius* his victorious army, enriched with prey and pillage. Which was laid all abroad before the Town, and every man had leave given to challenge and claim his own. All the rest was given to the Treasurer for to be sold, and the money raised thereof, was parted among the souldiers.

Now had not *C. Flaminius* the Pretor as yet taken his leave of *Rome*, when these things fell out in *Spain*, and therefore both he and his friends talked and discoursed much upon these occurrences both good and bad: and forasmuch as a great war in his Province was broken out to a light fire, and himself was to receive from *Sext. Digitius* but a small remnant of an army, and the same timorous still and full of fright, as not well recovered of their former flight, he had assaied to bring C about, that the Senat would assign unto him one of the City-legions; to the end that when he had joined thereto those souldiers which himself had enrolled according to an order set down by the Senat, he might out of all that number chuse forth six thousand and five hundred footmen, and three hundred horsemen. With which legion (for in the army of *Sext. Digitius* he reposed small confidence) he minded to make war. The ancient Senators denied and said, That acts of the Senat were not to be made upon every flying tale and report set abroad and blazed by some particular persons in favor of Magistrats. Neither would they hold any thing for certain, but that which either the Pretors themselves wrote out of the Provinces, or Embassadors sent of purpose, related. And if there were any such commotion and trouble in *Spain*, they were of advice, that the Pretor should levy in haste without *Italy*, such tumultuary souldiers, as in that case were usually taken up. The intent and mind of the Senat was, that souldiers should in that sort be prest out in *Spain*. D *Valerius Antias* writeth, that *C. Flaminius* both sailed into *Sicily* to levy and muster men, and also as he made sail from *Sicily* toward *Spain*, was by wind and tempest put with the shore of *Africk*: where he found certain souldiers dispersed over the countrey, remaining of the army of *P. Africanius*: of whom he took a military oath to serve him in his wars: and that to these levies raised in two Provinces, he joynd also a third in *Spain*.

The war of the Ligurians likewise grew as fast: for they had already besieged and invested *Pisa* with forty thousand men: and thither resorted and flocked dayly unto them great multitudes, as well for hope of pillage, as upon the bruit and rumor that went of the war. *Minutius* the Consul came at the day appointed to *Arretium*, which was the *Render-point* where he had commanded all his souldiers to meet him: from whence he marched with a four-square Battailon toward *Pisa*. And when the enemies had removed their camp a mile from the City on the other side of the River, the Consul entered the Town, which no doubt by his coming he preserved. The next day himself also encamped on the other side of the River, almost half a mile from the enemies, from which place he made light skirmishes with them and saved the territory of his allies from the excursions and robberies of the enemies. He durst not as yet try a battail in pitched field, as having but raw and new souldiers, and those gathered out of many kinds of men, and not so well known among themselves, that one might surely trust another. The Ligurians bearing themselves bold of their numbers, not only came forth into the field ready to bid battail, and hazard all upon a throw: but having multitudes at commandment and to spare, sent out into all parts sundry companies to spoil and raine booties as far as to the marches and frontiers of the countrey. And when they had gathered together much cattail and great store of pillage, they had a strong place of defence ready at hand, well manned and guarded, by means whereof all was convoyed into their burroughs and Towns.

Thus while the Ligurians war was settled about *Pisa*, the other Consul *L. Cornelius Merula* entered *Ombrina* his army by the utmost confines of the Ligurians into the territory of the Boians: where the war was managed far otherwise than with the Ligurians. For the Consul entered the field in battail array, but the enemies fell off, and would not fight. In so much as the Romans seeing none to come forth and oppose themselves, ran abroad into all parts to speed their hands with pillage. And the Boians chose rather to suffer their goods to be ransacked, making no resistance, than to have the same with the hazard of a battail. The Consul when he had wrought his pleasure, and consumed all with fire and sword departed out of the territory of the enemies, and marched toward *Modena* securely without any regard of himself, as through a peaceable country of his friends. The Boians perceiving one that they were gone out of their limits, followed after with a still and close march, seeking some convenient place for to lay an ambush. And having in the night season passed beyond the Roman camp, they seized themselves of a straight passage within a fathoms, through which of necessity the Romans must pass, and there they forlayed them. This

This was not so closely carried, but the Consul had an inkling thereof: and therefore where as his manner was to set out in his march early in the morning, long before day light, now for fear lest the darkness of the night should increase the terror of a tumultuary skirmish, he waited for the day. And albeit the sun was up before he removed and set forward, yet he sent out a Troop of horsemen to scout and discover the quarters. And after he was advertised by these spies what number there was of enemies, and in what place they were, he commanded that all the baggage and carriage of the whole army should be bestowed in the mids, and that the Triarii should stake and pale it all about, while he with the rest of his forces marched in order of battail, and approached the enemy. The like also did the French, after they once saw that their ambush and trains were detected, and that they must of necessity fight a set pitched battail, where down right blows, clean strength, and pure valour, was to carry away the victory. Thus about the second hour of the day they affronted one another. The left wing of the horsemen of the allies and the extraordinaries fought in the vanguard, under the conduct of two Lieutenants that had been Consuls, to wit, *M. Marcellus*, and *T. Sempronius*, Consul the year before. The new Consul one while was in the front of the battail, another while at the tail to keep in the legions, left for eager desire of fight they should advance forward to the conflict before that the signal was given. As for the men of arms belonging to the legions, he commanded *Quintius* and *P. Minutius*, Marshals or Colonels, to bring them forth, and conduct them without the battail into a large plain, from whence out of the open ground they should on a suddain charge the enemies, when he gave them a signal by sound of Trumpet. Thus as he was marshalling and directing his men, there came a messenger from *T. Sempronius Longus* with a report, that the loose Extraordinary K souldiers aforesaid were not able to abide the violence of the Gauls: that very many of them were slain, and those that remained, partly for weariness of travail, and partly for fearful cowardice began to quail their heart of fight: and therefore if he thought so good, he should send one of the two legions to succour, before they had received farther dishonor. Whereupon the second legion was sent, and the Extraordinaries retired themselves out of the battail. Then began the conflict anew, by reason that the souldiers came in fresh and in heart, and the legion besides was compleat and fully furnished with all her companies: the left wing of horsemen aforesaid was retired out of the battail, and in lieu thereof, the right wing advanced into the fore-front. By this time the sun with extreme scorching heat, roasted and fried the bodies of the Frenchmen, which of all things can least abide heat: howbeit, standing with their ranks thick and close together, one while they L leaned one upon another: other whiles they rested and bare themselves upon their targets, and sustained the violence of the Romans. Which when the Consul perceived, he commanded *C. Livius Salinator* who had the conduct of the light horse in the wings, to send in the quickest horse in all his company, with sul carrier to break their ranks: and gave charge that the legionary horsemen should abide behind in the rereguard. This tempest and storm of Cavalry first shuffled and put in disaray the battail of the Gauls, and afterwards brake their ranks and files clean: yet not so, that they turned their backs: for why, their Captains and Leaders would not suffer them, laying about with their runcheons upon the backs of them that so trembled for fear, and forced them again into their ranks: but the light horsemen aforesaid riding among them would not permit them to stand to it, and keep their place. The Consul for his part encouraged and exhorted his M souldiers to stick to it awhile, for the victory was in their hands: and to charge still upon them, so long as they saw them disordered and affrighted: for if they suffered their ranks to close again they should abide another conflict, and the same perhaps doubtful and dangerous. The Ensign-bearers he commanded to advance their banners: and thus at length with putting all their power and good will together, they discomfited the enemy, and put him to flight. After they shewed their backs once and took them to their heels, running away on all sides, then the legionary horsemen were sent out after to follow the chase: fourteen thousand Boians that day were slain, a thousand and nine hundred taken prisoners alive: 221 horsemen, three of their Leaders, and of Ensigns were won 212, and chariots 63. The Romans likewise won not this victory so cleer, but it cost them some blond. For of their own souldiers and allies together, there died above five thousand, N 23 Centurions, besides four Colonels of Allies, and two Marshals of the second legion, to wit, *M. Genutius*, and *M. Martinus*.

At one and the self same time in manner, both the Consuls letters were brought to Rome. *Cornelius* his letters, touching the battail fought at *Mutina* with the Boians: but the other of *Q. Minutius* from *Pisa*, were written to this effect, That whereas by lot it belonged to him to hold the assembly for the election of new Magistrats, yet considering in how doubtful terms of hazard his affairs stood in *Liguria*, that he might not possibly depart from thence without the utter ruin of the allies, and hinderance of the weal publick: therefore if it might seem so good unto the LL. of the Senat, he would advise them to send unto his brother Consul, That he, who had finished his war, might return to Rome for to hold the foresaid general assembly for the election: but in case O he should think much thereof, because this charge properly appertaineth not to him: he promised them, that himself would do whatsoever the Senate should think good. But he requested them to consider and be well advised, Whether it were not more expedient for the common-weal to proceed rather to an interreign, than that he should leave the Province in that state of jeopardy. The Senat hereupon gave in charge to *C. Scribonius* for to send two Embassadors both of Senators calling, unto *L. Cornelius* the Consul, who should carry also with them unto him the

A the letters of his colleague written and sent unto the Senat: and withal, to let him understand, that unless he would come himself to *Rome* for the election of new Magistrates to succeed, the Senat would suffer an interreign rather than call away *Q. Minutius* from the war unfinished, and wherein he was wholly employed. The Embassadors that were sent, brought word back, That *L. Cornelius* would repair to *Rome* himself for the chusing of new Magistrates. As touching the letters of *L. Cornelius*, wherein he gave them to understand, what happy issue & success he had in the battail with the Boians; there was some reasoning and debate in the Senat-house: for *M. Claudius* his Lieutenant had written other letters privately to most of the Senators, to this effect: That they were much beholden and bound to give thanks unto the good fortune of the people of *Rome*, and the valour of the souldiers, in that they sped so well as they did: for by means of the Consul, not only there were a good number of men lost, but also the army of the enemies was escaped out of their hands, when they had fit opportunity presented unto them, of a final defeat and overthrow thereof: and that by this occasion there was a greater number of the souldiers miscarried; for that they who should have rescued and succoured those that were distressed, came too late out of the reregard: and the reason why the enemies got away and escaped was this, because the legionary horsemen had not the signal soon enough sounded unto them, and could not possibly pursue them in the chase. Therefore as concerning that point, they would not determine any thing rashly and hand over head, but the matter was referred and put over to a more frequent assembly of Senators.

A greater object there was to trouble their heads; for the City was much oppressed with usury: and albeit the avarice and covetousness of men had been well gaged and bridled by many laws concerning usury, yet there was a cautelous device and shift found out, to avoid all statutes in that behalf: to wit, that all obligations should pass in the names of allies, and be sealed unto them, who were not tied and bound to observe the laws aforesaid. By which means the creditors enwrapped their debtors in what bonds they list, and forced them to pay extream interest as they would themselves, without stint. For to see into this disorder and enormity, and to redress the same, it was thought good and order taken, to set down and limit a certain day, namely, upon which the usurers were last restrained. From which day all those allies should come in and declare and profess, what mony they had put forth upon usury to any citizens of *Rome*; and that the creditour should have right to recover those monies put forth from that time, according to such conditions as the debtor would himself. Hereupon, after there were discovered great sums of money and debts contracted by this fraudulent practise, *M. Sempronius* a Tribun of the Commons, by advice of the Senat propounded a law, and the Commons allowed it. That the same course of putting out money practised between citizen and citizen of *Rome*, should likewise be in force among the allies of the Latin Nation. In this sort went matters in *Italy*, both within the City of *Rome*, and also in the wars abroad.

In *Spain* the war was nothing so much as the bruit that ran thereof. *Q. Flaminius* in high *Spain*, won *Ilucia*, a Town in the Oretans countrey: after which exploit, he laid up his souldiers in their winter harbour. And in winter time there passed certain light skirmishes (not worth the naming) against the excursions of brigands and thieves, I may rather say, than enemies: and yet the fortune was variable, and not without some loss of men. As for *M. Fulvius* he achieved great matters: for he fought in a ranged battail with banner displayed against the *Vaccæans*, the *Vedtones*, and the *Celtiberians*, before the Town *Toletum*: where he discomfited and put to flight the army of those nations, and took prisoner alive, their King *Hilernus*.

Whiles these things thus passed in *Spain*, the day drew neer, of the solemn election of Magistrates at *Rome*: and therefore *L. Cornelius* the Consul having left *M. Claudius* Lieutenant in the army, came to *Rome*: who, after he had discoursed in the Senat-house of his own exploits, and in what estate the province stood, he complained to the LL of the Senat, that considering so great a war was brought to an end, by one battail so fortunately and happily fought, there was no solemnity to the honour of the Gods, performed in that behalf. Over and besides, he demanded, That they would decree a procession and triumph withal. But before the Senators were to deliver their opinions to this demand, *Q. Metellus*, who had been Consul and Dictator, rose up and said, That there had been letters brought at one and the same time; both from the Consul *Cornelius* to the Senat, and also from *M. Marcellus* to a great many of the Senators, and those letters importing contraries: whereupon the consultation of that matter had been deferred and put off to the end that it might be argued and debated in the presence of them both, who wrote the letters: and therefore I ever looked (quoth he) that the Consul (knowing especially that his Lieutenant had written and informed somewhat against him, and considering that himself was to repair to *Rome*) would have brought him also with him: seeing that it had been more meet and befitting him to have delivered the army to *T. Sempronius*, one that was in the commission and had a command, than to a Lieutenant. But it should seem now, that he was left behind far enough off of every purpose, for fear he would avow and justify personally his hand-writing, and charge him self to face: and that if the Consul should make report of any untruth, he might be challenged therefore, and the thing sifted and canvased, until the truth appeared clearly and came to light: and therefore my opinion is (quoth he) that nothing be determined at this present, as touching the demands of the Consul. But when as he persisted notwithstanding, and followed the suit still, namely, that they would ordain a solemn procession, and that himself might enter the

the City, riding in triumph: then *Marcus* and *C. Titinius*, both Tribuns of the Commons, interposed, that they would interpose their negative, and cancel the order of the Senat in that behalf.

The Censors for that time, were *Sex. Aelius Patrus* and *C. Cornelius Cethegus*, created the year before. *Cornelius* took a review of the City and numbred the people; and there were accounted by his survey 143704 polls of Citizens. Great floods arose that year, and *Tyber* overflowed all the flats and plain places of the City: and about the gate *Flumentana* certain houses and buildings were overthrown withal, and laid along. The gate *Calimontana* besides, was stricken with lightning, and the wall about it was likewise blasted from heaven. At *Aricia*, *Lanuvium*, and in mount *Aventin*, it rained stones. And reported it was from *Capua*, that a great swarm of Wasps came flying into the market place, and settled upon the Temple of *Mars*; which being with great care taken up and gathered together, were afterward consumed with fire. In regard of these prodigious tokens, order was given, that the Decemvirs should search and peruse the books of *Sibylla*; whereupon a novendial sacrifice (to continue nine dayes) was appointed, a publick procession solemnized, and the City was cleansed and hallowed. About the same time *M. Porcius Cato*, dedicated the Chappel of *Virgin Victory*, near to the Temple of the Goddess *Victory*, two years after that he had vowed it. In that year also the Triumvirs, *C. Manlius Vulso*, *L. Apustius Fullo*, and *P. Aelius Tubero*, (who had preferred a bill of request about the planting of a Colony) had commission granted, to conduct a Colony of Latins into the countrey of *Thurinum*; and thither went three thousand footmen and three hundred horsemen; a small number in comparison of the largeness and quantity of the territory. There might well have been set out thirty acres for every footman, and threescore for an horseman: but by the motion and advice of *Apustius*, one third part of the Lands was excepted and reserved, to the end, that afterwards in time, they might enrol new Coloners if it pleased them. And therefore the footmen had twenty acres, and the horsemen forty apeece.

Now approached the end of the year, and more ambition there was, and hotter suit for place of dignity in the election of Consuls, than ever had been known any time before. Many mighty men, as well of the *Patritii* and nobles, as the Commoners, stood and laboured hard for the Consulship, to wit, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, the son of *Cneus*, who lately was departed out of *Spain* after he had achieved many worthy deeds. *L. Quintius Flaminius* who had been Admiral of the navy in *Greece*, and *Cn. Manlius Vulso*, all of the Nobility. But of the Commons were *C. Laelius*, *Cn. Domitius*, *C. Livius Salinator*, and *M. Atilius*. But all mens eyes were fixed upon *Quintius* and *Cornelius*. For they desired one place, being both of them nobly descended, and their fresh glory for feats of war, recommended both the one and the other. But above all other things, the brethren of these competitors, two most renowned warriors of their time, set the debate on a light fire. The glory of *Scipio*, as it was the greater of the twain, so it was more subject to envy. The honour of *Quintius* was more fresh, as who that year had newly triumphed. Over and besides, the one of them had been now almost ten years continually conversant in the eyes of men (a thing that maketh great men not so highly regarded, by reason that they are grown stale, and the world is full already of them) also he had been twice Consul, and Censor since he vanquished *Annibal*. But in *Quintius* all was fresh and new, to win the good grace and favor of men. And more than that, he neither after his triumph had obtained ought of the people, nor, to say a truth, requested any thing. He alledged, that he made suit for his own natural and whole brother by both sides, and not for a Confin German; in the behalf of a very companion and partaker with him in the managing of the war (for as himself served by Land, so his brother performed many exploits by sea.) So he obtained, that *Quintius* should be preferred before his competitor, whom *Africanus* and his brother [*Asiaticus*] brought in and graced, whom the whole race of *Cornelii* seemed to countenance, even then when a *Cornelius*, Consul, was president of the election and held the assembly; whom the Senat had given so grave a testimony of, in adjudging him to be the best man simply in all the City, and thought most worthy to receive the goddess *Idaea*, coming from *Peisinnus* to the City of *Rome*. Thus were *L. Quintius*, and *Cn. Domitius Aenobarbus* created Consuls, in such sort, that *Africanus* was of no credit, and bare no stroke at all (ye may be sure) in the election of a Consul out of the third estate of Commons, albeit he employed himself, and did his best for *C. Laelius*. The next day after were the Pretors elected namely, *L. Scribonius Libo*, *M. Fulvius Crassus*, *A. Atilius Serranus*, *M. Papius Mamilianus*, *L. Valerius Tappus*, and *Q. Salinius Sarrus*. In this year *M. Emilius Lepidus* and *L. Emilius Paulus*, the Censors, bare themselves so in their office, as they made their year to be notable and much spoken of. They condemned and fined many of the City graziers or farmers of the common pastures: and of that money which arose of their amercements, were certain gilded shields made, which were set up on the finial or lantern of *Jupiter's* Temple. They made one terrace or gallery without the gate *Trigemina*, with a marchants Hall or Bursé adjoined thereto, near *Tyber*: and another from the gate *Fontinalis* they built in length as far as to the Altar of *Mars*, leading to *Mars* field.

For a long time nothing was done in *Liguria* worth the remembrance. But about the end of the year twice were the Romans in great jeopardy: for both the camp of the Consul was assailed and hardly defended, and also not long after, as the Roman host marched through a streight pass, the army of the *Ligurians* kept the very gullet of the passage, and the Consul seeing he could not make way through, turned his ensigns, and began to retire the same way he came: but by that time, some of the enemies had gained also the back part of the pass, inasmuch as the lamentable

A lamentable remembrance of the Candine overthrow, not only presented it self to their spirit and mind, but also was in manner an object to their eye. Now had he amongst his auxiliary or aid-forces, to the number almost of eight hundred horse. Whose Captain promised the Consul, that he and his would breakthrough whither way he would, let him only buttell him which of the two quarters were better peopled and inhabited: for the first thing that he did, he would fire their Villages and houses: to the end, that the fear and fright thereof might force the Ligurians to depart out of the chafe which they held and befer, and run to succour their own neighbours. The Consul commended him highly, and fed him with hope of large rewards. Whereupon the Numidians mounted on horseback, and began to ride about the *corps de guard* of the enemies, without offering to charge upon any man. At the first, a man that had seen them, would have thought nothing more contemptible, being both men and horse, little, spare and gaunt. The horseman unarmed and without weapon, save that he carrieth about him some light darts: the horses without bridles, and as they ran shutting out their stiff necks, and bearing their heads forward without any reining at all, they made a very ill favoured sight. And the riders, for to make themselves more despised, would on purpose seem to take fells from their horses, and made their enemies good sport. Whereupon they (who if at first they had been assailed, would have been heedful & ready to have received the charge) now sat still (many of them unarmed) to behold this pleasant pastime. The Numidians would gallop toward them and presently ride back again, but so, as by little and little they gained ground, and advanced neerer to the pals, yet making semblance, as if they had had no rule of their horses, but were carried thither against their wils. At the last, they set spurs to their horses indeed, and brake through the mids of the enemies guards: and so soon as they had recovered the open ground, they set on fire all the houses near the high way side, and so forward they burnt the next village they came unto, and destroyed all afore them with fire and sword. First, the sinoak that was decried, afterwards, the outcry heard of them that were affrighted in the villages, and last of all, the children and old folk that fled to save themselves, made a trouble and hurlyburly in the camp: inso much, as every man of himself without advice, without warrant or direction, made what hast he could to run and save his own. Thus in the turning of an hand, the camp was abandoned, and the Consul delivered from siege, arrived thither where he intended.

But neither Boians nor Spaniards (with whom that year the Romans made war) were so spitefully and maliciously bent against them, as the whole nation of the Aetolians. They at the very first were in very good hope, that presently upon the remove of the forces out of Greece, *Antiochus* would have entred Europe, and seized upon the vacant possession thereof: and that neither *Philip* nor *Nabis* would be in rest and do nothing. But seeing them not to stir in any place, they thought it high time to make some trouble and confusion themselves, for fear lest by delays and lingering, all their designments would turn to nothing: and therefore they published a Diet or Council to be holden at *Naupectum*. In which assembly *Thodas* their Pretor, after he had made grievous complaint of the wrongs received by the Romans, moving and solliciting the state of *Bullia* (for that they of all other nations and Cities of Greece, were least honoured and set by after that victory, whereof they had been the cause) gave his advice, That there should be Embassadors sent to all the neighbour Kings, not only to found their minds and affections, but also to incite and prick them every one forward to enter into arms against the Romans. So *Damocritus* was addressed to *Nabis*, *Nicander* to *Philip*, and *Dicaarchus* the brother of the Pretor unto *Antiochus*. *Damocritus* had in commission to signify unto the tyrant of *Lacedamon*, "That by the loss of his maritime Cities, the very sinews and sinews of his tyranny and Kingdom were cut in sunder: "For from thence was he furnished with soldiers, from thence had he his ships and servitors at "Sea: whereas now, he might see the Achazans LL. and rulers of *Peloponnesus*, whilst himself was "plined up and enclosed within his wals, and never should he have opportunity to recover himself: if he let pass this that presently was offered unto him. No Roman army was now in Greece: "and never would the Romans think it sufficient cause, to pass over the Seas with their legions "into Greece, for any occasion of *Gythium* or other Laconians inhabiting the Sea-coasts. These reasons were laid forth to incense the courage of the tyrant, to the end, that when *Antiochus* was once passed over into Greece, he being touched in conscience, that he had broken the Roman league, by committing outrage upon their allies, might of necessity join and band with *Antiochus*.

Suchlike remonstrances and reasons used, *Nicander* for to provoke and perswade *Philip*: and much more matter he had to enforce that point, as the King was deposed from much higher degree of estate than the tyrant had been, and also had sustained far greater losses. To this, he alleged the ancient name and renown of the KK. of *Macedany*; and how that nation had overrun the whole world and filled all places with their noble conquests & victories. Moreover he said, That he advised him to take a course, which was safe both to be enterprised, and also easy to be executed. For he gave not *Philip* counsel to stir, before that *Antiochus* were passed over with an army into Greece: and considering that he without the aid of *Antiochus* had maintained war so long against the Romans and Aetolians, what possible means had the Romans to withstand him assisted with *Antiochus* & the Aetolians his allies, who even then were fiercer enemies than the Romans? Over and besides, he inferred this reason also, what a brave and doughty Captain *Antiochus* was, a man even born to be an enemy to the Romans, and who had slain already more leaders and soldiers of theirs than were left behind. These were the allegations of *Nicander* to *Philip*. As for *Dicaarchus*, he had other motives to perswade with *Antiochus*. First, and principally

pally above all others, he affirmed, "That howsoever the prize and booty of *Philipp* fell to the Romans, the victory was gained and achieved by the *Ætolians*; and none but they either gave the Romans entrance and passage into *Greece*, or furnished them with forces for the performance and accomplishment of the victory. Then he shewed and made promise what power as well of foot as horse they would present unto *Antiochus* toward his wars; what places they would give him for his land-forces, and what havens and harbours for his strength and army at Sea. After all this he stuck not (to serve his own turn) for to over-reach and tell a loud he as touching *Philipp* and *Nabis*, in giving out confidently that they were both of them ready and at the point to renew war: and would take the vantage of the very first opportunity and occasion that could be preferred; to recover those things which by war they had lost. Thus the *Ætolians* laboured to set all the world at once upon the top of the Romans. Howbeit, the *R.K.* were either not moved at all with their soliciting, or bestirred them more slowly than they looked for. But as for *Nabis*, he sent immediately about all the Towns by the Sea side, certain persons of purpose to sow discord and kindle seditions among them: and some of their principal citizens he won by gifts and presents to his own purpose and designs: but such as stiffly continued fast and firm in alliance and allegiance with the Romans, those he made away and murdered. Now had *T. Quintus* given in charge and commission to the *Acheans*, for to guard all the *Laconians* that dwelt upon the Sea-coasts: and therefore presently they both dispatched their Embassadors unto the Tyrant, to put him in mind of the confederacy and association with the Romans; and to warn him and give him advertisement, that in no wise he would trouble that peace, which he had so earnestly craved and sought for: and also sent aid unto *Gythium*, which now the tyrant began to assault: yea, and addressed other Embassadors also to *Rome* to give intelligence of these occurrences.

* *Soria.*

* *Philadelphus.*

* *Riso Carpasso.*

* *Pergamus.*

Antiochus the King after he had that winter time given his daughter in marriage to *Pithonius* the King of *Egypt* at *Raphia* a City in *Phœnicia*, retired to *Antiochia*; and in the very end of the same winter, passed through *Cilicia* over the mountain *Taurus*, and came to *Ephesus*. And from thence in the beginning of the Spring, after he had sent his son *Antiochus* into *Syria* for to defend and keep in obedience the utmost frontiers of his Kingdom, left in his absence there might arise some troubles behind his back, he marched with all his Land-forces against the *Pisidians*, who inhabit about *Sela*.

At the same time the Romans Embassadors *P. Sulpicius* and *P. Villius*, who as we said before had been sent unto *Antiochus* with direction, first to visit *K. Eumenes*, arrived at *Ephesus*, and from thence went up to *Pergamus*, where *Eumenes* kept his royal court; *Eumenes* was desirous in his heart that *Antiochus* should be warred upon: supposing verily, that if he were at peace, being a Prince so much mightier than himself, he would be but an ill and dangerous neighbour, so near unto him: but if war were once afoot, that he would be no more able to beard and match the Romans than *Philipp* had been: and that either he should wholly be overthrown, and come to utter ruin; or if being vanquished he had peace given unto him by the Romans; then, as he lost much thereby and would be weaker, so himself should gain by the bargain, and grow mightier; that afterwards he might be able easily of himself to make his part good, and hold his own against him, without the help and aid of the Romans: or if any misfortune should happen unto him, he were better by far, to hazard any fortune whatsoever in the Roman society, than either alone to endure the Lordly dominion of *Antiochus* and be subject, or in refusing to obey, be compelled thereto by force and arms. For these causes he employed all the credit and authority he had, yea, and addressed all counsel that he could devise for to prick on and set forward the Romans in this war. *Sulpicius* remained behind sick at *Pergamus*, but *Villius* advertised that the King was occupied and busied in the *Pisidian* war went to *Ephesus*: and while he abode there some few dayes, he endeavored and made means to have conference oftentimes with *Antiochus*, who haply at that time sojournd there, both to sound his mind if possibly he could, and also to secure him of all fear from the Romans. In these meetings and communications, no other thing passed nor was done between them, but see what ensued hereupon of it self, as if it had been a thing wrought and compassed of men's policy. *Antiochus* by this means was less set by and in smaller credit with the King, yea, and in all matters began to be more and more suspected and had in jealousy. *Claudius* (the Historian) who followeth the Greek books of *Attilius*, writeth that *P. Africanus* was joynd in that embassage, and that he talked and devised with *Antiochus* at *Ephesus*: and namely, maketh report of one conference and speech between them twain, and that is this. *Africanus* demanded of *Antiochus*, whom in his judgment, he took to have been the greatest commander for feats of arms, that ever was: to which he made answer, that he judged *Alexander* the King of the *Macedonians* was simply the most excellent warrior: in this regard, that he with a small power had defeated innumerable armies; and besides had passed as far as to the utmost bounds of the whole earth, even to those lands, that a man would think incredible for any one to reach unto. And when he asked again whom he deemed worthy to stand in the second place, he answered, that *Pyrrius* was the man; for that he first taught how to pitch a camp, and above all other points of military skill, no man knew better to choose out commodious ground and places of advantage, or more cunningly to plant and dispose garrisons: besides, he had such a might and dexterity to draw and win men unto him, that the Italian nations had rather have been subject to him a foreign Prince, than to live under the people of *Rome*, notwithstanding they had of long time the sovereignty and rule of those parts. And

A when he proceeded still to know whom he meant for the third he made no sticking at the matter but named himself. Whereupon *Scipio* took up a long staff and replied again: What would you say then if your hap had been to have imbrued me? May then, quoth he, I would think I were worthy to be set before *Alexander*, before *Darius*, yea, and before all other martial men and commanders in the whole world. At this answer, *Scipio* took delight and pleasure, so for how subtilly and counselously he had like a cunning Carthaginian, couched his words in a certain kind of flattery, as if he had soughtred him from out of the range and task of all other Captains as being by many degrees incomparable, and far above all others. Then *Kilius* went forward from *Thessaly* to *Apamea*, and thither *Antiochus* also repaired farto meet him, hearing of the coming of Roman legats, for his communication and conference at *Apamea*, the matter was debated much after the same sort, as it had been at *Rome* between *Quintus* and the Kings Embassadors. But the news of *Antiochus* the Kings son his death, whom I said a little before to have been sent into *Syria* brake off this peace. Great mourning and sorrow there was in the Kings Court, and much was that young Prince wept and moaned, for, that good proof he had given of himself, that if he had lived any long time, he would have proved by all likelihood of his towardsness, a great, a mighty, and a righteous King. The docters and better beloved he was of all men, the more suspicious was his death, and namely, that his father doubting that he would press forward and be instant to increase him in his old age, took order by the ministry of certain Eunuchs or guided men (persons greatly accepted with Kings for such services) to have him poisoned. And they say, that another cause also set him forward to commit this secret act, because having given the City *Asmachia* to his son *Selenus*, he had no such place to bestow upon *Antiochus* his son, for to keep his residence in, whereinto he might have removed him farther off from his own person, under colour of doing him honor. Howbeit, great semblance and shew there was of much mourning and lamentation all over the court for certain dayes: insomuch as the Roman Embassador retired himself to *Ephesus*, because he was loth to converse there natively, at so unreasonable a time. The King returned to *Ephesus* and gave over the war that he had enterprized. Where, the courtiers being thus by occasion of the mourning time, he devised and consulted in great secret with one *Mina*, an old friend unto him, and whom of all other he loved best and trusted most. This *Mina* is more strange and strange ignorant in foreign affairs and forces, measuring and esteeming the power, and greatness of the King by his exploits done in *Syria* or in *Asia*, deemed verily, that *Antiochus* had not only the better cause in that the Romans demanded unreasonable conditions, but also should have the upper hand in the tryal thereof by war. When as now the King refused to have any conference and dispute with the Embassadors, either for that he knew by good experience, that it would be harmful for him so to do, or because he was troubled in spirit upon this late and fresh object of grief and sorrow: *Mina* undertook the business, and professed that he would speak to the point of the matter and to good purpose: and so perswaded the King to send for the Embassadors from *Perjanus*. By this time *Sulpicius* was recovered of his sickness, and therefore both of them repaired to *Ephesus*: where *Mina* excused the King, and in his absence they began to treat about their affairs. Then *Mina* with a premeditated oration began in this wise, "I see well (qd. he) that you Romans pretend unto the world a goodly title of setting free the Cities of *Greece*, but your deeds are not answerable to your words: and ye have set down unto *Antiochus* one manner of law to be tied unto, and practise your selves another. For how cometh it about that the *Smyrneans* and *Lampfacens* should be Greeks, more than the *Neapolitans*, the *Rhegins*, and *Tarentins*, of whom you exact tribute and require ships by virtue of the accord and covenant betwixt you? Why send you yearly to *Syracus* and other Greek Cities of *Sicily*, a Prefor in foreign authority, with his rods and axes? Certainly, ye have nothing else to say, but that ye have subdued them in war, and by right of conquest have imposed these conditions upon them. The like, ye and the same cause know ye that *Antiochus* alledgeth as concerning *Smyrna*, *Lampfacus*, and other Cities and Rates of *Ionia* and *Ælia*. For having been conquered in war by his ancestors and progenitors, having I say been made tributary and liable to impositions, he challenge length of them the ancient rights and duties due from them, and to him belonging. And therefore if ye will debate and treat the question according to equity and reason and not rather pick quarrels and seek occasions of war. I would gladly know what ye will answer to him in this point? To this *Sulpicius* made answer in this wise, "Antiochus (qd. he) hath done very well and with good regard of modesty, in that having no other matters to plead unto for his defence and the maintenance of his cause, he hath made choice of any other rather than himself to be the speaker. For what one thing is there alike in those cities which you have named and put in comparison? Of the *Rhegins*, *Neapolitans* and *Tarentins*, we demand that which is our due according to the deeds of covenants indentured, and hath ever been since time that first they were in subjection under us: that I say which we have challenged and enjoyed by virtue of one continued course and trend of right, by us ever practised without any intermission or interruption. And are you able to avouch, that as those nations neither by themselves nor by any other, have altered and changed the accord between us and them, so the Cities of *Asia*, when they once became subjects to the ancestors of *Antiochus*, remained alwayes in the perpetual possession of your Kingdom? And not rather, that some of them have been under the obedience of *Philip* & others obedient to *Ptolemaus*? Yea, and divers of them for many years have been free & used their own liberties without contradiction, and no words of doubt made hereof? For admit this once, that

The Oration
of Mina.

that (because these Cities sometime were in bondage through the iniquity of those times where-
 in they were oppressed) there shall be a right pretended, and the time be effected to reduce
 them again after so many ages into servitude? What wanteth it but yet may as well say that we
 have done just nothing, in delivering Greece out of the hands of Philip, and that his successors
 and posterity may thin again and lay title to Corinth, Chalcis, Demetrias, and the whole Thes-
 salian nation? But what mean I to maintain the cause of the Cities of Greece, whom it were more
 meet and reasonable that both we and the King himself would give audience unto; and let them
 plead what they can for their own selves? With that he commanded the embassages of the Ci-
 ties to be called in, which were prepared and instructed aforehand by Eumenes, who made this
 reckoning, that whatsoever strength went from Antiochus, should accrue and come unto him and
 his Kingdom. Many were admitted to speak: and whiles every one set forward his own cause, I
 some by way of complains, others in manner of demand, each one putting in for himself without
 regard of right or wrong, so he served his own turn, they fell at length from reasoning to wrangling
 and wrangling in so much, as the Embassadors returned to Rome as uncertain and doubtful in all
 matters as they were when they came, without releasing or obtaining any one thing at all.
 When they were dismissed and gone, the King held a Council as touching the Roman war. In
 which assembly some delivered their opinion more freely and stoutly than others: but generally
 the more bitter speech that any one used against the Romans, the greater hope he had to enter in-
 to special grace and favour with the King. One above the rest inveighed much and spoke against
 those proud and insolent demands of the Romans, who imposed hard laws and conditions upon
 Antiochus, the mightiest King of all Asia as if he had been no better than Nabus, whom they had
 conquered and subdued. And yet (saith he) they left unto Nabus some signory and dominion in
 his own countrey and City of Lacedemon: whereas if Lampiscus and Smyrna should bear the
 command of Antiochus, they deemed that an unworthy thing and a very indignity. Others opined
 and said, that those two Cities were but small causes, and not worth the naming, for so puissant
 a Prince to stand upon and to wif for. But alwayes (say they) men begin with just and reasona-
 ble demands, to make an overture and way to compais and obtain that which is unjust. Unless
 one would believe, that when the Persians requested of the Lacedemonians, water and earth,
 they stood in need of a dot & turn of ground, or draught of water. In like sort for all the world
 the Romans do but sound and try the King, in their demands touching these two Cities. For o-
 ther Cities likewise, so soon as they shall perceive that those two have shaken off the yoke of
 obedience, will soon revolt and turn to that people which is their deliverer, and as whole hands
 hope for liberty. And say that freedom were not to them more dear and precious than
 bondage yet it is the nature of every man to feed and please himself with a bare hope of change
 and new world much more than with the assured hold of any present state whatsoever. There
 was in place at this council, Alexander of Acarnania, one who sometime had friended Philip, but
 of late dayes was fallen from him and followed the court of Antiochus, a more wealthy and magni-
 ficent Prince: and being taken for a politician who had a special insight into the state of Greece,
 was not ignorant of the affairs of Rome, had wound himself into high favour and inward friend-
 ship with the King, that he was taken in to be one of his privy council, and acquainted with all
 his secrets. This man, as if the question in hand had been, not, Whether war should be levied or
 no; but, Where, and by What means, and How it should be managed, spake aloud & said, That
 he made full reckoning and account in his very spirit and heart of the victory, in case the King
 would pass the Seas over into Europe, to plant & settle himself in some part of Greece, and there
 wage war: for as his very first coming he should see in arms already the Aetolians, that inhabit
 the very heart and centre of Greece, who would be the only Captains and port-ensigns to march
 before them, ready to venture and enter upon the most difficult and dangerous enterprises of
 war. Again, in the two cantons and angles as it were thereof, he should find Nabus of the one
 side from Peloponnesus, at hand to rise and raise those quarters, with intent to regain the City of
 the Argives, to win again the maritime Cities, which the Romans have disseized & dispossessed
 him of, and have mued and shut him within the walls of Lacedemon. On the other side from
 Macedonia, Philip would no doubt take arms, so soon as he shall hear the first alarm and sound of
 trumpet. Full well (quod he) know I his courage, and of what spirit and stomack he is right well I
 wot that he hath fostered in that brest of his for a long time, anger and despite, like to these wild
 and savage beasts, which either are kept within iron gates, or fast tyed and bound: and is well I
 remember, how many a time he was wont (during the wars) to pray heartily to all the Gods,
 to vouchsafe for to give him Antiochus for his helper and assistant: and if now he might enjoy
 his wish, and have the thing so long desired and prayed for he would without any delay, enter in-
 to arms and war incontinently. Only (quod Alexander) we must not linger and stay nor drive off,
 for as much as herein consisteth the very point of victory, even betimes to seize upon commodi-
 tious places of advantage, before the enemies be possessed of them. Also with all speed, Antiochus
 is to be sent into Affrick, whereby the Romans may be distracted, and compelled to turn them-
 selves sundry wayes. Antiochus only was not called to this council: for by reason of the foresaid
 conferences with Villius, the King had him in some jealousy, and therefore he was out of favour,
 and of no credit and account with him. At the first, he put up this disgrace and made no words,
 but afterwards he thought it better course, both to demand the cause of so sudden strangeness
 and alienation of his, and also to take some good time to extul and purge himself. And therefore
 upon

A upon a day having simply asked of the King, and heard the cause of his anger toward him: "My father *Amilcar* (qd. he) O *Antiochus*, when upon a time he sacrificed unto the Gods, caused me (a very little one) to be brought and presented before the Altar, where he forced me to touch the same with my hand, and to take an oath; Never to be friend unto the people of *Rome*. To accomplish and fulfill this oath, I maintained the wars for the space of six and thirty years by virtue of this oath; in time of peace I was driven out of my native country; and being fled from thence, this oath brought me into your court: and by the guidance and direction of this oath, if you should disappoint me of my hope, yet whatsoever I know there are forces, wheresoever I hear there is any stirring and rustling of arms, I shall seek all the world over, until I find some Roman enemies. And therefore, if there be any of your Courtiers that have a mind and desire to advance themselves in your good grace, and would grow by carrying tales and accusing me unto you, let them find some other subject and matter to do this by me: for I hate the Romans, and am likewise hated of them. That this is truth which I say, my father *Amilcar* and the Gods in heaven, can testify. Wherefore, whensoever you shall think to make war with the Romans, see you entertain *Annibal* for one of your greatest and most assured friends: but if any occurrence shall force you to peace, seek some other counsellor and not me, to consult withal about that point. This speech was so effectual, that not only it prevailed with the King, but also reconciled *Annibal* unto his grace. And so they departed out of the council with a full resolution to make war.

At *Rome* it was commonly talked and discoursed, that *Antiochus* was an enemy, but no provision and preparation there was for war, but only whetting the edge of their stomachs. For both Consuls had no other Province but *Italy* assigned unto them to govern. And they were either to agree between themselves, or else to cast lots, whether of the two should hold the general assembly, and be president of the election for that year. And he whose hap was not to be charged with that business, was to be in readiness to lead forth the legions into any place out of *Italy*, as need should require. And to this Consul it was permitted to enrol two new legions of Citizens, and besides of allies and Latins 20000 foot, and 800 horse. To the other Consul were appointed those two legions, which *L. Cornelius* the Consul of the former year had under his governance: also of allies and Latins 15000 footmen out of the same army, and 500 horse. As for *Q. Minutius*, his commission was continued still for the conduct of that army which he had in *Liguria*. And for to supply and make up the broken companies, he was allowed to enrol 4000 Roman footmen, and 150 horse, and likewise to levy of the allies 5000 foot, and 250 horse for that service. To *Cr. Domitius* it fell by lot, that he should go with a power out of *Italy*, whither soever the Senate gave order; and unto *Quintius* to govern *Gaul*. Then the Pretors election followed, who likewise cast lots for their Provinces. *M. Fulvius Centimalus* had the civil jurisdiction, and *L. Scribonius Libo* the forrain, *L. Valerius Tappus* governed *Sicily*, *Q. Salinius Sarrus*, *Sardinia*: *M. Babinus Tamphilus* high *Spain*, and *A. Atilius Serranus* the baile. But these two changed their Provinces, first by an order from the Senate, and afterwards by an act also of the Commons. For to *Atilius* *Macedony* was assigned and the navy, and to *Babinus* the countrey of the *Brutii*. *Flaminius* and *Fulvius* continued in the government and command of *Spain*, and to *Babinus Tamphilus* for the rule of the *Brutii*, were those two legions appointed which the year before lay in the City, with commission to take up and levy of allies fifteen thousand foot, and five hundred horse to go thither. *Aulus Atilius* had in charge to cause thirty galleaces to be made with five banks of oars on a side, and to take out of the harbors and docks as many old vessels as were fit for service, and to enrol mariners and rowers. The Consuls also were enjoined to deliver unto him two thousand allies of the Latin nation, and a thousand Roman footmen. It was commonly voyced, that these two Pretors with two armies both by Land and at Sea, were prepared against *Nabis*, who openly now assailed the confederats of the people of *Rome*. But still the Embassadors were looked for, who had been sent unto King *Antiochus*, and the Senat commanded the Consul *Domitius* not to depart from the City before their return. The Pretors, *Fulvius* and *Scribonius*, whose charge it was to minister law and execute justice in *Rome*, had commission to provide a hundred galleaces, besides that fleet which *Atilius* was to command. But before that either Consuls or Pretors went forth into their Provinces, there was a procession holden, in regard of the prodigies and fearful sights that were reported. For word was brought out of *Picenum*, that a she-goat had yeared six kids at once, and that it rained earth at *Anternum*; and at *Formia*, that a gate and wall of the City were smitten with lightning; and (that which most of all troubled and frightened the Consul *Domitius*) that an Ox spake these words, *Rome, take heed to thy self*. In regard of the other prodigious tokens, there was a supplication holden: but as for the Ox, the Sooth-sayers and bowel-priests gave commandment, that he should with great care be kept and nourished. The *Tiber* also with more violence overflowed into the City than in the former year, and overthrowed two bridges and many buildings, especially about the gate *Flumentina*. Moreover, a mighty huge stone shaken out of the Capitol cliff, fell from thence into the street called *Ingarium*, either by the force and violence of rain, or some earthquake (which if there were any, was so little, that it could not be perceived) and that stone killed many a man. In the countrey also, by reason of this deluge, much cattle was carried away with the flood, and many farm houses and granges were broken down and laid along.

Before that *L. Quintius* the Consul was arrived into his Province, *Q. Minutius* fought a battell with the *Ligurians* in the territory of *Vifa*, and slew nine thousand enemies: the rest he dispersed,

confited, put to flight and chased into their camps which being assailed, was defended manfully with much fighting until dark night: and then the Ligurians slip away in the night (as on secretly. And by the dawning of the next day the Romans entered and seized thereof when it was empty of the enemies. Less pillage was there found, for that ever and anon what booties soever they got in the country they sent home to their houses. *Minutius* notwithstanding gave the enemies no repose from that time forward. For being departed out of the territory of *Elis* he came into *Liguria*, where he destroyed their boroughs and Castles, and put all to fire and sword. There the Roman souldiers filled their hands with the Tuscan prizes, sent thither by the foragers and robbers.

Much about this time the Embassadors returned to *Rome*, from the *KK*, who brought word and made relation of nothing that was sufficient to enforce them to proceed in any haste to war, but only against the Lacedæmonian tyrant, by whom (as the Achæan Embassadors also gave intelligence) the Sea coasts of *Lacodia* were wronged and assailed, against the covenants of the league. Whereupon *Attilius* the Pretor was sent with a fleet to defend the associates. And forasmuch as there was no imminent peril from *Antiochus*, it was thought good, that both the Consuls should go into their Provinces. *Domitius* took his journey, and went the nearest way by *Ariminum*, and *Quintus* came into the Boians country by the way of *Liguria*. And these two Consuls armies in divers quarters, wasted all abroad the enemies country. At the first some few of their Gentlemen and Horsemen, together with their Captains; afterwards, all those of Senators calling; and last of all, as many as were of any repute, worth and worship, to the number of fifteen hundred fled to the Consul.

Likewise in both *Spain*s that year the affairs went prosperously: for not only *C. Flaminius* won by force of mantelets and engins of battery the rich and strong Town *Litabrum*, and took prisoner alive their Lord *Corribila* a noble Prince, but also *M. Fulvius* the Pro-consul fought with two armies of the enemies twice, and put them to the worse; and won by assault two Towns of the Spaniards *Veseltia* and *Holone*, with many other fortresses: the rest of themselves revolted unto him. After this he made a journey into the Orétans country, & there having gotten two towns, *Nalika* and *Cusibi*, he set forward and marched to the river *Tagus*, where that quarter there stood *Taletum*, a small City but strongly feared: while he assaulted it, there came a mighty army of the Vestons to aid the Toletans, with whom he fought a set field, and won the day, and having defeated the Vestons, he forced the Toletans with engins of battery, and won the Town.

* or Nabilis.
* Toledo.

But all the wars which at that time were in hand, nothing troubled the *LL* of the Senate so much as the expectation of the war, which *Antiochus* had not yet begun and enterprised. For albeit they had ever and anon certain advertilements and intelligences of all things by their Embassadors, yet many flying tales and headless bruits there went without any certain Authors, reporting lies as well as truths. And among the rest there ran a rumor, that *Antiochus*, so soon as he was come into *Ætolia*, would presently put over a fleet into *Sicily*. Whereupon the Senate, notwithstanding they had sent *Attilius* the Pretor with a fleet into *Greece*, yet forasmuch as there was need not of forces only, but also of authority to entertain the hearts and affections of their allies, they sent over *T. Quintus*, *Cn. Octavius*, *Cn. Servilius*, and *P. Villius*, as Embassadors into *Greece*, and gave order that *M. Pabius* should advance his legions out of the country of the Brutians, toward *Tarentum* and *Brundisium*, that from thence if need required, he might sail over into *Macedonia*. Moreover, That *M. Fulvius* the Pretor should put out a fleet of thirty sail, for the defence of the coast of *Sicily* and that the Admiral thereof should have full commission there to command (now *L. Oppius Saliator*, who the former year had been one of the *Ediles* of the Commons, had the conduct of those ships.) Also, that the same Pretor should address his letters unto *L. Valerius* his Colleague, and advertiled him that it was to be feared, that the armado of King *Antiochus* would cross over out of *Ætolia* into *Sicily*; and therefore it was the will and pleasure of the Senate, that he should take up and enrol into that army which he had already, of tumultuary souldiers 12000 footmen, and 400 horse, by whose means he might defend that coast of the Province which looketh toward *Creece*. For the levy of these forces, the Pretor took musters not only in *Sicily*, but also in the Isles adjacent and lying thereabout, and fortified with good garrisons all the Towns upon the Sea side which lie toward *Greece*. Those rumours aforesaid were fed still and maintained by the coming of *Attalus* the brother of *Eumenes*, who reported that King *Antiochus* was passed over *Hell Spontus* with an army: and that the *Ætolians* were in that forwardness, that they would be prest and ready in arms against his arrival. Great thanks were given as well to *Eumenes* in his absence, as to *Attalus* there present in place. Also order was taken, that he should have a lodging allowed him at his pleasure, and his charges born for his diet and house-keeping. Moreover, there were given him as presents, two great horses of service, two pair of horsemens armors, as much silver plate as amounted to an hundred pound weight; and of gold plate, as much as weighed 20 pound.

And forasmuch as messengers one after another advertiled and gave warning, that war was at hand, it was thought requisite and expedient, that the new Consuls should be chosen in all convenient speed: whereupon a decree passed from the Senate, that *M. Fulvius* the Pretor should forthwith dispatch his letters unto the Consul, to certifie him of the Senats pleasure, namely, that he should commit the government of his Province and the army unto his Lieutenants, and return himself unto *Rome*, and in his way send out his writs aforehand for the publishing of an assembly general

A general for the election of Consuls. The Consul obeyed these letters, directed forth his summons in manner aforesaid, and came to Rome. In this year also great ambition there was, and much suit for the dignity of government. For that three noblemen stood for one place, namely, *P. Cornelius Scipio* the son of *Cneus*, who the former year had the republic, *L. Cornelius Scipio*, and *Cn. Manlius Vulso*. The Consulship was conferred upon *P. Scipio*, so as it might appear to the whole world, that this honour was deferred only, and not fully denied to so worthy a personage. His adjunct companion in government was *M. Aquilius Glabrio*, a man by calling a commoner. The morrow after were the Pretors chosen, to wit, *L. Emilius Paulus*, *M. Emilius Lepidus*, *M. Junius Brutus*, *A. Cornel. Mammula*, *C. Livius*, & *L. Oppius*, both surnamed *Sabinator*. This *Oppius* was he that had the conduct into *Sicily* of a Fleet of thirty sail. Mean while that these new Magistrats cast lots for the government of their Provinces, *M. Brutus* was commanded to pass over with all his power from *Brundisium* into *Epirus*, and to keep his forces about *Apollonia*. And *M. Fulvius* the Pretor of the City had in charge to build fifty new Galeaces called *Quinqueremes*, of five banks of oars on either side. And thus verily the people of Rome was provided against all enterprises and attempts of King *Antiochus* whatsoever.

Neither was *Nabis* behind for his part in levying war; but assaulted with great force the Town of *Gythium*; and of a mischievous and malicious mind against the Achæans, for sending a garrison to aid the besieged Townsmen, he foraged and wasted their country. The Achæans durst not go in hand with war, before their Embassadors were returned from Rome, and until they might know the pleasure and will of the Senat: but after the return of those Embassadors, they both published a Diet and general Council at *Sicyone*, and also sent their Embassadors to *Quintus* for his advice and counsel. In this Diet, all their opinions inclined and tended to make war out of hand: only the letters of *T. Quintus* made some stay of the enterprise, wherein he advised them to expect the Pretor and navy of the Romans. Now when the States there assembled in council were distracted, some persisting still in their former opinion, and others of mind to take with them the advice of him unto whom they had sent for counsel: the multitude at length looked what *Philopamenes* would say in that behalf. The Pretor he was for the time, and in those dayes surpassed all other in wisdom and authority. Then he rose up and used this preface and said, "That it was a good custome among the Aetolians, and well ordained and provided, that the Pretor himself in all consultations of war should not deliver his own opinion; and therefore willed them of their selves to resolve and determine with all speed possible what they pleased. As for the Pretor, saith he, he will be ready to execute with fidelity and careful diligence their decrees accordingly: yea, and indevor, so far forth as mans policy may reach unto, that they shal not repent of their resolution, be it war or peace. This brief speech of his was more forcible and effectual to incite them to take arms, than any perswasive Oration, wherein he openly could have shewed his desire to follow the wars. And therefore with exceeding accord of all in general they agreed upon war. As for the time and means of managing the same, it was wholly referred to the discretion of the Pretor, to use his own liberty and pleasure. *Philopamenes*, besides that *Quintus* so advised, was also himself minded to wait for the Roman fleet which on the Sea side might defend *Gythium*: but fearing again that their present necessity could abide no delays, and lest not only *Gythium* should be lost, but the garrison also miscary, which was sent to the defence of the war he set afloat and put to the Sea the Achæans shipping. The Tyrant likewise had rigged and dressed a small fleet to impeach any aid and succours that haply might be sent to the besieged by Sea, to wit, three covered ships with hatch and deck, three Brigantins or Pinnaces, and as many Gallions. For the old ships were by composition and covenant delivered up to the Romans. And to make proof and tryal of these new vessels how swift and nimble they were, and withal to see how all things else were well fitted for a battail, if need were: he made every day certain shews and representations of fight at Sea, and exercised both mariners and soldiers by such kind of false alarms: supposing that herein principally consisted the hope of his siege, in case he could cut off all their aid from the Sea side. Now the Pretor of the Achæans as he was equal to any of the best and most renowned commanders and Captains of that time in Land service, either for experience and practise, or wit and policy: so at Sea he was but a novice and a learner, as being an Arcadian born, an Inlander far within the main, and ignorant besides of all foreign forces, but that he had borne arms and served a little in *Caesy*, whiles he had the leading there, of some auxiliaries. One old Gally there was a *Quadrireme*, taken at Sea 80 years before, at what time as she carried *Nicala* the wife of *Craterus* from *Naxos* to *Corinth*. And having heard much talk of this ship (for indeed she had been sometime of great name in the Kings royal fleet) he commanded her, all rotten as she was now, and ready to fall in pieces, to be shot into the Sea from out of the Bay of *Argium*. This ship as admiral, made way before the rest, wherein *Tisoo* of *Parga*, a Captain General of a fleet was aboard; and encountered the ships of the Lacedæmonians, making sail from *Gythium*. And at the first she chanced to affront and run against a new strong ship, and being old of her self, leaking and taking water at every joyn, she was rent asunder and fell in pieces. All within her were taken prisoners. The rest of the fleet having lost their captains fled as fast as possibly their oars could make speed and away. *Philopamenes* himself was in a light foist, full of oar, and fled again, and never stayed until he was arrived at *Parga*. This mishap nothing discouraged and abated the heart of this martial warrior, who had run through many and many adventures: but contrary-wise wrought this effect, that he assured himself and said, that if he were overtaken and put to the worse in service at Sea, wherein

he had no skill, he would so much the rather quit himself upon the Land (where he had such experience and was so ready) as that the Tyrant should not long joy and make boast of his winnings. *Nabis* puffed up with pride of his fortunate victory, and persuading himself assuredly that he had no cause to fear any more danger from the Sea, purposed likewise to stop up all the avenues and passages by Land; and therefore beset all the wayes betimes with strong guards, which he bestowed in convenient places. And retiring with a third part of his forces from the siege of *Gythium*, he encamped before *Pleia*. This is a place that overlooketh and commandeth *Laconia* and *Aetolia*, by which wayes it seemed that the enemies would make their approach with their army. Whiles he kept a standing camp there, and few of his souldiers were provided of tents and pavilions, and the rest of the common sort had made them cabins of reeds, wound and interlaced one within another, and the same covered with leaves only to give them some shade. *Philopemenes* devised, before that he were discovered and came in sight of the enemies, to assaile them at unawares and not looking for his coming, after a new fashion of war that they little doubted. Certain small craies or boats he got together into a secret blind bay, lying within the territory of *Argos*: in which he bestowed certain souldiers nimble appointed, most of them having round bucklers, with slings, darts, and such like offensive light weapons. From thence he coasted along the River near the shore, until he was come to the promontory or cape adjoyning close to the enemies camp: then he went a land, and by known wayes he came by night unto *Pleia*: and whiles the watch was fast asleep, as mistrusting no such fear neer hand, he set fire upon the cabins afore-said in every quarter of the camp. Many men were consumed with the fire before they wist that the enemy was come: and they that were ware of them, had no means to help and save their fellows: so with fire and sword all went to wrack. Some very few escaped out of this extremity of danger, and fled to the main camp before *Gythium*. Thus *Philopemenes* having discomfited and frightened his enemies, led his army forth with to wast *Tripolis* in the territory of *Laconia*, bounding fast upon the confines of the Megalopolitans: and having driven from thence great prizes of men and cattel, he departed before that the Tyrant could send any guards from thence for the defence of the Countrey. And when he had gathered and assembled his army at *Tegae*, and published and made known unto the Achæi and other Allies, a Diet or general council to be holden there, whereat also were the chief States of the Epirots and Acarnanians: he determined (forasmuch as both the hearts of his own people were sufficiently recovered after the disgrace and shameful dishonor received at Sea; and also the courages of his enemies well cooled and they affrighted) to lead his forces against *Lacedæmon*: supposing that, that only means to draw the enemy away from the siege of *Gythium*. And first he encamped before *Caria* within the enemies ground. But that very day was *Gythium* forced by the enemies and won. *Philopemenes* nothing ware thereof, set forward, and encamped neer *Barbosthenes*, a mountain ten miles from *Lacedæmon*. *Nabis* also, having gained *Gythium*, departed from thence with his army lightly appointed; and marching apace beyond *Lacedæmon*, seized upon a place, called, The Camp of *Pyrrhus*: which he made no doubt but that the enemies intended to be possessed of. And then from thence he went to meet them. Now by reason of the narrow way, they took up in their march almost five miles of ground in length. At the tail of the army were the horsemen, and especially, where the Auxiliaries marched: because *Philopemenes* thought, that the tyrant would charge his men behind with his mercenary souldiers, in whom he reposed his greatest trust. Two things fell out contrary to his expectation at once, which troubled him much: the one was, that the place was gotten by the enemies before, which he intended to have seized upon for his own advantage: the other was, for that he saw the enemy affront his vanguard in a place so rough and rugged, that without the guard of his light-armed souldiers, he could not possibly march forward and advance his Ensigns. Now *Philopemenes* had a singular dexterity and skill, yea, and great experience in leading an army, and in making choice of his ground either to pitch or fight: and not only in time of war, but also in peace, he busied his head and employed himself principally therein. His manner was, when he rode forth any whither and was come to a streight passage hard to pass through, to look every way, and diligently to view and consider the situation and posture of the place on all sides: and if he were alone, to cast about and advise with himself; but if there were any in his company, to aske their advice in this wise: What if the enemy appeared and shewed himself in that place? How if he came affront or a flank on this or that side; nay, How if he should charge upon our back, what were best to be done? It may be the enemies will encounter us directly ranged in battail array; it may be they march disorderly and loosely, minding nothing else but their way, and to travail on. Thus I say, would he either devise with himself or seek advice of other, what place he were best to seize for his own purpose and commodity: also what number of armed men he should need to employ; or what kind of armour and weapons were needful to use. (for therein also lay no small importance.) Moreover, where he should bestow his carriages? where he should lay his baggage? and where he should place and dispose of the multitude that were not meet to bear arms? what strength and what manner of guard was needful for their defence? and whether it were more expedient to go forward still the way that he was entred into, or better to go back again as he came? likewise, what ground was meet to be chosen for to pitch his camp upon? what compass and space were necessary to be taken up for the fortification of the place? from whence he might have convenient watering? from what quarter he might be best provided of fodder and fiewel? Finally,

A Finally, against the morrow, which way were safest to remove the camp? and what form and manner of march were best? In these condes and discourses, he had from his childhood so inured and exercised his spirits, that he was never to seek what to do upon any such sudden occasion or occurrent presented unto him. And now, at this present, seeing his enemies so near, first and foremost he made stand with his vanguard; then he sent out toward the foremost ensigns, his auxiliary Candiots that came to aid him, and those horsemen which they call Tarentin, whose manner is to have with them, two horses apiece; and then commanding his own men of arms to follow after, he possessed himself of a rock standing over a brook or running rill, from whence they might water commodiously: into that place he gathered together all his bag and baggage; there he bestowed all the paces and horse-paces, and followers of the camp, whom he employed also with armed men; and as the nature of the place would give him leave, he fortified his camp. But to pitch pavilions in a craggy, rugged, and uneven ground he found much ado. Now were the enemies about half a mile off: and at one and the same rivulet they watered both with the guard of their light armed souldiers: but before that they could skirmish and skirmish together (as commonly they do when the camps stand so near one to another) the night overtook them. It appeared plainly there would be some fighting the next day about the brook for water: and therefore in the night season he bestowed close in a valley, farthest out of sight from the enemies, as many of his targeteers as possibly the place would contain and hide. When day-light was come, the light armed Candiots and those Tarentin horsemen (of both sides) entered into skirmish upon the very banks of the brook. *Letemnaeus* the Candiote had the leading of his country-men: *Lycortas* the Megapolitan commanded the light horse. The Candiots, who likewise were auxiliaries and aid-souldiers to the enemies, and the same sort also of the Tarentin horsemen, guarded those that came to water for them. Doubtful was the skirmish for a good while (as being managed and maintained of the one side and the other by men of one Nation, and those furnished with the same kind of weapons) but those that were for the Tyrant, were more in number than the other. And by reason that *Philopemenes* had given charge and direction to the Captains, after they had held skirmish a while, to seem to retreat and flee, thereby to train the enemy into the aforeaid place of ambush, they followed hard in chase upon them as they fled along within the valley, and most of them were either slain or wounded before they saw the enemies hidden there within. Now those targeteers aforeaid, were set in that order (so far forth as the breadth of the valley would permit) that they might easily receive their fellows as they fled, within the spaces between their ranks and files. Then at once they arose, fresh in heart, and ordered in good array, and charged upon the enemies, disordered, disbanded, loose, scattered, weary with travel, and faint of their wounds. Then was it out of doubt and past all peradventure where the victory went: for presently the Tyrant souldiers turned their backs, fled a good deal faster than they made pursuit before, and were beaten into their camp: many were either killed or taken prisoners as they fled; and they had been put in affright also within the camp, but that *Philopemenes* commanded to sound the retreat, fearing more the rugged and broken ground, and the disadvantage and difficulties thereof, in case he had rashly ventured forward any farther, than he did the enemy. Then he taking his conjecture by the issue of the fight, and guessing by the nature of *Nabis* the General, in what fear and fright he might be, sent unto him one of his auxiliaries that were strangers, counterfeiting himself to be a renegade revolt, to inform him assuredly, that the Achæans determined the next day to march as far as to the river *Eurotas*, which runneth hard by the walls of *Lacedæmon*, for to stop the passage, that neither the Tyrant might retire himself into the City when he would, nor any munition or victuals be carried from thence into the camp: moreover, that they would give the attempt, and assay if they could sollicite any of the citizens to revolt from the Tyrant. This counterfeit carried himself so in this errand, that the Tyrant believed not so much his words, as took hold thereby of a good pretence and honest occasion for to quit and abandon the camp: and therefore the next morrow, he commanded *Pythagoras*, with the auxiliary souldiers and the horsemen, to keep a good guard about the trench and enclosure of the camp: himself in person with the strength of his army, marched as it were to a battail, and commanded to advance forward the ensigns in all haste toward the City.

Philopemenes perceiving that the army marched so fast through the narrow passage down the hill, put forth all his own horsemen and the auxiliary Candiots, against the guards of the enemies that guarded before the camp. They, seeing the enemies to approach and themselves forsaken of their own fellows, at first went about to retire within their hold: but afterwards when they perceived the whole army of the Achæans advancing against them in order of battail, fearing that they and their tents should be at once surprised, made apace after their own host which was gone a good way before. With that, the targeteers of the Achæans assailed the camp, entered upon it, and ransacked the tents, whiles the rest went forward and pursued the enemies. The way was such, as that an army at liberty and free from fear of enemies, might hardly and with much ado find any ground and march without encumbrance: but so soon as the skirmish began in the tail of the reeward, and the noise and cry of them affrighted behind was heard in the vanguard: every man made shift for one, flung away weapons, and fled into the woods on either side of the way: and ere one could turn about, all the wayes were strewd and choaked up with armour and weapons, and especially with darts or javelins, which lighting for the most part with one end full against the enemies, were in stead of a staked or empalled palisade to hinder their passage.

* or rather *Philopemenes*.

Philo-

Philopemenus having given commandment to his light armed aid-souldiers to presse forward still, and to follow the chase as fast as they could, knowing that the horsemen would have much ado and trouble in their sight, conducted himself the main army and he easily charged, by a more open way to the River *Eurinus*: where he encountered himself a little before the going down of the sun, and there he staid for his light appointed souldiers, whom he had sent to follow after the enemies. Who being come about the time of the sun setting brought word, that the Tyrant with some few was entred into the City, but the unarmed multitude were distressed, and wandered all about the Forrest and the Woods. Then he willed them to repose and refresh their bodies: which being done, himself chose out of all the souldiers besides (who because they were come first into the camp, had well bearded themselves with taking their refection and some small sleep) certain elect and special men, and took them forth immediately with him, having about them nothing but their swords, and set them in good order to keep two port-waies, by which men go to *Phars* and *Barnophenas*, where he presumed that the enemies would take their way, and retire themselves upon their flight: and nothing was he deceived. For the Lacedaemonians so long as the day light lasted, had withdrawn themselves to the middle of the Forrest, through by-lanes and blind paths, but when the night was once come, and that they descried lights within their enemies camp, they kept themselves aloof over-against them within close and secret lanes: and when they were once passed beyond, and thought all to be in safety and security, they came down into the more open high waies, where they were received and caught up by their enemies that forlaid them in ambush: so they were every where by numbers either killed or taken prisoners: inso much as scarce one fourth part of their whole army escaped. *Philopemenus* having shut up the tyrant close within the City, spent almost thirty daies consequently ensuing, in waiting and spoiling the territory of the Lacedaemonians: and when he had thus weakened and in manner broken the back of his enemy, he returned home, and the Achaeans held him a paragon, and equal to the Roman General for glorious deeds of arms. nay, in the service of the Lacedaemonian war they preferred him before the other.

During the war between the Achaeans and the tyrant, the Roman Embassadors, who carefully and diligently visited the Cities of the Allies, for fear lest the Aetolians had alienated any of their affections from them to King *Antiochus*, travelled but little in going about to the Achaeans, whom by reason of the hatred they bare to *Nabis*, they hoped easily to be fast and fastidious through unto them in all other things. And first they came to *Athens*, from thence to *Chalcis*, and so into *Thessaly*: and after they had conferred with the Thessalians in a frequent council of theirs, they turned their way to *Demetrius*, where there was published a solemn Diet to be holden by the Magnetes. Where they were to frame their speech more curiously than in other places, because certain of their great men and Potentats were estranged from the Romans, and altogether made for *Antiochus* and the Aetolians. The reason was this: because when news came that *Philip* his son, who was left hostage with the Romans, should be rendred again unto him, and like wise themselves but remitted which had been imposed upon him, among other false tales and untruths, it was reported, That the Romans would redeliver *Demetrius* also into his hands. And rather than that should come to pass, *Eurylochus* (a principal and chief man among the Magnetes) and some others of that faction, desired to have a new world and an alteration, by the coming of the Aetolians and *Antiochus*. To these Magnetes, they were to couch and place their words so, in riddling them of that foolish vain fear which they had conceived, that thereby they did not put *Philip* clean beside his hope, and so give him occasion to be ill affected unto the Romans: considering that he alone was to them of far greater importance in all respects, than were the Magnetes, put all together. Thus much only they said by way of advertisement, That as all Greece generally was much beholden and bound unto the Romans for the benefit of Liberty, which they by their means enjoyed, so that City and State especially above all others was obliged unto them. For there, not only a garrison of Macedonians had been maintained to keep them in awe, but also the King had built him a royal palace, to seat himself there, to the end, that they might evermore have in their eye, their Lord to command them. But in vain, and to no purpose was all this, in case the Aetolians brought *Antiochus* in his stead to make his residence in the house and palace of *Philip*: and would needs entertain a new and unknown King in lieu of the old, so long a time and so well known. The sovereign Magistrat of that City, they call *Magnetarches*, and for that time *Eurylochus* was the man: who bearing himself big and stout of his high place, said plainly, That he knew no cause, why either he or the Magnetes should suppress and smother the rumor that it is so rise touching the delivery of *Demetrius* into *Philip* his hands. For rather than to suffer that, the Magnetes were to oppose themselves, yea, to do and dare any action whatsoever. And in the vehement heat of speech he went so far, that inconsiderately he cast out one word and said, That *Demetrius* seemed free in outward shew and appearance, but in very truth was at the command and devotion, yea, and at every beck of the Romans. At this speech there arose a dissonant bruit and murmuring of the assembly, which jarred and varied one from another, whiles some foolish him up, others were offended, and took it in great despite, that he should presume to utter and speak so much. And *Quintus* was in such an heat of choler therewith, that stretching forth his hands to Heaven, he cald the Gods to witness this ingratitude and dishonour of the Magnetes. At whose words they were all greatly terrified. Then *Zeno* one of the chief, a man at that time of great authority and reputation, as well in regard of the honourable port that he ever carried in the whole course of his life, as also for that he always stood firm and true

A "to the Roman side, besought *Quintius* and the rest of the Ambassadors with tears. Not to im-
 "pute the folly of one man to the whole City; for every man is to bear his own burden, and as he
 "hath braved, so to drinke and abide the smart of his own catching. As for the *Magnates*
 "(saith he) they acknowledge to owe unto *Quintius* and the people of *Rome*, not only their
 "freedom, but all other things else that are most dear and precious unto men. Neither could
 "man pray or wish at the hands of this immortal Gods for any thing, which the *Magnates* had
 "not received by their means: and sooner would they like stanch persons pluck the very heart
 "out of their own bellies, yea, and tear themselves in peeces, before they would violate and break
 "the amity which they had with the Romans. This speech of his was followed and seconded with
 "the humble prayers of the multitude: *Enchiridion* departed out of the assembly, and through by-
 "ways and blind lanes recovered the gates, and from thence fled straight into *Ætolia*. For now by
 B this time, and every day more than other, the *Ætolians* discovered and shewed themselves how
 "they were affected to revolt. And happily at the same time, *Thon*, a principal personage of that
 "Nation, whom they had sent as Ambassador to King *Antiochus*, was newly returned, and brought
 "with him *Menippus* the Kings Ambassador, who, before they had audience given them in a coun-
 "cel assembled for them, had filled every mans ears and blabbed forth, what forces were prepared
 "both for Land and Sea, what a mighty power was coming, both of foot and horse, how Elephants
 "were sent for out of *India* and above all (where with they thought the minds of the people would
 "be most moved). That there was such a mass of gold brought, as would buy all the Romans out
 "and out. It was easy to see what trouble and broil such language might make in the general dis-
 "cussion and assembly. For the Roman Ambassadors had intelligence, both of their coming, and of all
 C that ever they did. And albeit there was little hope or none at all to do any good, yet *Quintius*
 "thought it not amiss, that some Ambassadors from the allies and associate Cities should be present
 "at that Council, such as might admonish and put the *Ætolians* in mind of the Roman alliance
 "and society, and not stick to speak their minds frankly, yea, and thwart the King his Ambassador.
 "The Athenians of all other were thought the meetest men for that purpose, both in regard of the
 "authority and reputation of their City, and also for the ancient league between them and the
 "*Ætolians*. So *Quintius* requested them to send their Ambassadors to the Panætolian Parliament.
 "When the assembly was met, and the Council set, *Thon* first declared his embassy: and after
 "him was *Menippus* called in, who being entered in place, spake in this manner: "It had been (and
 D "he) the best course for all them that inhabit both *Greece* and *Asia*, that *Antiochus* had intermed-
 "led in these affairs; during the upright fortune and entire state of *Philip*: then, every man had
 "enjoyed his own, and all had not been reduced to the appetite and devotion, nor brought under
 "subjection of the Romans. And even yet (quoth he) in case ye persist still in the same mind, and
 "purpose resolutely to accomplish and finish these your designs and commented enterprises, pos-
 "sible it is by the favor and help of the Gods, and by the means of the *Ætolian* association, that
 "Antiochus may recover the State of *Greece*, crased as it is, and much broken, and bring it again to
 "her first fresh hue, to her lively and lightsome lustre, which consisteth in true liberty, even that
 "which is able to stand alone and maintain it self, and dependeth not upon the will and pleasure
 "of others. The Athenians, who first after the Kings embassy was delivered had audience given
 E them and liberty to speak their mind, without making any mention at all of the King. "Adverti-
 "sed the *Ætolians* of the Roman society, and put them in mind of the favors and good turns done
 "by *Quintius* to all *Greece* in general: advising them to take heed, that without discretion they
 "overthrew not the welfare thereof, by running rashly and too soon into a new world of strange
 "courses and fine devices: for hot, hasty, and heady counsels are at the first sight and entertain-
 "ment, pleasant and amiable: in the handling and managing, hard and difficult: in the end and
 "issue, heavy and dangerous. Consider how the Roman Ambassadors, and namely, *Quintius*, ar-
 "mong them, are not far off: and whiles things stand in good terms of integrity, it were better to
 "treat and debate of matters in question and doubt, by words and reasons, than to set all *Asia* and
 "Europe together to take arms and to make lamentable and deadly war one upon another. The
 F multitude desirous of a change, enclined altogether, and were wholly devote to *Antiochus*, being
 "of opinion, that the Roman Ambassadors were not to be admitted into the Council: but the more
 "grave and ancient persons of the nobility and states-men, obtained thus much by vertue of their
 "authority: That they should have audience granted unto them. And when the Athenians had
 "made relation of this decree and conclusion passed, *Quintius* was of mind to go into *Ætolia*, for
 "this accompt he made, either to obtain somewhat that he came for, or else to have all Gods and
 "men to bear him witness, that the Romans would enter into the action of war justly, and in man-
 "ner upon constraint and necessary. "Quintius being thither come, began at first to discourse be-
 "fore the whole assembly, as touching the society of the *Ætolians* with the Romans, and how
 "often they had broken for their parts the faithful accord between them: and when he had so
 G said, he used a brief speech concerning the right of those Cities that were in question. And if they
 "thought that they had any law and reason of their side, how much better (quoth he) were it to
 "send Ambassadors to *Rome*, either to argue and expostulate the matter with them, or to demand
 "their advice (whether they would themselves) than to cause the people of *Rome* to make war
 "with *Antiochus* & the *Ætolians* together, not without great trouble of the whole world, & cer-
 "tain ruin of all *Greece*? For none should feel the smart & calamity of this war sooner than they
 "that are the very causes thereof: so began first. Thus spake the Roman Embass, by way of prophecy,
 but

but in vain and to no effect. After him *Thon* and the rest of that faction, were heard with the general applause of all: and they effected so much, that without any farther prolonging of the Diet, and referring the matter to another day, yea, and without saying so long until the Romans were out of the place and thence, they concluded to make a decree, by virtue whereof *Ambrosius* should be sent for to disfranchise *Greece*, and so decide the quarrel between the Romans and the *Ætolians*. This decree was too profound and insolent, but *Demetrius*, their Pretor accompanied it with an arrogant and reproachful a trumpet of his own. For when *Quintus* required of him to see the said decree, he without any respect of the honorable personage of the man, made answer, That for the present time he had somewhat else to do of greater importance: but he would give him the decree and answer withal shortly, and that within *Italy*, encamped upon the bank of *Hydrunt*. So great a spirit of senseless folly in those days, had possessed the nation of the *Ætolians*, I and their chief Magistrates! Then *Quintus* and the delegates returned to *Corinth*.

After the Romans were dismissed, the *Ætolians* held no more general council of the whole Nation, because they would make semblance and seem to do nothing of themselves as touching the cause and question of *Antiochus*, but sit still and expect the coming of the King. Many, they braided and debated the matter by their *Apostols* (so to they call their special and privy Council which consisteth of certain elect chosen persons) by what means there might be an alteration and change in the affairs of *Greece*. This was held of all men for certain, that in every City and State, the chief and the best men generally were for the association of the Romans, and contented themselves with the present condition wherein they stood: but the multitude and those who had not all things to fall out to their own good liking, were desirous of a change. And one day above the rest, the *Ætolians* entered into a designment and plot, which was not only out of all measure audacious, but also most shameless, namely, to surprise and possess themselves of *Demetrius*, *Chalcis* and *Lacedæmon*. And to each of these Cities there was sent one of their principal personages, namely, *Thon* to *Chalcis*; *Alexandrus* to *Lacedæmon*, and *Diocles* to *Demetria*. This *Diocles* had the help and assistance of *Eurylochus* a banished man (of whose flying away, and the occasion thereof we have spoken before) who otherwise had no hope at all to return again into his native country. The kinsfolk and friends of *Eurylochus* and thereof of that faction, upon instructions given them by his letters, willed his wife and children to present themselves in the frequent assembly of the citizens in habit of mounters, in poor array, and veiled after the manner of humble suppliants, there to beseech them all and some not to suffer him a guiltless person, neither convicted nor condemned, to wax old and pine away in exile. All that were plain and simple men seemed to be touched with pity and commiseration. The wicked and seditious persons conceived some hope to make a confusion in the State by these *Ætolian* troubles: in so much as every one was of opinion and gave his voice, that he should be restored and sent for home. This ground being laid and matters thus prepared, *Diocles* with his horsemen (for then was he the Captain of the Cavalry) took his journey, under a colour and pretence to reduce and bring home this banished person his host and good friend: and in one day and night travelled a mighty great journey, and came within six miles of the City. And betimes in the morning by day light, accompanied with three elect troops he marched forward, commanding the rest of the horsemen to follow after. When he approached the gate, he caused them all to alight on foot and to lead their horses in their hands by the reins of their bridles, and to go without order, resembling travellers and wandering men, so as they seemed more like to the ordinary train of Captain *Diocles*, than to the men of arms and warriors under this charge: and leaving one of his troops at the gate, for fear lest the horsemen behind might be shut out, he led *Eurylochus* by the hand, and brought him through the mids of the City and the market place home to his house: and all the way he was met with many of his lovers and friends that welcomed him, and joyed for his return. Upon the whole City was full of horsemen, and all places of opportunity and advantage were seized and possessed by them. Which done, divers were sent to massacre the chief of the adverse part in their houses. Thus the *Ætolians* became masters of *Demetria*.

As for *Lacedæmon*, they devised in no hand to force the City, but by some wile to entrap and surprise the tyrant. For seeing the Romans had despoiled him of all his Sea coast Towns: and the *Achæans* driven him within the walls of *Lacedæmon*, there was no doubt, but who so ever could first take his life from him, should carry away all the thanks, and curry especial favor with the *Lacedæmonians*. Good occasion and pretence they had to send unto him a power of armed men, for that he had importuned them by his prayers for some aids, considering that by their advice and persuasion he had rebelled. So there were given unto *Alexandrus* a thousand footmen, and thirty elect horsemen, drawn out of all the flour of the City. *Demetrius* the Pretor delivered unto them from the privy council of that nation (of which we have before spoken) "That they should not believe that they were to be employed in war against the *Achæans*, or in any other service, according as each one might imagine and conceive in his own head: but he charged them to be ready to perform and execute obediently whatsoever sudden designment *Alexandrus* upon the present occasion should happen to attempt, were it never so unlooked for, strange, inconsiderate, and audacious: and to rest upon this, That they were sent with him to accomplish that, and for no other purpose. Thus *Alexandrus* with the conduct of these men thus prepared to his hand came unto the Tyrant: and no sooner was he arrived, but he possessed him presently with a world of hopes, giving to understand, "That *Antiochus* was already passed over into

Alexander: that shortly he would be in Greece, and overspread all seas and lands with his armies and armados; that the Romans should full well know and find, that they have not now to deal with such an one as Philip; that the numbers of his foot and horse by land cannot be counted, nor his ships at sea numbered; that the battail of his Elephants at the very sight will decide the matter and finish the war. Moreover, that the Aetolians with all their forces, were ready and prest to come to Lacedaemon; (as need required at any time; but indeed, desirous they went to shew and suffer before the King at his arrival, a goodly number of armed soldiers. *Nabis* therefore himself should do very well, not to suffer those forces which he had, to decay with long repose and idleness, but bring them forth and train them a broad, make them to run in their armour thereby both to wether and sharpen their courage, and also to exercise and inveterate their bodies: for by use and custom, the labour will be lighter, and by the courtesy and graciousness of their General, not without delight and pleasure. Hereupon, they began to issue out of the City, and oftentimes went into the plain lying hand by the River *Eurotas*. They of the tyrants guard kept commonly in the battail or middle ward, and himself with three hundred men at the utmost (with whom *Alexandrus* for the most part was) used ordinarily to ride before the ensignes, making survey and viewing the narrow points and wings of the army. The Aetolians were placed in the right wing, as well those that came before to aid the tyrant, as those thousand that were newly arrived with *Alexandrus*. Now had *Alexandrus* taken a custom, one while to convey as it were amongst the ranks before in the company of the tyrant, and to instruct him in some matters sounding to his commodity: other whiles, to ride to his own men into the right wing, and soon again to return to the Tyrant, as if he had given them charge of some what necessary to be done. Upon that day which was appointed for to do the feat and murder the tyrant, after he had ridden forth with the tyrant to the usual place, and kept him company a while, he took occasion (as his manner was) to make a step aside to his own soldiers; and then he went in hand with those horsemen which were sent with him from out of Aetolia, and said thus unto them: "Now first, you must adventure and execute that lustily and without delay which you were commanded to perform by my direction and leading. Be ready with heart and hand, and be not slack and idle to exploit that, which ye shall see me to undertake and enterprise. And look who so ever he be that either standeth still, or will seem to argue and interpose his own wit and advice to cross mine, let him make account, he shall never go home again to his own country. With that he set them all a quaking; for well they remembered what their charge was when they came forth from home. Now was the Tyrant a coming on horseback from the left wing. Then *Alexandrus* commanded his horsemen to couch their lances down, and to have their eyes upon him. He also seduced himself to take a good heart unto him, which was not a litle daunted at first with the cogitation of so great a design, that he had projected. When he was now approached and come near the Tyrant, he ran with full carrier at him, gored his horse, and overthrew himself to the ground. He was not so soon unhorsed and laid along, but the horsemen stabbed him with many a thrust; where of the most part did no harm, considering they were driven against his corslet; but in the end they found where his body was naked and unarmed, so he gave his last gasp before he could be rescued by his guard in the main battail aforesaid. Then *Alexandrus* taking with him all the Aetolians, made all the haste he could to possess himself of the royal place. The Pensioners and Squires of the body, seeing this murder done before their eyes; were at first mightily affrighted; but afterwards perceiving the army of the Aetolians to go their wayes and depart, they ran to the breathless carcase left among them, and of men that should have guarded his body and revenged his death, they became a sort of idle gazers and lookers on. And surely there would not a man have once stirred, in case the multitude had immediately been called to an assembly; and if afterwards laid down, they had been entertained by him with some Oration or Remonstrances framed according to the time. The Aetolians were kept many together, in arms still, without any outrage or wrong done or offered to any one person. But all things that they did, hastened the speedy ruin and destruction of those that had committed this fact: as it could not otherwise be in all reason, but they should so be served, who had plaid so lewd and treacherous a part. The Captain and Ring-leader of all this mischief kept himself close shut within the royal palace, spending both night and day in lifting and searching the Tyrants coffers and his treasury. And the Aetolians for their part also fell to ransacking, as if they had won that City by assault, which they made countenance and semblance to set free. The indignity of these their pranks, the contempt withal and small regard made of them, encouraged and animated the Lacedaemonians to gather together and consult of the matter. Some were of opinion and said, That the Aetolians were to be thrust out by the head and shoulders, and to be sent away with a mischief, and their own liberty to be recovered, which under a colour of being restored, was intercepted and taken from them: others advised and said, that for fashion at least wise, some one of royal blood should be set up for to be the head in this action. Now there was of that race and stem one *Laconicus* a young Child, brought up with the children of the late Tyrant; him they mounted upon horseback, and then they took arms with all speed; and as many Aetolians as they could light upon, wandering here and there in the streets, they ran upon and hewed in peeces. Then they assaulted the palace, where they also murdered *Alexandrus*, albeit with some few about him he made resistance and defended himself. The rest of the Aetolians gathered together about *Chalciceus* (which is a Chappel of Diana made of brass) and there likewise they were massacred. A few of them

* Leontario, or
Londario.

* Cabo de Pazu,
or Paleopoli.

flung away their weapons and fled, some escaped to Tagra, and others to *Megalopolis*: where being apprehended by the Magistrate, they were sold in part-sale, to them that would offer most. *Philopomenus* hearing of the Tyrants death, went to *Academea*, where he found all things out of order and in confusion by reason of fear. And having called forth the principal and chief citizens, he used unto them such a speech, as indeed *Alexander* should have made, and thereby knit the Lacedaemonians in league and alliance with the Achaeans: which he effected the sooner, because it chanced even then, that *Antilus* was come before *Gydeum* with four and twenty gallees of five banks of oars on a side.

About the same time, *Thon* had not so good speed before *Chalcis* by means of *Enthyridas*, a great and chief man of the City (one, who by the might and stronger hand of those that sided with the Romans, had been expelled the City after the coming of *T. Quintus* and the Embassadors, or delegates) and also of *Hypodant* of *Chalcis*, a Merchant and a man that in regard of his wealth and riches bore a great side in *Chalcis*. *Thon* I say, sped not so well by their means, nor understanding that the supporters and part-takers of *Enthyridas* were well disposed to betray the Town, as *Eurytus* did in the inspiring and inciting of *Demetrius*. This *Enthyridas* from *Athens* (for there he had made choice to dwell) first came to *Thebes*, and from thence went forward to *Salganea*. *Herodorus* abode at *Thronium*, and not far from thence within the gulf of *Malea*, he had seen footmen, and *Thon* two hundred horsemen, and about thirty light Caravels. Which *Enthyridas* was commanded to set off into the Island *Atalana* with six hundred footmen, that from thence, when he perceived once the Land-forces to approach *Athens* and *Euripus*, he might run over to *Chalcis*. As for themselves, they conducted the rest of the forces in all the hast they could, and most by night, journeyed marched into *Chalcis*: *Antis* and *Xenoclidis* (who had the managing of the affairs in *Chalcis*, and might do all in all there, now that *Enthyridas* was banished) remained in *Chalcis*, and whether they mistrusted somewhat themselves, or had some inkling and intelligence of the matter, I wot not, but afraid they were at first, and had no other hope as all by flight to save themselves: howbeit afterwards when their fear was well allayed and settled, seeing evidently, that not only their own countrey was betrayed, but also the Roman society abandoned, they plotted in this wise, and entered into a counsell as followeth.

It fortuned at the very same time, that a solemn anniversary sacrifice was celebrated at *Athens* to the honour of *Diana Amarynthia*: to which solemnity there resorted not only the inhabitants of those places neer at hand, but also a number of Carytians. Thither they sent certain Orators, to request and entreat the Eretrians and Carytians, both to take some pity of their estate, considering they were born in the same Island, and also to have some regard to the alliance of the Romans, and not suffer *Chalcis* to fall into the hands of the *Etolians*: who no doubt, if they might get *Chalcis*, would not be long ere they had *Euboea* too. Sirly Lords (say they) were the Macedonians, and rigorous, but the *Etolians* would be much more unsupportable. These Chies were principally respective to the Romans, whose virtue and prowess in war, whose justice and bounty in victory they had lately experience of, and therefore both States armed the flower and manhood of all their youth and sent them. The Townsmen of *Chalcis* having committed the guard of their walls to these, went forth themselves with all their forces passed over *Euripus*, and encamped neer *Salganea*. From which place they sent first an herald, and after him Embassadors to the *Etolians*, to demand of them, Wherein they had so offended either in word or deed, that their allies and friends should come to molest and assail them so by way of hostility? To whom *Thon* the General of the *Etolians* made this answer, That they were not come to annoy and trouble, but to deliver and free them from their servitude under the Romans. For bound they were and tied now with a brighter and more glittering chain indeed, but far heavier, than at what time as they had the garrison of the Macedonians within their Castle. The Chalcidians replied again and inferred, that they neither were in bondage, nor needed at all the garrison of any. And thus the Embassadors departed from the party, and returned to their own people. *Thon* and the *Etolians*, whose whole and only hope was to come upon them on a sudden and surprise them at unawares returned home again as they came, being not able to maintain open war, nor to assail a City so well fortified both by sea and land, *Enthyridas* being advertised that his country-men lay in camp at *Salganea* and that the *Etolians* were dislodged and gone, retired himself also from *Thebes* to *Athens*. And *Herodorus* likewise, after he had wisely and with great longing, expected from *Atalana* certain daies together, to see some signal (but in vain) sent out a pinnace or brigantine, to know what the cause might be of such stay: and understanding that the enterprise was given over by his complices and fellows in the complot, he returned to *Thronium* from whence he came.

* Talavdi.

* Diniriada.

Quintus likewise having intelligence of these occurrents, as he sailed with his fleet from *Corinth*, encountered *Enmenes* in *Euripus* neer *Chalcis*. And thought good it was between them that *Enmenes* the King should leave at *Chalcis* five hundred souldiers in garrison, and himself go directly to *Athens*: and *Quintus* kept on his way to *Demetrius* whither he intended, supposing, that the deliverance of *Chalcis* would make somewhat to induce the *Macedonians* to embrace again the society of the Romans. And to the end that those persons in *Demetrius* who sided with him might have some forces for their defence, he wrote unto *Ennomus* the Pretor of the *Thessalians*, to put the youth in arms: and he sent *Vilius* before unto *Demetrius* to sound their affections, not minding otherwise to give the attempt, unless some part of them enclined to respect the ancient society. *Vilius* entered the mouth of the haven with a five banked Galliee. Thither ran the

A the whole multitude flocking unto him. And *Villius* demanded of them whether they had rather that he came to them as to friends or enemies? Unto whom *Eurylochus* the *Magnesian*, answered, that he was come unto his friends: but he willed to him forbear the haven, and suffer the *Magnesian* to be at peace and liberty, and to beware that under a pretence of parle, he did not solicit and disquiet the multitude. After this there was no further talk and speech between them but plain debate and altercation; while *Villius* the Roman blamed and challenged the *Magnesian*, as unthankfull persons, and forewarned them of the miseries and calamities that hung over their heads; and again the multitude cried out aloud, and accused as well the *Senes* as *Quintius*. Thus *Villius* without doing any good, returned to *Quintius*. But *Quintius* having dispatched a messenger to the Pretor, that he should reduce home his forces, retired himself again by sea to *Cornet*.

B The affairs of *Greece* thus interlaced and blended with the Roman, have carried me away as it were out of my lists: not for that they were so necessary and important to be written, but only because they were materiall to the cause of the war against *Antiochus*. After the Consuls were elect (for there I began my digression) *L. Quintius* and *Cn. Domitius*, the Consuls went into their severall provinces, *Quintius* in *Liguria*, and *Domitius* against the *Boii*. As for the *Boii*, they held themselves quiet, yea, and the whole body of their *Senat* with their children, their captains also with their Cavalry, to the number in all of fifteen hundred, yielded themselves to the Consul. But the territory of the *Ligurians* was overrun and wasted, and some fortresses won: whereby not only there were prizes got of all sorts, and prisoners taken, but also diverse captives, as well citizens as allies were recovered out of the enemies hand. This very year a Colony was planted at *Vibi*, by an act of *Senat* and *Commons*: and there went thither three thousand and seven hundred footmen, and three hundred horsemen. The *Triumvirs*, who had the placing of them, were *Q. Navius*, *M. Minius*, and *M. Furius Crassipes*. Every footman was endued with fifteen acres of land, and the horsemen with twice as much. It was a territory held last in the tenure of the *Brutians*, and they had conquered it first from the *Greeks*.

About the same time, there hapned at *Rome* two most feartfull accidents; the one of them continued long, but was not altogether so vehement and terrible: for there was an earthquake endured eight and thirty daies. All which time, the lawfted or vacation from all courts of law and civil causes, continued in great fear and pensiveness: in regard whereof, a supplication was holden for three daies. As for the other, it was not a vain fear, but a very loss indeed that touched many men: for there began a scarfire in the beast Market, and continued a day and a night, burning many houses standing on the *Tyber* side; and all the shops and ware-houses, with merchandise of great price, were consumed. Now was the year well drawing to an end, and daily more and more the bruit and rumor of the war with *Antiochus* increased: and likewise the care that the *LL.* of the *Senat* had thereof. And therefore they began to treat as concerning the Provinces of the Magistrats elect, to the end, that all of them might be more circumspect and intente to their charges. So a decree passed, that the Consuls should have the governance of *Italy*, by name, and also to go whithersoever the *Senat* should please to dispose of them: and all men knew well enough, that the war against *Antiochus* was upon the point. Also ordained it was, that he whose lot it was to manage that war, should have the conduct of four thousand footmen of Roman Citizens, and three hundred horsemen; besides six thousand allies of the *Latine* nation, and four hundred horsemen.

E *L. Quintius* the Consul was appointed to take musters for those souldiers, that there should be no stay, but that the new Consul might immediately put himself in his journey, to what expedition soever the *Senat* thought good. Item, It was decreed as concerning the Provinces of the Pretors, in this manner: namely, That the first lot should assign the double jurisdiction, civil and forreign, as well among Citizens as strangers: the second should concern the *Brutians*: the third, the navy, and the same to sail whithersoever the *Senat* would appoint: the fourth for *Sicily*: the fifth for *Sardinia*: the sixth for the nether *Spain*. Over and besides *L. Quintius* the Consul was commanded to enroll two new legions of Roman Citizens, besides twenty thousand foot and eight hundred horsemen of allies of the *Latine* nation: and this army they set out for the Pretor, who was to govern the *Brutii*. Two chappels that year were dedicated to *Jupiter Capitolinus*: the one of them *L. Furius Purpureo* vowed in the *Gauls* war, as Pretor; the other when he was Consul and *Q. Marcius Ralla* the *Dumvir*, dedicated them. This year there passed many sharp and grievous sentences and judgements upon usurers: against whom (being privat men) *M. Tuccius* and *P. Junius Brutus* the two *Ediles* of the chair, commenced action. Of that silver wherein they were fined, was made a chariot with four wheels, gilded; and set up it was in the Capitol in the cabinet of *Jupiter* above the top of his shrine: likewise twelve bucklers gilded. The same *Ediles* also, caused the porch or gallery to be made without the gate *Tergemina*, among the carpenters.

G As the Romans were wholly amused upon preparation for this new war, so *Antiochus* for his part sat not still: three Cities there were which kept him back and checked his progresse; to wit, *Smyrna*, *Alexandria* in *Treas*, and *Lampsaen*; the which they never could to that day force by assault, or draw into amity with any condition whatsoever; and to leave them behind in those terms, when the should in proper person passe over into *Europe*, he was not willing. Somewhat also he was impeached by a consultation as touching *Amibal*. For as first he was staid and hindered by occasion of the open ships which he intended to send with him into *Affrick*. And afterward buzzed it was into his head by *Theas* the *Etolian* especially, and question moved, whe-

ther it was good simply to send him thither at all; or no? This *Theas*, when *Greece* was all in an
 hurry and full of troubles, bare them in hand, that *Demetrius* would be in their power and at their
 devotion. And like as with his leavings touching the King, in multiplying and magnifying his for-
 ces; he had brought many of the *Greeks* into a fools paradise, even so also after the same manner he
 ceased not to feed the King with lies, and fill him with hopes, making him believe as all men
 wished for him with all their hearts, and would run by heaps to the sea strand, to meet him to soon
 as they could ken his fleet under sail. This self-same man was so bold also as to alter the Kings mind
 as touching *Annibal*, which seemed before resolved and settled. For he perswaded him that the
 Kings navy was not to be dismembred, and part therefore to be sent away; and if he wereto
 make out any of the ships from the rest, yet *Annibal* of all other was not to have the conduct
 thereof, a banished person and a Carthaginian; who was like enough to be of many minds, & I
 to change a thousand times in a day, such was his present condition and fortune, & such was his
 nature and disposition. And as for that glorious name for martiall prowesse (which is the cause
 that *Annibal* is so much set by, and which recommendeth him as a speciall and singular gift to
 the world) it is too much, and far unfitting for any one captain under a King: and more meet it
 were that the King himself should be regarded and seen above all other, that the King, I say, and
 none but the King should be the leader, conductor and commander of all. Again, if *Annibal*
 chanced to miscary with a fleet, or to have his forces defeated, the losse would be accounted no
 more then if any other meaner captain had done it: but if the affairs should prosper and speed
 well, *Annibal* should go away with the honour, and not *Antiochus*. Moreover, say that fortune
 were so kin as to give *Antiochus* the upper hand of the Romans, and the entire victory over K
 them for ever, what hope or likelihood is there that *Annibal* would be content to live under the
 King and subject to him alone, who hardly could brook and endure the command and sovereign-
 ty of the whole state wherein he was born? He hath not carried himself so, ever since his first
 youth, bearing agind to compass the dominion of the whole world, as that now in his old age
 he can not abide to have a lord and a superior over him. To conclude: the King (quoth he)
 hath no such need of *Annibal* in this war, as to make him a commander: wel may he use him for
 a counsellor, and so forth have him in his train and company; for some mean fruit and use of such
 a nature cannot be cumbersome, hurtfull, and dangerous: but if high and great matters be reach-
 ed at, soon they may bear down and overcharge both the giver, and also the receiver. And no
 spirits are so ready to envy and missee others, as they whole birth and parentage, whose degree L
 and estate is not answerable to their hasty minds: and such commonly, as they hate the vertue,
 so they depreesse the good of another. Hereupon their course of sending *Annibal* into *Africk*,
 was forthwith laid aside and clean cast behind, which was so well devised in the beginning of
 the war.

Antiochus bearing himself aloft now, principally for that *Demetrius* was revolted from the Ro-
 mans unto the *Etolians*, determined no longer to delay the matter, but presently to take a voiage
 into *Greece*. But before that he embarked and took the sea, he went up to *Ilion* from the sea side
 for to sacrifice to *Minerva*; and when he was returned to his fleet, he made sail with 40 close co-
 vered and hatched ships, and 60 uncovered and undecked, and after those followed 200 vessels
 of burden, charged and fraught with victuals, munition, and warlike furniture of all sorts. And first M
 he fell with the land * *Imbros*; and from thence he cut over to *Scyathos*, where after he had ral-
 lied his ships which had been scattered one from another in the wide and deep sea, he arrived at
Preleum, the first town of the main and continent. Where *Eurylochus* the *Magnetarches*, [i.e. the
 sovereign of *Magnesia*] and the principall citizens of the State, who were come from *Demetrius*,
 met him and joynd with him; who rejoycing exceedingly to see so goodly a company of them
 in his train, the next day put into the haven of the City of *Demetrius*; and not far from thence
 landed all his forces, which amounted in the whole to ten thousand foot, five hundred horse, and
 six Elephants: a small power (God wot) and unfficient to leize upon *Greece*, all naked and alone,
 far shorter then to hold and maintain war with the Romans. After it was reported that *Anti-
 ochus* was come to *Demetrius*, the *Etolians* proclaimed a councill, wherein they made a decree N
 to send for *Antiochus*. For now the King knowing that they would passe such an Act, was de-
 parted from *Demetrius*, and had withdrawn himself to *Phalera* within the gulph of *Malea*. And
 after he had received once the patent of that decree, he went from thence to *Lamia*, where he
 was received with exceeding favour of the common people, with clapping of hands, shouts, ac-
 clamations, and others sign, whereby the multitude pleased to shew & testifie their great joy. When
 they were assembled together and set in Councell, *Phaneas* the Pretor and other chief citizens
 brought him solemnly in: where *Oyes* made, thus the King began his speech, first exusing him-
 self, in that he was come with a far smaller power then all men hoped or looked for. And e-
 ven this (quoth he) may serve in stead of the greatest argument that may be of my exceeding
 love and affection toward you, in that being so unprovided and unfurnished of all things, and
 at a time so unseasonable for to sail, as too early to take the sea, I have not thought much but
 am willingly come at the call of their Embassadors: being thus assuredly perswaded, that the E.
 tolians seeing me once, will suppose that in me alone consisted all their hope and defence
 whatsoever. And yet I would accomplish I assure you, and satisfie to the full even your content-
 ment also, whose expectation for the present may seem to have been disappointed; for soon as the
 time

A t time of the year will serve, and the spring is once come, that the seas are navigable, I will o-
 verspread all *Greece* with men, horse, and munition; I will take up all the sea coasts with fleets,
 "I will spare for no cost, no pain, no perill, untill I have taken from their necks the heavy yoke of
 "the Roman empire, set *Greece* free indeed, and the made the *Ætolians* the chief commanders
 "therein. Nay, with mine armies besides shall come all kind of provision and furniture out of *A-*
sia. But for the present (saith he) the *Ætolians* must see & take order, that my people may be served
 with corn and other victuals at a reasonable rate. To this effect when the King had spoken with
 the great assent of all men, he departed. After the Kings departure, there rose some contention be-
 tween two great men of the *Ætolians*, to wit, *Phœnas* and *Thous*. *Phœnas* was of opinion, that
 it was better policy to use *Antiochus* for a mediator and reconciler of peace, or to be an umpire or
 arbitrator to decide the controversies between them & the Romans, rather then to be the General
 of the war. For his very coming and majesty would be more effectual then all his forces, to strike
 some reverence in the Romans, and cause them to be respective unto him. For men oftentimes
 yield and remit many things of themselves willingly, to avoid war, which they cannot be forced
 unto by war and by arms, when they are once entred into action. *Thous* inferred again and said,
 that *Phœnas* spake not this for any desire & love to peace, but his meaning was to scatter and dis-
 patch this furniture and preparation of war, for this intent, that by this tedious lingring, the Kings
 courage might abate, and the Romans gain time to make themselves ready. For, that there was
 no reason possibly to be gotten at the Romans hand, they had tried sufficiently by good experience,
 in sending so many embassages to *Rome*, and in debating the matter so often with *Quintus*: nei-
 ther would they ever have fought unto *Antiochus* and craved his aid, if all their hope otherwise
 had not been cut off and clean failed. And now since his helping hand is presented unto them
 sooner then all men thought or looked for, they were not now to begin to faint and give over, but
 rather to request and intreat the King, that since he was come himself in person (which was the
 greatest matter of all) to set free and maintain *Greece*, he would send for forces both at sea and
 land. For the King in arms, might peradventure obtain something: but disarmed if he were,
 little or no reckning would the Romans make of him in the quarrell and question of the *Ætolians*,
 no, nor in his own affairs whensoever he should reason and deb. thereof. And here went
 the hure away. They all opened straightwaies to stile the King with the name of *Imperator*
 [Emperour] and they chose thirty of the chief personages to assist him in counsell for all things
 requisite. Thus the Diet was dissolved, and every man slipt away and retired to his own City.
 D The next day the King sat in a consultation with their Apoletes, in what place they should be-
 gin the war. And it was thought best, first to assail the City of *Chalcis*, which lately the *Ætolians*
 had assailed in vain. And for to effect this service, there was more expedition and speed required
 then any other great forces and preparations. Hereupon the King set forward with 1000 foot-
 men which followed him from *Demetrias*, and made by the way of *Phœcia*: The Captains of the
 also of the *Ætolians*, having levied some few companies of their youth took another way and met
 with him at *Charonæa*, and followed with ten covered ships. The King encamped neer *Salganea*,
 and himself in person with the chief of the *Ætolians* crossed the *Eurippus*: and when he was land-
 ed and not far gone from the haven, the Magistrats and chief men of *Chalcis* came forth without
 their gates, and some few of both sides met together for to parlee. The *Ætolians* were earnest to
 perswade with them, "That so far forth as they might without impeaching the Roman amity
 "they would assume the King to be their allie and friend, for as much as he was passed into *Europe*
 "not to make war, but to deliver *Greece*, and set it free in very deed, and not in word only and
 "false semblance, as the Romans had done. And nothing was there more for the good and benefit
 "of the Cities in *Greece*, then to entertain the society and fellowship of them both. For under the
 "the defence and safeguard of the one, they might be sure to guard themselves from the violence
 "and outrage of the other. But if they accepted not of the King, they were best to take heed
 "and see what danger they presently incurred: considering the succours of the Romans to relieve
 "them were so far off, and the forces of *Antiochus* their enemy to annoy them, so neer even at
 "their gates, whom of themselves with their own power they were not able to withstand. To
 F this, *Mithis* one of their chief men made this answer: I marvell much (q. he) who they be, that
 "Antiochus for to deliver and set free, hath taken the pains to leave his own Kingdome, and to
 "pass over into *Europe*. For mine own part, I know no City in *Greece*, that either hath Roman
 "garrison, or payeth any tribute unto them, or is bound to unjust and unreasonable covenant, or
 "endureth any hard laws and conditions against their wils: and therefore the Chalcidians have
 "need of no person to restore them to freedom, since they be free already; nor yet of a gar-
 "rison for their defence, considering that by the grace and favour of the same people of *Rome*, they
 "enjoy peace and liberty already. As for the King, we refuse not his amity, nor yet reject
 "we the friendship of the *Ætolians*. And we will take it for a speciall point of friendship that
 G they shal do us, if they gently will depart out of our land and be gone: For, as for us, we are re-
 "solute in this, not to receive them within our wals, no, nor to contract with them any society,
 "without the advice and consent of the Romans. When these matters were related to the King,
 who stayed behind with the ships, he determined presently to return to *Demetrias*, for that he
 was not come with such a power as to attempt any thing by force where, seeing his first enterprise
 came to nothing, he conferred with the *Ætolians* what was to be done next: & concluded it was, to
 sound the Achæans, & *Aminander* the King of the Athamans. They supposed that the nation of the

Bœotians was clean changed and badly affected to the Romans ever since the death of *Basilus* and those troubles that ensued thereupon. They were perswaded also that *Philip* a man of great power, and principal leader of the Achæans, was both malicious and odious unto *Quintus* for emulation and jealousie of honour in the Læonian war. *Aminander* had espoused and taken to wife *Apama* the daughter of one *Alexander* a Megapolitian, who vaunted himself to be descended from *Alexander* the Great, named his two sons *Philip* and *Alexander*, and his daughter *Apama*; whom being thus advanced by marriage with a King, her elder brother *Philip* accompanied into *Athemanis*. This *Philip* a vain-headed young man, the *Ætolians* and *Antiochus* had induced into a foolish hope, (considering that for certain he was of the royall blood) to obtain the Kingdome of *Macedony*, if haply he could bring about to joyn *Aminander* and the *Athamanians* to *Antiochus*. And this vain conceits of great benefit wrought mightily not with *Philip* only, but also with *Aminander*.

Now in *Asbes* there was a councill holden at *Ægium*, and audience given there to the Embassadors of *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*, before *T. Quintus*. Where the King his Embassador spake first, and being, (as all those commonly are, that have intertainment and maintenance of Kings) full of foolish babble, & making sea and land rebound again with his vain prating and senseless words; set tale an end, and told them, what an infinit number on horsemen were passing over by *Hellepont* into *Europe*: whereof some of them were in compleat harness, armed at all peeces, whom they call *Catapraiti*: others were archers, and shot of horseback, against whom there was nothing close, nothing sure enough, who when their backs are turned, and their horses run away, shoot so much the more surely, and even point-plank. And albeit these forces of horse by his report, were sufficient of themselves to defeat all the armies of *Europe* if they were put together, yet he added besides a mighty number, I wot not how many of footmen: and terrified them with namely a sort of strange nations, that scaggely had been heard of before, to wit, the *Dakes*, the *Medians*, the *Elymzans* and *Cadusians*. But for his forces at sea, there was no bay, no harbors, nor havens in all *Greece* able to receive them. The *Sydonians* and *Tyrians* (say they) hold the right side, the *Aradians*, and the *Siders* out of *Pamphylia* keep the left: nations for skill and valour at sea incomparable. As for money and other provision and furniture for the war, it were needlesse to discourse of, since they themselves knew well enough, that the realms of *Asia* have alwaies flowed with gold, as their proper wealth. So as the Romans now were not to deal with *Philip*, nor with *Antiochus*, the one a chief person among many other of a City, and the other limited within the confines only of the kingdom of *Macedony*, but with the great Monarch of all *Asia*, yea, and of some part of *Europe*. And yet he, as mighty a potentate as he is (notwithstanding he is come to the utmost coasts and bounds of the *Levant* sea, to deliver and enfranchise *Greece*) demandeth nothing of the Achæans prejudiciall to their fealty and allegiance to the Romans their first allies and associates: for he required not them to take arms with him against them, but only not to intermeddle and take part: his seeking is, that (as becometh good friends and mediators between both parties) they would all well and peace among them, and not interpolate themselves in a quarrel of war. *Archidamus* likewise the Embassador for the *Ætolians*, requested in maner the same, that they would hold themselves quiet and in repose (a thing most easie and safe for them) and being but lookers on the war, wait and attend the issue of others mens fortunes, without the hazard of their own; yet he staid not so, but proceeded to M.

far and overshot himself so much in words, that he brake forth at length in ill language, once while railing against the Romans in general, another while against *Quintus* in particular, calling them ungratefull and unthankfull persons, reproaching, upbraiding, and hitting them in the teeth, how not only they had got the victory of *Philip*, but also saved themselves by the virtue and valour of the *Ætolians*: and as for *Quintus*, he was to thank them and their means, as much as his own life came to & the preservation of his army. For wherein at any time (qd. he) performed be the duty and devoir of General in the field? Seen him indeed I have in the time of battell and in the camp, take the flight of birds, kill sacrifices, and make vows very devoutly, like some holy parish-priest or divining Prophet, whiles I my self was fain in his defence to expose and present my body to lances and darts of the enemies. To these challenges *Quintus* made answer N in this wise, saying, that *Archidamus* had more regard in whose presence he spake, then to whom he directed all his speeches: for the Achæans know very well, that all the valour of the *Ætolians*, standeth in bragging words and not in martiall deeds, as men that love to be heard in Diet and assemblies rather then seen in the field and battell; and therefore no marvell if he made so small reckning to speak unto the Achæans, considering that he knew, how well acquainted they were with the maners and fashions of the *Ætolians*. But he hath besides vaunted and made great brags before the King Embassadors, and in their person, before the King himself in absence. And if a man had not known before, what it was, and had to knit and united *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians* together, he might perceive it evidently by the speeches of the Embassadors: for by exchanging lies reciprocally, and by bragging of their forces which they have not, they have inflated and puffed up one another with vain hopes, whiles they tell and would make them believe, That *Philip* by them was vanquished; That the Romans by their valour were protected; and other gay matters, which ere while ye heard building castles in the air to the end, that you & other states and nations would side with them and take their parts: the King again (by his Embassadors) overprospereth all with clouds of horsemen and footmen, and covereth whole seas with fleets and

and armados. Now in faith this is mine host of *Chalcis* up and down, a friendly man I assure you, and a good fellow in his house, and one that knoweth how to entertain his guests and bid them welcome. And verily I can liken this manner of dealing to nothing better then to a supper of his. We went upon a time to make merry with him, and I remember well it was not midsummer (when the daies are longest and the sun at the hottest) where he made us passing good cheer. And as we wondered how at such a season of the year he met with that plenty of venison and such variety withall; the man (nothing so vainglorious as these fellows here) smiled pleasantly upon us and said, we were welcome to a feast of a game (wine and no better: but well fare a good cook my masters (qd. he) who by his cunning hand, what with seasoning it, and what with serving it up with divers sauces, hath made all this fair shew of wild flesh, and the same of sundry sorts. This may fitly be applied to the King his armes and forces: of which even now so great boast was made. For these divers kinds of arms, these many names of nations never heard of before, to wit, the Dakes of Daceans (I wot not what to call them) the Medes, the Cadusians, the Elinians, they are but Syrians when all is done: who for their base minds by nature, are much better to make a sort of slaves then a company of good souldiers. And would to God (you my masters of *Achaia*) I could represent unto your eyes the port and train of this great King, when he ran from *Demetrius*, one while to *Lamia* to the counsell of the *Etolians*, & another while to *Chalcis*: you should see in the Kings camp hardly two pretty legiounets, & those but lame ones neither and not well accomplished: you should see the King sometime as good as begging grain of the *Etolians*, to measure out among his hungry souldiers: otherwhiles making shift to take up monies at interest to make out their pay: now standing at the gates of *Chalcis*, and anon shot out from thence and excluded clean: and when he had done nothing else but teen *Aulis* and *Euripus*, returning fair into *Etolia*: *Antiochus* (you see) hath yielded but small belief to the *Etolians*, and the *Etolians* have as little trusted & relied upon the vanity of the King. And therefore the lesse should you be deceived by them, but rather repose your selves assuredly in the fidelity of the Romans so often tried, so often known and approved. For whereas they say It is your best counle not to be embarked and interested in this war, I assure you, there is nothing more vain then this, nay, nothing so hurtfull unto your estate. For you shall be a prize and prey to the victor, without thank of either part, without any worth and reputation. *Quintius* was thought by the *Achzans* to have spoken not impertinently, but to have answered them both fully: and an easie matter it was to approve his speech unto those, that were well enough enclined to have given him gentle hearing: for that it was no question nor doubt at all, but that every man would judge them to be friends or enemies to the *Achzan* nation, whom the Romans held for theirs: yea, and would conclude in the end of an act, to denounce war both against *Antiochus* & the *Etolians*. Moreover, according as *Quintius* thought good, they sent presently an aid of 500 souldiers to *Chalcis*, and of as many to *Pyraeum*. For at *Athens* there had like to have been a sedition and mutiny, whiles some drew the multitude (which commonly is bought and sold for mony) to take part with *Antiochus* upon hope of large rewards and great bounties, untill such time as *Quintius* was sent for by them that took part with the Romans: in so much as *Apollodorus* (who gave counsell and periwaded to revolt) was accused by one *Leon*, and being condemned, was banished. Thus verily the embassage returned from the *Achzans* to the King with present answer. The *Boeotians* delivered no certainty: this only was their answer, That when *Antiochus* himself was come in *Baotia*, then they would consider and consult what they were best to do.

Antiochus being advertised; that both the *Achzans* and King *Eumenes* also had sent men for the defence of *Chalcis*, thought good to make haste, that his force might not only prevent them, but also if it were possible receive them and cut them short as they came. And for this intent, he sent *Menippus* with three thousand souldiers or there about, and *Polyxenidas* with his whole fleet. Himself a few daies after marched with six thousand of his own souldiers, and of that levy, which on a sudden might be gathered at *Lamia*, no great number of *Etolians*. Those five hundred *Achzans* aforesaid, and the small aid that King *Eumenes* sent under the conduct of *Xenocides* the *Chalcidian*, having safely passed *Euripus* before that the waies and passages were beset, arrived at *Chalcis*. The Romans also who were upon five hundred, at what time as *Menippus* encamped before *Salganea*, came to *Hermione*, where is the passage out of *Baotia* into the land of *Eubaea*. In their company was *Mithridates* sent as Ambassador from *Chalcis* to *Quintius*, for to crave some succour: who perceiving that the waies were laid and the streights kept by the enemies, leaving his intended journey by the way of *Aulis*, turned to *Delium*, minding from thence to cut over into *Eubaea*. This *Delium* is a temple of *Apollo* situate upon the sea strand, and five miles distant from *Tanagra*, from whence there is a short cut (little more then a league) over an arm of the sea unto the next parts of *Eubaea*: In this Temple and sacred grove about it, so religious, so privileged and secured (as are those franchised houses and sanctuaries which the Greeks call *Asyla*) and at that time, when neither war was proclaimed, or at least wise not so far proceeded, as that in the hearing and knowledge of any man there had been sword drawn, or blood shed in any places. In this place, and at this time, I say, whiles the souldiers wandred at their leisure and pleasure, some gone to see the temple aforesaid and the grove, others walking upon the strand unarmed, and a great sort also of them scattered over the fields (such as were gone for forrage, and fewell) all on a sudden *Menippus* finding them loose and disbanded, charged upon them and slew them, and to the number of fifty he took alive: very few escaped, among whom

was *Mitris*, who got into a small vessel of merchandise. This occurred, as it troubled and disquieted *Quintus* and the Romans, for the loss of their soldiers, so it seemed much to increase the sight of their just quarrell to make war upon *Antiochus*, *Antiochus* having advanced his army, and approached *Anis*, after he had once again addressed Orators, partly of his own subjects, and partly *Etians* to *Chaleis*, for to follow those causes which of late he had commenced, but in more minatory terms, now prevailed easily, notwithstanding *Mitris* and *Xenocides* laboured to the contrary, that the gates should be set open unto him. All those that were for the Romans abandoned the City a little before the Kings coming. The soldiers of *Achaa* and King *Eumenes*, kept *Salganea* The Rom. soldiers also (who were but few) fortified and made a sconce upon the water of *Enripus*, to be a defence for the passage. *Manipulus* began to assail *Salganea*, and the King himself to set upon the fort of *Enripus* aforesaid. The Achazans and soldiers of *Eumenes* first grew to composition, and having capitulated to depart without any harm, quit their place of garrison. The Romans held out longer, and stoutly defended the hold of *Enripus*: but even they also being so streightly invested both by land & water, and seeing now the ordinance and engines of battery, brought and ready to be planted against them, would no longer endure the siege. When as now the King had possessed himself of the City of *Euboea*, all the other Cities of that Island, refused not to submit and come under his subjection. And he thought he had made a good beginning and entrance in this war, in that so great an Island, and so many Cities commodiously seated, and of such importance, were reduced under his obedience.

The six and thirtieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the six and thirtieth Book.

Marcus Acilius Glabrio the Consul, with the aid of King Philip, vanquished King Antiochus, near to Thermopylae, and drove him out of Greece. He also subdued the *Boians*. *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica*, the Consul (reputed and judged by the Senat the best man in the City) dedicated the temple of the mother of the gods, whom himself had brought into the Palatium. He also when he had overcome the *Boians*, took them upon surrender to his protection, and triumphed over them. Over and besides, here are set down the prosperous battles fought at sea, against the admirals and captains of King Antiochus.

The six and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

Soon as *P. Cornelius Scipio* the son of *Cornelius*, and *M. Acilius Glabrio*, the two Consuls were entered into their magistracy the L.L. of the Senat enjoined them (before any speech or question moved as touching the provinces) to sacrifice greater beasts in all those temples, wherein the custom was for the more part of the year to celebrate the solemnity of sacrifices, and to make their prayers in this manner, That whereas the Senat intended a new war, the gods would vouchsafe to bless and happily conduct the same to the good and publick weal of the Senat and people of Rome. All those sacrifices proved good and as they ought to be; even the very first beasts that were slain, prognosticated fortunate success, and shewed apparent signs that the gods were pacified and well pleased. And thus the soothsayers and bowel-priests, out of their learning, answered, it was evident, that by this war the bounds and limits of the Roman empire should be extended, and that both victory and triumph was foresignified. These answers being reported, and mens minds setled, and their consciences resolved of all scruples as concerning the gods, then the L.L. of the Senat granted out an order, that a bill should be preferred solemnly unto the people in this form: *Plausit in vos, et in vestram vim, ut war should be enterprized against Antiochus, and all that take his part? And if this bill passe and be granted, are ye pleased, that the Consuls, if they think so good, refer the whole matter unto the Senat so take order for the managing thereof accordingly?* *P. Cornelius* propounded this bill, and the people accepted thereof. Whereupon the Senat set down a decree that the Consuls should call lots for the government of *Italy* and *Greece* and that he whose lot it was to govern *Greece*, should (over and above that number of soldiers, which *L. Quintus* by authority and commission from the Senat had for that province either enrolled or levied) receive that army also which *M. Baebius* the Pretor caused to passe over the year before into *Macedony*, by virtue of an order from the Senat, in that behalf enacted. And license he had, if need to required, to take up six thousand soldiers from among the allies without *Italy*, so as he exceeded not the number of five thousand. Also agreed it was, that *L. Quintus* the Consul of the year before, should be deputed lord General for that war. As for the other Consul, unto whom had been allotted the charge of *Italy*, he was commanded to levy war against the *Boians*.

- A Boians and to their choice; whether army he had rather have of those two which the former Consuls conducted: and when he had received one, to send the other to Rome, that those legions of Citizens should be in readiness for to beset whether it pleased the Senat. This order being taken in the Senat, astouching the appointment and assignation of those provinces, then it was thought good that the new Consuls should cast lots for their governments. To *Acilius* befell Greece, and Italy to *Cornelius*. After this by a speciall law there passed an act of the Senat, That whereas the people of Rome had ordeined to wage war at that time ag. Inll King *Antiochus*, and those that were under his dominion, the Consuls should cause a procession to be solemnized. Also that the Consul *M. Acilius* should conceive and make a vow to *Jupiter*, for to celebrat the great Games in his honour, and to bring offerings to every altar. This vow was by him pronounced in this form of words, according as *P. Licinius* the Arch-Priest endited and prompted unto him. If this war which the people hath determined to be enterprised and made against King *Antiochus*, shall be performed according to the mind and intention of the Senus and people of Rome, then shall the people of Rome celebrate unto my honour, O *Jupiter*, the great Games for the space of ten daies together, and oblations shall be brought to every Altar, of that price and amounting to that sum which the Senat shall ordain and set down. And what Magistrats soever shall exhibit those Games, or in what place, yea, and at what time soever they shall be represented, the same Games shall be held for good, and reputed as well done, yea, and the offerings accepted as rightly presented. After this, there was published and proclaimed by both Cons. a supplication for the space of a daies. When the Cons. had cast lots for the parting of their governments, the Pretors likewise went presently about the same for their provinces. To *M. Junius Bruttus* fell both the iurisdiccions, as well of Citizens as aliens. *A. Cornel. Mammula* had the charge of the Bruttij, *M. Emilius Lepidus* of Sicily, and *L. Oppius Salinator* of Sardinia. *C. Livius Salinator* was L. Admiral of the navy, and *L. Aemilius Paulus* governor of the nether Spain. And in this manner following, were the armies and forces distributed and appointed. Unto *A. Cornelius* were assigned the new souldiers which the former year *L. Quinctius* the Consul, by vertue of an Act of the Senat, had enrolled. And his commission was to defend and keep in order all that tract and coast about *Tarentum* and *Brundisium*. As for *L. Aemilius Paulus*, who was to take a voyage thio the farther Spain, he was allowed (besides the army which he was to receive of *M. Fulvius* the Pro-Pretor) to have the conduct of threethousand new souldiers footmen, and three hundred horse: so that of them, two third parts should consist of allies of the Latin nation, and one third of Roman Citizens. The supply was sent unto *C. Flaminius* into the higher Spain, whose commission was renewed for to have the command therewith. *M. Emilius Lepidus* had commission to receive the government of the province, and withall, the conduct of the army, at the hands of *L. Valerius*, whom he was to succceed, and if he thought so good, to keep with him in the Province *L. Valerius*, in quality and place of a Vice-Pretor: and so to divide the province, that the one part should reach from *Agigentum* to *Pachinus*; the other half from *Pachinus* to *Tyndarum*: also, that *L. Valerius* should defend the sea-coasts and the river with a fleet of twenty Gallies. The same Pretor aforesaid was to levy and gather a double tenth of corn, and to take order for the convoy thereof to the sea, and so to be embarked and transported into Greece. The like commission had *L. Optimus*, to exact and take another tenth in Sardinia: but that grain was to be brought to Rome, and not to be carried over into Greece. *C. Livius* the Pretor and Admiral of the navy, was appointed with 300 sail ready rigged and trimmed, to sail into Greece with all speed, and to receive the ships that *Acilius* had: likewise to repair, rigge and furnish the old vessels that lay in the harbors, or lay at one side up in docks. *M. Junius* the Pretor his charge was, to levy mariners and rowers from among the libertins, for to serve that Armado. And there were sent Embassadors into *Africa* to *Carthage*, and into *Namidia*, three into either part, for to seek and purvey corn to be sent into Greece, for which the people of Rome would make present payment. And so wholly employed was the City to prepare and take order for this war, that *P. Cornelian* the Consul published an Edict, that no Senators, or any that had authority to give their opinion in the Senat, neither any inferior Magistrats, should take any journey out of the City, farther then they might have return again the sameday: Item, that there should not be five Senators absent at once from Rome.
- C. *Livius* the Pretor, while he used all diligence and care to prepare and provide his fleet, was impeached and hindred a time, by occasion of a debate and contention that arose between him and the Coloners of the sea-side. For when they should be gathered and lent to sea, they appealed to the Tribunes of the Com. from whom they were put over and referred to the Senat: and the Senat with one voice and accord pronounced and determined, that these Coloners were not exempted from sea-service. The Colonies that contended with the Pretor about their immunity were these, *Hestia*, *Pyrgena*, *Castrum novum*, *Pyrgi*, *Antium*, *Tarracina*, *Minerva* and *Stipaga*.
- G This done, the Consul *Acilius* by order from the Senat, consulted with the college of the Feccials or Heralds at arms, and demanded their advice, Whether the war should be proclaimed and defiance given to *Antiochus* himself in person; or it were sufficient, to intreat and denounce the same to some one of his garrisons? Also whether they would advise to proclaim war against the *Acrolians* apart by themselves: or whether it were not meet and convenient first to disclaim and renounce their society and friendship, and then to proclaim and denounce hostility? The Feccials answered, that heretofore they had determined and cleared this point, at what time as

their opinion was touching *Philip*, to wit, That it was all one, and made no matter, whether the defiance were given him to his face, or only intimated to some garrisons of his. And as for the *Ætolians*, this was their mind, that they had quit already their amity, and abandoned all society, in that when our Embassadors to oftentimes had redemanded amends for wrongs done, they never thought good to make restitution or satisfaction. Moreover, the *Ætolians* had themselves sent defiance first and proclaimed war against the Romans, when as by force they seized *Demetrias* a City of our allies, and advanced before *Chalcis*, to assail it both by land and sea; and lastly, in that they had solicited King *Antiochus* and brought him into *Europe* for to levy war against the Romans. All things now being sufficiently provided, *M. Acilius* the Consul published an edict and proclaimed, That all those soldiers whom *L. Quintus* had enrolled, likewise all those whom he had levied of the allies of the Latine nation, who were to go with him into his province, likewise all the Colonels and Marshals of the second and third legion, should render themselves, and be ready altogether at *Brundisium* upon the * Ides of *May* following. Himself upon the * fifth day before the Nones of the same month departed forth of the City clad in his rich coat of arms. And at the same time the Pretors also took their journeys into their severall provinces.

* 15 May.
* 3 May.

* 36000 pound sterling, after angel touch.
* 60000 pound sterl.

* I suppose that here wanteth the multiplicant number, viz. 100. For it is not answerable to the proportion of the rest that followeth, nor to the magnificence of so great estate, to send some thirty quarters of wheat, who heretofore allowed a hundred times as much, and yet, the same proportion of barley which now is set down,

Much about that time there arrived at *Rome* Embassadors from two Kings, to wit, *Philip* of *Macedony*, and *Ptolomæ* King of *Egypt*, promising their aid of men, money, and corn for that war. And besides from *Ptolomæ* there was brought * 1000 pound weight in gold, and the weight of * 2000 pound of silver: howbeit nothing was received, but much thanks rendered to both the Kings. And whereas both of them offered to come with all their power into *Ætolia*, and to be there in person, *Ptolomæ* was discharged of that offer of his, but the Embassadors of *Philip* received this answer, That he should highly please and content the people of *Rome*, in case he would not fail the Consul *M. Acilius*. In like manner there came Embassadors from the Carthaginians and *Masaniissa*. The Carthaginians made promise of * a thousand Modii of Wheat, and of Barley five hundred thousand for the army, and likewise to bring half so much to *Rome*: praying the Romans to accept the same at their hands as a free gift and gratuity: adding moreover, that they would man out a fleet at their own charges, and were ready also to make one entire payment of their tribute behind, which they were of duty to pay by sundry terms of many years. The Embassadors of *Masaniissa*, promised in the behalf of their King, to send five hundred thousand Modii of wheat, 20,000 of barley into *Greece* to the army, besides 500 men of arms and twenty Elephants, unto *M. Acilius* the Col. As touching the corn, this answer was returned unto them, that they were content to accept thereof, so that they would take money therefore to the worth. As to the fleet aforesaid, which the Carthaginians made offer of, they acquit them clean, save as many ships as they were to find and provide according to the tenor of the accord and composition between them. Last of all, concerning the tribute money, none would they receive before the day.

While the affairs passed thus at *Rome*, *Antiochus* being at *Chalcis*, because he would not sit still and do nothing, all a winter time, partly himself solicited (by sending Embassadors) the minds of the States, and partly also there came unto him Embassadors from thence of their own accord: and namely, among others, the Epirots presented themselves by the common consent of their whole nation, and the Eleans also came out of *Peloponnesus*. They of *Elys* craved aid against the *Achæans*, who (they verily thought) would take arms against their City, because war was denounced against *Antiochus* nothing to their will and good liking. Unto them were sent 1000 footmen under the leading of *Euphanes* the Cretolian. The embassage of the Epirots, plaid with both hands, meaning to deal roundly and simply with no lide, but to go between the bark and the tree. Gladly they would make court to the King and curry favour with him, but so, as they stood in good terms still with the Romans, whom they were loth to offend. For their request to him was, that he would not draw them without great and important cause into the quarrell, considering that they for the defence of all *Greece* lay open and exposed to *Italy*, and were late before others to feel the Romans fingers, and receive their first assaults. But in case he were able of himself with his forces by land and sea to defend *Epirus*, and furnish it with garrisons sufficient, they would with heart and good will accept of him and his into their Cities & port-towns: but if so be he could not effect that, they besought him not to offer them, naked and unarmed men, to the violence of the Roman wars. Their drift was in that embassie (as it appeared) that if the King and his forces came not into *Epirus* (as they rather thought nay then yea) they might rescue themselves and all they had, safe, entire, and at their own liberty for the Roman armies, and win withall the Kings good grace in that they seemed to make an offer to deceive him: or if any came indeed, yet they might conceive good hope to find favours, and have pardon at the Romans hands, in that they had not expected their succours being so far off, but rather yielded to the forces of *Antiochus* being present there in person. In such sort they carried themselves in their embassage so perplexed and intricate, that the King knew not well how to answer them readily: but said, that he would send his own Embassadors unto them for to parle and treat of all affairs pertaining in common as well to them as to him. Then went he himself into *Ætolia*, which countrey in colour and shew pretended these causes of anger and spite against the Romans, that before I have mentioned, to wit, the murder of *Barcillus*, and the armies by *Quintus* levied against *Coronea*, occasioned by a massacre committed upon Roman soldiers: but in very truth this was the reason, The singular discipline and order of that nation in old time, was going downward and endlong many

many years, and ages already, and the popular government of many, grown to decay and ruin, which cannot possibly continue long without some change and alteration of State. Well, to *Thes* he came, where all the principal and chief seats of *Demetrius* came flocking from all parts to meet him: Where in the General Diet and Council of that Nation (notwithstanding he had founded the battell, and began the fray already by giving the first blow, in that he had forced the Roman garrison near *Delium* and *Chalcis*, which were no small feats nor doubtful ventures of war, yet he began with the same kind of speech he first used in the party and conference at *Chalcis*, and which his Embassadors had followed in the general assembly of the Achæans, namely, demanding that they would enter into amity with him, without professing themselves enemies to the Romans, or pretending hostility against them. But there was no man there but soon found him and saw him welkenough: howbeit there passed an act and decree in favour of the King against the Romans, under a vain and slight pretext and colourable shew of words. Having gained this nation also, he returned to *Chalcis*, from thence he sent out his letters before unto the States of the *Ætolians*, that they should meet him in *Demetrius*, where he would confer and consult with them of all their affairs to be managed; and thither came he by least the day appointed. *Aminander* also was sent for out of *Athamania* to this consultation, yea, and *Annibal* the Carthaginian (whose council was not required a long time) was present at this frequent Diet and Assembly. Much parle and great opening there was as touching the nation of the Thessalians; and all there in place were of opinion, that they should be founded how they stood affected: but about the manner and some circumstance thereof, they were of divers minds, while some advised it to be done and executed out of hand: others thought good to put it off from winter season (considering now they were in the mids thereof) unto the prime and beginning of spring: others again said, that Embassadors only should be sent: and some hot-spurs there were, that gave counsell to go against them with all their forces, yea, and to fright and terrifie them if they made slow halt. Now when all the knot and difficulty of this deliberation consisteth in one point, *Annibal* was requested by name to deliver his mind and speak to the cause in question: who turned the King and all that were present from other wandering cogitations, and induced them to the entire consideration of the tall war, and to this effect framed his speech in this wise. "If since the time that we passed over into *Greece*, my hap had been to be called to any counsell, when as some question was touching *Embas*, the Achæans and the Bæotians, I had delivered that advice then, which now I purpose to utter this day in the question concerning the Thessalians. Above all things my counsell is, that *Philip* and the Macedonians may by all means possible be wrought to this out association in the war. For as touching *Embas*, the Bæotians and the Thessalians, who doubteth, but that they (as nations that stand upon their own bottoms and are of no force by themselves) will always flatter them that are present in place, and be ready to crave pardon upon the same fear that they ever shew when they are to take counsell and resolve? who doubteth (I say) but so soon as they shall see the Roman army in *Greece*, they will to turn to their accustomed obedience, and that it will be imputed to them no fault at all, that when the Romans were so far off, they were not willing to try the force of you (a puissant Prince in person among them) or of your armies? How much rather ought we then, nay, how much better and more important would it be, to joyn *Philip* unto us thep these? For if he once enter into the cause and be seen in action, he can not possibly start from us nor draw his head out of the collar: and moreover, he bringeth that power with him, which is not to be held for a simple succour & addition to mend our forces, but such as largely of it self without the help of others, was able to make head against the Roman puissance. Let me have this prince on my side, and (be it spoken without offence of any man here) what need I doubt of the sequel & issue? especially when those, by whose means & assistance the Romans prevailed against *Philip*, I see now ready to enter the field against them? The *Ætolians* (I say) who as all the world knoweth vanquished *Philip*, shall now together with *Philip*, enter into arms and fight against them. Over and besides, *Aminander* and the whole nation of the *Athamans* (whose service in the war, next to the *Ætolians*, stood the Romans in best stead) shall be on our side. *Philip* at that time (O King *Antiochus*) sustained the fight and burden of the whole war, when you sat still and stirred not: now both of you together, two most mighty monarchs, with the puissance of all *Asia* and *Europe*, shall wage war against one City and people, which (to speak nothing of mine own fortune good or bad) certainly in our fathers daies was not able to make their part good with one only King of the *Epirots*: how hardy loever they will be when they shall be matched with you both together. But what moved me to think, yea, and assured me, that *Philip* may be won unto us to joyn in this action? One thing is this, a common good and benefit even the greatest bond that is of society: and yet there is anothers besides it, namely, an inducement proceeding from you that be here of *Ætolia*: for *Thom* your Embassador (who is present in place) among other matters that he was wont to alledge for to animat & move *Antiochus* to come into *Greece*, evermore assured him of this principally, and vowed that *Philip* grumbled, bit the lip and fretted, that under the colour and shew of peace, there were imposed upon him hard conditions of servitude and slavery. And he verily, I mean *Thom*, let out the fell anger of the King, and with all his words compared it to the wood rage of a wild beast bound with chains, or being enclosed in some cage, would willingly break the gates and bars thereof. Now, if he be disposed thus, and of that courage, let us burst his bonds asunder, let us (I say) force open his iron cage, that his rage pent up so long may now break out upon the common enemies. And

The speech of
Annibal.

suppose

* Lombardy.

"suppose that our embassage effect nothing at his hands, yet may we provide and take order, that
 "if we cannot work and win him to side with our selves, yet that he shall not combine and band
 "with our enemies. Your son *Selenus* is now at *Lysimachia*, who shall not so soon with these forces
 "which he hath about him, begin to invade and wall (by the way of *Thracia*) the confines of *Ma-*
 "cedony, but he shall withdraw and turn *Philip* clean away (from giving succour to the Romans) to
 "the defence especially of his own. Thus have you heard mine advice as touching *Philip*: now for
 "the whole course and managing of the war, what mine opinion was, you have not been ignorant
 "of from the first beginning. If then, I might have had mine own waies, and my counsell had been
 "taken, the Romans should not have received intelligences of the taking of *Chalcis* in *Euboea*,
 "nor of the forcing and winning of a little pile upon *Euripus*; but they had heard by this, that all
 "the coast of the *Ligurians* and of the * *Cisalpine Gauls* was up in arms and on a light fire of war; I
 "and (which would have feared and frightened them most) that *Annibal* was in *Italy*. And (now
 "things standing as they do) my advice is, that you send for all your forces both by land and sea.
 "Let your carriks and hulks with victuals and provision follow after your armado & ships of war.
 "For in this place, like as we are too few to perform any martiall exploits, so we are too many,
 "considering our smal store of victuals. And when you rallied and united all your force together,
 "divide your navy in two parts: the one you shall keep in the rode of *Coryra*, to impeach the Ro-
 "mans, that they shall not passe in safety and security, the other you shall cause to sail unto that
 "coast of *Italy* which looketh toward *Sardinia* and *Africk*. Your self in proper person, with all
 "your land army shall march onward into the territory of the *Bylliones*; thence shall ye have good
 "means for the defence of *Greece*, as making the Romans beleeve, that you are upon the point
 "to pass the seas, yea, and being ready indeed to crosse over if need should require. This gene-
 "rally is my counsell; mine, I say, who as I will not take upon me a singular skill in all kinds of war,
 "so me thinks I should know how to war with the Romans, as having learned my skill thereby,
 "as well to my cost as advantage, and as much with my good as harm, & look whatsoever design-
 "ment I have projected unto you, I promise and protest, that I will be faithfull and forward in
 "the execution thereof: and the gods approve and blesse that counsell, which your self shall think
 "the best. To this effect, in a manner, was the oration of *Annibal* directed; which all that were
 "in place and heard it, rather praised for the present, then put in practise and effected afterwards.
 "For no one thing was done of all that he had said, save only *Antiochus* lent *Polyxenidas* for a navy
 "and army out of *Asia*; yes, there were Embassadors also dispatched to the General Diets of the
 "Theſſalians. And a day was appointed for the *Etolians* and *Aminander* to meet the army at *Phe-*
 "ra, whither King *Antiochus* came straight after with his power. And while he staid there, ex-
 "pecting *Aminander* and the *Etolians*, he sent out one *Philip* a *Megapolitan*, with two thousand men
 "to gather out the bones and reliques of the *Macedonians* about *Cynoscephala*, where the war with
 "*Philip* was determined, and the quartel decided by a famous battell: were it that therein he fol-
 "lowed his own head and took a conceit, thereby to wind himself into grace and favour with the
 "*Macedonian* Nation, and to bring the King into obloquie and disgrace, because he left his souldiers
 "unburied; or that, as it is the vein (or vanity rather) engrafted in Kings by kind, he set his mind
 "and busied his spirits in matters, for appearance gay and goodly, but in effect fond & foolish. There
 "he made a mount (as it were) of a number of bones gathered together into one place, that lay scat-
 "tering and strewed here and there: a thing no doubt that the *Macedonians* conged him no thank
 "for, and which *Philip* (you may be sure) took in foul scorn and malicious disdain. And therefore
 "*Philip*, who at that time minded to take counsell of Fortune, and to be directed by her, as she en-
 "clined now, sent to *Marcus Babinus* the Vice-Pretor, and advertised him, how *Antiochus* invaded
 "*Theſſaly*, and if it pleased him to stir out of his winter harbour, he would meet him, that they might
 "confer both together what were best to be done.

While *Antiochus* lay now encamped before *Phera*, where *Aminander* and the *Etolians* had
 "joynd with him, there came Embassadors from *Larissa*, expostulating, Wherein the *Theſſalians*
 "had so offended either by deed or word, that he would molest and trouble them with war? and
 "withall beseeching him to retire & withdraw his forces, and debate the matter (if he had ought a-
 "gainst them) by his Embassadors. At the same time they sent five hundred men in armes, well ap-
 "pointed, under the governance of *Hippolochus*, to lie there in garison, who because they could not
 "pass thither, by reason that all the avenues were seized and kept by the Kings forces, returned to
 "*Scotusa*. As for the Embassadors of the *Larissians*, the King made them a gracious answer, and said,
 "That he was entred into *Theſſaly*, not by way of hostility to distresse them, but in friendly man-
 "ner to maintain and establish the freedome of the *Theſſalians*. Likewise he sent an Embassador to
 "*Phera*, to signifie so much to them and in the same terms. But the *Pheraens* giving him no an-
 "swer again, dispatched unto the King an Embassador of their own, one *Pausanias*, a principal man
 "of their City. Who after he had pleaded the semblable remonstrances to those, that had been
 "in the like case alledged, and laid forth in the behalf and name of the *Chalcidians*, in that Coun-
 "cill holden near the streights of *Euripus*, and besides, uttered something else with more bold-
 "nesse and courage; the King dismissed him, after he had willed them to consider more of the
 "matter, and be well advised, that they took not that counsell which anon they would repent,
 "whiles they sought to be too wary, provident, and forasting the future time. When this em-
 "bassage was related at *Phera*, the Citizens took no long time to deliberat, but soon resolved in
 "the maintenance of their faith and loyalty to the Romans for to undergo whatsoever hazard the

A the Fortune of war should present unto them. Whereupon both they addressed themselves to defend the City with all their might, and also the King began to assault and batter the walls on all parts at once. And knowing well enough (as in truth there was no doubt) that in the issue of the siege of that City which he first enterprised, lay the whole importance and consequence of all, either to make him despised ever after, or feared and dread of the Thessalians, therefore he terrified the besieged inhabitants, on every side, and by all means possible that he could devise. The first assault they sustained stoutly and manfully; but afterwards seeing many of the defendants were either overthrown and slain, or grievously hurt and wounded, their hearts began to quail: yet reclaimed by the rebukes and chastisements of their captains and leaders, and animated by their effectual exhortations, to persist still in their purpose and resolution, they quit the utmost compass of their wall, leaving a what default they were for want of men, and retired themselves more inward into the City, into one part thereof, which was strongly fortified with a more and less circuit and compass than the other. At the length, overcome with travel and calamities, and fearing that if they were forced and taken by assault, they should find no mercy nor pardon with the conqueror, they yielded themselves. The King following the train of victory, delayed no time; but while the night was fresh, sent four thousand armed men presently to *Scorussa*, where the townsmen made no stay, but rendered the town and themselves incontinently, having before their eyes the fresh bleeding example of the Phereans, who tamed by mere force and wofull miseries, were compelled to do that at last which they obstinately refused at the first. Together with the City itself was surrendered also *Hippotobus* and the Larissæan garrison under his hand. All of them the King sent away without any hurt or violence offered unto their persons: for he thought thereby to win the hearts and love of the Larissæans. Having accomplished these exploits within ten daies after his first coming to *Phera*, he marched towards *Crano* with all his army, and at his first coming won it. Then he reigned and seized *Cypara* and *Metropolis*, and the boroughs & forts about them: so as now all those quarters were subdued and put under his subjection, except *Atrax* and *Gyrrus*. Then he determined to assault *Larissa*, supposing, that either upon the fearful terror of other Cities forced, or in regard of his demerit in dismissing the garrison so courteously, or by the present example of so many Cities yielded unto him, they would not long persist in their obstinacy. And for to terrifie them the more, he commanded the elephants to march in the forefront of the vanguard, and approached himself in a square battell, with four sides, in such D sort as the hearts of many of the Larissæans wavered in doubtful suspense, between forced fear of present enemies, and kind regard of absent friends.

In this time *Aminander*, with the whole youth and manhood of the Athamians, became master of *Pelinaus*. *Menippus* also with three thousand Etolian footmen and two hundred horse went to *Perrebia*, won *Mallia* and *Cyrria* by assault, and wasted the territory of *Tripolis*. Having performed these exploits with great expedition, and celerity, they returned to *Larissa* unto the King, and arrived even then when as the King was in consultation what to do with *Larissa*: for the councill was divided into diverse opinions. Some thought it good to proceed forcibly, and not to defer and assault the Cities with fabricks and engins of battery on all sides at once: alledging that the town being situated in a plain towards the champain field side, might be approached unto with ease and invested every way. Others again inferred one while, that there was no comparison between the strength of this City and of *Phera*: other while, that it was now winter time, and a season of the year far unfit for warlike executions, and most of all other for the siege and assault of Cities. As the King thus hung in the equal ballance of hope and despair, the Embassadors of *Pharsalus* arrived, who, as good hap was, being come to surrender up their town, revived his spirits and mightily comforted his heart.

M. Babius in this mean while having parlied and conferred with *Philip* in the Dalsaretians country, sent *Appius Claudius* by the common advice of them both, to the succour and defence of *Larissa*; who passed through *Macedony*, and by long journeyes came to the top of those hills that command *Gonnus*. Now this *Gonnus* is a town twenty miles distant from *Larissa*, seated just F in the very streights of that Forrest and passe called *Tempe*; who having taken up a larger circuit of ground to encamp in, then was proportionable to his number, and made more fires in shew then need was for that company, gave semblance unto the enemy (which was the thing he aimed at), that all the Roman forces were there, together with King *Philip*. King *Antiochus* therefore proceeding unto his army, that the unreasonable winter that approached, after he had stayed one only day before *Larissa*, dislodged, and thence departed, and so returned to *Demetrius*. The Etolians likewise and Athamians repaired to their own countries.

Appius, albeit he saw that the siege was levied (which was the only cause of his coming) yet down he went to *Larissa* to encourage and confirm the hearts of the allies against the time to come. And a two-fold joy there was, both because the enemies were gone and had quitted their country, and also for that they saw the Roman garrison within their walls. King *Antiochus* departed from *Demetrius* to *Chalcis*, where he fell in love with a damsell of that City, daughter of *Chalcipolus* a Chalcidian. Now after he made means to the maidens father first by intercession of messengers and mediators, and after by importuning him in his own person with earnest requests by word of mouth (who was very loth and unwilling to entangle & tie himself, in matching her to high above his own calling) at length so overcame the man, that he obtained his desire: and as if it had been a time of settled and confirmed peace, he proceeded to consummate and celebrate

but the murage. And forgetting clean, how at one time he had undertaken the charge of two affairs so important, to wit, the war with the Romans, and the deliverance of Greece, he passed away the rest of the winter in feasts and banquetts, and in those delights and pleasures, which ordinarily (you wot well) follow upon the libell drinking of wine: yea, and when he had thereby rather wearied his body than fulfilled his appetite, he gave himself to sleep without compasse. The like riot and loose life took hold of the rest of the Kings captains, by example in all places, but in *Patra* especially, such as commanded the garrisons. Nay, the very soldiers were let loose and given over to take voluptuous waies, and not one of them would put on armor, keep the watch, attend the guard, or do any thing pertaining to the duty and charge of a soldier. And therefore at the beginning of the spring, when he was come by *Phoci* and *Cheronea*, to the *Rendez*, where he had appointed from all parts his forces to meet, he soon perceived that the soldiers had spent the winter as licentious as their leaders, and kept no better order and straighter discipline. Then he commanded *Alexander* the Acarnanian, and *Menippus* the Macedonian, to lead the army to *Stratus*, a town in *Etolia*. Himself having done sacrifice at *Delphi* to the honour of *Apoll*, went forward to *Nassipsum*. And after the Diet holden of all the States of *Etolia*, in the way which leadeth to *Stratus*, along by *Chalcis* and *Lyfimachia*, he encountered his own forces afore said, that came by the gulf of *Malea*. Where *Musfilobus*, a Principal Acarnanian, but wrought and bought with many gifts and presents, not only himself won that nation to take part, & to side with the King, but also had drawn to his own mind and affection *Clytus* their Pretor, who at that time had the sovereign rule there, and might do all in all. He seeing that the Leucadians (who are the chief of all the Acarnanians) could not be easily induced nor brought to revolt, for the awe wherein they stood of the Roman fleet, which either was with *Attidius*, or about *Cephala*, went cunningly to work with them. For having delivered his opinion in their generall Council, that the inland parts of *Acarnania* were to be well guarded and defended, and that as many as were able to bear arms should go forth to *Medie* and *Tyrbeum*, for fear those places should be seized by *Antiochus* and the *Etolians*: there were again some who made answer and said, how there was no such need that all should be raised and levied to tumultuously in batt, for a garrison of five hundred men was sufficient. And when he had obtained that number of young & able men, he placed three hundred of them in garrison at *Medie*, and two hundred at *Tyrbeum*: his reach and drift was to have them put into the Kings hands for hostages. And even at that time arrived the Kings Embassadors at *Medie*, whose embassage being heard, they laid their heads together and consulted in the publick assembly what answer to return unto the King. Some were of opinion to continue still in the Roman society: others were of advice again, that the Kings offer of amity was not to be rejected. The councill of *Clytus* was mean and indifferent between both, and therefore accepted, to wit, that they should addresse the Embassadors to the King, to intreat him that he would permit them to take a day of deliberation upon a matter of such consequence in a full Diet of the Acarnanians. In this Embassage *Musfilobus*, and those of his faction were employed of set purpose: who having dispatched messengers covertly to King, to advertise him to approach the town with his forces, trifled out the time themselves, and made no halt to set forward in their embasie. Whereupon these Embassadors were scarcely gone forth of the City, when *Antiochus* was entered the borders, and soon shewed himself hard at the gates. And while they that with nothing of this treason were affrighted, and in great trouble and tumult, called the youth hastily to arm, he was by *Clytus* and *Musfilobus* let into the City. Some willingly of themselves came running about the King: those also that were of the adverse part, for very fear joynd with him. Whom he seeing to be afraid and terrified, he entertained with gracious words, and so gently handled them, that in hope of his clemency so much divided and spoken of abroad, certain States of *Acarnania* revolted and turned unto him. Then from *Medie* he went to *Tyrbeum*, unto which place he had sent *Musfilobus* and his Embassadors afore hand. But the treachery and deceit at *Medie* being discovered, made the Tyrbeans more wary and carefull then otherwise fearfull, who made him this plain direct answer without any double ambiguity, that they would admit of no new alliance, without the advice and authority of the Roman Generals: so they shut their gates, and disposed armed men upon their walls. Now it fell out very fitly and happily for confirming and encouraging the hearts of the Acarnanians, that *C. Octavius* sent by *Quintus*, having received a garrison and some few ships of *A. Posthumius*, who by *Attidius* the Lieutenant had been appointed Governour of *Cephalaria*, was come to *Laurium*, and much comforted the Allies, and put them in good hope, who also gave them to understand, that *M. Acilius* the Consul had already passed the seas with his legions, and the Romans were encamped in *Thessaly*. And for as much as this bruit carried a great likelihood of truth, by reason that the season of the year served now for navigation, the King after he had planted a garrison at *Medie* and in other towns of *Acarnania*, departed from *Tyrbeum*, and passing through the Cities of *Etolia* and *Phocis*, returned to *Chalcis*.

Much about the time *M. Bavius* and King *Philip*, who had communed and devised together before (during the winter) in the Dardareans country, having sent *Appius Claudius* into *Thessaly*, for to raise the siege before *Larissa*: and because the season then was unmeet and too soon for execution of any exploit, were retired to their wintering harbours. Now in the beginning of the Spring joynd all their forces together and came down into *Thessaly*. (Now at that time was *Antiochus* in *Acarnania*.) And at their first coming, *Philip* began to lay siege unto

Mallen

A. *Mallac* and *Babius* to *Phacium*: which when he had forced in manner at the first assault he won *Phacium* also with like expedition. From whence having retired himself to *Ayax*, he took *Chyrtis*, and so consequently surprised *Enitium*, and after he had placed garrisons in these towns that he had thus recovered, he joyned with *Philip* again, lying in secret at *Mallac*. Upon the very coming of the Roman army, when the townsmen had yielded themselves either for fear of forces, or for hope of pardon, they marched jointly together with one army to recover those towns whereof the *Athamans* were seized: to wit, *Aginiam*, *Ericinium*, *Gomphi*, *Silava*, *Tricca*, *Melissae*, and *Phalaria*. After this, they invailed *Pedinum*, where *Philip* the Megapolitan lay in garrison with five hundred foot, and forty horse: but before they gave the assault, they sent a messenger to *Philip* to give him warning, that he should not adventure to try the utmost hazard. But he returned this answer again right stoutly unto them, that he would be content to commit himself to the Romans or the *Thessalians*, he passed not whether, but put his life and estate into the hands of King *Philip* he never would. Now when it appeared that they were to proceed by force, and for that it seemed that *Limnaea* also at the same time might be assaulted, it was thought expedient that the King should go to *Limnaea*, and *Babius* stand still to batter and force the town of *Pollinium*.

It fortuned at the same time that *M. Acilius* the Cos. having passed the sea with a power of 10000 foot, and 2000 horse and fifteen Elephants, commanded certain chosen Colonels of footmen to conduct all the Infantry to *Larissa*, whiles himself with the Cavalry came to King *Philip* before *Limnaea*. At the coming of the Consul the town was yielded incontinently: the Kings garrison was delivered, and the *Athamans* withall. Then the Consul went from *Limnaea* to *Pellinaeum*, where the *Athamans* yielded first: and afterwards *Philip* also the Megapolitan rendered himself. And as he came down from the fort, *Philip* the King chanced to meet with him, and in scorn and derision commanded his men to salute him with the stile of King, and himself also by way of mockage came close unto him, and greeting him by the name of brother *Philip*, scoffing and jesting in broad terms, far unfitting, I wot, his royall Majesty. Then was he brought before the Cos. and put in ward, and not long after sent bound to *Rome*. All the multitude besides of the *Athamans*, as also of King *Antiochus* his souldiers, which were within the garrisons of those towns that were surrendered about that time were delivered unto *Philip*, who amounted to the number of 3000. The Consul departed to *Larissa* to consult and take advice for the generall course of the whole war. And in his way there met him Embassadors from *Pieria* and *Medrapolis*, for to render their Cities. *Philip* having courteously and lovingly intreated above all other the prisoners of the *Athamans*, that by their means he might win the grace and favour of that nation, and conceived some hope to conquer *Athamania*, led his army thither, and sent his captives aforehand into their severall Cities. Now they were of great account and reputation among their countyme, and withall made report of the King his clemency toward them, and how liberally and bountifully besides he used them: And *Aminander* verily, whose presence and majesty had kept some of them in allegiance, fearing lest he should be delivered into the hands of *Philip* (who long time had been his mortall enemy; and unto the Romans, whom he knew to have just cause at that time to be offended with him for his revolt, departed out of his own Realm with his wife and children, and retired himself to *Ambracia*. Thus all *Athamania* became subject to King *Philip*, and at his pleasure.

The Consul so journeyed certain daies at *Larissa*, especially for to refresh his beasts, which first had been sea-sick, and afterwards were tired with long travel: and thus when he had renewed, as it were, and repaired his army with a little rest and repose, he marched to *Cneta*. At his coming thither these towns, to wit, *Pharsalus*, *Scotussa*, and *Phera*, together with King *Antiochus* his garrisons that lay there, were yielded up unto him. And having put unto their choice, either to be gone or carry still with him: as many of them as he saw willing, and those were about a thousand, he delivered unto King *Philip*: the rest he sent back disarmed to *Demetrias*. Then he regained *Proerna* and the fortresses and places there about it. Then began he to conduct forward his army toward the gulph of *Malea*: and when he approached the straights, upon which the town *Thaumacia* is situate, all the flower of the youth in their armour quit the City, and put themselves in ambush about the woods and passages, and from the higher ground charged upon the Romans in their march. The Consul at the first sent certain unto them to parley at hand with them, and to see if they could scare them from such desperate outrage: but perceiving that they persisted still as they began, he commanded a Colonel with two ensignes of souldiers to fetch a compass about, in such sort, that he got between those armed men and the town, and kept them from entrance, whereby he possessed himself of the City, being void of defendants. They they that lay in the forefront in ambush, hearing an outcry behind their backs of the town taken, fled backward out of all parts of the wood, and fell upon the sword. The Consul then departed from *Thaumacia*, and the second day came as far as the river *Sperchius*, and so forward unto the territory of the *Hypaeans*, which he spoiled.

During the time of these occurrences, *Antiochus* lay at *Chalcis*, who by this time seeing that he had gotten in Greece, but the pleasure of one wintering, spent so deliciously in *Chalcis*, and a dishonourable marriage, began to blame the *Etolians* for their vain promises, and especially *Theus*: but *Antiochus* he had in great admiration, reputing him not only for a sage and prudent man, but also for a true Prophet, who foretold him of all things that then were come to pass: howbeit for fear

that his cold slackness might not overthrow that quite, which his rash folly had begun and enterprised, he sent out his courriers into *Etolia*, to give them warning to levy all their youth and assemble them together: and himself for his own part had brought thither almost 10000 footmen, who were made up full and furnished by them that after came out of *Asia*, and 100 horsemen besides. To this place perceiving that there repaired smaller numbers by many degrees than ever at any time before, and that they were but the Nobles only and some few of their vassals, who protested, that they had done their endeavor to levy out of their Cities as many as possibly they could: but neither by authority, nor for love and favour, nor yet with absolute command, were they able to prevail or do any good with them that refused warfare: and seeing himself thus forsaken on all sides, as well of his own subjects who dragged behind in *Asia*, as of his allies who performed not those matters, in the hope whereof they had called him to assist them, he withdrew himself within the Straights of *Thermopylae*.

This mountain divideth *Greece* in the very middle, like as *Italy* is parted in twain by the ridge of the *Appennine*. On the fore-part of this straight and forrest of *Thermopylae* toward the North lyeth *Epirus* and *Perthubia*, *Magnesia* and *Thessaly*, also the Phthiotz of *Achaia*, and the gulph *Malea*: but more southward is discovered the greatest part of *Etolia* and *Acarmania*, *Phocis*, *Locris*, and *Boetia*, together with the Island *Euboea* joyning close thereto: behind it is situate the country of *Attica*, running into the sea like a promontory, and besides it *Peloponnesus*. This mountain taking his beginning at *Lencus* and the Ponant or Western sea, reacheth through *Etolia* to the Levant or Easterly Ocean, and is so full of rocks and rough crags between, that no whole armies, no, nor so much as single travellers lightly appointed, can find but hardly and with much ado the waies and paths to pass through the utmost brows and the hills of this mountain bending toward the east, they call *Oeta*: and the highest pitch and knop thereof, is called *Callidromos*; at the foot whereof lyeth the valley leading toward the gulph of *Malea*, wherein the plain is not above threescorpe paces broad. And this is the only high and port-way by which an army may march, if it be not otherwise impeached. And hereupon it is, that the passage is called * *Pyle*: and of some (because there are found therein certain natural hot waters or bains) *Thermopylae*: even that very place which is so famous and renowned for the memorable death of the Lacedaemonians more than for any worthy battell against the Persians. Here lay encamped *Antiochus* at this present (carrying nothing that mind nor resolution as those Lacedaemonians did) within the gates as it were of the Straights, where he enclosed and stopped the passage besides, with strong defences: And when he had cast a double rampire and trench, yea, and raised a mure and wall where need was (which to do the place afforded him great plenty of stone lying every where) and had made all sure: presuming confidently that the Roman army would never venture nor be able to break through those barricadoes that way: he sent of those 4000 *Etolians* (for so many were met together) some to keep a garrison in *Heraclea*, situate even before the very gulph and freight; and others to *Hypata*: for that he made no doubt but the Consul would assail *Heraclea*, and many posts brought word, that all about *Hypata* was already wasted.

Now the Consul having spoiled the territory of *Hypata* first, and then of *Heraclea*, (where the *Etolians* aids did no good and served to no purpose in the one place or the other) pitched his camp over-against the King, even in the very mouth of the gulph, near the fountains of the hot waters aforelaid: both those regiments above-named of the *Etolians* were got within the town *Heraclea*, and there kept themselves sure. *Antiochus*, who before he saw his enemies, thought all was fast enough and sufficiently fenced, began then to fear lest the Roman soldiers would find out some privy paths and waies, thereby they might pass and get over those high hills that commanded his camp: for a rumour ran, that the Lacedaemonians in times past were so enclosed by the Persians, and of late daies also King *Philip* was likewise compassed and environed by these very same Romans. Whereupon he dispatched a messenger to the *Etolians* in *Heraclea*, willing them to do him thus much service yet in these his wars, as to seize the tops of those hills and to keep them that the Romans might have no passage that way. Upon this message received, there arose some dissension among the *Etolians*. Some were of mind to obey the King his will and commandment, and to go accordingly; but others thought better to tarry still at *Heraclea*, to attend upon fortune, and see what would happen: to the end, that if the King should chance to be vanquished by the Consul, they might have in readiness their forces fresh and in heart, to succour and aid their own Cities near at hand; or if his luck were to defeat the Consul, then they might follow the Romans in chase, when they were disbanded and scattered asunder. Both parts, thus divided as they were, not only persisted still in their severall designments, but also put the same in execution by themselves. For two thousand of them remained at *Heraclea*; the other two thousand parted themselves three waies, namely, to *Callidromos*, to *Rhodunisia*, and *Tichius*, (these are the names of three principall high hills;) and each company took and held one. The Consul when he saw that the *Etolians* were possessed of these higher places, sent *M. Porcius Cato* and *L. Valerius Flaccus*, two of his Lieutenants (who both had been Consuls) with two thousand chosen men against these holds of the *Etolians*, to wit, *Flaccus* against *Rhodunisia* and *Tichius*, and *Cato* against *Callidromos*: himself before that he advanced his battell against his enemies, made a brief speech unto his souldiers in this manner: "My souldiers, I see that the most part of you even of every quality and degree, are they that in this very Province sometime served under the conduct, charge, and government of *T. Quinctius* in the Macedonian war. The Straights

* *Le. Galea.*

A of that passage, then near the river *Alone*, were far more difficult to gain and get over than this
 B in for here are very gates, yet, and one naturall way (as it were) to pass through, as if all else
 were stopped up between two seas. There were more stronger defenses and sconces against them
 at that time, and also planted in places more convenient and commodious. The army of the e-
 nemies then, was both for number greater, & for men's soldiery much better: for therein were
 the Macedonians, the Thracians, and the Illyrians, all most fierce and warlike nations: in this are
 Syrians and Asiatick Greeks, or half Arians, the vaigst kind of people of all others, and born to
 serve. The King there, namely *Philip*, a most noble warrior exercised and inured ever from his
 youth in the neighbour wars of the Thracians and Illyrians, & all the nations bordering upon
 him: but this *Antiochus* (to say nothing of all his life besides) is he, who being come out of *Asia*
 into *Europe*, for to make war upon the people of *Rome*, hath done all the long winter time no-
 thing more memorable than this, That for to please his wanton lust he hath taken to wife the
 daughter of a private person, a man (I say) of low degree and base quality among other Citizens:
 & this new married man fed fat and franked (as I may so say) with dainty suppers & delicate bride-
 blankets, is come forth (forsooth) to fight a battell. His whole strength and all his hope hath been
 in the *Ætolians*, a people of all others most vain, unconstant, and unthankfull, as ye have tried
 heretofore, and *Antiochus* findeth true at this present. For neither assembled they in great num-
 ber, nor possible was it to keep them together in the camp: nay, which more is, they mutine a-
 mong themselves, and having demanded and required the guard of *Hypata* and *Morathia*, they
 have defended neither the one nor the other. Some of them are fled to the tops of the moun-
 tains: others have shut themselves within *Horaeia*. The King himself hath confessed plainly,
 that he was never so hardy as to meet in plain field and affront the enemy, no, nor so much as to
 pitch his camp in open ground: in that abandoning all that country before him, which he vaun-
 ted and bragged that he had taken from us and *Philip*, he hath hidden himself among the rocks,
 & hath not encamped before the entrance of the gullet and straights (as the same both of the
 Lacedæmonians in times past) but pitched his tents far within. And to bewray his cowardly
 fear, What difference is there between so doing, and housing himself within the walls of some
 City for to be besieged? But neither shall those narrow straights save him, no more than those
 steep hills defend the *Ætolians*, which they have seized. This one thing hath been for a while
 provided for on all sides, that ye shall have nothing to make head against, but your enemies.
 D Now must ye resolve upon this point, That ye fight not only for the liberty of *Greece* and
 yet even this also were a brave and honourable title, to be said for to deliver the same now out
 of the hands of *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*, which before you freed from King *Philip*: nor
 that ye shall have no other reward and recompence for your pains; but that which we shall find
 now in the Kings camp, but also that the great provision and furniture which daily is expected
 from *Ephesus*, shall be your prize and booty, and that ye shall hereafter make a way for the Ro-
 man Empire into *Asia*, *Syria*, and all those most wealthy and rich Realms, even as far as to the
 Levant sun. And what shall let us then, but that from *Gades* to the red sea we bound and limit
 our State and Dominion, even with the very Ocean that environeth and compasseth the round
 globe of the earth? What shall hinder us, I say, but that all the nations of the world shall ho-
 noure and worship the Roman name next unto the immortall gods? Prepare your hearts there-
 fore and courages answerable to so high rewards, that with the leave and help of the gods we
 may to-morrow fight a field. After this speech the assembly brake up, and the soldiers being
 dismissed, made ready their armor and weapons, before they took repast or repose. And in the
 morning, by dawning of the day, the Consul put out the signal of battell, and for his army in array,
 with a narrow and pointed front, according to the nature and straightness of the place. The King
 seeing the ensignes of his enemies, led forth his forces likewise. Part of his light armours he plan-
 ted before the rampier and trench in the forefront: then he placed the flower and strength of the
 Macedonians, whom they call *Sarissophori*, i.e. Pikemen, for the safety and safeguard of his defen-
 ces and fortifications. And to flank these on the left side, he put the archers, the slingers of darts,
 and slingers of stones, hard upon the foot of the hill, that from the higher ground they might al-
 fail and peck the naked sides of the enemies. On the right flank of these Macedonians, at the very
 edge and point of the moines and defences, which as they were enclosed and mounded with those
 places which reach to the sea, and are unpassable by reason of the bogs, muddy marshes, quag-
 mires, and quicksands, he set the Elephants with their ordinary and usual guard. After them his
 horsemen and men of arms. Then leaving an indifferent space between, he ranged the rest of his
 forces in the second ward or middle battillon. The Macedonians who were bestowed before the
 camp and the trench, at the first sustained the Roman assault enough (who assailed on every side to
 make an entry) for much help they had of them, who from the upper ground weighed bullets out
 of their slings, as thick as an hail storm, who lashed darts also, and shot arrows besides. But
 when afterwards greater numbers of enemies pressed upon them, and charged them with such
 violence as possibly might not be endured, they gave ground, and retired within their fortifica-
 tions, keeping yet their array and their ranks whole. And then from the rampier they made (as it
 were) another pallisado with their long pikes that they held out afore them. Now the height of
 their camp was so reasonable, that as it afforded some rise and vantage of ground for their
 bowmen to fight upon it, so by reason of the length of their spears, they might reach the enemy
 under them, in so much as many of the Romans approaching rashly, and venturing to clamber up,

were run clean through: and either they had given over and done nothing, or else more of them had died for it, but that *M. Porcius Cato* having beaten from the top of *Calidone* the *Ætolians*, and slain a great part of them (for he surprised them suddenly at unawares, and most of them fast asleep) appeared upon the hill that commandeth the camp, *Flaccus* sped not so well at *Talys* and *Rhoduntia*, who laboured to get up those cliffs and holds, but to no purpose. The *Macedonians* and the rest that were in the Kings host and camp, at first, when they descried afar off nothing but a multitude and number marching, imagined verily, that they were the *Ætolians*, who having discovered the battell and fight a good way off were coming to aid them. But so soon as they beheld and discerned near at hand the ensignes and armour of the Romans, they took themselves in their own error, and were upon a sudden stricken with such fear, that they all flung their weapons away, and fled. But both their fortifications and defences in the way, & also the narrowness of the vale through which they were to be pursued, hindered the Romans in following the chase. And the Elephants above all which were in the rereward took up the ground so, as that the footmen could hardly pass by them, and the horsemen by no means possible: so affrighted were the horses, and caused more trouble and disorder among themselves, than they did during the battell. Besides the Romans staid sometime behind, whiles they rifled and ransacked the camp. Howbeit, they had the enemy in chase that day as far as *Lylæum*, killing and taking in the very way, not only many horses and men, but also slaying the Elephants which they could not take alive; which done, they returned to their own camp, which that day had been assailed by the *Ætolians*, who were of the garrison of *Heraclea*: but that enterprise, as it was exceeding bold and audacious, so it took no effect at all. The Consul having at the reliefe of the third watch the night ensuing, sent before his Cavalry to pursue the enemy, advanced likewise the ensignes of his legions forward by break of day. The King by this time had won some ground, and got a good way before: for he never gave over galloping with bridle in horse neck, untill he had recovered *Elania*. Where first he gathered together the broken ends of his army thus dispersed in flight, and so having rallied a small and poor troop of souldiers, and the same armed by the halts, he retired to *Chalcis*. The Roman Cavalry was not able to overtake the King himself at *Elania*, but overthrew and cut off a great part of his army, which either for weariness rested themselves dragging behind, or else were scattered one from the other, as missing their way in those unknown quarters, going as they did without their guides: and setting aside five hundred which kept about the King, there was not one that escaped of the whole army. Which was but a small number in proportion of 10000, (if they were no more) for so many (according to *Polybius*) we have written that the King conducted over with him for his part into *Greece*. What were they then to that greivous war, which (if we beleeve *Valerius Antias*) came with the King for he writeth that he had in his host threescore thousand, and that forty thousand were slain of them, and above five thousand taken prisoners, with the loss of military ensignes two hundred and thirty. Of Romans there died in all a hundred and fifty.

As the Consul marched with his army through *Phocis* and *Boeotia*, the States and Cities which were privy to the revolt, and partly culpable, stood without their gates with their insules and veils in token of peace, and craved mercy, fearing they should have been pilld and ransacked as enemies. But his host journeyed every day as in a peaceable and friend-country, doing no hurt or wrong to any earthly creature, untill they were come into the territory of *Corona*: where the Statue or Image of *Antiochus* erected in the Temple of *Minerva Ionea* kindled their choler, and the souldiers were permitted to spoil the country lying about that Temple. But bechinking themselves that (considering the said Statue was set up with the publike consent of all *Bœotia*) it was an indignity to deal so hardly with that territory only of *Corona*, the souldiers were immediately called in and reclaimed, and so they ceased the waiting and spoiling thereof. The *Boeotians* only had a check and rebuke by words for carrying so unthankfull hearts to the Romans, of whom they had so lately received such high favours and benefits.

At the very time of the battell aforesaid, there rode at anchor ten ships of the Kings, in the gulph of *Malta* near to *Therionium* under the charge and conduct of *Isidorus*. To which place *Alexander* the *Acarnanian*, being fled from the conflict, fresh bleeding and full of grievous wounds, brought news of the unfortunate fight. Whereupon the ships in great fear for this late terror, made haste and away to *Cenæum* in *Eubœa*, where *Alexander* died, and was interred. But three other ships which were come out of *Asia*, and lay in the same rode, upon the news of the defeat of the army, returned to *Ephesus*. And *Isidorus* crossed the seas from *Cenæum* to *Demetrias*, & peradventure the King were fled thither. About that very time, *A. Attilius* the Admiral of the Roman navy intercepted and surprised great store of the Kings provisions, which had passed already that straits near the Island *Andros*. Some ships he sunk, others he boarded and took: as for those that came hindmost in the rereward, they turned sail, and shaped their course into *Asia*. *Attilius* being returned to *Pyraeum* (from whence he came) with a fleet of ships taken from the enemies, divided great store of corn both among the *Athenians*, and other allies also of that country.

Antiochus somewhat before the Consul his coming, loosed from *Chalcis*, and first fell with the Island *Tennus*, and afterwards sailed to *Ephesus*. Against the Consul his arrivall at *Chalcis* the gates were set open for him, and *Aristotele* the Captain there for the King, quit the place upon the approachment of the Consul. In like manner other Cities in *Eubœa* yielded without resistance. And so within few daies (when all troubles were appeased, and set in quiet order without the hurt and damage

* Three of the
clock in the
morning.

lant labour night and day. Thus for the space of twenty four daies they had no rest nor sleep, but day and night was all one unto them, maintaining fight still, and labouring with the same intention against the enemies that assailed the City in all four quarters at once. When the Consul knew once that the Etolians were wearied and overtoiled (partly by counting the time, and partly by that which he had learned of certain fugitives) he used this policy and stratagem. About midnight he sounded the retreat, and having drawn all his soldiers at once from the assault, held them quiet in the camp untill the third hour of the day. After that he began to give a fresh charge, and continued it unto midnight following, and so gave over again untill the same hour before morn. The Etolians supposing verily that the cause why they surceased the assault, was for very weariness (like as themselves were tired out) so soon as the Romans had the retreat sounded unto them, departed every man from his ward and quarter, as if they also by the same signall were called away, and shewed not themselves in armor upon the walls before the third hour of the next day. The Consul having at one time given over the battery foresaid at midnight, began at the fourth watch a fresh assault again with all forcible means in three parts: and at one side, he gave commandment to *T. Sempronius* to keep his men together, and intently to observe and wait for the signall: assuring himself that in the alarm by night, the enemies would run to those places from whence they heard the noise. The Etolians, many of them being sound asleep, had much to do to rouse themselves, and were loath to rise up from their sweet sleep, their bodies being so weary with toiling moiling, and watching before. Some of them who were yet awake in the dark to the place where the assailants made a noise. Their enemies laboured to get into the town some by mounting over the ruins and breaches of the broken wall, others by scaling and climbing with ladders. And against them the Etolians ran from all parts, ready to succour and help. One quarter, whereas there stood houses without the City, was neither defended nor assailed: but as there were some ready and waited for the signal to give the assault, so there was not one of the other part for to resist and defend. Now began the day to peep, when as the Consul put forth the signall, and the soldiers began to mount over into the City, and found none to withstand them: some entered at the walls half broken down, others scaled them with ladders where they stood whole and sound. And the cry was not so soon heard that the City was taken, but the Etolians left their guard on all sides, and fled into the Castle. The soldiers that had won the town were permitted by the Col. to rife and ransack it: which was not done so much upon anger and despite, as in this regard, that the soldiers who had been kept short & fasting thus long (notwithstanding so many towns recovered out of the enemies hands) might once at length in some one place taste the fruit of victory. The Col. having called from thence about noon, the soldiers unto him, divided them into two parts, whereof he commanded the one to cast about the foot of the hill unto a rock or cliff, which being in height equal to the Castle aforesaid, was notwithstanding divided from it by a valley between, seeming as if it had been sometime a part thereof and cut from it. Now these two points of the hills shot up so near, together in the head that from the top of the one a man might lance a dart into the Castle or fortress. The Col. with the other half of the soldiers staid beneath, expecting a sign and token from them that were to get up the cliff behind, ready thereupon to mount up from the town side into the fort. The Etolians that were within the Castle could neither abide at the first the shout of those that had seized the cliff, nor afterwards the assault of the Romans from the City, both for that their hearts failed them and were daunted already, and also because they were unprovided of all necessities for to endure any long siege and assault: considering that women and children and all the other impotent multitude were to bear arms, were got thither in so great numbers, that the place was hardly able to receive and contain much less to keep and maintain them: and therefore at the first assault they cast down their weapons and yielded. Among other principal personages of the Etolians, *Damocritus* also was delivered, he, who in the beginning of the war when *T. Quintus* desired to see a copy of the Decree of the Etolians for the sending for *Antiochus*, answered, That he would shew it him in *Italy*, when the Etolians lay there encamped. For this proud speech of his the Romans now conquerors, were the gladder that they had got him into their hands.

During the time that the Romans assailed *Heraclea*, *Philip* also beleaged and harried *Boeotia*, according as it was before agreed between them: for near unto *Thermopyle*, at what time as the Col. returned out of *Boeotia*, he met with him, of purpose to signify his joy in the behalf of him and the people of *Rome* for their achieved victory: and also to excuse himself by occasion of sickness, that he was not present with him in person in the managing of the wars. From thence they parted sunder, and took divers waies, for to assault these two Cities (as I said) both at once and distant they were one from the other near seven miles. And so much as *Lamia* was situate upon an hill therefore the town discovered and overlooked all the country about, but especially on that side toward *Heraclea*, where, by reason that it seemeth a less compass, it representeth a full prospect to the eye. When as the Romans and Macedonians labouring and striving who could do better, were day and night employed either about their fabricks and moneys work, or else in skirmish and fight: the Macedonians found more difficulty than they, in this respect, that the Romans were busied in platforms, mantlers, and works all above ground: but the Macedonians were put to undermine: and oftentimes (as it falleth out in such stony and craggy ground) they met with hard flints and rags not minable, and such as no iron or steel tool was able to touch and pierce. The King seeing little good done by this means, and his enterprise going but slowly forward,

A ward began to sound the cornicles, and to crowne them to render the City, using the mediation therein of their chief Citizens whom he perswaded withall this reckoning he made; that if *Heraclæa* were forced before it, they within the City would sooner yield unto the Romans than to him, and so the Consul should win all she askt to himselfe for levying the siege. And nothing was he short of his count; for immediately upon the winning of *Heraclæa*, a messenger came unto him from the Consul willing him to forsake the assault and the siege: alledging, it was more reason, that the Roman soldiers who had fought in ranged battell with the *Ætolians*, should have the reward and recompence of the victory. By this means *Lamis* was abandoned, and by thierm of *Heraclæa* her neighbour City avoided and escaped the like calamity of her own.

Some few daies before that *Heraclæa* was won, the *Ætolians* having assembled a Diet at *Hypa* addressed Embassadors unto *Antiochus* and *Thas*: among the rest, even he, who a foretime had been sent unto him. His commission and charge was, first, To request the King that once again he would rally his forces as well by land as by sea, and in paction paise over into *Greece*: secondly, If any other important affairs hindered him, yet that he would send unto them both men and money. For as it touched his Highness in honour, reputation and credit, not to see his allies abandoned: so it made for the safeguard and security of his own Realm and royall estate, not to suffer the Romans (after they had once defeated the *Ætolians*) to sail over into *Asia* at their ease and pleasure with all their forces. These were no fained devices, but true remonstrances indeed; and therefore prevailed the more with the King. Whereupon he delivered money presently to the Embassadors, sufficient to defray the charges of the war, and promised certainly to send men to

serve both by land and sea. *Thas* alone of all the Embassadors he kept still with him, who was not himselfe unwilling to stay behind, because he might be ever at hand to call upon the King for to perform his word and benefit. But the winning of *Heraclæa* killed the hearts clean of the *Ætolians* in the end: and within few daies after that they had dispatched their Embassadors into *Asia*, about the renewing of the war and sending for the King, they laid apart all designments of arms, and addressed their Orators unto the Romans to crave peace. Who, as they began to make some speech, the Consul cut them off, and said, he had other matters of greater importance to think upon and to dispatch; and commanded them to content themselves with a truce for ten daies, and to return to *Hypa*: and with them he sent *L. Valerius Flaccus*, unto whom they should declare those things that they were about to deliver unto him, and whatsoever else they

had to say. When they were arrived at *Hypa*, the chief and principall *Ætolians* assembled themselves in the lodging of *Elacus*, consulting with him what course they were to take in their treaty with the Consul. And when they went in hand to alledge the ancient rights of the leagues, and to lay abroad their good demerits, and what they had done for the Romans: *Phacelus* bid them lay a straw there, and speak no more of the privilege of those covenants and accords, which they themselves had broken: shewing unto them, that they should speed better and gain more by a simple confession of their trespass, and in teacourse only to prayer and humble supplication: forasmuch as all the hope they might have of safety, rested not in their own desert and goodness of their cause; but in the meer clemency and mercy of the people of *Rome*:

promising for his part to assist them, and second their positions as well as the Consul as the Senate of *Rome*. Since that further also they must of necessity send an Embassage. This way seemed to them all the best simply for their safety, namely, to put themselves to the disposition and devotion of the Romans: for they supposed by this means to drive the Romans for very shame to have regard of them, & not to offer hurt or violent outrage to them, coming in the habit of poor suppliants; and yet wishall, if any opportunity of better fortune should in the mean time offer it self unto them, to be their own Masters nevertheless and at their choice. When they were come before the Cos. *Phryxus*, the chief of that ambassage, made a long Oration, couching and framing his words (andry waies right artificially), so to mitigate and assuage the wrath of the conqueror; which he begun and concluded with this speech, saying, That the *Ætolians* committed themselves and all that they had to the mercy and protection of the people of *Rome*. When the Cos. heard those words: See you do so then indeed (quod he) O ye *Ætolians*, and take heed I advise you that you deal herein wisely. Then *Phryxus* brought forth and shewed a fair instrument of a Decree, wherein the same was engrossed in plain terms. Since that (quod he) again you mean good earnest, and are at our disposition, I demand that ye deliver unto me out of hand *Dicarchus* a Traveller of yours, and *Menon* of *Epiron*, (who being entered into *Nasipatun* with a garrison, had compelled the City to revolt), also *Antiochus* and all the Nobles of the *Athamans*, by whose council and suggestion ye fell from us and rebelled. *Phryxus* interrupted the Cos. before he had well made an end of his speech. We yield not our selves (quod he) to be your villains and slaves, but as allies to be protected by you, and as verily perswaded you know not what you do, to impose those things upon us, which all the manner and customs of the Greeks. The Cos. replied again:

In good time (quod he) I will see whether the *Ætolians* deem well or ill done according to the customs of the Greeks: all that I will say, that I, after the custome of the Romans, have that power and command, as there, who were while by vertue of their own deeds yielded unto us. And *Antiochus* by force of our arms have been vanquished and subdued by us. And therefore, unless that he be content which I command, yes, and with speed, my will is, that presently here you be bound hand and foot, and with that he commanded chains and gyves to be brought forth, and the Victors to come about them for to lay hold upon them. Then the stout courage both of

Phacelus

Phaenar and the rest of the *Ætolians*, was well cooled & subdued; and so at length they saw to what poor plight they were; and *Phaenar* made answer, that both himself and the *Ætolians* there present in place, knew well, that those things were to be performed, which were imposed upon them, but (quoth he) there needs a Council of the *Ætolians* for to enact a decree thereof; and therefore he requested the Consul to allow a surcease of arms only for ten daies. Then *Flaccus* began to speak for the *Ætolians*, and at his request the said abstinence was granted; and so they returned to *Hypira*. When *Phaenar* had related in the privy Council of those elect peers of that nation called *Apocleti*, as well the demands that were commanded, as what had like to have fallen upon themselves in person, the peers sighed deeply and groaned again, to see their miserable condition; howbeit they were all of opinion, that the victor must of necessity be obeyed; and a generall Parliament assembled of the *Ætolian* Burgeses out of all their towns and Cities. When all that multitude was gathered together, and heard the same related again, their hearts so fretted within them at the cruelty and indignity of those Lordly commands, that if they had been well sealed in peace, yet such a fit of anger had been enough to have put them into arms. And to stir the same and choler the more, the difficulty of effecting the things demanded, helped well; for how possibly could they compass to deliver *Amikander*, being as he was an absolute King? But even then there was presented unto them by chance a new hope. For *Nicander* at that very time, coming from King *Antiochus*, filled the peoples heads with this vain expectation, namely, that the King made wondrous provision for war, as well by sea as land. This *Nicander* having accomplished his Embassage, and made return again into *Ætolia*, within the compass of twelve daies, after he was embarked, arrived at *Phalera* in the gulph of *Malea*; from whence having brought the monies which he had, down to *Lamia*, whiles himself with certain humble men and slight appointed, travelled toward *Hypira* in the evening, between the Roman and *Ætolian* camp, through paths that he well knew; he chanced to stumble, ere he was a ware, upon the corps de guard of the Macedonians, and was brought to the King before supper was done, the table taken up, and the King risen. When *Philip* was advertised thereof, he shewed no other countenance, than if a friend or guest, and not an enemy was come; he had him sit down at the board, and eat his meat. Afterwards he kept him there with him still in the room, and voided all the rest, willing him in no case to be afraid. He blamed greatly the bad courtes and demerments of the *Ætolians* (which evermore lighted upon their own parts) who first had brought the Romans, and then *Antiochus* into Greece. But for my part (quoth he) since things done and past, may sooner be blamed than amended, I am content to forget and put all under my foot, and will never be the man that will seem to insult over them in their distress and adversity. And so should the *Ætolians* likewise take up in time, and lay aside all their rancor and malice to me; and *Nicander* especially ought to remember this day, on which by me his life was preserved. With that he sent him away with a good convoy, untill he was past all danger; and this *Nicander* as is before said, came to *Hypira*, even as the *Ætolians* were in deep consultation about peace with the Romans.

Attilius having either sold outright, or given away to the soldiers the booty of the country about *Heraclea*, and hearing that the Council at *Hypira* nothing tended to peace, and that the *Ætolians* were run together to *Naupactum* for to abide in that place the whole violence of the war, sent *App. Claudius* forth with 4000 soldiers to seize the tops of the mountains, where the passages were difficult; and himself ascended up to the hill *Oms*, and sacrificed to *Hercules* in that very place which they call *Pyra*, by occasion that the mortal body of that god was there consumed with fire: from whence he departed with his whole army, & performed the rest of his journey well and marched with ease. Being come to *Corat* (an exceeding high mountain between *Calipolis* and *Naupactum*) he lost there many of his labouring beasts and sumpter horses, which together with their loads and fardels, as they went, tumbled down headlong from the mountain, and his men also were much troubled and encumbered. Whereby it was soon seen, with how lazy and idle an enemy he had to deal, who had not beset and kept with a guard that difficult passage, to encompass and shut up the thoroughfare from the enemies. Howbeit as much toiled and troubled as his army was, he descended to *Naupactum*. And having erected one Fort against the Castle, he invaded all the other parts of the City, and divided his forces according to the situation of the walls. This siege he found as toilsome and painful, as that at *Heraclea*.

At the same time began the Achæans to lay siege to *Messene* also in *Peloponnesus*, for that it refused to be of their Council and association. For these two Cities, *Messene* and *Elis*, were exempt from the Achæan Diet and accorded with the *Ætolians*. Howbeit, the *Ellians*, after that *Antiochus* was chased out of Greece, gave the Embassadors of Achæa a more mild answer, to wit, That when they had discharged and sent away the King's partition, they would consider of the matter what to do. But the Messenians having without any answer at all, sent the Embassadors away, had levied war and seizing much their own estate (seeing their territory overpread with an army, and every where burned, yea, and their enemies encamped near unto their City, addressed unto *Chalce* their embassadors to *T. Quintus* the very man who before had set them at liberty) to signify unto him, That the Messenians were ready both to open their gates, & also to surrender their City unto the Romans, & not to the Achæans. *Quintus* so soon as he had heard their embassage, sent a messenger incontinently to *Megilopolis*, unto *Diphantus*, the Prætor there of the Romans, to command him presently to retire his host from *Messene*, and to repair unto him. *Diphantus* obeyed

A obeyed his commandment, and having raised his siege, marched himself lightly appointed for speed before the rest of his army, and about *Andania*, a small town between *Megalopolis* and *Messene*, encountered *Quintus*. Unto whom after he had shewed the causes of the siege, he received at his hands a gentle rebuke only, for that he had enterprised a matter of so great consequence without his authority: with an expresse commandment also to call and discharge his army, and not to disturb and trouble the peace, made for the good and benefit of all. The Messenians likewise he charged to call home their banished persons into their City, and to joyn with the Achæans in their generall Diet and Assembly. And if they either had any matters to refuse, or would willingly provide for themselves against the future time, he willed them to make their repair unto him at *Corinth*, and enjoyned *Diophanes* immediately to summon the Diet of the Achæans for him, where personally himself would be. Where, after he had complained as touching the Island *Zacynthus*, that by fraud and treachery they had come by and kept, he required that it should be restored to the Romans. Now this Isle had sometime appertained to *Philip* the King of the Macedonians, and he gave it unto *Aminander*, in consideration, that he might conduct his army into the higher parts of *Æolia*, through *Æthamania*: in which expeditions and exploits of his, the Ætolians hearts were so abated and quailed, that they were constrained to seek peace. *Aminander* made first *Philip* the Megapolitan governour of this Island: but afterwards, in time of that war wherein he banded with *Antiochus* against the Romans, he called him away from thence to imploy him in martiall affairs, and sent *Hierocles* the Agrigentian to succeed him in his place. This *Hierocles*, after the defeat and flight of *Antiochus* from *Thermopyla*, and the expulsion of *Aminander* out of *Æthamania* by King *Philip*, dispatched of his own motion certain messengers unto *Diophanes*, the Prætor of the Achæans, and for a sum of money agreed upon between them, betrayed the Island to the Achæans. The Romans thought it great reason, that this Island should be theirs, in recompence for the wars which they had maintained: forasmuch as *M. Acilius* the Consul, and the Roman legions fought not at *Thermopyla* for *Diophanes*, nor yet for the Achæans; *Diophanes* to these challenges and demands sometime excused himself and the whole nation, otherwhiles stood to it, and avowed the action, and maintained the cause by a plea of right. Somethere were of the Achæans there, that both protested, how from the beginning they utterly disliked the course, and also at this present much blamed the Prætor for his wilfull obstinacy. And by their advice and authority an act was set down, that the whole matter should be referred and put to *Quintus*, to determine what he pleased. Now had *Quintus* this nature, if a man crossed and thwarted him, he was fierce and fell: if one yielded and gave place, he was gentle again, and pliable. And therefore, without shewing any sign of debate, either in language or countenance, thus he spake. "If I thought (qd. he) and were perwaded in my heart, that it were good and commodious for the Achæans to hold and possesse this Island in question, I would advise the Senat & people of Rome to let you enjoy it. But like as a Tortoise, so long as she keepeth her self close within her shell (I see) is sure and safe enough, against all blows and offence whatsoever; but when she once pisseth forth any parts, look whatsoever is discovered and naked, the same is weak and subject to injury: even so you Achæans, being enclosed round about with the sea, are able easily to adjoyn unto your selves whatsoever lyeth within the precinct of *Peloponnesus*, and to keep the same also when you have laid it to you: but so soon as for a greedy desire of having more and encroaching further, you go beyond those bonds, you lie open without, and are exposed to all hurt and damage. Thus *Zacynthus* was delivered to the Romans with the assent of all the Councill there assembled, and *Diophanes* durst not say a word more to the contrary."

At the same time King *Philip* asked the Consul as he marched to *Naupactum*, Whether it was his pleasure, that he in the meanwhile should recover and regain those Cities which were revolted from the allocation of the Romans? And having a grant and warrant from him, he led his forces against *Demetrias*, knowing well enough in what terms of troubles that City then stood. For being forlorn and in utter despair, seeing *Antiochus* had forsaken them and no hope at all remaining in the Ætolians: they looked every day and night either for the coming of *Philip* their heavy friend; or else even the Romans themselves a worse enemy, like as they had a more just cause of anger and indignation against them. A confused and disordered sort there were of King *Antiochus* his souldiers, who being but a few at first left there to lie in garrison, grew after to be more, and most of them unarmed; such as after he field was lost [at *Thermopyla*] thither chanced to flee, and neither had strength nor heart enough to abide a siege. And therefore when *Philip* sent certain messengers before unto them, to signify, that there was some hope that they might be pardoned: they made them this answer. That the gates were open for the King; and that he might enter at his pleasure. At his first entrance, certain chief men of mark quitted the City and departed, and *Eurilochus* killed himself. The garrison souldiers of *Antiochus* (for so they had capitulated) were conducted to *Lyfimarhia* through *Macedony* and *Thrace*, accompanied with a convoy of Macedonians, for fear that any man should do them harm. There were some few ships also in the roade of *Demetrias*, under the command of *Iderius*, which together with their leader and Captain were dismissed. After this, he regained *Dolopia*, *Aperantia*, and certain Cities of *Perrebia*.

During the time that *Philip* was employed in these affairs, *T. Quintus* having recovered the Island *Zacynthus*, departed from the Diet of the Achæans, and crossed the seas to *Naupactum*, which had been beleaguered already two months, & was at the point to be forced and lost: which

if it might have been won by assault, it was thought that the whole nation and name of the Ætolians there would have perished for ever. And altho he had good cause to be highly offended and displeased with the Ætolians, in remembrance that they only checked and impeached his glory, at what time as he set Greece free: and that they were nothing stirred and moved with his authority, when he (forewarning them that those things would happen which after wards fell out just so indeed) would have discomfited and scared them from foolish and furious designs: yet, supposing that it was a special part of his charge and work, that no nation of Greece (now freed by him) should utterly be subverted and destroyed, he began to walk up and down along under the walls, to the end that he might be seen, and look known of the Ætolians. And anon the very foremost guards took notice of him, & noised it was presently throughout all the ranks and companies that *Quintus* was there. And thereupon they ran from all parts up to the walls, every man stretched forth his hands, and with one accord and consonant voice called by name unto *Quintus*, beseeching him to help and save them. And albeit he was moved at these their pious cries with commiseration, yet for that time he signified by the turning away of his head, that he refused and denied them: asking withall, What lay in him to do them any good? But afterwards, being come unto the Consul, "Know you not (quoth he) O *Asinius* whereabouts we are, and what we have in hand? or if you be a man provident enough, esteem you not that it mainly concerneth the common weal? He let the Consul by these words a longing, and called him to give more attentive ear what he would say, and withall, Why do you not speak forth (quoth the Consul) and utter your mind what the matter is? Then quoth *Quintus*: "See you not that after you have vanquished *Antiochus*, you spend and lose much time here in the siege and assault of two Cities, when as now the year of your government is well near come about? And *Philip* in the mean time without seeing a battell or the ensigns of his enemies displayed, hath gained and joy ned to himself not Cities only, but so many nations already, namely, *Arthamania*, *Perthabia*, *Asparautia* and *Dolopia*? But it is nothing so good and expedient for us, nor standeth it us so much upon, to take down the Ætolians and pare their nails, as to look unto *Philip* that he was not so great: and (seeing you and your souldiers have not got yet two Cities in reward and recompence of victory) not to suffer him to go clear away with so many nations of Greece. The Consul accorded hereunto: but he thought it a shame and dishonour for him to give over the siege and effect nothing: but afterwards, all the matter was put unto the disposition of *Quintus*. Who went again to that side of the wall, whereas a little before the Ætolians called and cried aloud unto him. And when as they intreated him more earnestly and with greater affection to take pity of the Ætolian people, he willed some of them to come forth unto him. And immediately, *Phanac* himself with other principall persons of the Ætolians, went out unto him: unto whom lying prostrate and groveling at his feet: "Your present fortune (quoth he) and hard estate wherein you are, caused me both to temper my choler and also to stay my tongue. Those things you now see are fallen out, which I foretold would come to pass. And not so much as this is left unto you; That the calamities fallen upon your heads can be truly said to have light upon them that have not deserved as much. Howbeit, since it hath been allotted unto me as it were by destiny to be a foster-father (as I may so say) to nurse up Greece, I will not cease even to do you good, as thankless and ungratefull persons as you are. Send your Orators to the Consul, to intreat him to grant you a truce for so long, untill you may address your Embassadors to *Rome*, by whom you shall wholly refer and submit your selves to the Senat: and I will not fail to be an intercessor and advocate to the Consul for you and likewise unto the Senat. And as *Quintus* commended them, so did they. Neither rejected the Consul their Embassie, but granted them abstinence of war for such a term as within which they might have an answer of their Embassage to *Rome*: so he dislodged the siege was raised, and the army sent into *Phocis*. The Consul together with *Quintus* passed over the sea to *Asinum*, unto the generall Council of *Achaia*. There was much treaty and parley about the Eleans, and the restoring of the Lacedæmonians exiles: but nothing was effected in the one or the other. As for the Lacedæmonians, the Achæans were desirous to reserve that for themselves, and to win thereby a thank, as proceeding from their speciall grace. And the Eleans, those rather to come and be united to the Achæans Parliament of themselves: than by the mediation of the Romans. The Embassadors of the Epirots came unto the Consul, who (it was well known) carried not themselves sound and upright in the questioning of the Roman amity: howbeit, they had not levied a souldier for *Antiochus*. Charged they were to have relieved him with money: and deny themselves they could not but they had sent their Embassadors unto the King. And when they put up a petition, that they might be accepted again into the ancient band of amity: this answer the Consul returned unto them, That he knew not yet whether to range them to the number of enemies, or peaceable friends, and thereof the Senat should be judge: and therefore he referred their whole epire cause to *Rome*. And to that purpose a truce he granted them of four score and ten daies. The Epirots thus sent to *Rome*, presented themselves before the Senat, and when they stood rather upon these terms in recounting those things wherein they had not shewed any open hostility, than in clearing themselves of those matters that were laid against them: they received such an answer, as whereby they might be thought rather to have obtained pardon, than to have made good and justified their cause. The Embassadors also of King *Philip* about that time had audience given them in the Senat, who came to congratulate with the Romans, testifying their own joy, and wishing theirs

A theirs for their victory: and upon their request, that they might sacrifice in the Capitoll, and offer an oblation and present of gold in the Temple of *Jup. Op. Max.* the Senat gave the good leave. So they presented and offered a crown of gold weighing one hundred pound. These Embassadors had not only a friendly answer and gracious dispatch: but also *Demetrius* the son of King *Philip*, who had been as an hostage at *Rome*, was delivered unto them, for to bring home again unto his father. Thus was the war achieved and brought to an end, which *M. Acilius* the Consul waged against King *Antiochus* in *Greece*.

The other Consul *P. Cornelius Scipio*, whose lot was to govern the Province of *Gaul*, before that he took his journey to that war which he was to make against the *Boians*, demanded of the Senat, that money should be assigned unto him, for to perform those plaies and games which he had promised by vow, as Vice-Prator in *Spain*, when he was driven to a great extremity in a battell. This seemed to be a strange and unreasonable demand. Whereupon the LL. of the Senat ordained, That what plaies the Consul had vowed on his own head without asking the advice and counsell of the Senat, the same he should exhibit and set forth either with the issue of the spoils got from the enemies, (if haply he had reserved any money raised thereout to that purpose) or else defray the charges out of his own purse. These plaies and games *P. Cornelius* represented for the space of ten daies. And near about the same time, the Temple of the great goddess *Cybele* (or *Ida*) was dedicated. This goddess being brought out of *Asia*, in the time that *P. Cornelius Scipio* (surnamed afterwards *Africanus*) and *P. Licinius* were Consuls, was conveyed from the sea-side into the mount *Palatine*. The Temple was set out to be built at a price (according to

C an act of the Senat) by *M. Livius* and *C. Claudius* the Censors, when *M. Cornelius* and *T. Sempronius* were Consuls. Thirteen years after the bargain was made for the edifying thereof, *M. Junius Brutus* dedicated it: and for the honour of this dedication were the first stage-plaies exhibited, (as *Valerius Antias* mine author saith) called thereupon *Megalesia*. In like manner, *C. Licinius Lucullus* (one of the two *Duumvirs*) dedicated the Temple of the goddess *Juvencus*, in the great Race called *Circus Maximus*. The same had *M. Livius* the Consul vowed sixteen years before, even that very day in which he defeated *Asdrubal* and his army. The same *Livius* in his Censorship, went through and bargained for the building thereof, whiles *M. Cornelius* and *T. Sempronius* were Consuls. And in the honour of dedicating this Temple, the plaies were set forth: and all was done with more devotion, because there was a new war intended against King *Antiochus*.

D In the beginning of this year in which these things passed, whiles *P. Cornelius* the Consul staid still behind at *Rome*, (for *M. Acilius* was gone forth already to war:) it is found in records, that two tame oxen climbed up a ladder in the street *Carina*, to the tile-roof of a certain house there. And the footlayers gave expresse order that they should be burnt quick, and the ashes to be thrown into *Tyber*. Also it was reported, that at *Tarracina* and *Amiethum*, it rained stones sundry times. Item, That in *Mimurna* the Temple of *Jupiter* and the shops about the marketplace, were blasted and smitten with lightning: and in the very mouth of the river *Vulturnus*, two ships caught fire from heaven, and were consumed. In regard of these fearfull prodigies, the *Decemvirs* by order from the Senat went to the books of *Sibylla* and perused them: and out of their learning pronounced, that a solemn fast should be now instituted in the honour of *Ceres*, and the same to be observed and holden every fift year: also that a novendiall sacrifice for nine daies together could continue: and a supplication for one day: and that they who went in this procession and supplication, should wear garlands and wreaths of flowers upon their heads: lastly, That the Consul *P. Cornelius* should sacrifice to what gods, and with what beasts, the *Decemvirs* would appoint and pronounce. When the gods were pacified as well by the accomplishment of the vows according to, as by taking order for the expiation of those wondrous signs the Consul took his journey into his province: from whence he commanded *Cneus Domitius* the Pro-Prator (after he had called his army) to depart to *Rome*: and himself entred with his legions into the territory of the *Boians*.

E Within a little of that time the *Ligurians* (by vertue of a sacred law that they had) levied and assembled an army, and by night assailed the Camp unawares to *Quantus Minutius* the Pro-Consul. *Minutius* kept his soldiers in order of battell untill day within his hold, having an eye and circumspect regard, that the enemy should not mount over the trench and defences in any place. And at the day break he sallied forth at two gates at once: neither were the *Ligurians* repulsed (as he hoped they should) at the first charge: for they sustained and held out the skirmish above two hours, with doubtfull event on both sides. At the last, when band after band issued out, and his fresh soldiers succeeded in the room of the wearied, for to maintain fight, the *Ligurians* in the end (besides other distresses, lost for want of sleep also) turned their backs. Of the enemies were slain above four thousand: of Romans and allies under three hundred. Two months after or somewhat less, *P. Cornelius* the Consul gave battell to the *Boians* and won the day: slew 28000 enemies, (as *Valerius Antias* writeth) took 3400 prisoners, gained 124 military ensigns, 1230 horses, chariots 247: and of the winners (as he saith) there died not above 1484. Where (by the way) how little credit to ever (as touching the number) we give unto this Writer, (for in that point there is none over-reareth more than he) yet apparant it is, that a right great victory it was: both for that the Camp was won, and the *Boians* after that battell presently yielded themselves: so for that in regard of this victory a joyfull procession was by order from the Senat holden, and greater heards slain for sacrifice.

Not much under or over his present time, *M. Fulvius Nobilior* returned out of the farther parts of Spain in pomp of an Ovation, and carried in new, 10000 pound weight of silver in bul-
 lion, of silver in silver coin 130000, and in gold 125 li. weight. *P. Cornelius* the Consul having
 first taken hostages of the Boian nation, and dissolved them of the one half of their country to the
 inhabiting whereof the people of *Rome* might if they would send their Colonies: at his de-
 parture from thence toward *Rome* to an undoubted and assured triumph, licensed his army with
 commandment to meet him there and give their attendance upon his triumph-day. The morrow
 after that he was come, the Senat. had summons to assemble in the Temple of *Bellona*; where after
 he had discoursed of his acts and deeds achieved, he required that he might be permitted to enter
 the City riding in triumph. *P. Mempronius Blafus* a Tribune of the Commons for the time being,
 stepped forth and said, That his advice was that *Scipio* should not flatly be denied the honour of
 a triumph but to put it off to a farther day. And why? The wars (sd. he) of the Ligurians have
 always been joyned and linked with those of *Gaul*: which nations being so near together, are
 ever mutually one to succour another. If *P. Scipio* (after the Boians defeated in battle) had fol-
 lowed the train of victory, and either himself in proper person with his brave conquering army
 passed into the territory of the Ligurians, or but sent part of his forces to *Q. Minucius*, who now
 for three years (or fast upon) both been detained within those quarters in a war of doubtful is-
 sue, we might have seen an end ere this of the Ligurian war also. But now (forsooth) his sold-
 iers are dismissed and brought home to accompany him & to solemnize his triumph: with might
 well have been employed still and done good service to the Common-wealth: yea, & may do yet
 (if the Senat. be so disposed) by deferring the time of triumph, for to make amends and regain
 that which by over-hastiness of triumph hath been over-slipped. And therefore in my opinion
 (sd. he) they should do well to command the Consul to go his waies back again, and take his
 army with him into his Province, & to do his best and utmost endeavours to subdue the Liguri-
 ans also. For unless they be brought under and made subject unto the people of *Rome*, the dan-
 ger will be ye sure will not long be quiet: either we must have peace or war at once in both places.
 And so *P. Cornelius* in quality of Pro-Consul (as many others before him, who in their full Magis-
 tracy triumphed not) may after some few months have his triumph. To this the Col. answered
 again and said, That neither the Province of the Ligurians was any part of his charge by let-
 ter warranted he at all with the Ligurians, nor yet demanded to triumph over them. As for *Q.*
Minucius (sd. he) I hope that shortly after he hath subdued them, he both will acquire his tri-
 umph and shall likewise obtain the same. For mine own part, I seek no more but to triumph
 over the Boians in *Gaul*, whom I have vanquished in plain battell, beaten out of the field and
 camp: whose whole nation within two daies after the fight and their general discomfiture, was
 dead and rendred themselves into my hands, and from whom I have carried away a way of
 abundance of future peace: nay that which is much more than all this, I have had the killing
 of so many Gauls in open battell, and fought with so many thousands of Boians as no Consul
 ever did before me: the better half of 30000 men are slain upon the edge of the sword, and many
 a thousand taken prisoners: so as the Boians have none left but old folk and young children.
 Can any man make a wonder then, why victorious army leaving no enemy behind in the Pro-
 vince, come to *Rome* to honour the triumph of their Consul? Whose employment, if the Sen-
 at. be disposed to tie in any other service or Province. Whether of these two waies think they
 will make them more willing and ready to put themselves into new dangers, and continue
 their fresh labour and travell, either to pay them without delay & content them with the de-
 served hire of their former peril and pain, or to send them away with bare hope only instead
 of the substance, for to expect still without effect: since they have been once already over-
 disappointed of their first hope and expectation? Now for mine own part, I obtaine licence
 enough that day on which the Senat. sent me (deemed & declared the best man in all the City)
 to receive that great goddess & dame of *Ida*. This title alone without any other addition of tri-
 umph shall be sufficient to recommend to all posterity for honesty & honour both, the name of
P. Scipio *Nafica*. This said, not only the whole Senat. themselves concurred generally to grant N
 him triumph, but also with their countenance & authority, compelled the Tribunes of the Com-
 mons to give over their hold and suppress their interposition of a negative voice. So *P. Cornelius*
 the Col. triumphed over the Boians. In which triumph he carried to be carried for them, in French
 chariots, armor, ensignes and spoils of all sorts: also French vessels of brass and copper. He com-
 manded likewise to be led in pomp a number of horses taken, together with Noblemen and Gentle-
 men captives. Of chains of gold he made a shew of 1470. Besides there was born in pomp of gold
 345 pound weight: of silver new wrought and wrought into plate, not unworke many with their
 manner (and namely in sundry French vessels) 2240 pound weight: lawly of his own coin 125.
 To his soldiers that followed his triumph, chariot he gave 225. Ales apiece, double so much
 to a Centurion, and treble to an horseman. The next day after he called the people to a general as-
 sembly, where after he had discoursed again of his exploits and complained of the wrongs that the
 Ligurians had offered unto him in that he would have tied him to the war of another with wrongs
 against himself of the fruit of his own victory, he called his soldiers and discharged them quite.
 Whiles these affairs thus went in *Italy* and *Spain* remaining at *Ephesus*, where some
 and councils of the Roman war, if the Romans had no purpose nor intention to advance into
 Asia. This security of his was occasioned by many of his friends, who partly were ignorant

A and partly upon flattery, perswaded him so. Only *Amphal*, who at that time was of greatest credit, and might do most with the King, said unto him, "That he rather marvelled much why the Romans were not already in *Asia*, than doubted of their coming. For a neerer cut (quoth he) it is by Sea out of *Greece* into *Asia*, than out of *Italy* into *Greece*; and a greater motive to war is *Antiochus* than the *Ætolians*. And as for their valour and power, as hardy they are and mighty at Sea, as on Land; and their fleet hath hovered a good while already about *Malca*. Moreover, I heard say of late, that new ships be arrived, and a new General come out of *Italy*, to follow and perform this war. And therefore, let *Antiochus* feed no longer upon a vain hope, and promise himself a permanent peace: for shortly he must make account to fight with the Romans in *Asia*, yea, and for *Asia*, both by Sea and Land; and no mean there is, but that either himself must lose his Kingdom, or take from them their sovereign seignory, who affect and pretend to be LL. of the whole world. He was the only man thought to forecast, and truly to foretell what would ensue. Whereupon the King himself in person, with those ships which he had ready rigged and furnished, sailed to *Chersounesus*, with intent to strengthen those places with good garnisons, if haply the Romans should come by Land. The rest of the navy he commanded *Polyxenides* to prepare and put to Sea, And al about the Island he sent about his pinnaces and brigantine as elphas to discover the coasts. *C. Livius* the Admiral of the Roman navy was arrived at *Naples* from *Rome* with fifty covered ships. At which place he gave commandment, That the open vessels, which by covenant were due to be sent from the allies of all that tract should meet. From whence he sailed to *Sicily*, and passed the streights by *M. Juna*. And when he had received six Carthaginian ships sent to aid him, and called upon the Rhegins and Locrians, and other associates comprised in the same league and holding by the same tenure, for that shipping which of duty they were to find, when he had also taken a survey of all his armado at *Lacinium*, he weighed anchor, and put to the main Sea. Being arrived at *Corcyra*, which was the first City of all *Greece*, that he came unto, he enquired in what terms the war-affairs stood? (for as yet all was not thoroughly quiet in *Greece*) and where the Roman fleet was? After he heard that the Roman Consul and King, *Philip*, were about the pass of *Thermopylae*, and there lay in guard: that the fleet rid at anchor in the port and harbor of *Pyraeum*: he thought it good to use expedition, and to make speed for all occasions whatsoever, and incontinently determined to sail forward to *Peloponnesus*. And having at one instant waited *Samothrace* and *Zacynthus* as he went, because they chose rather to band with the *Ætolians*, he set sail for *Malca*, and having a good wind, within few daies he arrived at *Pyraeum*, where the old fleet anchored. At *Sylladeum* King *Eumenes* met him with three ships: who had but a long time at *Ægion*, unresolved in himself, whether he should return to defend his own Kingdom: (for he heard that *Antiochus* made preparation at *Ephesus* for war, as well by Sea as Land) he not to depart a foot from the Romans, upon whose fortune depended his whole State, *Antiochus* *Attalus*, so soon as he had delivered to his successor five and twenty close ships of war, looked from *Pyraeum*, and came to *Rome*. So *Livius* with a fleet of eighty one ships, armed at their bowheads with busen pikes, besides many other smaller vessels, (which open as they were, had busen heads, as is afore said: or if they were without such pikes, served for eipials) sailed to *Delos*. Much about that time the Consul *Achilius* sailed *Naupactum*. At *Delos*, *Livius* for certain daies was stayed by contrary winds (for that quarter among the Cyclades is exceeding windy, by reason that these Islands are divided asunder, some with broader gul's, some with narrower.) *Polyxenides* being certified by the post-ships (set in diverse places to discover) that the Roman armado rid at anchor near *Delos*, dispatched messengers to the King, who leaving all matters which he entertained in *Hellespontos*, returned to *Ephesus* as fast as ever he could make sail with his ships of war, and presently called a council, where it was debated, whether he were best to march on a battle at Sea, or not. *Polyxenides* was of opinion, "That he should not slack the time, but in any wise give battle and trie a fight: before that the fleet of *Eumenes* and the Rhodian ships were joined with the Romans: for so in number they should not be much overmarched, and for all other things have the better, as well for nimbleness and agility of ships, as for variety of old soldiers. For the Roman ships, as being unworshmanly built, they are heavy of stature, and heavily, laden with artillery and freight, besides with provision of victuals, as they are commonly that come into the enemies country. But as for your ships (seeing they leave all about first to sea, and quick) they shall be charged with nothing but with men and munition. Besides, the skill of the soldiers and landward of the winds in these quarters, will be a great help unto you: whereas the enemies must needs be much troubled, for want of knowledge in them all. The chief of this counsel had credit given unto him by all parts, and the rather, for that he was himself himself to put in execution the same counsel. Two daies they made stay to see all things in order and readiness, the third day they set forward with a fleet of a hundred sail, whereof 70 were rowed, the rest open, and all of them meller making, and for *Phocaea* they shaped their course. The King, having that the Roman Armado approached, departed from thence (for that he was not to be present in person at the conflict upon the sea) and went to *Magusa* near *Siphnus* for to levy land-forces. But his navy made sail to *Cyffus*, a port of the Erythraens, to attend the coming of the enemy there, as in a place more commodious. The Romans, when the Northern winds were once laid (for they were aloft for certain daies, and locked them in) sailed from *Delos* to *Phocaea* haven Town of the Chians, bearing toward the *Aegean* Sea. From thence they cast about with their ships to the City, and there having victualled themselves, they crossed over to *Phocaea*. *Eumenes*

Eumenes who was gone to *Elaa* toward his fleet, within few daies after, with four and twenty covered ships, and more uncovered, returned to the Romans: whom he found preparing and marshalling themselves (a little short of *Phocaa*) for a battel at sea. Then set they all forward with a hundred and fifty close covered ships, and more open and without hatches: and being with side Northern winds, at the first driven to the sea shore, they were forced to sail single in rank one after another. But afterwards, as the violence of the wind began to be allaid, they assaied to cross over to the haven *Corycus*, which is above *Cyffus*. *Polyxenidas*, as soon as he heard that the enemies were at hand, rejoiced that he had occasion presented unto him of a naval battel: and himself stretched forth the left point of his fleet embattelled far into the sea, willing the Captains of the ships to display the right wing broad, toward the land: and so with an even front, he advanced forward to the fight. Which the Roman Admiral seeing, struck sail, took down the masts, and laying together al the tackling of the ships in one place, attended their coming that followed after. By which time there were thirty in a rank afront, with which because he would make them equal to the left wing of the enemy, he set up the trinkets or small sails, meaning to make way into the deep, commanding them that followed still, to make head, and direct their prow against the right wing near the land. *Eumenes* was the rere-Admiral, and kept the rereward close together: but so soon as they began to be troubled with taking down their tackling, he set forward with all speed and hast that he could make: and by this time were they in view one of the other. Two Carthaginian ships led before the Roman navy, which were encountred with three of the Kings ships. And considering the ods of the number, two of the Kings came about one. And first they wiped away the oars on both sides, then they shewed themselves aloft with their weapons, and boarded her, and after they had either overturned or killed the defendants, they were masters of that ship. The other that was in single fight, and assailed but by one, seeing the other ship taken by the enemies, fled back into the main fleet, before she was environed by the three enemies. *Livius* chasing hereat, and angry at the heart, advanced forward with the Admiral ship afront the enemy: against her, those other two which had enclosed the Carthaginian ship aforesaid, hoping to do the like by this, came onward: which *Livius* perceiving, commanded the rowers to let their oars hang in the water on both sides, for the more stay and steadiness of the ship, and likewise to cast their iron hooks fashioned like hands, for to grapple the enemies ships, as they approached and came neer unto them: and when they were come to close fight in manner of land service, then to remember the valour of the Romans, and not to hold the Kings slaves for men of any worth. And with much more facility and ease, than the two ships before conquered one, this one for that gained two. By this time the main fleet on both sides encountred on all sides, and fought pell-mell. *Eumenes* who being in the rereward, came last in place, after the conflict was begun, perceiving that *Livius* had disordered the left wing of the enemies, made head against the right, where he saw them fighting on even hand, nor long after the left wing began to flie. For *Polyxenidas*, so soon as he saw himself without all question overmatched in valour of the souldiers, caused the trinkets and all the cloth he had to be let up, and purposed to flie again. Those likewise that were toward the land, and fought with *Eumenes*, within a while did no less. The Romans and *Eumenes*, so long as the mariners were able to plie their oars, and so long as they were in hope to annoy the tail of the enemies, followed the chase lustily enough: but after that they perceived their own ships (charged and heavily loaden with victuals) follow after to no purpose, and to lag behind, nor like to overtake them, which were the swifter, because they were the lighter, staid at length their pursuit, after they had taken 13 ships both with their souldiers and mariners, and sunk ten. Of the Roman Armado there perished but one Carthaginian, which at the first encounter was beset with two ships. *Polyxenidas* never gave over flight, but made way still, until he had recovered the haven of *Ephesus*. The Romans abode that day in the place from whence the Kings armado came, purposing on the morrow to make fresh sail after the enemy. And in the mids of their course they met with those 35 Rhodian ships covered, conducted by *Pisistratus* their Admiral: and taking those also with them, they followed the enemy even as far as *Ephesus*, where in the mouth of the haven, they rid in order of battel: by which bravado, having wrung as it were from the enemies a plain confession that they were vanquished, the Rhodians and *Eumenes* were sent home. The Romans setting their course for *Chius*, first sailed by *Phanicius*, an haven Town of *Erythraa*, and having cast anchor that night, the next day they weighed, and arrived within the land, close to the City it self, where having sojourned some few daies, especially to refresh their rowers, they passed forward to *Phocaa*. Where leaving four quinquereme Galeaces, the fleet arrived at *Chius*, and because the Winter approached, the ships were laid up in their docks on drie Land, and for their safety were trenched and paled about. In the year end the General assembly for election of Magistrats was holden at *Rome*, wherein were created Consuls, *L. Cornelius Scipio*, and *C. Laelius*. For now all men had an eye to the finishing of the war against *Antiochus*. The next morrow were the Pretors also chosen, namely, *M. Porcius*, *L. Aprunius*, *Cn. Fulvius*, *L. Emilius*, *P. Junius*, and *C. Arinius Laberius*.

The seven and thirtieth Book Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Flory upon the seven and thirtieth Book.

Lucius Cornelius Scipio the Consul, having for his Lieutenant P. Scipio Africanus (according as he had promised that he would be Lieutenant to his brother) Greece and Asia were ordained to be his Province, whereas it was thought that C. Laelius for the great credit that he was in with the Senate, should have had that Province given him; took his voyage for to war against Antiochus, and was the first Roman that ever sailed over into Asia, as Captain and Commander of an army. Amylius Regillus fought fortuitously with the aid of the Rhodians before Myonessus, against the royal navy of Antiochus, as son of Africanus taken prisoner by Antiochus, was sent home to his father, M. Acilius Glabrio triumphed over Antiochus, whom he had driven out of Greece, as also over the Rhodians. Afterward, when Antiochus was vanquished by L. Cornelius Scipio (with the assistance of King Eumenes, the son of Attalus King of Pergamus) he had peace granted him, upon condition, that he should quit and give up all the Provinces on this side the mount Taurus. And Eumenes, by whose help Antiochus was overcome, had his Kingdom enlarged. To the Rhodians also, for their helping hand certain Cities were given and granted. One Colony was planted, called Bononia. Amylius Regillus, who vanquished the Captains of Antiochus in a naval battle, obtained also a naval triumph. L. Cornelius Scipio who finished the war with Antiochus, had the like surname given him as his brother, and was called after him.

The seven and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

When L. Cornelius Scipio and C. Laelius were Consuls, after order taken for the service of the Gods, there was no matter created of in the Senate, before the suit of the Etolians; And as their Embassadors were instant and importunate, because the suit of their state was but short, so T. Quintus, who then was censured out of Greece to Rome, seconded them. The Etolians, relying more upon the mercy of the Senate, than the justice of their cause, and ballancing their old good turns done to the Romans, to discharge them of the trespass committed, used humble supplication. But so long as they were to plead before the Senators, they were wearied with their interrogatories of all hands, who sought rather to vex and wring from them confession of a fault, than any other answer; and when they were bidden to hold out of the Senate-house, they could not debate within. For in the handling of their matter it was seen that anger bore more sway than pity; because they were so much offended with them for being enemies, as they blamed them for an unrighteous, and unfriendly nation. And after much hard hold for certain daies together, they resolved at length, neither to fight nor deny their peace. Two conditions were tendered and presented unto them, either to suffer themselves wholly to the pleasure and disposition of the Senate, or else to deliver a town, fortress, and wall to hold throt for friends or foes, whomsoever the Romans reputed them; And when they were desirous to draw from the Senators this much, as to know in what power, and how far forth, they should submit themselves to the discretion of the Senate, they could not end certain answer to build upon. And thus without any peace obtained, they were dismissed, with express commandment to hold the City that very day, and to be gone out of Italy, within five daies following. When they fell to consultation in the Senate about the government of the Consular provinces, both Consuls desired to have the charge of Greece. And Laelius, who was great grace with the Senate, now when the house was divided, and the Consul should authorise his province between them, he took up and said, This is a warlike, dangerous, and lasting, and put the matter to the judgment of that honorable court, than in the blind hand of lot. To this purpose for the present made answer, that he would consider better of it; and after he had conferred secretly with his brother, upon a hard word he had said, he held him up in the Senate, he gave Laelius to understand, that he was content to do as he would have him. When this strange course and manner of proceeding (which was and understood before, or else after so long dispute of the praefecture of the Consuls, and when up again) caused the Senate to turn themselves against a great strife and contention, then P. Scipio Africanus said, That if they would ordain his brother L. Scipio to have the Province of Greece, he would accompany him in that voyage, in quality of his Lieutenant. This good word of his (accepted of them all with a general consent) kind all debate: for a great mind they thought make a rash decision. And as the being vanquished could add little more, than assistance the Lieutenant assist the Consul, and the Roman legions. And all in a manner assigned Greece to Scipio, and Italy to Laelius. But the Praetors had their Provinces, set out to them by lot. L. Annonius obtained the civil jurisdiction of citizens, and L. Fulvius off forainers. L. Amylius Regillus was L. Atilia of the armada; P. Iunius governed Tuscany, M. Tullius Apulia and the

rich coast of Asia. These protestants to the Consul as he went forth, to the number of 3000 volunteers, Romans and allies together, who had served their full years in the war, and under the conduct of *P. Africanus*, and were exempt from soldiery, who all offered to go with him and to be enrolled in great numbers. Much at the time that the Consul took his journey (during the festival Apollinare games in the honour of *Apollon*, upon the 15th day before the Ides of July) it chanced, that in the day time, when the air was clear and fair, there arose a sudden darkness during the Eclipse of the sun, by reason that the body of the moon was directly under the Circle and middle of the sun. *L. Emilius Regillus* also Admiral of the war, at the same time went to Sea. *L. Aemilius* was charged by order from the Senate, to build 30 Gallies with five banks of oars, and 20 Gallies with three banks; because a storm was blown and blazed abroad, that *Antiochus* upon the late battail at Sea, was about to prepare a much greater armado.

The *Ætolians*, after their Ambassadors were returned from *Rome* and had made relation, that there was no hope of peace, albeit all their Sea-coasts (especially toward *Peloponnesus*) were spoiled and wasted by the *Achaïans*, yet minding more their peril like to ensue, than remembering their loss received, seized the mountain *Corax*, intending to impeach and stop the passage of the Romans. For they made no question nor doubt, but that the next spring they would return to besiege and assault *Naupactus*, which, who with well what they expected, thought it better to go in hand with an enterprise unlooked for, and namely, to assail *Lamia*; for thus he thought, That seeing they had been already brought to a great strait and extremity by King *Philip*, now they might be taken suddenly and surprised at unawares, because they stood in fear of nothing less.

Whereupon, removing from *Blania*, he encamped first in the country of his enemies near to the River *Sperchius*: from whence by night he dislodged, and advanced forth with his ensigns, and by the day break had invested their walls round about. Great fear and hurly there was, as in an accident unlooked for, yet all that day they defended the City more resolutely, than a man would have believed, and thought they could have done in so sudden a danger; whiles men stood at defence upon the walls, women set up ladders in many places, and brought the men weapons and darts of all sorts, yea, and stones up to the walls unto them. *Acilius*, after he had sounded the retreats, brought back his men into the camp about noon: and after they had there refreshed their bodies with meat and rest, he gave them warning (before he dismissed the *Prætorium*) that ere day-light the next morning they should be ready in arms: for that he would not come back again with them into the camp, before they were masters of the Town. At the same time as the day before, he gave assault in many places; and for as much as the Townsmens strength decayed, their darts and weapons failed, and above all, their hearts fainted, within few hours he won the City. After he had made a riddance of the pillage, sold some part, and given away the rest, he fell to take counsel what to do afterwards. There was not one man of opinion to go against *Naupactus*, considering that the *Ætolians* held and kept the pass of *Corax*. Howbeit *Acilius*, to the end that he would not keep the field in summer without doing some exploit, and that the *Ætolians* might not enjoy the peace by the slackness of the Roman soldiers, which obtain they could not at the Senates hand, he purposed to besiege *Amphissa*, and so the army was conducted thither from *Heraclea*, by the mountain *Ossa*. When he had encamped himself under the Town walls, he began

not to invest it round with men as he did *Lamia*, but with ordnance and engins to batter it. In many places at once he ran with the ram against the walls: and albeit they were shaken, the Townsmen were not about either to make ready, or to devise and invent any means of defence against that instrument of rage. All their hope was in sturdy armour and hardy valour. And so quick they fell to work, that they disordered and troubled not only the guards of the enemies, but also those that stood about the suburbs and artillery. Howbeit in many places the wall was battered and broken, and even at that very instant new men came unto him; that his successor had landed his army at *Apollonia*, and was coming by the way of *Ægion* and *Thessaly*. Now came the Consul with a power of 6300 foot, and five hundred horse. And by this time was he persuaded for his honour and level of *Glory*, and having sent curia aforesaid to summon the City *Hydruntum*, and received answer again, that they would do nothing but by a publick decree of the

Ætolians; he made charge of *Hydruntum* to his brother, and *Amphissa* not yet won, he led his forces against *Amphissa* his brother. After 4 days before, the *Oppidans* had quit the Town, for by this time the wall in many places lay open and naked, and were all fled armed and unarmed like a Cattle which they had impeached. The Consul pitched his camp six miles from the Town. He did so, not that he was afraid, but that he would not be so near to the Town, as he might be surprised by the *Ætolians*, and that he might be repaired to *P. Scipio*, who, as we have said, was gone before the main army, and afterwards to the Consul, increasing for the *Ætolians*. Of the town they received a gentle assault at the hands of *Afranius*, who seeking some honest excuse to leave the *Ætolians* over, for his heart was wholly upon *Africa* and King *Antiochus*; and to this purpose he willed the *Achaïans* to go, and made not only with the Romans, but also with the *Ætolians*, an offer of peace before war. And readily, through the motion and persuasion of the *Achaïans*, there was a solemn embassy of the *Ætolians* dispatched from *Hydruntum*. Induced by they went the rather to hope for peace by the speech of *Afranius* (for to him they came first) who discoursed unto them, how that many Nations and Cities in *Spain* first, afterwards in *France*, had put themselves under his protection, and in them all he had left greater testimonies of his clemency and lenity, than of his warlike valour and martial prowess. Thus they had

brought the matter (as they thought) to a good pass, and made it sure: but when they came before the Consul, they had the same answer of him, with which they were sent away from the Senate, and commanded to avoid. The *Ætolians* wounded therewith anew, seeing they could win nothing neither by the mediation of the Athenian embassy, nor the gracious answer of *Philostratus*: said, they would make report thereof unto their States and country-men. So, they returned from thence to *Hypada*, where they were to seek what to do, and could not resolve: for neither had they whereof to raise a thousand talents: and again, if they should absolutely put themselves into their hands, they feared to feel the smart thereof in their bodies. Therefore they commanded the same Embassadors to go again to the Consul and to *Africanus*, and to exhibit a petition, that if they were minded indeed and verily to grant them peace, and not by vain shew and semblance only to frustrate and delude the hope of poor suppliants, they would either rebate them a quantity of that grand sum of money, or else accept of their absolute surrender, that no free citizen might be touched thereby in his person. But nothing could be gotten at the Consul's hands, for to alter or relent any jot: thus was this embassy also sent away as it came, and nothing done. The Athenians came after them in place, the principal men of whose embassy, *Echecdemus*, seeing the *Ætolians* wearied with so many repulses, and lamentably to no purpose bewailing the miserable estate of their country: put them still in some new hope, and gave them counsel to crave truce for six months, that they might address their Embassadors to *Rome*, and receive an answer from thence: shewing unto them, that this delay could not augment their present calamity; which could not worse be; but contrary-wise, time and space coming between might afford many accidents whereby their present misery might be mitigated and allayed. So by the advice of *Echecdemus*, the same men were sent once again, who had commured before with *P. Scipio*, and by his means obtained of the Consul a truce for that term: which was the thing they craved. The siege being raised before *Amphissa*, *M. Acilius*, after he had delivered up his army into the hands of the Consul, resigned his government, and departed out of the Province: and the Consul likewise from *Amphissa* returned into *Thessaly*, intending through *Macedony* and *Thracia* to conduct his army into *Asia*.

Then *Africanus* entered into speech with his brother, and said: "The journey which you undertake, *L. Scipio*, I for my part approve and think well of, but all resteth in the will and pleasure of *Philip*: who if he be fast and faithful to the State and Empire of *Rome*, he will grant us passage, he will afford us victuals, he will furnish us with all things, which in so long a voyage are necessary to the help and sustenance of our army: but if he fail and forsake us, you must make account of no safety and security throughout all *Thracia*: therefore I am of advice, that the King's affection be first sounded. And that will best be done if the messenger who shall be dispatched unto him, may come upon him on a sudden, and take him unprovided, and having no time to put any premeditated plot in practice. *T. Sappionius Gracchus*, a most nimble and active young Gentleman, was at that time chosen for the fittest person to perform this action: who taking fresh post Horses all the way as he rode, with incredible celerity made such speed, that from *Amphissa* (for thence he had his dispatch) in three days space, he arrived at *Pella*. The King was at a feast or banquet when he came, and wine he had taken full liberally. And finding him thus disposed to solace and recreate his spirits, he had no reason to suspect that he was minded and inclined to any change or alteration: and so for that time this guest was bidden to come, and had good cheer made him. The morrow after, he saw the provision of victuals in great store ready for the armies, he beheld the Bridges made over the Rivers, and the high ways mended and prepared, where passage was difficult. With these intelligences he returned to the Consul, with as great speed as he went, and met him at *Thessalonica*. From whence, the army in much joy, and with greater and more assured hope, entered into *Macedony*: where all was provided to their hands. The King at their coming received them right graciously, and at their departure conducted them on the way as royally. Very willing, ready and courteous he shewed himself, which *Africanus* much liked and highly commended, being a man as in all other things singular, so in allowing of elegancy and humanity, if he were without superfluity and excess, nothing more and freight-laced. Thus they held on their journey unto *Hellaspontus*, passing through *Macedony* and *Thracia*, and *Philip* still accompanied them, and provided all things for their use along the way.

After the battail fought at *Sea* near *Corymbus*, *Antiochus* having had all the winter time free without any impeachment to furnish himself with forces both for Land and Sea, above all things studied and devised how to repair his fleet, for fear he should be quite distressed and dispossessed of the Sea. And evermore this ran in his mind, that he had lost his navy, and yet the Rhodian fleet was away. For thus he said with himself, that if they should be present at the next conflict (and truly the Rhodians thought he will not for any time be behind again) he then should have need of a mighty number of ships to match the *Antiochians* as well in numbers as in quality. And therefore he had both sent *Antiochus* to *Smyrna* to take up the ships of the Phœnicians, and also commanded *Polydamas* to repair those vessels which he had already, and to mangle and rig others, with so much more diligence as he felt he alone was less fortunate. *Antiochus* sailed the winter in *Phrygia*, and seeking for aid out of all places, he sent out as far as into *Cilicia*. The people there at that time were great warriors, keeping still the courage of Gauls, for that the race of that nation was not yet extinct and worn out. His son *Serapion* he had left in *Asia* with

An army to keep the maritime Cities in obedience; which *Eumenes* from *Pergamus* of one side, and the Romans from *Phocæa* and *Erythræ* on the other side, solicited to rebellion. The Roman fleet, as I said before, wintered at *Cænæ*. Thither in the midst almost of winter came *Eumenes* with two thousand foot, and a hundred horse. Who having given out unto *Leivius*, that great prizes might be raised out of the enemies territory about *Thymira*, had so periwaded and wrought with him, that he sent with him five thousand souldiers: who being set forth to this rode and expedition, in few dayes drove away a mighty booty. Amid these matters, there hapned a mutiny in *Phocæa*, by occasion of some that would have withdrawn and turned away the hearts of the multitude unto King *Antiochus*. The wintering of the fleet was chargeable to that City. The imposition of a tribute was heavy, in regard that they were put to the finding of five hundred side-casocks, and as many coats for liveries: the scarcity of corn also was grievous unto them; for which default the ships and the Roman garrison abandoned the place and departed: whereupon that faction which in all their speeches and assemblies drew the common people to side with *Antiochus*, was rid of all fear. The Senat and the principal citizens of *Phocæa* were of opinion to continue to the last, in the association of the Romans: but the perswaders and counsellors of a revolt were of more credit with the multitude.

The Rhodians were not so slow the summer past, but they were as forward now in the spring: for before mid-*March*, they sent out the same *Pausistratus* Admiral of a fleet of six and thirty sail. And by this time *Livius* loosed from *Cænæ*, and sailed toward *Hellepontus*, with thirty ships, and seven Gallies of four banks of oars, which King *Eumenes* had brought with him, to the end that he might prepare things necessary for the passage of the army, which he supposed would come by

CLand. And first he fell with the bay or port which they call, The rode of the *Achæans*, from whence he went up to *thum*, where, after he had sacrificed to *Minerva*, he gave gracious audience to the embassages of the neighbors bordering, which came from *Eleus*, *Dandanus*, and *Rhodium*, who committed their Cities unto his protection. From thence he directed his course to the streights of *Hellepontus*, and leaving ten ships in the rode over-against *Abydus*, with the rest of the fleet, he passed over into *Europe*, to assault *Sestos*. As the armed souldiers approached their walls, the frantick Priests of *Cybele* called *Galli*, bereft of their wits, presented themselves first unto them before their gates, in their solemn habit and vestments, laying, That they being the servants and ministers of Dame *Cybele* the mother of the Gods, were come by the inhibitt and commandment of that goddess to beseech the Roman General to spare the walls and the City. And no one of them had any harm done unto them. Anon the whole body of the Senat with the Magistrats came forth to yeeld the Town. From thence they crossed over to *Abydus*, where (after many parties, in which they had sounded their minds, and could have no answer tending to peace) they addrested themselves to lay siege to the City, and to assault it.

Whiles these things stood thus about *Hellepontus*, *Polyxenidas* a Rhodian born, but banished his country, and a Captain for King *Antiochus*, hearing that a Rhodian fleet was gone to Sea, and that *Pausistratus* their Admiral, had in open audience given out certain proud and disdainful speeches against him, entered into a privat quarrel with him toying and devising in his mind might and do nothing else, but how he might by some effectual and worthy deeds, check and confine those brave and glorious words of his. He dispatched therefore unto him a messenger, a man well known unto him, with credence and instruction to give him to understand, that himself would (if he might) stand both *Pausistratus* and his country in good stead: and that *Pausistratus* (if it pleased him) had means to restore him again into his native country. When *Pausistratus* marvelled hereat, and was very inquisitive to know how this might be effected: and gave him his faithful promise (as his request) either to joyne with him in the action, or else to conceal all and keep counsel: then the messenger declared, that *Polyxenidas* would make over unto him the Kings navy, either entire, or the greater part thereof; and in consideration and recompence of this so great service, he desired no more, but that he might return into his country. The importance of this matter was so great, that he neither belied his words, nor yet neglected and despised the same. So he went to *Pamphilius* a place in the Land of *Samus*, and there he abode to view

Eand the thing that was offered unto him. Couriers there ran between, and never would *Pausistratus* give credit to the party, until *Polyxenidas* wrote a letter with his own hand in the presence of his said messenger, that he would perform what soever he had promised, yet, and sent the same letters sealed with his own signet Manu. By this sure pledge or oath, *Pausistratus* made full account that he had the traitor fully bound and obliged unto him. For thus he thought, that *Polyxenidas* living as a subject under the King, would never hazard the danger of such pregnant matter to appear against himself, testified under his own hand-writing: so from that time forward the means of this pretended and counterfeit treason was devised and agreed upon. *Polyxenidas* gave him to understand, that he would of purpose lay aside and neglect preparation of all furniture, that he would neither have towers nor other mariners in any number about his fleet: moreover, under a colour of calling and calling he would lay up some ships on dry Lands, others he would send away into the havens near at hand, and keep some few riding at anchor before *Ephesus* in the haven, and those (if he were forced to battail) he would set out to fight. The same negligence that *Pausistratus* heard say *Polyxenidas* would use in his fleet, the same himself presently shewed in his own. For some of his ships he sent to *Halicarnassus* for victuals, and other to *Samus* the City, to the end that he might be in readiness when the traitor gave the signal of assault.

Poly-

* Where they lay sometimes against Troy.

Polyxenidas still by false semblance entered the stores and vain imaginations of *Pausistratus*: for some ships indeed he drew aland and hid up dry: and as if he meant to hale up more, he repaired and amended the docks. Oremes and mariners he sent not forth out of their winter harbors to go to *Ephesus*, but secretly assembled them to *Magnesia*. Now it fortuned that a certain souldier serving under King *Antiochus*, who was come to *Samos* about some private affairs of his own, was apprehended there for a spy, and brought to *Panormus* before the Admiral *Pausistratus*. Who being demanded what they did at *Ephesus*: I know not whether for fear, or upon small loyalty that he bare to his Prince and countrey, discovered all: namely, that the fleet hid in the haven rigged, decked and trimmed in readines: *Item*, that all the rowers and mariness were sent to *Sipylus* in *Magnesia*: *Item*, that some vessels, and those very few, were drawn up to land, and the docks and harbors were shut up close: and lastly, that never at any time before, the navy was so carefully looked unto, nor Sea-affairs so well managed. But the mind of *Pausistratus* was so possessed before, with foolish conceits and vain hopes, that he would not believe these informations and intelligences for true. *Polyxenidas* having set all things forward and in good readines, by night sent for the rowers and mariners from *Magnesia*: and having in great hast shot to Sea, and set afloat those vessels which lay at one side upon the land, after he had spent the whole day, not so much in making provision, as trifling out the time on set purpose, because he would not have the fleet to be seen when it set forth, weighed anchor and loosed after the sun was gone down: and with 70 sail of covered ships, because he had a contrary wind, entered the Bay of *Pygala* before day, where resting all the livelong day for the same purpose as before, the next night he sailed to the nearest coasts of *Samos*. From whence he gave commandment to one *Nicanor* an Archpirat, to set sail for *Palinurus*, with five close covered ships, there to land: and from thence to march with his armed souldiers over the fields the nearest way to *Panormus*, and to come upon the back of the enemies: himself in the mean while divided his fleet into two parts, and made way to *Panormus*, there to keep the entry and mouth of the haven on both sides. *Pausistratus* at first was troubled for a while at this unexpected occurrent: but afterwards, as one that was an old beaten souldier, he quickly took heart again, and calling his wits together, supposed that he might more easily repulse the enemies by Land than by Sea: and led his souldiers in two Squadrons unto the promontories: which bearing out into the Sea like two horns, to force the haven: from which two capes or heads he supposed that he might easily set back and put by the enemies with shooting darts from both sides. But *Nicanor* who was sent by Land, impeached this design of his, so that he was forced suddenly to change his mind and alter that course, and therefore commanded all his men to go a shipboard and away. Hereupon exceeding fear there was both among the souldiers and also the mariners, as if they were to take their flight by Sea and not to fight, seeing themselves environed at once both by Land and Sea. *Pausistratus* supposing the only way to escape and save themselves, was to make way through the mouth of the haven, and so to recover sea-room: after he had seen all his men embarked, commanded the rest to follow, and himself first plying and labouring hard with oars, scudded a main with his ship to the entrance of the haven. Now when she was once past the freight and come into the open Sea, *Polyxenidas* was there to welcome him with three Galeaces of five banks of oars and so belet him. The poor ship was wounded with the iron pikes bearing out in the beak heads of the Galeaces, and so banged and sunk withal. The defendants upon the hatches were overwhelmed with shot of darts, and among the rest, *Pausistratus* saw himself manfully fighting lost his life. The rest of the ships were boarded and taken, some before the haven, others within: and some there were that by *Nicanor* were seized as they laboured to loose from the land, and to lanch forth. Five ships only of *Rhodus*, and two of *Caulis* escaped clear and fled, which made themselves way even among the thickest of their enemies, by the means of a fearful burning flame of fire that they had with them. For they set me two long perches or poles bearing forward at the prow, like two sprig sails, in every ship, carrying iron pots and pans afore them full of light fire. The Gallies of *Ephesus*, meeting the *Rhodian* ships not far from *Samos*, they fled: the which were coming to help them, turned their count backward into *Hellasponus*, unto the Romans. About the same time *Silvius* gained the City of *Phocis* by treason, entering at a gate which the warders set open of purpose for him. And for fear, *Cyme* and other Towns of that coast revolted unto him.

Whiles these things thus passed in *Asia*, and that *Abydos* had endured the siege for certain dayes by the defence of the Kings garrison that manied the walls: now that all were overtired and wearied, the Magistrats of the City (by the permission of *Phileas* Captain of the garrison) intreated with *Livius* upon conditions to render the Town. The only point whereupon they stood, and which stayed the conclusion, was this, for that they could not agree whether the Kings souldiers should be sent away armed or disarmed. And whiles they debated hereabout, news came of the *Rhodians* defeat, and for the opportunity of gaining the Town slipped out of their hands. For *Livius* fearing, lest *Polyxenidas* puff'd up with the success of so great an exploit, would surprize the fleet that hid at *Caulis*, leaving presently the siege before *Abydos*, and the guarding of *Hellasponus*, put to Sea afore those ships that lay dry at *Caulis*. And *Eumenes* came to *Ephesus*. But *Livius* went to *Phocis* with all his fleet, to which he had adjoynd two extreme gallies of *Asiatica*. But when he heard say it was kept with a strong garrison of the Kings, so that *Silvius* was encamped not far off, after he had pill'd the sea-coast, and charged his ships with a good booty, those were prizes of men especially, he stayed no longer there than until *Eumenes* might overtake him with his fleet, but

A but directed his course straight to *Samos*. The Rhodians upon the first news of this their overthrow, feared much, and whilst mightily sorrowed: for besides the loss of their Sea-soldiers and ships, they lost also the very flour and strength of their youth forasmuch as many young Gentlemen of their nobility, accompanied *Paustrius*, among other motives, in regard of his authority, which was right great and for good desert among his country-men. But afterwards considering how treacherously they were over-wrought, and namely, by one of their own citizens, born among them, their melancholy turned into choler, and their sorrow into anger. Whereupon they sent forth ten ships immediately, and few dayes after other ten, under the conduct of *Exandrus* the Admiral over them all: who albeit he were not for other feats of arms and martial skill equal to *Paustrius*; yet they supposed verily he would be a leader so much the more wary and circumspect, as he was the leishardy and courageous. The Romans and King *Eumenes* first fell with the Island *Brythia*, where they stayed one night and the morrow after gained the point of *Corynus*, a promontory of the Taurus. From whence when they purposed to cross over to the nearest parts of *Samos*, not waiting for the sun-rising, by which the Pilots might observe the disposition of the weather, they hoisted up sails against a very doubtful and dangerous tempest: for the wind turned from North-east to full North, as they were in the mids of their course, whereby they began to be mightily tossed among the surging billows of the rough and angry Sea. *Polyxenidas* supposing that the enemies would take their course directly to *Samos*, there to joyn with the Rhodian fleet, departed from *Ephesus*, and first anchored at *Myonessus*: from thence he sailed to an Island called *Ischyria*, to the end that as the enemies fleet sailed by, he might take advantage to set upon either some ships singled and severed from the body of the fleet, or play upon the tail and sergard thereof. After that he perceived the whole fleet to be dispersed by force of the tempest, he thought fit to take that occasion to fall upon them: but the wind rising still more and more, and raising greater waves, because he saw he could not possibly come neer to board them, he cut over to the land *Ethalia*, minding the next day to assail the ships in the main Sea as they passed to *Samos*. Some small number of the Roman ships in the beginning of the night put into the haven of *Samos*, which they found void and empty: the rest of the fleet after they had been tossed and tormented all the night long in the deep, at length light upon the same harbor. Where being advertised by the peasants of the country, that the enemies ships lay in the rode of *Ethalia*, they fell to consult, whether presently to bid battail and put it to the hazard, or expect the arrival of the Rhodian fleet. Desiring therefore that enterprise (for so upon advertisement they were agreed) they travelled to *Corynus*, from whence they came. *Polyxenidas* likewise, having staid at anchor in vain, returned to *Ephesus*: and then the Roman ships, while the Seas were thus cleer of enemies, sailed over to *Samos*. Thither also arrived the Rhodian fleet few daies after, and that it might appear how long looked for it was, they all presently set sail for *Ephesus*, with purpose either to try an issue by a battel at Sea, or else if the enemy refused the tryal, to expresse and wing from him a plain confession of cowardise: which was a material point and of great importance to move the minds of the other neighbour-cities. Being arrived to the very haven mouth, they embattailed their ships and stood directly affront opposed unto it. And when they saw none make sail nor set out against them, the one part thereof rode ashore at anchor still in the very haven mouth: the other discharged the soldiers and let them a land. Upon whom (as they were driving a mighty booty which they had raised by foraging all the country over) *Andronicus* a Macedonian, who lay in garrison at *Ephesus*, sallied forth, even as they approached the walls of the City: and having cried them off of a great part of their prey, so said he chased them to the sea unto their ships. The morrow after, the Romans having bestowed an ambush about the side way between, marched in order of battail against the City, to see if by adventure they could surpriseth the Macedonian against without the walls: but perceiving that no man durst come abroad for suspicion and fear of an ambush they returned to their ships again: and when they saw their enemies would not abide their neither at Sea nor on Land, in the end the fleet sailed again to *Samos* from whence it came. Thence the Fleet made out two Gallies of Italian confederates, and as many Rhodians under the conduct of *Epicurus* the Rhodian Admiral, to defend and keep the straits of *Cephallenia*, which *Hilaspis* the Lacedaemonian together with the youth of the *Cephallensians* infused with his roving and robbing (in so much as there could no ships pass by Sea so and so in the straits between *Italy* and this coast. As *Pyrrhus* an Epicurianet with *Le* *Arthius* a *Regillus* coming to succor in the Admiralty: who hearing of the defeat of the Rhodians, and being himselfe one of the Quinquereme Gallies, brought *Epicurus* back with him to *Samos*. After this his ships, that he accompanied them all the open ships of the Athenians, and he sailed to the Sea of *Thrace*. Thence also arrived *Thyestes* the Rhodian in the dead of the night with two Quinquereme Gallies from *Samos*. Who being brought unto *Eumenes*, declared how he was faine to quicken and defend that Sea coast, which the Kings roving ships and men of war by their cleven cut from *Hellspont* and *Aegyptus* had made too hot for the Hulse and other ships of burden which used to pass that way. As *Eumenes* filled from *Cibasis* to *Samos*, two Rhodian Quinquereme Gallies were sent by *Livius* to meet him, and King *Eumenes* also with two Quinquereme galleaces presented himselfe to him. Being all arrived at *Samos*, *Eumenes* when he had received the pavy of *Livius* and sacrificed orderly as the manner was, called *Conseil*. At which *C.* *Livius* (for his opinion was asked first) spoke and said, That no man hath more loyall and faithful counsellor than he, who hath made another man so to do that which himselfe would do in the same case. As for me, my intent and purpose was, to

Archipelago.

"go against *Ephesus* with the whole armado, and either to bring within the walls of burden
 "charged with heavy ballist of great and small, and so fill them in the very haven mouth, for to
 "choke it up. And to make this bar against the haven, it was a matter (said he) of little difficulty,
 "for that the haven and galler of the haven, was in manner of a river long, narrow, and full of
 "shells and shallows. By which mean I should have cut off the benefit of the sea from the enemy,
 "and make him lose the use altogether of his navy. But no man there besides himself thought
 "well of this device. King *Eumenes* demanded, what they would do then after this chocking up
 "and stoppage of the haven passage, by sinking the ships? whether they would depart from thence
 "with their own navy at liberty, to help their allies and terrify and affright their enemies; or
 "over the later still, keep the haven (as it were) in siege with the whole fleet? For if they departed,
 "who could make doubt, but that the enemy would pluck up those dams and bars that there lay,
 "drowned? yea, and with less ado and trouble, open the haven again, than it was stopped; and if
 "they meant to say there never he less, to what purpose then was the haven shut up? But contrary-
 "wise, they within *Ephesus* (quoth he) being in surety for any danger from their haven, and ha-
 "ving a most rich and wealthy City of their own, furnished with all things of use, would pass
 "the summer season in rest and repose: while the Romans, lying in the open wide Sea, exposed to
 "the violence of waves and lying at the mercy of tempests, should be day and night kept as continual
 "guards, disminded of all things, and rather tied up and debarr'd themselves, for being able to
 "effect those things that were needful to be done, than in case to compass and shut up their ene-
 "mies. Then *Eudemus* the Admiral of the Rhodian fleet, opined for his part, and spake in the
 "question saying, That he rather disliked of this counsell, than knew himself a better, or could ad-
 "vise what was to be done. *Epiratus* the Rhodian was of mind, to leave *Ephesus* for the present,
 "and to send part of his ships into *Elycia*, for to afflict and grieve them: *Paras*, the capital City of that
 "nation, shewing two things of great consequence, that bent by would accrue. For both the Rhodians
 "might thereby attend wholly, and employ all their forces upon the regard of this only war against
 "*Antiochus*; and also the Armado which was prepared in *Elycia* might be stopped; and not reach
 "for ever joining with *Polyperides*. This opinion prevailed, and prevailed much, for the thought
 "good it was and agreed upon, that *Agallus* should present himself before *Ephesus*, with the whole
 "fleet, to strike a terror into the enemies. And *G. Livius* was sent with some Rhodian gallies
 "Gallies, and two Sarmatimopen ships into *Elycia*, with this charge to take *Paras* in the night, and
 "with them these to communicate all his counsell. The Cities which he passed by, namely *Ad-
 "letary*, *Almides*, *Halicarnassus*, *Onidas* and *Cos*, performed willingly what he ever intreated
 "and imposed upon them. Being arrived at *Paras*, he declared unto the Rhodians the effect of his
 "commission, and withal acquired their advice. They all approved the design, and when he had
 "taken of them to the fleet that he had of his own, three quadremo gallies more, that he led to
 "*Paras*. At the first he had a merry gale of wind, that set them forward directly toward the
 "City, and good hope they had with their sudden resort to do some good with the inhabitants;
 "but afterwards, the wind being come about the Sea rose, and the surging waves began to make it
 "troublesome and dangerous: howbeit they laboured so with pain that they got to the shore side.
 "But neither was there about the City any safe bay to ride in, neither were they able to lanch the
 "Sea with anchor without the haven mouth of the enemies City, the Sea was so rough, and the
 "night so near. So passing along by the wall side of the City, they sailed so the point of *Paras*, which
 "then two miles distant from thence, which was a safe rode for their ships from all danger of sea,
 "but high cliffs and rocks there were over their heads, which commanded them, and the little
 "Townmen quickly fired, with the assistance of the Kings soldiers whom they had intermixed.
 "Against whom *Livius* sent out the able soldiers of the fleet, and the nimblest and most agile
 "young men of the Sarmatians, notwithstanding the landing place was very difficult and not
 "ward. These continued the fight at sea, so long as they shot darts, and made pertrye shots, and
 "profusion of skirmishes, than a direct battle, as being but few in number. But after that they
 "ran out of the City in great numbers, and that the whole multitude was issued forth, he was
 "left not only the small as should be expected and enclosed, but also the ships distressed and
 "dangered from the land, so he brought forth to fight, not the soldiers only, but all the Rhodians
 "themselves also, and the vessels armed and furnished with whatsoever weapons they could find.
 "And even then also there was doubt and danger on conflict, where in handes certain soldiers
 "*Livius* performed in the conflict of this sudden and voluntary skirmish. Yet in the end, the Rhodians
 "were discomfited, put to flight, and chased into their City. The Romans thus were enabled to
 "show Rhodians carrying away with them the triumphal victory for their pain. From thence they sailed
 "thence, and came to the place narrow strait of *Tolus* (which of one side toucheth *Cos*, and the other
 "the other) having made all hope to show any more, and for the Rhodians were dis-
 "charged, and sent home. *Livius* after he had coasted along, he crossed over into *Greece* to the
 "end, was having remained and confuted with the *Boys*, who then shod about. The Rhodians
 "might sail directly into *Italy*, but he was not permitted to do so, for he was given over
 "to the Romans, when he had intelligence, that the design was intended in *Elycia* was given over,
 "and that *Livius* was departed into *Italy*, being himselfe assured to *Rome*, for that he was
 "violence of tempest repelled from *Ephesus*, and so he effected of his own will, though it was shame
 "and dishonour, that the advantage might be upon *Rome* in Asia, and the good defended in
 "proper

- * *Melago*.
- * *S. Pietro*.
- * *Castell's Pe-*
- dro*.
- * *Caba Crio*.
- * *Patro*.

Ham 10

gallies

A proper person to make a voyage thither with his whole fleet, and to assault the City with all the force he could possible. And having passed along *Miletus*, and all that coast of the associats, they disembarked from the gulf or creek of *Bargilla*, and came a land neer *Iassus*. The City was held by a garrison of the Kings: and the Romans waited by way of hostility, the territory about it. Then *Emylus* sent certain to parle with the chief citizens and the Magistrats, to sound them how they were disposed, and also to sollicite them to revolt: but being answered again that it lay not in their own power to do as they would, he marched forward to give an assault to the City. Now there were certain Iassians, banished persons, in company with the Romans, who in great number besought and importuned the Rhodians, not to suffer a City, so neer a neighbour and linked in bloud unto them, for to perish and come to ruin, especially having no way offended: alledging, that the only cause of their banishment was their loyalty unto the Romans, and by the same violence of the Kings garrison souldiers, were they also held in awe who remained in the City, by which themselves had been expelled. For all the Iassians in general were of one mind, most willing and desirous to avoid and shake off the servitude under the King. The Rhodians were moved in compassion with their prayers, and joining unto them King *Eumenes* also, partly by shewing the consanguinity and kindred between them, and partly by pitying and lamenting the distressed state of the City (besieged, as it were, already by the Kings garrison) they prevailed so much that they forbore to assault it. So they departed from thence, and because all other parts were peaceable, they sailed along the coast of *Asia*, until they arrived at *Lotyma*, a port or haven town even against *Rhodes*. There in the *Principia* began first a secret whispering among the Colonels (which afterwards came to the ears of *Emylus* himself) namely, That the navy was led away far enough off from *Ephesus*, where by right and of duty he was to war: to the end, that the enemy being left at liberty behind their backs, might attempt to do what he list without controlment, against so many Cities and States of the Roman allies, neer unto him. *Emylus* was moved herewith, and calling unto him the Rhodians, demanded of them, Whether the whole armado might ride conveniently within the haven of *Pasara*? And when they answered No, he took that occasion to pass no further, but to give over the voyage, and so brought back his ships to *Samos*.

In this same time *Selenus* the son of *Antiochus*, after he had kept his army all wintertime in *Eolia*, employing it partly in succouring his associats, and partly in sacking and pillaging those whom he could not draw into association, intended to invade the confines of King *Eumenes* his realm; while he (together with the Romans) was busied far from home, in assailing the maritime parts of *Lycia*. And first he approached *Elaa* in countenance of an enemy, with banner displayed: but afterwards, leaving to besiege the City, after spoil made in hostile manner of the territory, he marched forward to besiege and assault the head City and capital strength of all his Kingdom *Pergamus*. *Attalus* at the beginning seemed rather to brave and provoke him unto fight with his strong guards that he had placed without the City, and excursions with his horsemen and light armour, than to stand upon his guard and defence, and to receive the forces of his enemy: but at length, seeing by these light skirmishes that he was in no respect able to match *Selenus*, he retired himself within his walls, and so the City began to be besieged. And much about the same time, *Antiochus* also being departed from *Apamea*, first lay encamped at *Sardia*, and afterwards, not far from the camp of *Selenus*, neer to the head or source of the river *Caicus*, with a mighty army composed of diverse and sundry nations. The greatest shew of terror in this army was a redoubled Regiment of Gauls, to the number of four thousand, hired for wages, whom with some few other among them, he sent out to wait and destroy all parts of the territory about *Pergamus*. When news hereof came to *Samos*, *Eumenes* at the first, being called away by this war, (begun at home, even at his very doors) made haft with his fleet to *Elaa*, where finding in readiness certain horsemen and footmen both lightly appointed, by their sure convey and safe conduct, he came to *Pergamus* before the enemies had knowledge thereof, or enterprised anything. Where once again they began to make light skirmishes by way of excursions, for in truth *Eumenes* lay off, and was not willing to hazard the main chance upon a throw. Few dayes after, both the Roman and Rhodian fleet came from *Samos* and were arrived at *Elaa* for to aid the King *Eumenes*. When *Antiochus* was advertised that they had landed their forces at *Elaa*, and that so many armadoes were met together in that one haven, and hearing withal about the same time, that the Consul was already with a power in *Macedony* making reparation of all things for his passage over *Hellaspont*: he supposed now it was high time (before that he were pressed at once both by Land and Sea) to treat for peace, and therefore he seized a certain hill over against *Elaa*, to fortify and encamp in. Where, leaving his whole power of Infantry, he descended into the plains under the very walls of *Elaa*, with all his Cavalry, to the number of six thousand Horse. And sending an herald to *Emylus*, he gave him to understand, that he was desirous to have a treaty of peace. *Emylus* sent for *Eumenes* from *Pergamus*, and they both, together with the Rhodians, debated and counselled what to do. The Rhodians refused not the offer. But *Eumenes* said it was neither honourable to part off peace at that time, nor yet possible to conclude thereof, if they went about it. For being as we are (quoth he) pinned up within our walls and besieged, how can we receive from another, conditions of peace, saving our credit and honour? and who will hold that for a firm and assured peace, which we shall contract without the presence of the Consul, without the authority of the Senate, and without the grant of the people of *Rome*? For I demand of you, when we have made a peace, whether you will return presently into *Italy* or no? whether you will

Masi.

Pergamo or Bergamo.

Girmassi.

"withdraw

* Landrimiti.

“withdraw your fleet and army? or rather wait and expect to know the Consul his mind and
 “advise, the Senate pleasure and ordinance, and the general assent of the people in that behalf. It
 “remaineth then after that is done, that you stay still in *Asia*, and that your forces being brought
 “back again into their wintering harbors, (after they have done with warfare) fall to consume
 “and eat out our allies, by charging them with provision of victuals: and afterwards, if it shall so
 “please the higher powers, and those that are in authority to ordain, we must begin that war
 “new, which now we are able (if we slack not the time nor stop the forward course wherein we
 “are) before winter come, with the favor and power of the Gods, to finish and bring to a final
 “end. This advice took place: and answer was returned unto *Antiochus*, that there could be no
 treaty of peace before the Consul his coming. *Antiochus* having thus in vain sought for peace,
 when he had first foraged and wasted the territory of *Elaa*, and afterwards of *Pergamus*, left his
 son *Selenus* there, and went himself in person to * *Adramyttium*, pillaging and spoiling all the way
 as he journeyed, in all kind of hostility. Now this territory is a rich country, called, The cham-
 pain plains of *Thēbe*: much renowned by the Poet *Homer* in his poem; and in no one place besides
 of all *Asia* got the Kings souldiers a greater booty and more pillage. Thither arrived also to
Adramyttium both *Æmylius* and *Eumenes* (having set a compals by sea) for the defence of the said
 City. During this time, they sent for a thousand foot, and a hundred horse out of *Achaia* to come
 unto *Elaa*: all which forces were commanded by Captain *Diophanes*. So soon as they were dis-
 embarked and landed, there were ready to receive them certain men sent from *Attalus* of purpose to
 meet them, who by night conducted them to *Pergamus*. They were all old souldiers, and well ex-
 perienched in feats of war: and their leader *Diophanes* had been brought up and trained under *Philo-
 tarmenes*, the greatest warrior in thoe dayes of all the Greeks, who took but two dayes for to
 rest his horse and men, and to take view of the enemies guards, namely, in what places and at
 what time they used customably either to come forward, or to retire. The Kings souldiers were
 approached almost to the very foot of the hill, where the City is situate. By means whereof they
 might forage behind at their will, and there was not one issued out of the City so much as to lance
 a dart aloof against the corps de guard of the enemies. After they were once so near driven for fear,
 that they were faine to keep themselves close within the walls, the Kings souldiers without began
 first to contemn, and afterwards to neglect them. Many of them had not their horses so much
 as saddled and bridled, and some few were left in arms and in ordinance of battail, the rest was
 gone aside and spent over all parts of the champain: some went to play and took themselves to
 youthful sports and wanton riot: others fell to feeding pampering their bellies, and making good
 cheer under covert shade, and many were laid along asleep. *Diophanes* beheld all the motions
 hereof aloft from an high turret of the City *Pergamus*, and presently gave commandment to his
 souldiers to take arms and to be ready at the gate. Himself went to *Attalus*, and told him, that
 he purposed to assail the enemies corps de guard. *Attalus* (although he were very loth) gave him
 leave: for he saw full well, that he was to fight with one hundred horse against three hundred
 and one thousand foot against four thousand. Being out of the gate, he sat him down not far from
 the enemies corps de guard, waiting when some good opportunity and occasion would offer
 self. Both they within *Pergamus* of one side, deemed this to be folly rather than hardiness: and
 also the enemies on the other side making towards them for a while, and perceiving them not to
 stir, altered nothing of their usual negligence, and that which more was, made a mockery and
 scorn of their small number. *Diophanes* kept his men still a good time, as if he had brought them
 forth only for a show, to see and to be seen: but after he perceived once the enemies to be dis-
 banded out of their ranks and ranges, he commanded the footmen to make all the hast they could
 after, whilst himself leading the way first among his horsemen, ran with his whole troop
 as fast as he could, and setting up a shout and cry aloud on all hands, as well with
 four as horse, charged suddenly upon the enemies guards, ere they were aware of them. Man
 and horse both were greatly scared: and the horses especially having broken their collars and hal-
 ters wherewith they stood tied, made foul work and much trouble among their own party. Some
 few of the horses kept their standing still unafrighted, and even those they had much ado to
 die, to bridle, and to mount upon: with so great a terrour came the Achæans, and with much
 more than to small a number could be thought to make. And as for the footmen in order arrayed
 and well provided they fell upon those that were negligently dispersed abroad, ere they look-
 ed for them, and in manner half asleep. Great execution and butchery was committed upon them
 all the fields over, and they fled again. *Diophanes*, having followed the chase as they ran away
 in scattering wise, so far as he might well with safety of himself returned to the guard and defence
 of the City, having won great honor to the nation of the Achæans by this exploit: for not only
 the men, but women also beheld this service, and looked on him from the walls of *Pergamus*. The
 next day after, the Kings Corps de guards were better ordered and kept closer together, and
 retired half a mile farther from the City, where they encamped themselves. The Achæans likewise
 much about the same time advanced to the very same place. Many hours together they looked
 one upon another who would begin first in respecting every minute when the charge should be
 given. But after the sun was neer going down, and that it was time to return unto the camp,
 they of the Kings part began to ruffle their ensignes and guidons together, and set forward with
 their bands, lorded in manner of a march for the way, more like than marshalled for to fight
 a battail. *Diophanes* sat still so long as they were within sight: but then he charged upon them
 forward,

A wand, with as great violence and fury, as the day before, and put them again into so great affright and trouble, that they gave them leave to wound them on their backs, and not one would stay to make head and resist, but trembling for fear, and hardly keeping the order of a march, they were bearen into their camp. This boldness of the Achæans forced *Salsurus* to dislodge and remove out of the territory of *Pergamus*.

Antiochus after he heard say that the Romans and *Enmenes* were come to the defence of *Adramyttium*, medled no more with the town itself, but after he had laid the fields waste, departed from thence, and forced *Perga*, a Colony of the *Mityleneans*. As for *Cottan* and *Coryllenus*, *Aphrodisias* and *Pyrgus*, they were won at the first assault, and so he returned to *Sardis* by *Thyatira*. *Salsurus* remaining still upon the sea-coasts, as he affrighted some, so he defended others. The Roman fleet together with *Enmenes* and the *Rhodian*s sailed first to *Mitylana*, and back again from thence, returned to *Eles* from whence she came. So they held on their course to *Phocæa*, and fell with an Island called *Bacchius*, situate above the City of the *Phocæans*: and after they had pillied and rifled by way of hostility the Temples, which heretofore they had forborn, and taken away the Images (for the Island was magnificently adorned and beautified therewith) they crossed over to the City itself, which they assailed in divers quarters, according as they had divided their forces into three parts: but seeing that it might not be won with bare scaling and strength of arms, without planting engines, of battery and other fabricks: and besides, that three thousand armed men sent from *Antiochus* for defence, were entered into the City, presently they gave over the siege, and the fleet retired to the Islands, having done no other exploit, but only pillied the territory about the City.

This done, it was thought good that *Enmenes* should have licence to depart into his own kingdom, that he might provide for the Consul and the army, all necessaries toward the passage over *Hælesmontus*: also that the Roman and *Rhodian* fleets should return to *Samos*, and there remain in guard, and have an eye unto *Polyxenidas*, lest he removed from *Ephesus* and made some attempt that way. So, the King returned to *Eles*, the Romans and *Rhodian*s to *Samos*, where *M. Fulvius* the Pretor his brother departed this life. The *Rhodian*s, after his funeral obsequies performed, sailed to *Rhodus* with thirteen ships of their own, one quinquageme galace of *Cos*, and the other of *Gaidar*, there to lie in rode, ready to make head against the fleet, which as the bruit blazed, was aboard and coming out of *Synia*. Two daies before that *Endamius* sailed from *Samos* with the Armado, thirteen ships, sent from *Rhodus* under the conduct of Admiral *Phanphilides* to encounter the said *Syniac* fleet, taking with them four other ships, which were for the guard of *Caria*, delivered from siege *Dadala*, and other petty forts which the Kings soldiers assailed. Then it was advised that *Endamius* should incontinently set forward on his voyage. And so that fleet which he had under his charge, he adjoined also four open ships. Being departed, he made sail in all haste that he possibly could, and arrived at the port called *Megiste*: where he overtook those that were gone before: from whence they came in one band, and train joyndy together unto *Phaselis*, and then they judged it the best way, in that place to attend the coming of the enemy. This *Phaselis* standeth upon the confines between *Lycia* and *Pamphylia*. It lieth far within the sea: it is the first land that sheweth itself, to them that sail from *Calicut* to *Rhodus*: and from thence a man may ken and discover ships under sail afar off: for which cause especially, this place chosen for a fit and convenient place, wherein they might encounter the enemies fleet. But by reason the summer was holocene, and the season of the year unhealthful (for it was midsummer), and the winds and blowing (as ours say) as they had not been acquainted with: many contagious diseases and maladies which they forewarned began to spread commonly abroad, and especially among the soldiers: for fear of which plague and mortality, they departed from thence, and sailed beyond the gulph of *Phanphilus*, and being arrived in the river *Erymanus*, they received advyce from the *Aphrodisians*, that the enemies were already before *Sala*. Those of the Kings side had sailed but slowly in regard of the adverse season of the winds named *Ætisia*, which was their fit and certain name, it becometh so, which they call *Ætisia*. Now of the *Rhodian*s there were three and thirtie Gallies, and a lesser sort besides. The Kings fleet consisted of twenty and three Gallies, and half: among which were three mighty Gallies of *70* banks of oars, and a few and twenty of *50* banks: the ordinary and some gallees. These were others also that were by a parcel or march over standing on aken in high place, now the enemies were at hand. The next morning by break of day both these fleets set forth of the haven, as if they would have fought that very day. And after that the *Rhodian*s had passed the cape, which from *Sala* hath a narrow passage to the sea, then suddenly they discovered of the enemies, and the enemies likewise discovered them. The King's side of the Kings fleet, flanked with the main force, was commanded by *Antiochus* and *Andronicus* one of his Gallies and contrived the right: so as now they had run and were close head in a row, and the *Rhodian*s advanced forward ordered in length and close.

* Easterly winds yearly blowing about Midsummer for the space of forty daies.
* Western winds in the spring, or March winds.
* Hepteres.
* Hepteres.

G The Admiral ship of *Endamius* was foremost: *Coryllenus* commanded the second: and *Phanphilides* had the conduct of the middle ward. *Endamius* seeing the enemies battle arrayed and made for conflict, ran forth into the open sea, commanding the others to follow him, as he would keep their array, and so directly to assault the enemy, which at the first sight some would say he was not so far advanced into the deep, that all the ships could be far in view along the land side, and besides, himself making too much haste, with five ships of his own, and a few of the allies, for the others would not follow him, because they were bidden

to range afront. Now the rereward had no room left them toward the land: and thus willed they hastily were jumbled together, the fight by that time was begun in the right wing against *Annibal*. But at one instant the Rhodians cast off all fear, as well in regard of the goodness of their ships, as of their own experience and usual practice in service at sea. For their ships with great quickness and agility making sail into the main sea, made room for every one that came after along the land side: and withall, if any one hapned to run upon a ship of the enemies with her piked beak head, either it rent the prow, or wiped away the oars, or passing clear through, between the ranks and files turned again and charged upon the poop. But the thing which terrified the enemy most was this, That a great galleace of the Kings which had seven banks of oars on a side, was binged and took a leak with one only knock, that it received by a Rhodian ship far less: whereupon the right wing of the enemy doubtles enclined to flie away. But *Annibal* pressed *Eudamus* very much in the open sea, most of all with multitude of ships: for other wise in all respects *Eudamus* had the odds and better hand of him by far: and certainly he had compassed and enclosed *Eudamus* round, but that a flag was put out of the Admirall, (by which signall the dispersed ships are wont to rally themselves together:) whereupon all those that had got the better of the enemy in the right wing, made haste to joyn in one for to succour their fellows. Then *Annibal* also and the ships about him, took their flight: but the Rhodians were not able to make way after them and to maintain the chase, by reason that the rowers many of them were sick, and therefore the sooner weary. Whereupon they cast anchor in the main sea, and staid to eat and take some refection for to strengthen their bodies. And in this while *Eudamus* espied and beheld the enemies how they haled and towed by ropes at the tail of the open ships (that went only with oars) certain other which were lame, maimed, sore bruised, and cracked: and might see 20 others not much sounder than they, to leave the rest and depart. Whereupon coming on Oars and silence to be made from an high turret in the fore-castle of the Admirall, Arise my hearts (saith he) and see a pleasant sight yonder and a goodly spectacle. So they all arose at once and beheld how the enemies were afraid and what poor shift they made in haste to flie, and with one voice they all in a manner cried out to follow after and pursue them. Now *Eudamus* his own ship was shaken in many places and sore bruised: whereupon he commanded *Pamphilus* and *Charicles* to make way after them, so far forth as they thought they might without danger. And for a good time they held them in chase: but seeing *Annibal* approaching near the shore, and fearing lest the wind would lock them within the enemies coast, they returned toward *Eudamus*, and drew along with them the great galleace which they took, and which at the first encounter was pierced, and with much ado staid it to *Phaselis*. From thence they retired themselves to *Rhodus*, not so joyous for this victory, as blaming one another that they had not either sunk or taken the whole fleet of the enemies, having so good means as they had to do so. *Annibal* daunted with this one unfortunate battell, durst not even then pass along the river of *Lycia*, but desired to joyn unto the old fleet of the Kings as soon as possibly he could. To impeach him for effecting that, the Rhodians let out *Charicles* and twenty war ships with piked stems, toward *Patara* and the Port of *Megise*, and commanded *Eudamus* to return unto the Romans to *Samos* with seven of the tatest ships in all the fleet whereof he had the command: to the end that he might induce the Romans with his counsell and advice, yea, and with all the countenance and authority that he had, for to lay siege unto *Patara* and to assault it. The Romans took great joy and contentment first at the news and report of this victory, and afterwards at the ruin of the Rhodians. And it seemed, if that one City stood nor in their way to stay them, and that they were once rid of that care, they would without any let and empeachment, make all the sea coast safe enough for any danger and damage from those quarters. But because *Amilobar* was departed from *Samos*, the Romans held them back, and would not suffer them to abandon the guard and defence of *Samos* and *Naxos*, for fear lest the Cities upon the sea-side might be surpris'd. And so they sent *Pamphilus* with four covered ships, to the fleet that lay about *Patara*. *Amilobar* gathered together not only the garnisons and aids of all the Cities that were about him, but also addressed his Embassadors with letters to *Pompey* the King of *Syria*, wherein he gave out hard words of the Romans for their passage into *Asia*, namely, That after coming only was for this, to demolish put down, and overthrow all kingdoms, and to set up the only Roman Empire that none else might stand in the whole world. But *Philip* and *Antiochus* were subdued and deposed, and now himself was to make the third, against whom they were come. Neither would they make an end there but go on still, like a continual fire that burneth forward, and take all afore them, and ever as they vanquished one, proceeded to conquer the next. And no doubt, they would make a bridge of him to pass onward into *Syria*, now that *Antiochus* hath gently taken upon his neck the yoke of voluntary servitude. *Pompey* was somewhat touched with these letters, but when there came others written from *Syria* the Consul, and his brother *Asiaticus* especially, he was wholly wonned from entertaining any such suspicion. For *Antiochus* besides the continual custom that the people of *Asia* had for to advance and amplify the Majesty of *Rome*, their allies and confederates with all kind of obsequies, alleged for his part, the domestic examples of their own house and family: in that *Pompey* their brother, who was dearer to him with his love and friendship, for he discomfited *Antiochus* that those Paces and petty *Rome* in *Syria*, whom he had received into his protection, he left behind him when he went away, mighty monarches also, that he not only had placed & established *Antiochus* in his fathers realm & throne,

but

bus seized him in the kingdom also of *S. phia*; who before had chased & expelled him: so as now he was not only the richest potent area and most wealthy King of all *Asiatic*, but also for his valour & puissance for a paragon equal to any other King in the whole world. As for *Philip* and *Nabis* enemies they were subdued & conquered by *Antiochus*, howbeit they remained Kings afterwards within their own Realms. And *Philip* verily the year that is past, had his tribute forgiven him and his son an hostage delivered unto him: yea, and some Cities without the dominion of *Macedonia*, have received them as their King, and the Roman Generals have winked thereat and been contented. And surely *Nabis* had been likewise graced and honoured, but for his own peevish folly first, & the treacherous falsehood afterwards of the *Ætolians*, which was his utter undoing and overthrow. But the chief thing of all that most confirmed the mind of King *Prusias*, was the coming of *Livingus* unto him in embassage from *Rome*; he, who aforesaid in quality of Prætor, had been Admiral of the navy. Who shewed and declared unto him, how the hope of victory was much more assured to the Romans than to King *Antiochus*; and withall how the Romans would be the faster and surer friend of the twain, yea, and make more conscience of keeping amity.

Antiochus being put besides all hope of the association with *Prusias*, departed to *Ephesus* from *Sardis*, to visit and see the fleet, which for certain months had been rigged and in readiness: and this he did the rather, because he saw that he could not hold out with the Roman army and the two *Scipios*, the commanders thereof, than for that his sea-service in it self at any time before sped well, or could assure him now of great and certain success. Yet some little dram he had of good hope for the present, in that his intelligence was, that a great part of the Rhodian fleet was about *Patara*, and King *Eumenes* also with all his own ships departed into *Hellepontus*, to meet with the Consul. Besides this, in some measure his spirit was puffed up with the remembrance, how the Rhodian Armado had been defeated at *Samos* by a cautelous plot and practise contrived beforehand: Having laid these conceits for a ground, he sent *Polyxenidas* away with his navy, to hazard the fortune of a battel in some sort or other (it made no matter how:) whilst himself in person led his whole army to *Notium* (a town of the Colophonians, seated upon the sea, and distant about two miles from the ancient City *Colophon*). The City it self he had a good mind to conquer and bring in subjection unto him: for, being so near unto *Ephesus* as it was, there could not any thing be done either by sea or land, but it was within the eye of the Colophonians, and by their means notified straightwaies to the Romans. Now he made full account that they would hinder

their fleet from *Samos* to succour that associat City of theirs, and so *Polyxenidas* might thereby take his time and good opportunity to execute some notable exploit. Whereupon he went in hand to plant fabrieks against *Colophon*, and having raised his rampiers, and cast trenches on both sides alike, even to the very sea he approached with mantlets and terraces, as well the one part as the other, close unto the wals, and under the roof-works, plaid upon them with the push & force of the ram. The Colophonians much troubled and affrighted with these dangers and distresses, sent their Orators to *Samos* unto *L. Cæcilius*, to crave in humble manner the aid and succour of the Prætor and people of *Rome*. *Emilius* was much displeased and offended in his heart, that he had made so long abode at *Samos* and performed no service. Nothing less thought he than that *Polyxenidas*, whom twice already in war he had challenged and bidden battell, would now come to fight. He repaired it all for a disgrace and shamefull indignity unto him, that *Eumenes* his fleet

assisted the Consul to waite over the legions into *Asia*, and himself was assigned and enjoined to sit out and aid the City of *Colophon* besieged, the issue whereof would be so doubtful and uncertain. *Emilius* the Rhodian, who was the man that had detained and kept him still at *Samos*, when he was desirous to pass over into *Hellepontus*; yea, & all he rest were instant with him, shewing and declaring how much better it was, either to deliver his allies from siege, or to defeat the fleet again, which it had before vanquished; and so to put the enemy quite besides the possession of the sea, and with the abandoning of his confederates, and betraying of both sea and land into the hands of *Antiochus* to depart into *Phrygia* (where *Eumenes* with his fleet was sufficient to hold his play) and to quit this part of the war which was committed to his charge. Well they looked from *Samos* to provide vigils for the all their own provision was spent, & shaped themselves to cross over unto *Chios*. That was the farther and more remote of the Romans, and the very place into which all the ships of burden, and the hulks and out of *Italy*, used to set sail and load their countries. So the hopes of conquest about, toward the east of the Island that lay furthest off from the City, opposed on the Northward, in regard of *Chios* and *Erubra*. And as they were about to pass by either the Prætor was certified by letters, that great store of corn was come amply to *Chios*: that the ships which were charged with wine, were kept back by contrary wind and boisterous winds. *Antiochus* reported it was, that the Teyans had furnished King *Antiochus* his fleet with victuals plentifully and liberally, and had promised also unto him five thousand

men to fight with him. Whereupon he thence forth suddenly in the midst of his dread doubt, and made himself for *Chios*, intending either with their good wills to recover himself of the provision prepared for the enemy, or else to hold them for no better than enemies. Having directed the bows of their ships toward the land, they might destroy, as it were, fifteen ships near unto *Myndus*. *Antiochus* the Prætor supposing at the first to be of the Kings fleet, resolved to make way after them: but which was disappointed, they were but the names of pirates, and certain small barks of rovers and men of prey. These doers having burned and spoiled all the maritime coasts of the *Chians*, were upon the instant returned with great store of prizes and pilage: but when they discovered a fleet

T. Antiochus.

in the deep sea afar off, they made all the sail they could, and fled. Yare of floorage they were and N
good of sail, by reason that their vessels were more light, and made of purpose to rid way, and be-
ides nearer they were to land. And therefore they had recovered *Myonesus*, before the fleet could
come any thing near unto them. The Prætor thinking verily to force them out of the haven, made
after without direction of a skilfull pilot, and knowledge of the place. Now this *Myonesus* is a
promontory or cape between *Teios* and *Samos*, a very mountain made in fashion of a steeple, broad
enough at the foot, but rising narrower still, and runneth up to the top sharp pointed. On the
main or land side it hath one passage by a straight and narrow path. From the sea it is founded up-
on rocks, beaten and eaten with the continual surging waves of the sea, in so much, as in some pla-
ces the cliffs that hang over, bear more into the sea than the vessels that lie under the harbor, take
up of the sea. The Prætor with his ships durst not approach near unto those crags, for fear of be-
ing within the shot of the pirats, who were perched upon the top of those steep rocks, and so they
spent that day and lay off. At the last, a little before night they gave over that vain enterprise with-
out effect, and the morrow after arrived at *Teios*; and having lodged their ships within the har-
bor, which themselves call *Gerastrion*, (and it lieth out at the back side of the City) the Prætor set
ashore, and sent out his souldiers to forrage the territory about the City. The *Teians* seeing how
their lands were spoiled even under their very noses, addressed certain Orators to the Roman Ad-
miral, arraied all in white, after the manner of humble suppliants. And as they would have seemed
to excuse their City, for having done or said any thing against the Romans tending to hostility;
he both charged them directly, that they had relieved the fleet of the enemies with victuals, and
also told them what quantity of wine moreover they had promised to *Polyxenidas*. But and if they K
could be content to do the like by the Roman fleet, he would recall his souldiers from pillage, o-
therwise he would repute them for his enemies. The Embassadors aforesaid made relation of this
heavy answer. Whereupon the Magistrates of the City assembled the people together, for to
consult, and conclude about this matter what they were best to do. Thither as it hapned, was
Polyxenidas arrived with the Kings Armado; who having loosed from *Cylophon*, when he heard
that the Romans were departed from *Samos*, that they had chased the Pirats as far as *Myonesus*,
and were now waiting and harrying the lands of the *Teians*, also that their ships anchored in the
rode *Gerastrion*; himself also cast anchor over against *Myonesus*, hard by an Island which the sai-
lers and mariners call *Macris*, in a secret bay hard by, esconting and espying from this near har-
bor, what the enemies did and intended. And at the first in good hope he was to discomfit and L
defeat the Roman fleet, like as he had beforetime the Rhodian Armado near unto *Samos*, by sei-
zing the mouth of the haven, and empeaching their issue forth. For this bay was in all respects
like unto the other, lying just between two Capes, which meet so near, and in manner enclose the
mouth thereof, that hardly two ships at once can go forth together. And to this purpose *Polyxe-
nidas* intended in the night season to take possession, and make himself sure of the said straights,
there to place ten gallies under either Cape, which standing there at a vantage, should from both
points flank the broad sides of his enemies ships in their going forth; and withall out of his o-
ther vessels to disbarke and land armed souldiers, like as he had done at *Panormus*, and so at once
to assail them both by sea and land, and make an end of them for all. Which designment of his
no doubt had taken effect, but that the Romans, after that the *Teians* had promised them to do M
whatsoever they should command, thought it more commodious for the receiving of their provi-
sion of victuals, to pass with their ships unto the other harbor which was before the City, to
the open sea. Some say that *Eudamus* the Rhodian, shewed the inconvenience and discomodi-
ty of the other harbor; by occasion that two gallies fortuned in that straight to be so intangled,
that they brake one anothers oars with mulling together. And among other motives the Prætor
was induced to change the harbor, because from the land side there he should lye within danger,
considering that *Antiochus* himself was encamped not far off. Thus the fleet being brought about
close to the City side, the souldiers and mariners (without the knowledge of any commanders) J
were disbarked for to dispose & dispense the victuals and wine especially to every ship. But about
noon side a certain peasant of the country chanced to be brought before the Prætor, who gave N
intelligence. That there was a fleet of ships which two daies already rode at anchor under the
Island *Macris*; and that but a while ago, certain vessels of them were seen to weigh anchor, as if
they would hoise up sail and be gone. The Prætor moved at this sudden occurrent, commanded
the trumpets to sound the alarm, and to give knowledge and warning, that in case any were strag-
gling abroad in the fields they should retire. The Colonels he sent into the City to gather the soul-
diers together, and the mariners, that they might repair to ship-board. This alarm caused as great
a trouble and confusion, as usually is seen in a sudden scarefire, or when a City is surprized by the
enemies. Here was scudding into the City to recall their fellows; there was running out of the Ci-
ty to recover their ships: not knowing who commanded, by reason of the dissonant noise of men
and sound of trumpet; howbeit, as hap was, at length they ran all toward the ships, but in such O
a hurly-burly and disorder that they scarcely knew their own vessels, or if they did, they could hard-
ly for the croud and press, get thither and embark themselves. Neither had this affright passed
clear without danger both by sea and land, but that *Emylins* gave direction to every one what
to do, and put out of the haven first himself with the Admiral ship into the open sea, & there re-
ceived every vessel as they followed one after another in their order, & ranged them all affront:
and if *Eudamus* also with the Rhodian fleet had not staid at the shore to see good order, that the
souldiers

A soldiers might be set aboard without hurrying in fearfull heeles, and every ship go forth as it was fitted and made ready. By this means both the foremost of the vanguard went arranged in the sight of the Prator, and the Rhodians also kept their order in the rearguard in such sort, as they put themselves into the open sea in as good array, as if they had seen the Kings fleet under sail. But they were between the two promontories, *Dopenus* and *Coryneus*, before they descried the enemy. The Kings Armado came forward in long files, two and two in a rank, who displayed and spread themselves all offshoot towards the wing in such wise, that they might be able to compass and enclose the right wing of the enemy. Which *Eudemus*, the rene-admirall perceiving, and seeing with all that the Romans could not possibly make head alike and extend themselves as broad as the enemy, and were at the point already at the right wing to be environed, made haste with his own vessels (for the Rhodian barks were of all other in the whole fleet swiftest by far) and after he had fronted equally and matched wing for wing, he made head with his own ship against the very admiral of the enemies, wherein *Polyxenidas* himself was aboard. By this time the battell began between both the main fleets, all at once from every part. Of the Romans side there fought four-score in all, whereof two and twenty were Rhodians. The enemies armado consisted of four-score and nine, all ships of greatest bulk and making, and had among them three galleaces of six banks of oars on a side, and two of seven. For goodness and strength of ships, as also for valour of soldiers, the Romans far surpassed the Rhodians. But for agility and nimbleness of their vessels, for skillfull knowledge of Pilots, and expert cunning and readines of mariners, the Rhodians were as much beyond them. And those above all the rest that carried fire before them in their noses troubled and scared the enemies most: and that stratagem and device which had been their only help and means of safety, when they were surprised and beset at *Panormus*, was now the thing that stood them in best stead to win the victory. For the Kings ships fearing the fire that threatened their very faces, turned aside, because they would not run ashore with their prows: so as they neither could themselves smite and hurt the enemies with their brazen pikes in the beak head, nor yet avoid them, but expose their own broad sides open to receive all pusses and violence from them. If any one fortun'd to encounter and run upon them, she was sure to be paid and sped with fire that was flung and cast into her: and more running there was to quench the flame, than otherwise to fight. Howbeit, the resolute valour of the Roman soldiers (which ever in war prevailth most) was it that did the deed. For after the Romans by mere force had broken and given the main battaillon of the enemy in the very midst, they turned about again, and presented themselves behind, and plaid upon the backs of the Kings ships whiles they fought afront and made head against the Rhodians: and thus at one instant the battaillon in the midst, and the ships in the left wing that served King *Antiochus*, were beset round about, and sunk to the bottom of the sea. The right wing as yet entire and sound, was more terrified at the loss and overthrow of their fellows, than for any proper danger of their own. Howbeit, after they saw the other invested, and the Admirall her self with *Polyxenidas* in her, to abandon her companions and to hoist up sails, they likewise in haste set up all their cloth and small triquet sails (for a good forewind they had for *Ephesus*) and fled as fast away as they could. Two and forty ships they lost in this fight: of which thirteen were boarded and taken for the use of the Romans, the rest were either consumed with fire, or devoured of the sea. Two Roman ships were shattered and broken in pieces, and some other hurt, bruised and cracked. One Rhodian chanced to be taken by a notable and memorable adventure. For having with her piked beak head stricken a Sidonian ship, with the violence of the blow she shook out her own anchor, which by one of the flouks took fast hold as if it had been a grappling hook by the prow of the other ship. The Rhodians much troubled herewith, gave over sowing streight, as willing and desirous to be loose and parted from the enemy: and whiles they were busie therewith, the cable which the anchor drew with it caught among the oars of her own ship, and swept them clean away, and so left one side of it naked, whereby the ship being much weakened and enfeebled, was taken by the other that was smitten and led fast into her. Much after this manner was the battell fought at sea near *Myonessus*. Whereupon *Antiochus* was sore affrighted: for being thus dispossessed of the sea, he distrusted himself that he should not be able to hold and defend the places farther off: and therefore commanded the garrison to retire from *Lyfianachia*, for fear it shoud be surprised there by the Romans. But this was but a bad piece of counsell as he foretold and issue proved afterwards. For it had been an easie matter not only to defend *Lyfianachia* against the first assault of the Romans, but also to hold out the siege all winter, yea, and by drawing out the time of length, to bring the very assailants themselves lying in length, to extreme necessity and want of all things: during which space they might have taken some occasion and opportunity, to find a mean and in the way for peace. Neither did he only quit *Lyfianachia*, and leave it for the enemies after this unfortunate battell, but he raised his siege before *Colophon* and dislodged yea, and retired himself to *Sardis* from whence he sent into *Cappadocia* to *Antiochus* for aid, and to all other places where he could, to gather more forces, and now was he set upon no design else, but to give battell, and to hazard all upon the fortune of the field.

After this Navall victory, *Antiochus* sailed directly to *Ephesus*, where he embattelled his ships in array even before the haven, and when by this bravado he had at last wrung again from the enemies a plain and evident confession that they had abandoned the sea unto him, he set sail for *Chios*, unto which he had intended to shape his course from *Sardis* before the

• In Malony.

last battell upon the sea. There he repaired and calked his ships which were shaken and cracked in the forsaide fight: which done, he sent *Lucius Emilius Scaurus* with thirty sail toward *Phileponia* to transport the army. And when he had rewarded the Rhodian ships with part of the pillage, and honoured them with the navall spoils, he gave them the renvoy, and sent them home. But the Rhodians lustily out-failed *Scaurus*, and prevented his ships to set over the fortes of the Consul: and after they had performed that service also, then they returned to Rhodes.

The Roman Armado sailed from *Chios* to *Phocaa*. This City is seated far within the gulph of the sea, builded so, as that it lieth out in length. The wall containeth in compais the space of two miles and an halt: and from both sides it groweth narrow still, and meeteth in the midst, resembling the form of a wedg or coin, which the inhabitants themselves call *Lampier*, in which place the City is a mile broad and a quarter with the vantage. From which canton or corner there is a bank of firm land running a mile on end into the sea like a tongue, which divideth the haven just in the midst, marked out (as it were) just by a certain line. Where it joyneth to the narrow straights it hath two most sure harbors of both sides, and those lying two contrary waies. That which looketh toward the South, is called according as it is indeed, *N.ustakmos* [namely, a ship-rode, or harbour] for it is able to receive a great number of ships: the other haven is near unto the very *Lampier* afore said. When the Roman fleet was once possessed of both these most sure and safe harbours, the Prator thought good before he set in hand either to scale the walls, or to raise any fabricks and plant engines against the City, to send certain of purpose to sound the minds and affections of the principall Citizens and the Magistrates within. But after he perceived they were obstinately bent, and would not come on, he began to lay battery against it in two severall quarters. The one part was not much peopled, and had but few dwelling houles in it; and the Temples of their gods took up a good space thereof: and there began he first to approach with the ram, and therewith to batter the walls, and shake the turrets: and by that time that the multitude ran thirther in great numbers, and presented themselves ready to defend, the ram was pushing also at the other part: So as now the walls were laid along in both places: and upon the fall thereof whiles some of the Roman souldiers presently gave the assault at the very breach, mounting and marching upon the ruines of the stones that were fall: others also assayed to gain the top of the upright walls with scaling ladders. But the townsmen withstood them so stiffly, and with such resolution, that it was well seen they reposed more hope of defence in arms and valour, than in the strength of their walls. Whereupon the Prator seeing in what danger his souldiers stood, and fearing to expose and sacrifice them ere they were aware to the fury of these people so enraged like desperate and mad persons, commanded to sound the retreat. And notwithstanding the assault ceased, and was given over, yet betook not the townsmen themselves to rest and repose, but ran from all parts every one, to raise countermures, fill up the breaches, and repair the ruines where the wall was down. As they were wholly employed about this business, *Q. Antonius* sent from the Prator, came toward them: who, after he had reproved and rebuked their wilfull obstinacy, and made remonstrance unto them, that the Romans had more care and regard than they themselves of the City, that by continuall assaults and batteries it should not utterly be destroyed: and how if they would be reclaimed and forgo their outrageous folly, he would make them this offer. That they should yield under the same conditions and in those very terms, as aforetime they had submitted to *C. Livius* when they came under his protection. At the hearing of that, they demanded and had five daies space to consider of the matter: during which time they made means to receive some aid from *Antiochus*: but after their Embassadors whom they dispatched to the King, had made relation, That there was no succour to be expected from him: then they set open their gates, having articulated and capitulated beforehand, that no outrage by way of hostility should be exercised and committed upon them. As the Romans entered into the City with banners displayed, the Prator declared with a loud voice, That his will and pleasure was they should be spared, inasmuch as they had yielded. Whereat the souldiers on all hands set up a great cry. That it was an intollerable shame that the *Phocaeans* (who were never true and loyall confederates, but allwaies dogged and malicious enemies) should go away so scotfree, and not suffer for their sins. At which word (as if the Prator had given them a signal of ransacking) they ran into all parts of the City to rife and spoil. *Emilius* at first staid them what he could, and reclaimed them again, saying, That it was not the manner to sack Cities rendred by composition, but such as were forced and won by assault: and even those also were at the disposition of the Generall and not of the souldiers. But seeing that they in their angry mood of revenge, and covetous desire of goods, were of more power than the respective reverence of his person, his quality and commandment: he sent out beadies and trumpeters throughout the City, charging all persons of free condition whatsoever, to repair before him into the market place, to the end, that no villany and outrage might be done upon their bodies. And so the Prator did his best to perform his word and promise in whatsoever lay in his power: for he restored unto them their City, their lands, and their down laws. And for that the winter approached, he made choice of the two harbours of *Phocaa* to bestow his ships there for the winter time.

Near about that time, the Consul having passed beyond the borders of the *Adriani* and *Maronitis*, received news, that the Kings army was defeated at *Myndus*, and *Eximachus* furnished of the garrison: and this latter tidings was more acceptable and pleasing unto him, than the other of the navall victory, and especially, when they came thither, where in very much the City

(plenteously

- A (plentifully stored with all sorts of victuals; as if they had been provided of purpose against the coming of the army) received them courteously; whereas they made no other account, but to endure extremity of want and painfull travell in besieging thereof. There they abode some few daies as it were in camp, untill such time as their carriages and sickly persons of their train might reach unto them: such as they had left behind in all the forts and castles of *Thrace*, wearied with long journey and enfeebled with divers infirmities. When all were come and well refreshed and recovered, they put themselves again in their journey, and marching through *Chersonesus*, they came to *Hellepont*: where finding all things in readines for their transporting (such was the industrious care and diligence of King *Eumenes*) they passed over without trouble and molestation into the peaceable coasts of their allies and friends, without impeachment of any person, notwithstanding some ships arrived in one place, and some in another. And this was the thing that much contented the Romans, and mightily encouraged them to see they had so free passage into *Asia*, which they made full reckoning would have been a matter of great difficulty and trouble. After this, they encamped and made their abode a certain time near *Hellepont*, by occasion of those daies which happned then to be, wherein the *Salii* used to dance with their scutcheions called *Ancilia*; during which time they made scruple of conscience to take any journey [untill those *Ancilia* were bestowed again in the Temple of *Mars*.] By reason of which daies, *P. Scipio* also withdrew himself apart from the army upon a more strict regard of conscience & religion, which touched him nearer than other, because he was himself one of the *Salii*, and was the cause that the army staid behind and came not forward to overtake the camp.
- C And even then there happned to come unto the camp from *Antiochus*, one *Heraclides* a Byzantine, having in charge to treat as touching a peace: and good hope he conceived to obtain the same with ease, by reason of the long abode and stay of the Romans in that one place: of whom he had looked for no other, but that as soon as they had set foot in *Asia*, they would have marched apace straightwaies against the Kings camp. Howbeit this course he took, not to go directly unto the Consul before he had spoken and conferred with *Scipio*, (and indeed such direction and charge he had from the King himself) in whom he had reposed his greatest hope: for besides his magnanimity and noble courage, as also the satiety of glory and honour, whereof already he had his full (great inducements unto the King that he would be easily wrought and made most pliable to hearken after peace) all the world knew full well how soberly he had carried himself in his victories first in *Spain*, and afterwards in *Affrick*: and more than all this, a son of his was captive in the said Kings hands. But where, when, and by what chance he was taken prisoner, writers agree not no more than in many things else. Some say, that in the beginning of the war, he was beset and enclosed round within the Kings ships, at what time as he sailed from *Chalcis* to *Orenum*. Others write, that after the Roman army was passed over into *Asia*: he was sent out in espiall with a troop of Fraggellan horsemen to view and discover the Kings camp: and when the Kings Cavalry made out to charge upon them, he made haste to retire, and in that hurry his horse fell with him and so he and two other men of arms with him, was surprised, taken, and brought to the King. But this one thing is for certain known, that if there had been sure and firm peace between the King and the Romans, nay, if there had been familiar acquaintance and hospitality between him and the *Scipios*, this young Gentleman could not possibly have had more friendly entertainment, nor been more kindly intreated, liberally used, yea, and honourably regarded than he was. For these causes the Ambassador attended the coming of *Scipio*: and so soon as he was arrived, presented himself unto the Consul, requesting that he might deliver his message and be heard. Whereupon in a frequent assembly he had audience given him, and thus he spake: "Whereas (quoth he) there have been divers and sundry embassages passed to and fro as touching peace, and no good as yet done: I lay this for a ground and assure my self now to speed, because the former ambassadors hitherto have effected and obtained nothing: for in all those treaties and disputations the question was about *Smyrna*, *Lampsacus*, *Alexandria*, *Tyre*, and *Lyfimachia*, which is in *Europe*. Of which Cities, the King my Master hath already quit *Lyfimachia*, to the end you should not say that he hath any one City at all within *Europe*: and as for those other in *Asia* he is ready to surrender them also; yea, & all the rest whatsoever which the Romans would recover out of the Kings hands and dominions in regard they had sometime sided & taken part with him. And for the charges which the Romans have detained about this war, the King will be willing to disburse and make good the one moiety unto them again. And thus much spake he concerning the articles and conditions of the peace. The rest of his speech behind, was bestowed in advertizing and putting them in mind of the alternative revolution of this world and the affairs thereof: that as they should see their own good fortune and prosperity with measure and moderation so they ought not to press down others in their adversity: but hold themselves contented within the bounds and limits of *Europe*, and that was a dominion sufficient (as man would think) and exceeding great: considering this, that it is an easier matter to win one thing after another by way of conquest, than to hold and keep them all together when they are won. To conclude, if the Romans were minded to dismember any part from *Asia*, so they would make an end once, and limit out the same within certain precincts without any further doubt and difference, the King for the love of peace and concord, would suffer the Romans in their innumerable desire and appetite, to surmount and overcome his temperance and moderation. But those matters which the Ambassador supposed were of great importance and effectual to obtain

obtain peace, the Romans made a pish at it, and lightly regarded: for they judged it but meer and fit reason; that the King should discharge all the expences they had been at in this war, considering through his default it first arose: also that he ought to withdraw his garrisons not only out of *Ionia* and *Eolia*: but also like as all *Greece* hath been made free and delivered, so the Greek Cities likewise in *Asia* ought to be enfranchised and set at liberty: which possibly might not betwixt *Antiochus* were diseized of the possession of all *Asia* on this side the mountain *Taurus*. The Embassador perceiving well, that there was no reason to be had in the assembly, assaied privately to sound and to win the heart and good will of *Scipio*, according as he had in charge from the King. And first this way he went to work and laid, That the King was minded to send him his son again freely without ransom: then (ignorant as he was both of *Scipio* his nature and the manner of Romans) he promised him a mighty mass of gold, yea, and to be made equal companion in the government of the whole kingdom (the Kings name and royall st yle only reserved) in case he would be an instrument and means to effectuate peace. To these motives and offers *Scipio* returned this answer, "That you neither know the Romans all in general, nor my self in particular unto whom you were sent, I less marvell, seeing you are altogether ignorant of the state of him who hath sent you hither. For if ye had meant to have sought for peace at our hands, as of men who were in care for the doubtfull event and issue of the war, ye should have held and kept *Lysimachia* still, for to have impeached our entrance into *Chersonesus*, or else ye should have made head against us in *Hellepontus*; and staid our passage into *Asia*: but now seeing ye have granted passage into *Asia*, and suffered your selves not only to be bridled and curbed, but also to be yoked, and like beasts to bear and draw too: since I lay there is no remedy but ye must endure to be under our subjection, what equall and indifferent means of treaty is there left for you? Now, as concerning my son, I will accept it as a great present, and beseeching the munificence and liberality of a King, in case he send him to me again. As for the other matters, I pray God I be never driven in regard of mine estate, to have that need: for surely, I carry a mind that will never find the miss and want thereof. And for these great offers that the King maketh unto me, he shall find me thankfull unto him, if it please him for any private benefit unto me done, to require at my hands a private favour and pleasure again: but as touching the State and publike weal, he shall pardon me: I will neither receive ought from him, nor bestow any thing upon him. And all that I can do for him at this present, is to give him good and faithfull counsell. Go your waies therefore and tell him from me, That his best courie is to abstain from war, and not to refuse any condition of peace whatsoever. But all this nothing moved the King, who made reckoning that any hazard and fortune of war would be good and safe for him, since that there were laws imposed upon him already, as if he had been quite vanquished and overcome. Whereupon, without any more parl of peace for this time, he bent his whole mind and employed his study about provision and preparation for war.

The Consul having given order for the execution of all his plots and designs, dislodged from thence, and marched first to *Dardanium*, and after to *Rhaceum*: the inhabitants of both which Cities came forth to meet him upon the way in great multitudes. From thence he went forward to *Ilum*, and encamped in a plain under the very walls: then he entered into the town, and ascended up into the Castle, where he offered sacrifice unto *Minerva*, the patroness of that City. The *Ilans* entertained them with all shew of honour, as well in deed as in word, acknowledging that the Romans were descended from them, and the Romans again were as joyous and glad to see the place of their first original and beginning. From thence they removed, and the sixth day after arrived at the head or spring of the river *Caicus*. Thither also *Eumenes* the King (who at first assaied to bring his fleet back from *Hellepontus*, to winter before *Ela*, and afterwards, when he could not for certain daies double the point of *Lebos*, by reason of the contrary winds, went a land) because he would not fail but be present at the beginning of these great affairs, made haste the next way with a small power to the camp of the Romans. From the camp he was sent back to *Pergamus*, to give order for purveyance and provision of victuals: and after he had delivered out corn to those whom the Consul had appointed to receive it, he returned again to the same leaguer. The Consul his purpose and intent was to be provided aforehand of victuals sufficient for many daies, and together in one train to go against the enemy, before the winter surprised them.

Now the Kings camp lay about *Thyrra*: where *Antiochus* hearing that *P. Scipio* was carried sick to *Ela*, sent certain Embassadors of purpose, to present and deliver his son again unto him. At which present of his, he took not only great contentment in his spirit, as a father might do for receiving his dear son, but much easement also and comfort to his sick body. After he had satisfied himself at length with much embracing of his son, "Ye shall (saith he) recommend me unto the King your Master, and tell him from me, that I thank him most heartily, and that I have no good thing at this time to send to him again, but only this, That I advise him to take heed that he enter not into the field to give battell, before he hath heard for certain, that I my self am returned to the leaguer. Upon relation hereof, *Antiochus* albeit he was in camp seventy thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse and above strong (which puissant power otherwhile animated, and fed him with the hope of good issue of battell) yet moved with the authority of so great a personage as *Scipio* was in whom he reposed his whole refuge against all doubtfull events of the fortune in war, he retired back, and passed over the river *Phrygius*, and pitched his camp about *Magister* *fa* near unto *Sypalum*. And fearing, lest (if he should be minded to make long stay and abode there)

A there) the Romans would assay to force his defences, he cast a trench, six cubits in depth, and twelve in breadth, and this trench he environed with a double bank and course of strong stakes and pales, and upon the inward circuit and enclosure he opposed a more with main towers, for the more easie empeachment of the enemy, when he should pass over the trench. The Consul supposing the King to be about *Thyatira*, marched continually, and upon the fift day came down into the plains of *Hircania*. And when he understood, that the King was dislodged and departed thence, he followed him by the tracts, and on this side the river *Phrygius* encamped four miles from the enemy. Where about a thousand horsemen shewed themselves (for the most part * Gallogrecians, some Dacians, with certain archers on horseback of other nations intermingled among them) who in great battell having passed over the river, charged upon the *corps de guard* of the

B Romans. At the first they put the Romans to some trouble, finding them out of order and array: but as the skirmish grew hotter and continued longer, and the number of the Romans soon increased, (by reason their camp was so near to yield them succours) they of the Kings side being now wearied and not able to make their part good against so many of them, began to retire: and certain of them before they could take the river, were overtaken by those that followed the chase, and killed outright. For two daies after they stirred of no hand, for neither the one nor the other went over the river. The third day after the Romans all at once passed over, and encamped about a mile and a half from the enemies. But as they were pitching their tents, and busied about fortifications and defences, three thousand chosen horsemen and foot together from the Kings Camp, came upon them with a great trouble and affray. The number of them that were in guard,

C was leisa good deal; howbeit, of themselves alone, without calling to help and aid the souldiers from their work about the fortification and defence of the camp, they not only at first received the charge with equal valour, but also afterwards, as the fight encreased, put the enemies to flight, when they had killed some hundred of them, and taken prisoners almost as many. For the space of four daies next ensuing, both armies stood embattell'd on either side before their Camp. And upon the fifth day the Romans advanced forth into the middle of the plain, *Antiochus* came not forward with his ensignes, insomuch, as the hindmost were not an hundred foot off from the trench. The Consul perceiving that he fell off and would no battell, called a councill the next day, to be advised and resolved what he were best to do, in case *Antiochus* would not be fought withall. For considering that the winter approached, the souldiers were either to lie in the

D field under their tents, or else if they minded for the winter season to retire unto their garrison towns, the war must be put off untill the next summer. Now the Romans never made so small reckoning of any enemy as of him. Whereupon, throughout the whole assembly they called upon the Consul with one voice to lead forth to battell out of hand, and take the souldiers while they were in this heart ready if the enemies would not come out into the field to pass over ditch and rampier, and break into the camp amongst them: making account, that they were not to fight with so many thousands of enemies, but rather to make a slaughter and butchery of so many beasts. Whereupon *Cn. Domitius* was sent to discover the way, and to view the place where was best entering upon the trench and rampier of the enemies. After he had brought certain relation of all things, it was thought good the next morrow to approach near unto their camp: and on the

E third day the ensignes were displayed forth into the midst of the plain, and they began to rage the army in battell array. *Antiochus* likewise supposed it was not expedient to lie off and stay any longer, for fear lest in refusing still to fight, he should either abate the courage of his own men, or increase the hope of his enemies, and therefore came abroad with all his forces, and advanced so far forward from his camp that it appeared well he meant to fight. The Roman army stood embattell'd in one manner of form, as well for men, as munition and armour; for of Romans there were two legions, and of *Larine* associates as many, and every legion consisted of five thousand four hundred. The Romans put themselves in the main battell, and the *Larines* kept both the points. The *Hastati* were placed with their ensignes foremost in the vanguard. After them the *Priapei* in the midst, and the *Triarii* in the rearguard. Without this compleat battell, thus marshalled,

F the Consul set to the right point the auxiliary souldiers of *Eumenes*, mingled together with the targeteers of the *Acheans*, to the number almost of three thousand, whom he ranged equally a front, and beyond them more outward he opposed about three thousand men of arms: whereof eight hundred were sent from *Eumenes*, the rest were the Cavalry of the Romans. With out all these in the outmost place, he put the *Traillians* and *Candians*, who in all made up the number of five hundred. As for the left wing, it seemed to need no such succours, by reason it was flanked with the river and high steep banks, howbeit, in that side there were planted four troops of horsemen. Thus you see all the forces that the Romans had besides two thousand *Thracians* and *Macedonians* mingled and bleed together, who followed as voluntaries, and were left for the guard of the Camp and sixteen Elephants, which they bestowed in the rearguard for the defence of the

G *Trois*. For, over and besides that they were not like to hold out against the Kings Elephants, which were in number fifty and four, you must consider that those of *Affrick* are not able to match them of *India*, say they were in number equal: either because in height the Indians exceed the other: (as in truth they are much greater by odds) or surpass them in courage and stomach. But the Kings army was composed of divers nations, different as well in arms as in souldiers. He had of *Macedonians* sixteen thousand footmen, heavily armed after their manner, called *Phalangia*: these made the main battell, and in the front stood divided in ten

* People of
Galatia, now
called *Gelas*.

Squadrons,

squadrons parted and severed one from the other by two Elephants placed between. More inward behind the forefront, the battell was disposed in two and thirty ranks of soldiers. This was the strength of the Kings army, and as in other respects, so especially in regard of the Elephants surmounting aloft over all the soldiers, represented to the eyes fearful and terrible fight. For besides that they were high and lofty of themselves, their crested headstalls with plumes upon them; their towers upon their backs, and in every tower four men standing in glittering armour, besides the Master and governor himself made the appearance and shew far greater. On the right wing, he placed close unto the Phalangites, a thousand and five hundred horsemen of the Gallogrecians: unto whom he adjoynd three thousand lances in compleat armour, mounted upon hard horses, and those men of arms they themselves called *Campyrati*. To these were added another wing of a thousand horsemen, which they named *Agema*. Medes they were, elect and chosen men, together with more horsemen of the same region, mingled of many nations one with another. Close unto them in the rearguard was set a troop of sixteen Elephants. On which side also in a wing some what farther drawn out stood the King his own cohort, bearing the name of *Agathaspides*, by occasion of the silvered shields which they bare. After them followed 2200 *Dacians*, archers on horseback. Then, three thousand footmen lightly armed, and composed partly of *Candiors*, and partly of *Tralleans*, in number almost equal, and 2500 *Myrians* attended upon the archers. And the utmost side and tail of that wing was guarded with four thousand *Cyrtan* slingers and *Elymea* marchers sorted together. On the left wing likewise there stood far unto the Phalangites aforesaid 300 horsemen *Gallogrecians*: and two thousand *Cappadocians* armed after the same manner, sent from King *Artabates*. Then the Auxiliaries of all sorts 2700 besides three hundred lances in compleat harness upon barbed horses armed at all pieces, and 1000 other horsemen. As for the Cornet of the Kings, it was more lightly armed, as well themselves as their horses, but their setting out and furniture otherwise, all one. And these were *Syrians* for the most part, with *Phrygians* and *Lydians* together. Before this cavairy went the chariots of four wheels, and drawn by as many horses, armed with sharp and trenchant hooks like fish-blades, and the camels called by them for their swiftness *Dromedaries*. Upon these were mounted the Arabian archers, who also were armed with keen swords four cubits long, that fitting as they did to aloft, they might notwithstanding reach their enemy. Then after these were set another multitude equal to that in the right wing, whereof the foremost were certain horsemen called *Tarentines*, and after them 2500 *Gallogrecian* horse. Likewise of *Neocretans* 1 thousand and of *Carians* and *Cilicians* one with another 500 armed alike. As many *Tralleans* and *Pholish* thousand targeteers. These were *Pisidians*, *Pamphylians* and *Lycians*: and last of all, the rearmost in the rearguard of *Cirtians* and *Elymeans*, in like number as they that were placed in the right wing, with sixteen Elephants also distant a pretty way asunder. The King himself in person had the conduct of the right point of the battell, and ordained *Selenus* his son and *Antipater* his brothers son to command the left. The main battell in the midst was committed to the leading and governance of three Captains, to wit, *Mimo*, *Zenis*, and *Philip* the Master of the Elephants. There was a certain mist arose in the morning and as it waxed farther day gathered aloft into thick clouds, and made the weather dark: besides, by the South wind it reolved into a small drizzling rain, which wet and drenched all. This did little harm to the Romans, but contrariwise was much hurtful to the Kings side. For, albeit the air was dim and dark, yet by reason that the Roman battallions took up so great compass of ground, they could for all the air was overcast, discern from one end to the other: and the moisture that fell, dilled nothing at all (to speak of) either the swords or javelins of them that were heavily armed: whereas the Kings army being embattalled so broad, had much ado, and hardly could see from the middle of the main battell to the wings of each hand, and much less discern from one side and flank of the battallion to the other. Moreover, the dropping weather sogged their bows, soiled their slings and tops of their darts. Their sixed chariots also, wherewith *Antiochus* made full account to break the arches of his enemies, turned to his disorder and flight of themselves. Now these chariots aforesaid were in this manner armed for the most part. Certain sharp pikes they had upon the spire pole, bearing forward from the spring-tree, ten cubits in length, like unto horns, with which pointed pikes they would pierce through whatsoever they encountered. Also at the end of a half said spring-tree there were two blades fixed, one the one of just the same height with it, the other lower and bearing downward to the ground: the former was devised to run through whatsoever came near the side thereof, the other to reach and tear them that were cast to the earth, or came under the chariot. Likewise at both ends of the axle-tree with one the nave of the wheel there were two such like hooks fastned and bended direct wies. These chariots that served the King had placed in the front of the battell as we said before, because they had been set either in the middle or the rearguard, they should have been driven through their own battallions. While *Eumenes* perceiving one that knew well enough the manner of that kind of service and how dangerous it was, to a valiant man rather frighted the horses than charged them directly by ordinarie warlike force, he commanded the *Candior* archers and slingers, with some other horsemen that lanced darts, to run forth in a thick troop, but favouring as far as they could, and at one from all parts to discharge their shot upon them. This unforeseen tempest (as it were) so madded the horses partly by galling, wounding, and peling them with darts, arrows, and stones, discharged from all sides at them, and partly with

To slings
wood, arrows
and darts

*Like to Car-
bines.

A with the strange and uncountable noise which they made, that suddenly as if they had been unbridled and without their goads, they flung out every way, and ran at random: which violence of theirs the light armed souldiers, the nimble fingers, and swift running Candriots avoided easily with a trice. And the horsemen withall following the chase, redoubled the flight and hurry amongst the horses; yea, and the dromedary camels too; which likewise were unruly and set a madding: and this hurly burly, the manifold cries from the multitude all about, helped well forward. Thus were the chariots chased in the middle of the plain between both armies: and when their vain huffs were once rid out of the way, then the alarm and signall was given on both parts, and they charged one another in battell wise. But as for this an occurrent as that was, it caused anon a discomfiture and overthrow indeed. For the auxiliaries and aids behind which were
 B placed next unto them, terrified with the fear and affright of the chariots, fled, and left all naked and disurnished even to the bard horses: in such sort, that when the rereguard was in disaray, The Roman Cavalry entered upon the foresaid horse, and charged them so hotly, that part of them was not able to endure the first shock and encounter: some were put to flight, others were born down with the poise and weight of their harness and weapons. And presently thereupon the whole left wing of the battell began to retreat. And after that those succours were disbanded and in disaray which were between the Cavalry and the heavy armed footmen called Phalangia, the disorder and fear went as far as to the midst of the main battell: where so soon as the ranks and files were broken and shuffled together, by reason of the enter-course of their own fellows among them, they had no use at all of their long pikes, which the
 C Macedonians call *Sarissa*. Then the Roman legions advanced their engines, and lanced their darts against those disordered ranks huddled together. The very Elephants that were placed between, nothing troubled and affrighted the Roman souldiers, as who had been used in the African wars, both to avoid the furious rage of those beasts, and also either with their javelins to flank and hurt them overthwart, or else if they could come near unto them, to hew them and cut their hamstring with their swords. By this time now was the front of the main battell de-leated and beaten down, and the rereguard behind environed and cut in peeces: when as the Romans withall, might perceive their own fellows flying from the other part, and hear the cry of those that were affrighted, even almost as far as to their camp. For *Antiochus* keeping the right wing, seeing in the left point of the Romans no other defence (by reason that they trusted upon the river) but only four troops of horsemen, and those also by drawing themselves close to their fellows, to leave the bank side void and naked, he charged that point with his Auxiliaries and lances upon hard horses, and not only made head and pressed them as front, but from the river also for a compass and enclosed them: and flanked that wing so long, untill the horsemen were first discomfited, and then the footmen next unto them were put to flight, so as they ran again toward their camp. *M. Emilius* a Colonell, and son to *M. Lepidus*, who a few years after was created the High Priest, had the charge of the camp: he with his whole guard came forth, and where as he saw them to flee, there he opposed himself, and first commanded them to stand, and afterwards to return to battell, checking and rebuking them for their beastly fear, and shamefull running away. Moreover, he proceeded to monitory words, saying, That in case they would not be ruled by his direction, they
 D should run headlong like blind beetles upon their own mischief: and in the end, he gave a sign to his own company, for to lay upon the foremost of them that thus fled, and caused the multitude that followed, with dint of sword and drawing blood of them, to turn their face again upon the enemies. Thus the greater fear overcame the less: for seeing danger before and behind, first they staid their flight, and afterwards returned to the battell. *Emilius* also with his own regiment (which for the guard of the camp had 2000 tall and valiant men in it) withstood the King's right flank, as he followed hot in chase upon those that fled. Moreover, *Antiochus* (brother of King *Seleucus*) in the right point of the battell, who at the first charge had discomfited the left wing of the enemies, perceiving that his fellows fled in their left point, and hearing a great stir about the camp, came to the rescue in good time with 200 horsemen.
 E *Antiochus* when he saw them turn head again whose backs ere while were toward him, and begin to fight afresh, and perceived withall a number coming against him, both out of the camp and also from the battell, turned his horse head and took himself to flight. By this means the Romans obtained the victory of both the wings, and passed directly to the rising of the camp over the dead bodies, which in the main battell most of all were massacred and lay by heaps: where the strength and flower of the hardest men ranged close together and the weight besides of their heavy armour would not give them leave to flee away. The horsemen of *Emilius* were the first of all others that pursued the enemies: after them, the rest of the Cavalry followed the chase all over the fields, and ever as they overtook any of the hindmost, killed them outright. But that
 G which troubled and plagued them in their flight more than all besides, was their chariots, elephants and camels, intermingled among them as they fled: forasmuch as being once disbanded and put out of their ranks, they tumbled one upon another like blind men, and were bruised and crushed under the beasts feet which came running upon them. Great execution also there was committed in the camp, yea, and more in manner than had been in the battell: for the first that fled, and those that fought in the vanguard, took their way most of them to the camp, and upon assured confidence of this multitude, the garrison within fought more valiantly, and held out

one longer in the defence of the hold. The Romans being that day in the gates and best of all the rampier which they thought verily to have forced and won at their first assault; when they were once at length broken through and got in, made the most bloody slaughter amongst them, for very anger and despite that they had kept them so long. It is said, that there were slain that day about fifty thousand footmen and 4000 horsemen, 2400 taken prisoners, together with fifteen elephants with their governors. A number of the Romans were hurt and wounded, but there died not in the field above 300 footmen, and 24 horsemen; and of the regiment of King Eumenes not past five and twenty. And for that day verily the conquerors after they had ransacked only the tents and pavilions of their enemies, returned to their own camp with great plenty of pillage: but the next morning they fell to spoiling the bodies of the dead and gathered their prisoners together. And upon this victory, there came Embassadors from *Thyatira* and *Magnesia*, unto *Sypilus*, for to surrender and deliver up their Cities.

Antiochus, who fled accompanied with some few, having gathered unto him many more in the way, who rallied themselves unto him, arrived at *Sardis* about midnight with a small power of armed men; and hearing that his son *Selenus* and some other of his friends were gone before to *Apamea*, himself also at the fourth watch departed thence with his wife and daughter toward *Apamea*; after he had committed the charge of guarding the City *Sardis* unto *Zeno*, and appointed *Timon* governour of *Lydia*. But the inhabitants of the said City and the garrison soldiers within the Castle, despised their governors, and by generall consent addressed Embassadors unto the Consul.

Much about the same time also, there arrived Embassadors from *Tralles*, and *Magnesia* (which standeth upon the river *Meander*) and likewise from *Ephesus*, to yield up their Cities. For *Polyxenides* (advertised of the issue of this battell) had abandoned *Ephesus*; and having sailed with the fleet as far as *Patara* in *Lycia*, for fear of the Rhodian ships which rid in guard within the harbour of *Megiste*, disembarked and put himself a shore, and with a small company marched by land into *Syria*. The Cities of *Asia* were surrendered into the hands and protection of the Consul, and submitted to the people of *Rome*. By this time now was the Consul possessed of *Sardis*, and thither repaired unto him *Scipio* from *Elaa*, so soon as ever he could endue the travail of journey.

At the same time there came an herald from *Antiochus* unto the Consul, who by the mediation of *Scipio*, made request and obtained thus much, That the King might send his Overtors and Embassadors unto him. And after few daies *Zenst* (who had been governour of *Lydia*) together with *Antiochus* his nephew or brother (son) arrived. Who first dealt with King *Eumenes* and communed with him, whom they by reason of old jars and quarrels they supposed verily to be the greatest enemy unto peace, and that he would never abide to hear thereof: but him they found more reasonable and enclining to peaceable terms, than either the King their Masters or themselves hoped and looked for. So by the means of *Scipio* and him together, they had access unto the Consul; who at their earnest petition, granted them a day of audience in a frequent assembly, there to declare their Commission and what they had in charge. "Then (quoth *Zenst*) "we are not so much to speak and deliver ought of our own selves, as to ask and be advised of you " (Romans) what course to take, and by what means of satisfaction we might expiate and satisfy the trespass of the King our Master, and withall obtain grace and pardon at your hands who are the victors? Your manner alwaies hath been of a magnanimous and haughty spirit, to forgive Kings and nations by you vanquished: How much more then is it decent and becoming you to do the like: yea, and with a greater mind and more generous and bountifull heart, in this victory and conquest, which hath made you LL. of the whole world? For now it behooveth you to lay down all debate and quarrel with mortall men here upon earth, and rather like the immortal gods in heaven, to provide for the good and safety of mankind, and them to pardon and forgive. Now was it agreed upon before the coming of the Embassadors, what answer to make unto them, and likewise thought good it was that *Africanius* should deliver the same, who spake by report in this wise: "We Romans, of all those things which are in the power of the immortal gods, have that measure which they vouchsafed to give us: as for heart and courage which dependeth upon our own will and mind, we have borne (and ever will) the same without change and alteration in all fortunes: neither hath prosperity raised and lift it up aloft, nor adversity debased and put it down. For proof hereof, I might produce your friend *Annibal* as witness, to say nothing of others, but that I can report me to your own selves. For after we had passed over *Hellaspont*, even before we saw the Kings camp and army, when the hazard of war was indifferent, when the issue doubtful and uncertain, look what conditions of peace we then offered on even hand, and whiles we were equall one unto the other, and stood upon terms of advantage, the same and no other we present unto you at this time, now that we are conquerors. Forbear to meddle within *Europe* depart wholly out of *Asia*, so much as is on this side *Taurus*. Moreover, in regard of the expences desired in this war, ye shall pay fifteen thousand Talents of silver according to the computation of *Eumenes* five hundred in hand, two thousand and five hundred at the assurance and making of the peace, by the Senat and people of *Rome*; and a thousand talents yearly for twelve years next ensuing. Also ye shall make payment unto *Eumenes* of four hundred talents, and the remnant behind of the corn and grain which was due unto his father. And when we have considered and concluded these covenants, to the end that we may rest assured that ye will perform the same, we demand for a gage and sufficient pawn " that

A "that ye deliver into our hands twenty hostages, such as we shall like well of and chuse. And
 "for as much as we can never be persuaded that the people of Rome shall enjoy long peace and
 "where *Antiochus* is, we demand above all things to have him in our custody: Also you shall deliver
 "into our hands *Antiochus* the Arabian, the prince of the Arabians, and his brother of that war with the *Sto-*
 "lians, who caused you to take arms against us, upon *Muretus* that he gave you of them: And
 "likewise armed them upon the trust they had in you. Item, together with him you shall deliver
 "*Mnasimachus* the Acarnanian, together with *Philo* and *Endochus* the Chalcidians. The which shall
 "now contract peace in worse estate than he was, by reason he made this later than he might
 "have done. But in case he hold off still and delay, know how well thus much, that the royal majesty
 "and port of Kings is with more difficulty moved & taken down from the highest pitch and degree
 "unto the middle: then from that mean estate, cast down headlong to the lowest. Now these *Em-*
 "bassadors were sent from the King with this charge, to accept of any articles of peace which he
 "would. And therefore it was decreed that *Embassadors* should be directly sent to *Rome*. The Consul
 "divided his army into garrisons for to winter, some in *Magnesia* upon the river *Meander*, others in
 "*Tralles* and *Ephesus*. After few daies the hostages above said, were brought to *Ephesus* from the King,
 "and *Embassadors* also came who were to go to *Rome*. *Embassadors* likewise went to *Rome* at the same
 "time that the Kings *Embassadors*: and there followed embassies moreover of all the States of Asia.

B While the affairs of *Asia* passed thus in these terms, there were two pro-consuls returned out
 "of their severall provinces, both in manner at once, upon hope to obtain triumph, to wit, *Q. Min-*
 "*utius* out of *Liguria*, and *M. Acilius* out of *Asia*. When the exploits were heard, as well of
 "the one as the other, *Minutius* was flatly denied triumph, but *Acilius* had it granted with great
 "consent of all men: who rode into the City triumphant over his *Amischi* and the *Etolians*, in
 "which triumph there were carried before him 250 ensignes, 3000 pound weight of masse silver in
 "bullion; of coin in Attick Tetradrachms 113000; in *Eikophors* 248000. In plate many vessels en-
 "graved and chased, of great weight. He carried also in pomp the implements of the King's house
 "all of silver, with rich and sumptuous apparell. Also crowns of gold 47 presented unto him by Ci-
 "ties affociat: besides all sorts of rich spoils, and moreover he led divers noblemen prisoners, and list
 "of all 36 captains, as well *Etolians* as those who served under the King. As for *Demetrius*, a great
 "commander of the *Etolians*, who some few daies before had broken prison and escaped by night,
 "he was by his keepers that made fresh suit after him, overtaken upon the bank of *Tyberis*: but be-
 "fore he could be attached by them, he fell upon his own sword, and ran himself through. Only
 "there wanted those that should have followed after his chariot; otherwise the triumph had been
 "magnificent and flatly, both for the pompous show and also of the honor and renown of exploits
 "achieved. But the joy of this triumph was blemished with heavy tidings out of *Spain*, of a loss
 "and overthrow received of the *Portugals*, in the countrey of *Valecia*, near the town *Lysa*, under
 "the conduct of *L. Amylius* where 6100 of the Roman army were left dead in the place, and the
 "rest discomfited and beaten back into the camp; which they had much ado to defend and hold, and
 "were forced to retire in manner of flight, and by long journeyes recovered the penneable quarters of
 "their friends. And this was the news out of *Spain*.

E From out of *France* the *Embassadors* of the *Placentins* and *Cremomians*, were brought by the
 "Pretor *L. Aurunculeius* into the Senat: where they made much moan and complaints for default
 "and want of inhabitants, whereof some were devoured by the edge of the sword in wars, others
 "consumed by in-lady and sickness, yet, and certain of them departed out of their colonies
 "for weariness they had of the *Gauls* their neer neighbours. Whereupon the Senat ordained *C. La-*
 "*lius* the Consul to enroll, if he thought to good, six thousand families, for to be distributed among
 "those Colonies aforesaid: *L. Aurunculeius* the Pretor to create three *Commissaries* called *Trium-*
 "*virs*, for the conducting of the coloners and inhabitants aforesaid. And created there were *M.*
 "*Attilius Servianus*, *L. Valerius Flaccus* the son of *Publius*, and *L. Valerius Tappus* the son of
 "*Caius*.

F Not long after, against the time of the Consuls election which approached neer, *C. La-*
 "lius the Consul returned out of *France* to *Rome*, and he not only by vertue of the act of the Senat made in
 "his absence enrolled certain Coloners to supply the want in *Placentia* and *Cremona*, but also pro-
 "posed a bill, and according to it the LL. of the Senat ordained, that two new Colonies should be
 "conducted into the land that appertained to the *Boians*. And at the very same time were letters
 "brought from *L. Amylius* the Pretor, as touching the vessel at sea fought neer to *Myonessus*:
 "which letters also gave intelligence, that *L. Scipio* the Consul had transported his army into *Asia*.
 "For joy of the said naval victory, there was ordained a solemn procession for one day, and in
 "regard that the Roman army was then first on foot in *Asia*, the said procession continued ano-
 "ther day with supplication to the gods, that this voyage might turn to the prosperity and joy of
 "the Commonwealth. And the Consul was enjoined at each procession and supplication, to sa-
 "crifice twenty head of greater beasts. After this ensued the solemn assembly for the chusing of
 "Consuls, which was holden with great strife and contention. For *M. Amylius Lepidus* stood
 "to be Consul, a man grown into an ill name, and hardly spoken of among the people, in that he had
 "left his government and charge in *Sicily* for this occasion and business only, without making suit
 "unto the Senat and craving leave so to do. Together with him were competitors in election, *M.*
 "*Fulvius Nobilior*, *Cn. Manlius Pulch*, and *M. Valerius Messius*. But *Fulvius* was chosen alone,
 "because the said rest not sufficient voices of the *Centuries*, and he the morrow after nominated *Cn.*
 "*Manlius*

M. Aemilius for his colleague, and gave the republic unto *Lepidus*; for *M. Aemilius* kept silence and held his tongue. Which done, the Pretors were elected; namely, the two *Quintus Fabius* the one surnamed *Labeo*, the other *Pictor* (who had been consecrated that year for the Flamin Quirinal) *M. Sempronius Tuditanus*, *Sp. Postumius Albinus*, *Lucius Plautius Hypsilus*, and *L. Egnatius Dives*.

During the time that *M. Fulvius Nobilior* and *Cn. Manlius Volto* were Consuls, *Valerius Antias* writeth that there was a strife tumult raised at *Rome*, and held for certain, that *L. Scipio* the Consul, together with *P. Africanus*, were called forth to a parley with King *Antiochus* as touching the enlargement and delivery of young *Scipio* the son of *Africanus*, and by that means were both of them arrested and taken prisoners: also that when these chief commanders were under arrest, the Kings army incontinently advanced against the Roman camp, the same was surprised and forced and the whole power of the Romans utterly defeated. By occasion whereof, it went current also, that the *Etolians* began to look aloft, refused to obey, and shook off their allegiance; also that their Princes and chief States were gone into *Macedony*, *Dardany* and *Thrace*, to levy and wage auxiliary forces: moreover, that *A. Terentius Varro*, and *Marcus Claudius Lepidus* were sent unto out of *Etolia*, from *A. Cornelius* the Propretor, for to report these news at *Rome*. Last of all, to make up the tale, he addeth and saith, that the *Etolian* Embassadors among other things, being examined in the Senat about this matter, and demanded of whom they heard and understood that the Roman Generals were taken prisoners in *Asia* by King *Antiochus*, and the whole army overthrown? answered directly, that they had advertisement thereof by their own Embassadors, who had been with the Consul. But because I find no other author besides him that maketh mention of this rumor, I dare not for any thing that I can say of my self, report it for a certain truth, nor yet omit it as a meer fable or loud lie.

The *Etolian* Embassadors were permitted to come into the Senat house; and being induced (in regard of their own cause and present condition) to confesse a truth, and as humble suppliants to crave pardon and forgiveness either for their fault, or misprision and error, began with a bedroll of their favours and good turns done unto the people of *Rome*, yea and in manner to upbraid the Romans with the valour which they shewed in the war against *Philip*. But with their arrogant and insolent language they offended the ears of the Senators: and by ripping up old matters done and past (time out of mind and utterly forgotten) they brought in their own cause so, and brought it to this passe, that the LL. of the Senat began to call to mind much more harm and mischief contrived and practised by that nation, then kindnesses and courtesies received at their hands: insomuch as the *Etolians* having need of their mercy, incurred their heavy displeasure, and provoked them to anger and hatred. Being asked this question by one of the Senators Whether they would refer and submit themselves to the censure and judgment of the people of *Rome*? and likewise of another, If they could be content to hold them for their friends or enemies whom the Romans so accounted; they answered not a word: and thereupon immediately were commanded out of the Court: and presently all the Senat began to cry out with one voice, that the *Etolians* were all still for King *Antiochus*, depending wholly and only upon that hope, and therefore they ought to war against them as undoubted enemies, and to take down and tame the so proud and felonious hearts of their own. Over and besides all this, another thing there was that incited and kindled the stomacks of the LL. against them, because at the very same instant when they seemed to require peace at the Romans hands, they warred against *Dolopia* and *Asbamania*. So there passed a decree of the Senat, (and the same was moved by *M. Aemilius*, who had vanquished and subdued *Antiochus* and the *Etolians*) That they shall void that very day out of the City of *Rome*; and within fifteen daies next ensuing, out of all *Italy*. *Au. Terentius Varro* was sent to accompany them on the way: and this warning they took with them, that if ever after there came any Embassadors from the *Etolians*, without the warrant, licence, and permission of the chief General who governed the province, or not accompanied with a Roman Legat, they should be reputed all of them for no better then enemies. In this manner were the *Etolians* dismissed & sent away.

After this the Consuls proposed unto the Senat, as touching the government of the provinces. And thought good it was, that they themselves should cast lots for *Etolia* & *Asia*. Unto him whole lot it should be to govern *Asia*, was appointed that army which *L. Scipio* had. And for to furnish it fully, and make up the decayed bands, he was allowed to have four thousand foot men of Romans with two hundred horsemen of allies that were Latins, eight thousand foot and four thousand men of arms, and with these forces he was to make war against *Antiochus*. The other Consul had assigned unto him that army which was *Etolia*: and liberty he had for supply of that broken army to levy the same number of Citizens and allies that his companion in government had enrolled. To the same Consul was granted a commission likewise to set in order, furnish, and take with him those ships which the former year were prepared and rigged, and not only to make war with the *Etolians*, but also to sail over into the Isle *Cephalenia*. And withall, the said Consul had in charge to return home to *Rome* for the election of Magistrats, if he might so do conveniently with the good of the Common-weal. For besides the annual Magistrats (who were to be chosen one under another) it was agreed upon, that Censors also should be created. But in case his affairs detained him, that he might not return in person, then he was to give advertisement, and signifie so much to the Senat, that he could not possibly be present at the time of the aforesaid Election. So *Etolia* fell by lot to *M. Fulvius* and *Asia* to *Cn. Manlius*. Then the Pretors fell to draw lots for their provinces. *Sp. Postumius Albinus* had the jurisdiction over Citizens

A citizens and foreiners both: *M. Sempronius Tuditanus* governed *Sicily*: and *Q. Fabius Pictor* the Quirinall Flamin. *Sardinia*: *Q. Fabius Labeo* was admiral of the navy at sea: and *L. Plantius Hypseus* was allotted to the rule of high *Spain*, and *L. Babius Dives* of the lower. For *Sicily* one legion was appointed, together with that fleet which was already in that province. Also there was order given that the new Pretor should impose two tenths of corn upon the Sicilians, and send the one into *Afra*, and the other into *Estolia*. The like imposition was laid and exacted upon the Sardinians, and the said corn to be conveyed into the same armies that the Sicilian corn was. A supply was granted unto *L. Babius* for *Spain* of a thousand Rom. footmen and fifty horse besides: besides six thousand Latin foot, and two hundred horimen. Unto *Plantius Hypseus* for the higher *Spain* were allowed a thousand Roman footmen: with two thousand Latine allies, and two hundred horse. Besides these supplements, both the provinces of *Spain* were allowed each of them one legion. The Magistrate and governours of the former year continued still in place of command for one other year, to wit, *C. Lalius* with his army, and *P. Inuius* also the Propretor in *Hetruria* with those forces which were in the province *M. Tuccius* likewise in the Brutians country and *Apulia*.

But before the Pretors went into their provinces, there hapned a variance between *P. Licinius*, the Arch-Pontific or chief Prelat, and *Q. Fabius Pictor* the Quirinall Flamin, like unto that which sometime fell out between *L. Metellus* and *Posthumius Albinus*. For at what time as *Posthumius* the Consul was upon his departure and journey to his fleet in *Sicily*, together with *C. Lullianus* his colleague, *Metellus* the Archbishop for the time being, kept him back upon occasion of certain sacrifices to be celebrated: temblably, when as *Fabius* the Pretor would have gone into *Sardinia*, *P. Licinius* the high Priest, detained him. Much strife and hard hold there was hereabout, as well in the Senat house, as before the people. Inhibitions passed to and fro. Cautions and pledges were distrained: fines they imposed one upon anothers head: the Tribunes were called unto on both sides for to interpose their authority, and they appealed both unto the people. In fine, religion, and the regard of holy rites took place, and carried it clear, and the Flamin was enjoined to obey the chief priest: and by order and expresse commandment from the people, all fines were taken off and forgiven. And when the Pretor for very anger and spire that he was debarred from his province, would have surrendered and resigned up his government, the LL. of the Senat impeached and certified him by their absolute authority, and ordeined that he should minister justice, and exercise civill jurisdiction between aliens.

After that the musters were ended within few dayes (for many fouldiers were not to be levied and enrolled) both Consuls and Pretors took their journey into the provinces. After this, there stode a bruit concerning the occurrents and affairs in *Afra*, blown and spread abroad I wot not how, nor from what author it proceeded: but after few daies there came certain messengers with letters from the Generall of the Roman army, sent of purpose to the City, which caused not so great joy presently ensuing upon the rest fear aforesaid (for why, they were no more afraid of *Estolia* by them already conquered) as dashed quite the same and opinion that went on *Antiochus*, whom in the beginning of this war they supposed would have been a dangerous enemy unto them, as well in regard of his own puissance, as for that he had the direction and conduct of *Annibal* in the war: howbeit, they thought good to take nothing, either as touching the lending of the Consul into *Afra*, or diminishing his forces, for fear they should have war with the French.

Not long after *M. Anulius Cotta*, a lieutenant of *Scipio*, came to *Rome* with the Embassadors of King *Antiochus*, and likewise King *Eumenes* and the Rhodians. *Cotta* reported and declared first to the Senat, and afterwards in a full assembly of the people (by order and commandment from the LL. of the Councell) what affairs had passed in *Spain*. Whereupon ordeined it was, that there should be holden a solemn procession for 3. daies together: and order was given, that 40 head of greater cattle should be killed for sacrifice. This done, the Senat assembled for to give audience to King *Babianus* first above all other matter: who briefly in few words having rendered thanks to the LL. of the Senat, for that they had delivered him and his brother from siege, and protected his realm against the wrongs and outrages offered by *Antiochus*: also having testified his joy by way of gratulation for their prosperous and fortunate affairs atchieved both by land and sea: namely, in that they had discomfited and put to flight *K. Antiochus*, & driven him out of his camp, that he could not keep the field, and withall discomfited and dispossessed him first of *Europe* and afterwards of all this part of *Afra* which lieth on this side the mountain *Taurus*: he concluded and shut up all with this, That as touching his own demerits and employments about their affairs, he had rather than took knowledge by their own generals, captains and lieutenants, than from his mouth: they all approved well of this speech of his, and willed him to speak boldly without bashfull modestie in that case. What he thought in equity and reason the Senat and people of *Rome* was to yield him by way of justly recompense: assuring him that the Senat would do it more willingly and liberally (if possibly they could) according to the worth of his desert. The King answered this again, that in case any other had made him that offer, and given him the choice of his own rewards, he would gladly have used the counsell of that honorable court of the Roman Senat (if he might have the means and liberty to aske their advice) to this end that he would not be thought, either to exceed measure in covetous desire, or passe the bounds of modesty in craving a recompense. But now considering they are themselves to give that reward, much more reason it is, that their magnificence and bounty to him & his brethren should be re-

The Oration
of King Eume-
nes in the Sen-
ate of Rome.

"lefted to their own discretion and dilation. The Senate the Senate nothing moved at this language of his, but urged him still to speak himself in his own cause. And after a certain time that they had strived a-while, the LL. in courteous and kindmood, the King in modesty and sweetness, yielding one unto the other reciprocally, in such amiable and mutual manner as hardly can be expressed, *Ennius*, departed out of the temple. The Senate persisted nevertheless in their resolution saying, it was very absurd and indecent that the King should be ignorant upon what hopes he was come, and what he purposed to make suit and petition for: and himself must needs of all others know best what was meetest and most expedient for his own Kingdom: yea, and was far better acquainted with the estate and affairs of *Asia* than the Senate was. And therefore no remedy, but he must be called again, and compelled to declare and deliver what his will, desire and mind was to have. Hereupon the King was brought back into the temple by the Pretor, and urged to speak. I Then at last, my LL. (quod he) I would have persisted still in silence, but that I knew that soon ye will call the embassage of the Rhodians in place, and that after audience given unto them, I must neither will nor chuse but make some speech of necessity: and verily with so much more difficulty shall I speak, because their demands will be such, as if they would seem not only to require nothing prejudiciall and hurtfull unto me, but also (which more is) matters like or nothing pertinent to themselves. For plead they will and strive in the cause of the Cities in *Greece*, saying, they ought to be set free and at liberty: which being once obtained, who can make doubt but rather they will withdraw from our obedience, not only the Cities which shall be freed, but also those which have been homagers and tributaries unto us of old time? yea, and will keep them as subjects in very deed and wholly at their devotion, whom being thus bound and obliged to them by so great a benefit, they call by the name of Associates, and would make the world believe they repute them for no other? Yet forsooth (I was well) in affecting and aspiring to this so great power & puissance, they will carry it so cleanly & make semblant, as though this in no wise touched and concerned them: but it is befitting you alone, correspondent & answerable to other former deeds of yours. But be ye well advised, and let not their glowing words deceive you; take you heed, I say, that ye go not with an uneven hand nor bear your selves equally, whilst you depreesse and abate too much some of your allies, in promoting and advancing others beyond all measure: and above all, beware that they who have lift up their spear and borne arms against you, be not more kindly interested & in better condition, then your loving friends and faithful confederats. For mine own part, in all other things I would gladly be thought of every man rather to keep within my compass; yea, and yeeld somewhat of my right whatsoever it is, then to strive too much in the maintenance and holding thereof. But in the question of your friendship, my affection towards you, and to the honour which shall come from you, I cannot endure with patience that any one should out-go and surmount my self. This I account the greatest inheritance left unto me by my father the first, (of all those that inhabit in *Greece* and *Asia*) who was entertained in your amity and continued in the same alwayes most fast, most constant and sure ever to his dying day: who not only shewed sound affection and loyal heart unto you, but also was in person employed in all your wars which ye made in *Greece*, at well at land as at sea; assisted and aided you with all kind of provisions, in such sort, as none of all your allies besides was any way comparable to come near to him. And finally, as he earnestly exhorted the Scythians to accept of your society, he sunk down, swooned in the very assembly & not long after yeilded up his spirit and dyed. His footsteps have I troden, and followed his good example. For affection verily and studious desire to honour you, I could not have more then he had (for I suppose it was impossible to surpass him therein:) but in kind pleasures, effectual services, offices, courtesies, and favours, to surmount and go beyond him; the goodness of fortune, the occasion of times, King *Antiochus* and the war of *Asia*, have ministered ample and sufficient matter unto me. *Antiochus* King of *Asia* and part of *Europe* gave me his daughter in marriage, and with her endowed me with the repossesion of those Cities which had revolted from us. He fed me more over with great hopes of encreasing my dominion in time to come, if I would have sided with him against you. I will glory and vaunt of this, that I have done nothing to offend and displease you: I will rather recheate those pleasures and services which are becoming: the ancient amity and friendship between our house and you. In sores as well for land as sea, I have friended and helped your Generals in such wise, as I forbid all your allies besides to do the like: furnished them I have with victuals on the land, with provisions at sea: in all the battles and conflicts by ships (which were many and in sundry places) I was present in person, I underwent all travells I adventured all perills, and no where favoured my self and thought much of my pains: nay, that which is the greatest calamity and misery that followeth wars, I was besieged, and endured it: enclosed I was and shut up within *Permyne*, to the utter hazard of my life and of my state and royall dignity. And after I was delivered from that danger and danger, albeit I was on one side and *Delium* on another, my encampment was the principal overthrow of my Kingdom. I quit mine own affairs and laid all aside, to come with my whole fleet into *Hellaspont*, to here to meet with *L. Scipio* your Consul, and to aid him in transporting and waiting his army into *Asia*. And when your forces were passed over, I never afterwards departed from him: there was not a Roman soldier more resolute or more busy in your camp then my self and my brethren. No expeditions, no rodes, no exploits of horse service was there without me: I bated never I stood not foot & guarded that quarter where the Consul was appointed me to keep. I will not say, my LL. what

- A "one person there is that hath done so good service for you in the last war as I my self, and who
"is any way comparable unto me: nay, I dare make comparison with all states and Princes what-
"soever, whom you esteem and honour so highly? *Antiochus* before he was your friend, was
"your professed enemy: he came not to you with his hands in the time of his upright fortune, and
"whiles his Kingdome flourished in good estate; but when he was banished, driven out of his
"Kingdom, and turned out of all, he fled into your camp, accompanied only with a small troop
"and cornet of horsemen: Yet nevertheless, because he stood fast to you and bare himself in all
"loyalty, and shewed his prowess in your behalf against *Syphax*, and the Carthaginians in *Africa*,
"you not only restored him to his fathers Kingdome, and placed him again in the royall throne;
"but you laid unto his dominion the richest part of the realm of *Syphax*, made him the most puis-
B "sant and greatest Prince of all the Kings in *Africa*: What reward then, nay, what honour are we
"worthy to have at your hands; we (I say) who never were enemies, but ever friends? My fa-
"ther, my self, my brethren, have borne arms in your quarrell by land, by sea; not only in *Asia* but
"far from our own home and native soil, in *Peloponnesus*, in *Beotia*, in *Ætolia*, during the war with
"Philip, with *Antiochus*, with the *Ætolians*. What recompence demand you then? may some
"man say: Forasmuch as (my LL.) you will have it so, and it is your pleasure that I should speak
"my mind; good reason it is that I obey. This shall stand for all; if you have dispossessed *Antiochus*
"of all on this side *Taurus*, with this intent, to hold those lands your own selves; none better then
"you, and whom I would rather wish to be my neighbours and to confine upon me: neither can
"I bethinke me, of any means in the world more important to the safety and strength of my King-
"dome. But in case your purpose be to depart and retire your forces from thence, I dare behold
C "to say, that of your allies, (and put them all together) there is not one more worthy then my self
"to have and hold that which you have won by conquest. But an honourable deed it is and mag-
"nificent, to set free and deliver Cities out of thraldome and servitude. True and I my self am of
"the same opinion; provided alwaies, that they had attempted nought by way of hostilitie against
"you. But in case they had taken part and sided with *Antiochus*, how much more fit needeth it with
"wisdom, nay, with equity and reason, to be respective of your allies who have so well deserved
"at your hands, then to regard your enemies. This Oration of the King much pleased the LL. of
"the Senat, and soon it was seen by their countenance that they would deal bounteouslie and libe-
"rally with him: yea, and gratifie him in what they might. Then audience was given to a brief
"embassage of the *Smynæans*, who by occasion that some of the *Rhodians* were absent, came be-
D "tween and delivered their message. Highly were these *Smynæans* commended, in that they chose
"rather to endure all extremities, then to yeild themselves unto King *Antiochus*. Then the *Rhodians*
"entred in place: and the chief man of their embassage, after he had declared the first occasion and
"beginning of the amity which they had with the people of *Rome*, and shewed withall the good
"deeds and services which the *Rhodians* had performed in the wars first against *Philip*, and then a-
"gainst *Antiochus*, went on and spake as followeth. "Right honourable, there is nothing more
"difficult and troublesome unto us in all the businesse that we have in hand then this one thing,
"that there is some variance and matter to be debated between us and *Eumenes*, the only K. of all
"others, with whom especially every one of us in privat, and (that which toucheth us more) our
E "City in publick, doth entertain the bond of friendship and mutuall hospitality. Howbeit no re-
"pugnancy is in our affections (my LL.) but even the course of this world and nature it self (the
"mightiest thing of all) which disjoyneth us and causeth difference: this maketh us (being men
"free born) to defend and maintain the freedom also of others: this is it, that moveth KK. to be
"desirous to have all in servitude and subjection under them, and at their command. But how loc-
"ver it is, our modesty and the reverent regard we have of the King person hurteth us more, then
"either the debating of our cause with him is otherwise difficult unto us, or the deciding thereof
"like to be intricate and troublesome unto you. For in case it were so, that you could not honour
"and reward a King, your ally and friend for his good service done in this war (for recompence
"whereof you sit in consultation) by no other means, unlesse you deliver free Cities into his
F "hands, to serve in bondage; then were it hard for you to resolve; for fear lest either ye should
"send away a prince (your friend and confederat) without guerdon and honour; or seem to change
"that laudable enterprise of yours which you have begun, to stain and blemish your glory now
"(which you have acquired by the war against *Philip*) with reducing so many Cities and states
"into servitude. But your happy fortune easeth you right well of this difficulty and necessity,
"that you need not fear either to impair your credit and favour with your friends, or to endamage
"your reputation and honour among men. For (the gods be thanked therefore) you have achiev-
"ed a victory, no lesse rich then glorious, and sufficient (if I may so say) to discharge all your
"debts, and set you clear with all the world. For *Lycænia*, *Phrygia* both the great and the lesse,
"whole *Pisidia*, *Cilicia*, and in brief all the confines of *Europe* are under your dominion. Of
G "all which provinces, if you lay but one by (which you will your selves for K. *Eumenes*, you shal
"mightily enlarge and amplifie his Kingdome: but, give him all, you will make him equall to the
"greatest princes and monarchs that are. You see then by this, that you may recompence and en-
"rich your allies out of the conquest gotten by war; and nevertheless hold out your good custom
"that you have begun, remembering alwaies what side you pretended first in your war with *Philip*,
"and now lately with *Antiochus*: considering withal, what you did then after *Philip* was vanquish'd, &
"what is required and expected at your hands, now: not so much because you have used it alrea-

The oration of
the Rhodian
Embassadors;

as for that it was meet and decent you should so do. Many causes there be (with their colour-
 ably just and lawfull) to enter into arms: one pretended this, another that, some in right of lands
 and territories, other of villages; some lay claim to towns and Cities, others challenge the pos-
 session of ports and havens, and one tract or other of the sea-coasts. As for you, before you en-
 joyed these things, you desired them not: since then ye have now compassed the whole earth,
 and are LL. of the world, you cannot possibly covet the same any more. Warded you have and
 fought for honour and glory, in the sight of all the nations of the earth, who now this long time
 behold and regard your name and empire, no less then they do the gods immortal. And I wot
 not well, whether those things which we hardly come by, be not with more difficulty holden &
 kept afterwards, then they were purchased. You undertook to deliver & rid out of the servitude
 and oppression of Kings, and to maintain in liberty, a most ancient and noble State, renowned
 for their worthy and famous acts, and right commendable for their singular learning and know-
 ledge in all sciences. For your honour it is, having once received all this nation in your safeguard
 and protection, to defend and preserve the same for ever. And think not, that those Cities only
 are more Greek which are built and seated upon the ancient soil of *Greece*, then their colonies
 which have been drawn from them, & in times past went from thence into *Asia*: for the change
 of air and place hath wrought no alteration, either in the nature and complexion, or the manners
 and fashions of the people. As for us, endeavoured we have do better and better, and each City
 hath entered into in honest contention and religious emulation to out-go and surmount their
 forefathers and first-founders in all good arts and commendable virtues. There be many of you
 who have been in *Greece*, many have visited the Cities of *Asia*, and setting aside this only, That K
 we are farther distant and remote from you, there is no difference and ods between us and
 them. The Massilians, whom (if possible it had been, that an imbred temperature might be al-
 tered and overcome with the strength and nature, as it were in the soil) so many wild, barba-
 rous, and untamed nations, environing them round about, would have made cruell and savage
 long before this day; we hear say and understand to be in that request and estimation (by good
 right, and their desert) among you, as if they dwelt in the very midst and heart of *Greece*, for
 not only they retain still the very naturall language of their own, they keep them to their old
 fashion of apparell and attire, and carry the same port in their gesture and countenance, but also
 above all things they have kept and observed their customs, their manners, their laws and natural
 disposition pure and entire, notwithstanding the frequent commerce with those, in the midst L
 of whom they converse and inhabit. Well, the mountain *Taurus* at this day is the limit of your
 empire and signory one way: and therefore whatsoever lieth between you and that bound,
 you must not think it remote, but look how far your arms have reached, so far let your laws and
 jurisdiction extend. Let Barbarians, who know no other laws then lords bests, have their Kings,
 since they take such pleasure in them, and much good may they do their hearts: as for the
 Greeks, they must do as they may, and are not (we confesse) in so good case as you, howbeit
 they carry with them as brave a mind as your selves: and the day hath been, when they were
 Monarchs, when they conquered by their own sword a mighty dominion, and held the same
 when they had it. Now they are content with that empire where it now is, nay, they wish it
 may remain and continue there for evermore, where it is setled at this present. They shall be M
 well apaid, and think they are well, to maintain their liberty by your force of arms, since they
 have no means of their own to defend the same. But (will some man say) there be certain Cities
 that held a side and banded with *Antiochus* answer again, so were some before that took part
 with *Philip*, so there were that combined with *Pyrrhus*, as for example, the Tarentines: and to
 say nothing of other States, which I could name and rehearse, even *Carthage* it self enjoyeth
 freedom and is governed by her own laws. Consider then my LL. what a precedent therein
 ye have set down to your own selves, and how ye ought to confirm and uphold so good an exam-
 ple. You must resolve to deny that unto the covetous desire of *Enneus*, which you would not
 grant to your own ire against the Carthaginians, which they had most justly deserved. And N
 as for us Rhodians, with what valour and loyalty we have served and aided you, as well in
 this war, as in all others which ye have had in these parts and quarters, we report us to our
 own selves, and leave it to your judgment. And now in time of peace, we here present unto you
 that counsell, which if you will accept and approve, all the world will believe and say, That
 you have born your selves more honorably in the usage, then in the achievement of your victory.
 This Oration seemed to fit well the greatness and majesty of the Romans. When the Rhodians
 had done, the Embassadors of *Antiochus* were called in. Who after the usual and staid manner
 of those that crave pardon, confessed the King was in fault, and humbly besought the LL. of the
 Senat to have more regard of their own accustomed gracious clemency, then remember the Kings
 trespass, who had paid sufficiently for it already, and finally that they would ratifie and con- O
 firm by their authority, the peace granted by *L. Scipio* the Lord Generall, according to those
 conditions, which by him were capitulated and set down. So both the Senat thought good
 to admit of that peace, and also within few daies after the people gave their assent and es-
 tablished the same. And this accord was solemnly confirmed in the Capitol, with the Kings
 Procrator or agent, to wit, *Antipater*, the chief of the embassage, who also was *Antiochus* his
 brothers son. This done, the other embassadors of *Asia* had audience, and were all dispatched with
 this one answer, that the Senat would send ten deputies or commissioners, according to the an-
 cient

A cient custom of their ancestors, to hear, decide, and compose all their affairs of *Asia*. But the final conclusion of all should be this, That whatsoever pertained to the dominion of *Antiochus* on this side the mountain *Taurus*, should be assigned to King *Eumenes*, excepting the countries of *Lycia* and *Caria*, so far as the river *Maander*, all which must lie to the signory of the Rhodians. As touching the other Cities of *Asia*, which had been tributaries to *Antiochus*, those also were to pay tribute to *Eumenes*; but such as were sometimes hostages to *Antiochus*, those should be enfranchised and remain free. The ten commissioners whom they appointed were these, to wit, *Q. Minutius Rufus*, *L. Furius Purpureo*, *Q. Minutius Thermus*, *App. Claudius Nero*, *Cn. Cornelius Merula*, *M. Iunius Bruns*, *L. Atrunculeius*, *L. Emilius Paulus*, *P. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *P. Aelius Tubero*. These men had plenary power and full commission to take order and determine as they thought good, in all the occurrences that were presented in these affairs. But they had direction from the Senat, as touching the principal points: *Imprimis*, That all *Lycania* and *Phrygia*, both the more and the less, that *Myssa*, with the Kings chaies and forrests, that the Cities of *Lydia* and *Ionis*, except those that were free at the day of the battell fought with *Antiochus*, and expressly by name *Magnesia* near *Sipylus*, together with *Caria*, which is called *Hydris*, and all the territories of *Hydris* lying toward *Phrygia*; moreover *Telmessus* and the forts of the *Telmessians*, reserving only that territory which belonged to *Ptolomeus* the *Telmessian*; that all these countries, I say, and Cities above written, should be given and granted to King *Eumenes*. Item, That the Rhodian should be enfeoffed in *Lycia*, without the foresaid *Telmessus*, the forts and territory, appertaining sometime to *Ptolomeus Telmessius*: which parcels, I say, were reserved as well from *Eumenes*, as the Rhodians. Item, to the Rhodians was granted that part of *Caria*, which lieth beyond the river *Maander*, near to the isle *Rhodes*, together with the towns, villages, fortresses, and lands bounding upon *Pisidia*: except those towns which were free the day before the battell with King *Antiochus* in *Asia*. The Rhodians, when they had given thanks to the Senat for their graunties, were in hand with them for the City *Soli* in *Cilicia*: they alledged, that they likewise as well as themselves, were descended from *Argos*: by occasion of which confraternity and near alliance, they loved together as brethren by nature: in regard whereof, they made petition that over and besides other donations, they would do them this extraordinary favour, as to exempt that City also from the servitude and subjection of *K. Antiochus*. Then were the Embassadors of King *Antiochus* called for, and treated withall about this matter, but to no effect. For *Antiochus* ter Hood stoutly upon this point, pleaded hard, that the accord was past already, and might not be revoked or altered: and that against the tenour of the articles and covenants therein comprised, it was not the City *Soli*, but also *Cilicia* that the Rhodians demanded; and never would they rest till they were gotten over the mountain *Taurus*. Then were the Rhodians called back again into the Senat, unto whom the L.L. of the Senat, after they had made relation how earnest the Kings Embassador was with them upon the point, added thus much moreover and said, That if the Rhodians deemed in very deed that the matter concerned the honour of their City and State, the Senat would work all possible means to cause the Kings Embassadors to relent, how stiff and obstinate soever they stood. For this courtesie, the Rhodians thanked them much more heartily then for all theret before, and said withall, that they would yeeld and give place to the arrogant spirit of *Antiochus*, rather then seem to give any cause or occasion of troubling the peace. And so as touching the City *Soli*, there was no alteration made.

Whiles these matters were thus debated and passed, the Embassadors of the Massilians brought intelligence, that *L. Baebius* the Pretor, being in his journey towards his province of *Spain*, was entrapped and enclosed by the Ligurians, and many of his train killed outright in the place, that himself mortally wounded fled without his hectors and sergeants into *Massilia*, and within three dayes left this life. The Senat upon the advertisement ordered *P. Iunius Bruns* the Pro-pretor in *Hetruria* to go in person into the farther *Spain*, and govern the same as his own province: but first to leave *Hetruria* and the army there to one of the Lieutenants whom he pleased to make choise of. This decree of the Senat, together with letters from *Spurius Posthumus* the Pretor of the City, was sent into *Hetruria*: and so *P. Iunius* departed as Pro-pretor into *Spain*. In which province *L. Emilius Paulus* (who afterwards won a right glorious victory of King *Perseus*) having the former year fought unfortunately, now a little before the arrival of his successor, gave battell to the Lusitanians with an army raised and assembled in hast, in which the enemies were put to the worle and driven to flie. One thousand eight hundred of them well armed were left dead in the field, 3200 taken prisoners, and their camp forced and ransacked. The bruit that went of this victory let all matters in *Spain* in greater quietness.

The same year upon the third day before the Calends of January, *L. Valerius Flaccus*, *M. Atilius Serranus*, and *L. Valerius Tappo*, the three Triumvirs, by order from the Senat, planted a Latine Colony at *Bolonia*; and three thousand people were further sent to dwell. Every gentleman by calling that served on horseback had 70 acres of ground set out unto him, and the rest of the coloners fifty peece. The land divided thus among them had been conquered from the Boians in *Gaul*: and those Gauls first had dispossessed the Tuscans of the same.

This year there were many men of mark and name that sued to be Censors: and this competition as it had not been of sufficient importance it self to move matter of debate, was the occasion of a contention and variance much greater. The competitors were these, *T. Quintus Flaminius*, *P. Cornel. Scipio*, the son of *Cnecus*: *L. Valerius Flaccus*, *M. Porcius Cato*, *M. Claudius Marcellus*,

* 29. Decem-
ber.

Marcellus, and *M. Atilius Glabrio*, even he who had vanquished *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians* at *Hermopyla*. To this man last rebered the peoples favour and affection, most inclined by reason of many congiaries and largesses which he had given amongst them in publick, by means whereof many a man was obliged and bound unto him. The rest, being so many and nobly descended withall, took it to the heart, and could not endure that such a person as he newly risen and come up, and a gentleman of the first head, should be preferred before them, whereupon *P. Sempronius Gracchus*, and *C. Sempronius Rutilius*, two Tribunes of the commonalty, commended action against him to answer at a day, laying to his charge that there remained a surplussage of the Kings money and other pillage gotten in the camp of *Antiochus*, over and above all that he either carried and shewed in triumph, or brought in accompt into the City chamber. Many and sundry depofitions there were to prove this inditement, as well of lieutenants as of colonels. But *M. Cato* above all other witnesses was most noted: whose great authority acquired in the whole course of his life (which he had passed hitherto in all upright conversation and constant gravity) was much impaired and discredited now, with his white rober that he bare on his back. He being produced as a witness, depofed and gave evidence, that he had seen certain plate as well gold as silver, among the rest of the pillage found in the Kings camp, which he never could let eye on in all the triumph above said. In the end, *Glabrio*, because he would bring some displeasure particularly, and most of all upon *Cato*, said, he would give over his suit for the Censorship, since that there was another competitor as newly come up as himself, (whereat the Nobles indeed took indignation inwardly, although they said nothing) who pursued the cause so against him, even with incredible and inestimable perjury. Well, a fine was set upon his head of a thousand asses. And twice was the matter traversed, whether the mulct should be taken off or paid. But when the third day was come, and the party in trouble (*Atilius*) had quite surrendred to sue for the dignity, the people would not give their voyces as touching the payment of the fine aforesaid, and the Tribunes also themselves let fall their action. So *T. Quintius Flaminius*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus* were created Censors.

About the same time the Senat sat within the City in the temple of *Apollo*, in regard of *L. Æmilius Regillus*, who had vanquished the Admiral of King *Antiochus* in battell at sea; where he had audience given, and when he had declared what exploits he had done, namely, against how puissant Armados of the enemies he had fought, and how many ships of theirs he had either sunk or taken. The LL. of the Councell with one generall consent and accord, granted unto him a naval triumph. And he triumphed upon the Calends of *February*. In which triumph there were borne in shew fifty crowns save one, of beaten gold, but nothing that store of coin as such a royal triumph required, only there were carried in pomp 24700 Attick tetradrachms, 112300 cistophori. After this (by decree of the Senat) there were processions celebrated in consideration that *L. Æmilius Paulus* had brought his affairs in *Spain* to an happy issue.

Not long after *L. Scipio* came also into the City, who because he would not be inferior to his brother in the honourable addition of his name, caused himself to be surnamed *Asiaticus*. He discoursed before the Senat, and in the publick audience of the people, as touching his worthy acts. Divers there were who construed the thing thus and said, That the war was greater in name then difficult unto him in the manning; for with fighting one only memorable battell the matter was achieved and ended, but the glory indeed of that victory was begun unto him and prepared for his hand at *Hermopyla*. But if a man should judge hereof aright, and according to truth, the battell of *Hermopyla* may rather be accompted an exploit against the *Ætolians* then King *Antiochus*. For what great forces I pray you had *Antiochus* there in the field of his own? But in the last battell smitten in *Asia*, the whole power and puissance that he had in all *Asia*, stood there to be seen, yea, and all the aids and succours which he could levy out of the nations as far as to the utmost parts of the East. Great cause therefore they had both to render much praise and thanksgiving to the immortal gods, in as ample manner as possibly they could devise (for vouchsafing unto them so brave a victory as it was, and the same with such ease and expedition) and also to grant a triumph to the General. He triumphed upon the last of *February*, even in the very day that maketh the leap year. This triumph of his was much greater then that other of his brothers in regard of the magnificent pomp and shew represented to the eye: but if one call to mind the substance of the things themselves, and compare the dangers, the conflicts and difficulties of the one war with the other: there is no more equality between them, then if a man should in comparison of captain with captain, set *Antiochus* to match with *Annibal*. He shewed in triumph two hundred thirty four field ensignes and standards: he carried before him the portraicts of two hundred thirty four towns and Cities: a hundred thirty four teeth of ivory: two hundred thirty four crowns of gold: 237300 pounds weight of silver: 234000 Attick tetradrachms: 337070 cistophori: 110000 Philip-pieces of gold: of silver plate, and that was all graven and chased, a thousand four hundred twenty four pound weight: of golden plate as much as weighed 1204 pound. Moreover there were led before his chariot 32 great commanders; either governors of provinces under the King, or attendant in his court. Every souldier serving on foot, had given unto him 25 deniers: every centurion had double so much, and the gentlemen or knights triple. After the triumph done, the souldiers had their pay double in money, yea, and the portion of corn likewise was doubled. He had moreover given them already a double proportion in *Asia*, presently upon the end of the battell. A year it was almost after his Consulship expired ere he triumphed.

- A And much about one and the same time, both *Cn. Manlius* and the Consul entered into *Asia* and *Q. Fabius* *Labio* the Pretor repaired to the fleet. Moreover the Consul had work enough and wanted not matter of war within *France*. The seas were quiet after that *Antiochus* was defeated and subdued: *Fabius* therefore studied which way to take, and how to employ himself and his forces at sea, because he would not be thought and reputed idle in his province: so he resolved at length to put over with his fleet into *Cyete*. Now they of *Cydon* warred at that time against the *Gortynians* and the *Gnosians*: and the voice went that there was a great number of Romans and Italians, captives, living in slavery and bondage in every quarter of that Iland. He loosed therefore from *Ephesus* and set sail for *Candy*, and so soon as he was arrived and let aland, he sent his messengers about to the Cities, willing them to abandon their armor and increase from war, and to search and seek up throughout all the Cities and territories those captives and prisoners aforesaid, to bring them to him: and moreover, to send their Embassadors or agents, with whom he would treat concerning the affairs that in common touched as well the Candians as the Romans. The Ilanders made small regard of these messages: and unless it were the *Gortynians*, there was not one that delivered the captives. *Valerius Antias* hath recorded, That out of the whole Iland there were rendered to the number of four thousand: because the inhabitants were frighted with threats of war. And that this was the cause why *Fabius*, although he performed no other exploit, obtained of the Senat a navall triumph. From *Cyete*, *Fabius* returned to *Ephesus*: from whence he set forth three ships to the coast of *Thracia*, and commanded that the garrisons of *Antiochus* should quit *Rhodi* and *Marona*, to the end, that those Cities likewise might be let free and enfranchised.

The eight and thirtieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the eight and thirtieth Book.

- D **M**arcus Fulvius the Consul besieged the *Ambracians* in *Epirus*, and received them upon composition to mercy. He subdued *Cephalonia*, vanquished & brought under his subjection the *Ætolians*, and made peace with them. The Consul *Cn. Manlius* his colleague, overcame the *Gallo-greeks*, the *Telissibogians*, the *Telissages*, and the *Tracmians*, who were passed over into *Asia* under the conduct of *Brennius*: the only people that within the mountain *Taurus* yielded a not obedience to the Romans. The first beginning and rising is set down: also the time when at they seized first of those places which they hold. Here is recounted also the example of the rare valour and chastity of a woman, who being the wife of a certain King of the *Gallo-greeks*, chanced to be taken prisoner; and when a Centurion had forced and abused her body, she killed him with her own hands. The Censors held a selling of the City: in which by computation were numbered 258328 souls of Roman Citizens.
- E Amity was contracted with *Antiochus* King of *Cappadocia*. *Cn. Manlius* triumphed over the *Gallo-greeks*, notwithstanding the contradiction of those ten Commissioners, by whose advice and assistance he had articulated and engrossed the accord of alliance with *Antiochus*, and pleaded his own cause himself in the Senat against them. *Scipio Africanus* was indicted as some say, by *Quintus Perilius Aetius* a Tribune of the Commons: as others, by *Nævius*, for that he had defrauded the City Chamber of some part of the Pillage which he got from *Antiochus*. When the day was come that he should make his answer, he was called up to the publick pulpit and place of audience, and with a loud voice said unto the people, My masters you that are Citizens of Rome, this very day have I won *Carthage*: and with that he ascended up into the Capitoll, and the people accompanied him thither: and from thence because he would avoid these hard and injurious courses of the Tribunes, and be no more tormented with them, he retired himself to *Liternum*, as it were into voluntary exile: and whether he ended his days there, or at Rome, it is not well known: for his tomb and monument was to be seen in both places. *Scipio Asiaticus* (the brother of *Africanus*) was accused of the same crime of embezzling the publick treasure and robbing the common weal, and thereof condemned: but as he was led to prison, and should have been laid up on bonds and irons, *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus* Tribune of the Commons (who before-time had been an adversary and enemy unto the *Scipios*) interposed himself and rescued him: and for that pleasure done, he took to wife the daughter of *Africanus*. When the Pretor sent the treasurers of the City, so far off they were from finding any remnant or token of the King's riches and money, that they could not more with as much as would satisfy the law wherein he was condemned. And when his kindred and friends had contributed and raised an infinite masse of money for him, he would not receive the same: and he much only was redeemed and bought again, as might serve for his necessities to find and maintain him.

During

During the time of the wars in *Asia*, the affairs also in *Ætolia* were in small rest and quietness: which troubles arose first from the *Athamanians*, who after that *Aminander* was dispossessed of his Kingdom, were held in obedience by garrisons under the captain of King *Philip*; and they bare themselves so proud, insolent, and outrageous in their government, that the *Athamanians* found a great misse of *Aminander*, and were desirous of him again. Now remained he at that time as a banished person in *Ætolia*; and upon letters received from his own nation (concerning the state wherein *Athamania* then stood) he conceived some hope to recover his crown again; whereupon he sent the messengers back to *Argithea* (the chief City of *Athamania*) unto the principall men of the countrey, with this credence, That if he might be assured of the affection and love of the people, he would procure the aid of the *Ætolians* and come into *Athamania*, accompanied with the elect personages (and those are the counsell of that nation) and *Nicander* the Pretor. When he understood and perceived that they were prest and ready to do him all service, he advertised them sometimes upon what day he would enter with his army into *Athamania*. At the first there were but four persons that conspired against the Macedonian garrison, and these took every one six more unto them for to be assistant in the execution of their complot. But afterwards trusting but little in this small number of their adherents and complices (who indeed were fitter to keep counsell and conceal a matter secretly, then to perform any action valiantly) they adjoynd unto them the like number unto the other: so as now they were two and fifty in all; and they divided themselves into four companies. One crew of them went to *Heraclea*; another to *Teiraphylia*, where the Kings treasure was usually kept; a third took their way to *Theudoria*; and the fourth to *Argithea*. But they all agreed upon this course, to hold themselves quiet and peaceable at their first coming, and to converse in the market place of these Cities, as if they were come about some particular negotiation of their own: and upon a certain day appointed to set to it at once, and to raise the whole multitude for to expell the Macedonian garrisons out of their fortresses. Now when the day was come, and *Aminander* ready upon the frontiers with his forces of a thousand *Ætolians*, the garrisons of the Macedonians were at one instant chased out of those four Cities aforesaid, like as it was comploted before hand: and letters were dispatched from all parts into other Cities, advising them to deliver and free themselves from the tyranny of *Philip*, and restore *Aminander* into his lawfull kingdom and throne of his father. Thus the Macedonians were expelled in every quarter: only the town *Theium* made resistance and held out some few daies against the siege, by occasion that *Zeno* (captain of the garrison there) had intercepted the letters, and they that sided with *Philip* were possessed of the castle. But in the end surrendered it was likewise unto *Aminander*, and all *Athamania* reduced unto his obedience excepting only the fort of *Athenæum*, situate upon the marches of *Macedony*.

Philip advertised of the revolt of *Athamania*, accompanied with a power of six thousand fighting men, put himself in his journey, and with exceeding expedition, marched as far as *Gomphi*. Where he left the greater part of his forces, (for they had not been able to endure so long a journey) and with two thousand came to *Athenæum*, the only place held by his garrison to his use. And from thence, after he had sounded the next neighbours, and soon found that there was nothing but hostility among them, he retired to *Gomphi*, and joined withall his forces together returned into *Athamania*. Then he sent *Zeno* before with a thousand footmen, and gave him in charge to seize upon *Ethopia*, a place that directly for his purpose commandeth *Argithea*; and seeing that his men were possessed thereof, himself sat him down, and pitched his tents about a certain temple dedicated to the name of *Jupiter*. There he was forced by reason of the foul and stormy weather to stay one whole day, and the morrow after he went forward with his army to *Argithea*. As they marched, behold they discovered the *Athamanians*, running from divers parts to the hill tops, which stood over the way along. They had no sooner espied them, but the foremost ensigns made stay, and all that regiment of the vanguard was surpris'd with fear and fright. Every man began for his part to cast many doubts, and think with himself what should become of them, in case their companies were entred once into the vallies, so checked by those rocks above said. This tumult and trouble caused the King perforce to call back those in the vanguard, and to retire the same way that he came, notwithstanding he was very desirous (if they would have seconded him) to have made quick speed, and gotten through those streights. The *Athamanians* at first followed after them aloot quietly enough: but when they had once joined with the *Ætolians*, leaving them behind to come upon the tail of the enemy, they spread themselves all about and flanked them on the sides: some of them also got store their head by the next waies which they were acquainted with, and beset the passages; inso much, as the Macedonians were so greatly troubled, that forced they were (more like men that fled in disarray, then marched in good order) to leave much of their armor, and many of their men behind, to passe over the river; and there the chase ended. From thence the Macedonians returned safely to *Gomphi*, and so forth into *Macedony*.

The *Athamanians* and the *Ætolians* assembled from all parts to *Ethopia* for to surpris and defeat *Zeno* and that regiment of a thousand Macedonians which was with him. But the Macedonians reposing no great trust in that place, retired from *Ethopia*, to an hill much higher and steeper

A keeper on all sides, and therefore lesse acceptable. The Athamanians having found out diverse passages unto it, enforced them to forgo that hold also. And when they were dispersed among the blind rocks, and unto them unknown, and could not readily find the way out, some of them were taken prisoners, & others slain. Many for fear tumbled down headlong from the pitch of the cliffs, and brake their necks, and very few escaped with *Zelus* to the King. The next day after they obtained truce, untill they had committed their dead to earth.

Aminander having thus repossessed his realm, sent Embassadors to *Rome* unto the *Senator* *Lucius* wife, unto the *Scipios* in *Asia* (who after the great battell with *Antiochus*, sojourned in *Ephesus*) He craved peace and pardon, he excused himself in that he had recovered his fathers Kingdome by the means and help of the *Ætoliens*, and withall laid great fault and blame upon King *Philip*.

B As for the *Ætoliens*, they departed out of *Athamania*, and made an expedition against the *Amphilochians*, and by consent of the greater part (reduced the whole nation under their puissance and subjection. Having thus regained *Amphilochia* (for in times past it appertained to their neighbours) upon the same hope they passed over in *Aperantia*, which yielded also for a great part thereof, and came under their obedience. As for the *Dolopians*, they never belonged to the *Ætoliens*, but unto *Philip*. And at the first they assembled together in arms, but understanding one, that the *Amphilochians* took part with the *Ætoliens*, that *Philip* was fled out of *Athamania* and that his garrison was put to the sword, they revolted likewise from *Philip*, and turned to the *Ætoliens*. Who making now full account that they were sure enough on all sides from the *Macedonians*, by reason of so many nations which environed them about, they took knowledge (by the common

C bruit) of the defeat of *Antiochus* by the *Romans* in *Asia*, and not long after their own Embassadors returned to *Rome* without hope of peace, relating withall that *Fulvius* the Consul had passed the seas already with an army. Upon these news, they were much troubled and afraid: and in this perplexity, they induced and procured first the *Rhodian* and then the *Athenian* Embassages, to the end that by the credit and countenance of these two States, their prayers lately rejected, might have more easie access to the *Senat*: and with them they sent to *Rome* once again the principall personages of their nation, to try their last hope of obtaining peace; and never to cast to prevent war, before the enemy was come welneer within their sight. Now had *M. Fulvius* transported his forces to *Apollonia*, and devised with the princes and states of the *Epirots*, where to begin war.

D The *Epirots* advised him to assail *Ambracia*, which as then was united to the *Ætoliens*. And why? if either the *Ætoliens* should come to the defence of the place, they had a goodly large and open plain all about to bid them battell; or if they refused the field, and would not fight, they should find no great difficulty to assault and force the town. For not only there was at hand store enough of timber and other matter to raise mounts, mantelets, and other fabricks; but *Arcthon* a river navigable, very commodious to transport all necessaries unto them, runneth under the wals of the City; and besides, the summer was a fit season for war-service. With these reasons they perswaded the Consul to conduct his army through *Epirus*. But when the Consul was come before *Ambracia*, he found it was no easie peece of work to besiege and assault the town. This *Ambracia* is situate under the stony and craggy hill, which the inhabitants call *Perantia*. The City itself looketh unto the West, what way as the wall reacheth toward the fields; and the river: the fort

E and castle thereof standeth upon the hill, and regardeth the East. The river *Arcthon* running out of *Acarnania*, dischargeth it self into an arme of the sea, which beareth the name of the City neer adjoyning, and is called *Ambracia*. This town, besides that it is well guarded with the river of one side, and defended with hills on the other, is fortified also with a strong wall, in circuit somewhat more then three miles about. *Fulvius* encamped strongly on the fields side, in two holds of a pretty distance asunder, and raised one scence upon an high ground, opposit against the fortresse of the town. All these places he determined to enclose within the compais of a trench and rampier, to the end, that they who were shut up within the town, might have no egress, and that from without there should be no ingress, for any aid and succour whatsoever. The *Ætoliens* were assembled already at *Stratus* by an edict from the Pretor *Ninander*, incontinently upon the rumour that ran

F the siege of *Ambracia*, intending fully at first to march from thence withall their forces. But afterwards, when they perceived that a greater part of the City was streightly beleaguered already, and blocked with trench and rampier; and withall, that the *Epirots* were encamped upon a plain on the other side of the river, they were of advise to divide their forces in two parts. *Eupolemus* accompanied with a regiment of a thousand men lightly appointed, passed through the fortifications of the enemies, before they were joined and united together, and entered *Ambracia*. *Ninander* with the rest of the forces purposed at the first by night to assail the camp of the *Epirots*, considering that the *Romans* could not easily succour them, by reason of the river running between. But afterwards upon better advise, supposing this to be a dangerous enterprize (for fear lest the *Romans* should discover their march, and so intercept them that they might not retire again in safety) he altered his mind, and turned to the spoiling and waiving of *Acarnania*. Now when the Consul had made attend of all his fabricks devised for to invest and enclose the City, and finishing his engines wherewith he meant to shake the wall, he approached neer and gave assault in five places at once. Three batteries he planted in equall distance asunder, and where the easiest passage and access was from the plain, full upon that place of the City which they call *Pyrrhaum*: one over against the temple of *Æsculapian*: and another opposit to the Castle. With

ramps he hook the wals, with long poles and hooks he fetcht off and plucked down the battle-

battlements of the walls. The oppidans as the first were afraid to see these strange engines, and H
 quaked to hear so terrible noise of their walls battered: but afterwards, seeing that the walls stood
 upright beyond their expectation, they plucked up their hearts again, and with swipes weighed
 either great counterpoises and weights of lead, or huge stones, then with a swing they let them
 fall as in upon the rams of the enemies, or else tumbled mighty big logs of timber aloft, and so
 either brake them speeces, or bare them down. And as for their hooks aforesaid, they caught hold
 of them with iron flouks like anchors, and so drew them over the walls to the other side with a
 winch and brake both them & their poles. Moreover, they sallied out in the night upon the watch
 that attended their engines, issued forth of themselves in the day time, assailed the *corps de guard*,
 and put them great fear. As things stood in these terms before *Ambracia*, the *Etolians* by this
 time were returned to *Stratus* from their rodes which they made into *Acarnania*. And then *Ni-*
cander the Pretor conceiving some hope to levy the siege by some audacious and hardy adventure
 devised that one *Nicodamus* should put himself within the town of *Ambracia* with five hundred
Etolians; and appointed one certain night, and an hour also of the same night, when both they
 from out of the town should assail the fabricks and engines of the enemy planted against *Pyrrham*,
 and also himself charge upon the camp of the Romans at the same time, and put them in fright:
 supposing by this twofold alarm (especially in the night which maketh every thing more fearfull)
 there might be some notable act and memorable exploit done. And *Nicodamus* verily for his part
 in the dead time of the night, having passed unseen and not descried by some of the sentinels, and
 by resolute force broken through the rest of the watches, passed over an arm of the river and reco-
 vered the City, and in some measure by this means heartned the besieged inhabitants to adventure K
 anything, and put them in better hope to accomplish it. And when the night appointed was come,
 all on a sudden he set upon the engines, as it was before accorded between them. The adventure
 of this enterprise was much more then the effect, because there were no forces without to joyn
 with him; were it that the Pretor of the *Etolians* was afraid to be too bold, or that he thought it was
 a better peece of service to aid the *Amphilochians* newly recovered, whom *Perseus* King *Philip*
 his son, sent from his father to reconquer *Dolopia* and *Amphilochia*, assailed with great force and
 violence. The Romans had planted their ordnance and artillery, as is aforesaid in three places
 against *Pyrrham*, which the *Etolians* charged all at one time, but not with like preparation of
 means, nor with the same violence. For some came with burning and flaming firebrands, others
 carried tow and bundles with pitch, and faggots of dry sticks, and other like matter easy to be L
 kindled, in such sort as all their companies shone again with a light fire. Many of the warders they
 killed at the first onset, but when the alarm and tumult was heard within the camp, and the signal
 given by the Consul, they took arms, and ran apace out of all the gates for to rescue and defend
 them. In one quarter the *Etolians* did their deed, and fought with fire and sword: but in the o-
 ther two places after they had given the attempt, rather than began any skirmish, they retired and
 went their waies. The heat of the fight inclined wholly to one quarter, where the two captains
Eupolemus and *Nicodamus*, encouraged their men as they fought from two divers parts, and en-
 tertained them with an allured hope, that *Nicander* according to agreement would be there and
 charge upon the back of the enemies. This for a good while maintained the courages of the
 souldiers: but perceiving there was no sign appeared of their countrymen, and that they kept not M
 touch with them, and seeing withall how the number of the enemies increased, and themselves
 disappointed and destitute, they slackened their fight, and were not so eager upon the enemy, and in
 the end gave over: and having much ado to retire in safety, were chased into the City, after they
 had burnt some of the Roman engines, and slain a few more of their enemies then there died of
 themselves. And surely if the service had been followed in execution according as it was com-
 plotted and agreed, those devised engines no doubt might have been destroyed, if not wholly, yet
 in one part at least wise, and that with great murder and slaughter of the enemies. The *Ambracia-*
ans, together with those *Etolians* which were within the City, not only gave over that
 night enterprise, but ever after shewed more coldnels to hazard themselves again, as if they had
 been betrayed by their own fellows. Not a man would fall forth upon the ward and watch of
 the enemies, but they all from their walls and turrets stood upon their guard only, and with the
 vantage of the place defended themselves in safety.

Perseus advertised that the *Etolians* approached *Amphilochia*, quit the siege of the City
 which he was about to assault: and after he had only harried and wasted the territory about it, re-
 tired from those quarters and returned into *Macedony*. The *Etolians* likewise were enforced to
 depart from thence, by reason that their sea-coasts were spoiled and overrun: for *Plinius* the
 King of the *Illyrians*, was entred into this river of *Corinth* with a fleet of 60 barks, and with the
 fleet of the *Achazan* ships that lay in the rode of *Parya* invested the maritim tract of *Etolia*. Against
 whom were sent a thousand *Etolians*, who waited upon the fleet at every turn as they doubled
 any reaches, and with the vantage of the short waies and next passages by the land, were ready
 to welcome them on the banks and make head against them.

The Romans lying still in siege before *Ambracia*, by battering and shaking the walls in many
 places, had dismantled a great part of the City, and laid it open: howbeit, they could not enter
 with it. For at every breach where the wall was broken down, they were ready to make a new
 counter-mure, and the souldiers standing upon the very ruins, served in stead of a bulwark. The
 Consul seeing he could not prevail by open force, determined to undermine, and make a secret
 way

A way in the ground into the City: but first he covered the place where they wrought with man-lers. For a good while the plowers were not perceived by the enemies; nor withstanding they wrought both night and day, not only digging under the earth, but also casting up the mould as they went. But an huge heap of earth bearing up aloft from the left, was directed, and gave them within the towne to understand, what the enemies were about: and fearing lest they had wrought so far already as under their wall, and that they were at the point to make a way into the towne, they within began likewise to strike another trench just against the place covered with man-lers afore said: and when they had digged to that depth as the bottom might be of the enemies mine, they made no words within, but in great silence laid their ear too in divers places close to the earth, harkning if haply they might hear any noise of the plowers: and when they once had got in ear of them, they countermined dire dily against them. And long they were not about it. For anon they came as far as to the cold hollow ground, whereas the foundation of the wall stood upon stakes and props, which the enemies had set to bear it up. Now when their works were met together, and that there was a continued passage out of this trench into the Mine, the plowers first fell to it, and scuffled with their spades shovels, and mattocks, and such other tools that they had used to work withall: but soon after, armed souldiers entered and encountered within the vane, and closely skirmished under ground. But within a while that manner of dealing grew more cold and slack by reason that they stopped up the Mine between when they list, one while with sacks and haircloth, other whiles with doors and such trash as they could come by in haste to stand next hand. One new invention above the rest was devised against those within the Mine, and the same but a slight matter, and made without any great trouble, and this it was. The towne men took a great tun or dryfat with a hole bored in the bottom, of that capacity as might receive a penny pipe like a faucet within it; and withall they made a pipe indeed of iron to fit it, and an iron lid likewise to cover the other end or mouth thereof, but the same had many holes in divers places of it. Now this vessel they stuffed full of down and soft feathers, and then set it with the head forward against the very Mine. From the lid or cover afore said there stood poking out long sharp pikes, which the Macedonians call *Sarissa*, set to keep off the enemies. Within the feathers they put a cole or spark of fire, and then with a pair of smiths bellows (the hole whereof went into the pipe afore said) they blowed the cole and set it on a smothering fire within the feathers. By which means there arose not only a mighty deal of smoak, but also it carried with it a stinking favour, by the reason of the feathers burning within; and so filled all the Mine under ground, that scarce durst any man abide within for fear of being choaked.

During these affairs about *Ambraeia*, *Phaenae* and *Demetrias* two Embassadors sent from the Etolians by a generall decree of the whole nation, came with a full and plenary commission unto the Consul. For their Pretor (seeing of the one side *Ambraeia* besieged, and on the other side the sea coast endamaged with the enemies ships, and in a third quarter the *Amphilochians* and all *Dalopia* pitiously waited by the Macedonians; and that the Etolians were not able to oppose themselves and make head at once against three wars in divers parts) had assembled a generall Diet for to consult with the chief of the Etolians what was to be done in this case. All their opinions jumped in this one point, "To seek for peace (if it were possible) under equall and indifferent conditions: if not, yet in as tollerable terms as they might. In confidence and assurance (say they) of *Ambracia*, the war began; and now that *Ambraeia* is vanquished both by land and sea, yet, and hunted as it were out of the compass of the world into an angle beyond *Tanais*, what hope remaineth to maintain and wage the war any longer? and therefore *Phaenae* and *Demetrias* were to deal in such a case and time, as they thought best according to their wisdom and fidelity, and the common good of the Etolians: for what other counsell remaineth, what course else can they take, or what choice beside hath fortune left them? With this so large and free commission they were these Embassadors sent: who besought the Consul to spare their City, to have mercy and pity of their nation (sometime linked in amity unto them, and forced through very calamity and misery (for so oft they were so speak of any injuries and wrongs offered) to fall in such follies: neither have the Etolians in this late war of *Antiochus* deserved to suffer more harm than they were worthy to receive good for their service in the former war against *Philip*: and when they were not largely rewarded and recompenced then, so they ought not to be punished and chastised extremely now. The Consul made answer again, That the Etolians had indeed long for peace many a time, but sincerely and truly at no time: and since they had followed and drawn *Ambracia* to war, let them hartly follow his example in craving peace. Like as he therefore hath not quit and rendered some few Cities which were in question about their liberty and freedom, but parted with a rich and wealthy kingdom, even all *Achaia* between this and the mountain *Taurus*: so unless the Etolians will simply lay all arms aside and come to treat for peace, he would never give them audience. And to be short, if they will peace have, they must deliver up their armour and all their horses first, yea, and make payment of a thousand talents of silver, and the one moiety thereof to pay down right upon the spot before hand. Over and besides this treaty, I will annex unto the accord and covenant, That they shall hold for their friends and enemies those whom the people of *Rome* reputed to be theirs, & none other. To this answer the Embassadors said never a word, both for that they were very hard and grievous conditions, and also because they knew the nature and moods of their Countermen and neighbours, who would grow untractable they were and not to be removed if they once took speech

whereupon they returned unto them, without doing any thing at all, as know the advantage once again of the Prætor and the principal States, what so resolve upon in every respect, while all stood whole and upright. But they were welcomed with outcries, and well spent for their labour in that they had not dispatched and made an end, and so were sent away, and commanded to bring back with them, one peace or other. As they went again toward *Ambracia*, they were foretold and surprized in an ambush laid for them near the high way side by the Acarnanians (with whom at that time they warred) and were had so: *Tyrreum* and there imprisoned. And by this occasion the peace was delayed.

• *Ambracia*, or
Avia.

While the Embassadors of *Athens* and *Rhodes* (who were come already to intreat for them) remained with the Consul, *Aminander* also (the King of the *Athamans*) presented himself under safe conduct in the Roman camp, and took more care for the City of *Ambracia* (where he had sojourned the greatest part of his exile) than in the behalf of the *Etolians*. By them the Cos. was certified of the hard hap of the *Etolian* Embassadors, and then he gave commandment, that they should be brought from *Tyrreum*. When they were come, they began to treat of peace. *Aminander* in the mean while laboured what he could in that enterprise which he especially had undertaken, namely, to induce the *Ambracians* to submit unto the Romans: but when he saw he did but small good, for all his parling with the principal persons of the City from their wall at length by the Cos. his permission he entered into the town; where, partly by good counsel and partly by prayer and entreaty, he perswaded them in the end, to put themselves into the Roman hands. Now as touching the *Etolians*, they found much favour by the means of *C. Kalerius* the son of that *Levius*, who first contracted amity with that nation; and was besides half brother unto the Cos. by the same mother. And the *Ambracians* after capitulation made, that the *Etolians* who came to aid them might go forth without harm, set open their gates. Then articles were made with the *Etolians*: *Inprimis*, To pay 500 Enboik talents of silver: two hundred presently, and the other 300 at six payments yearly by even portions. *Item*, To render all Roman captives and fugitive traitors and runagates that they had into the hands of the Romans. *Item*, To challenge jurisdiction over no City, which since the time that *T. Quintus* passed over into *Greece*, was either forced by the Romans or entered voluntarily into amity and society with them: provided always, that the Isle *Cephalonia* be not comprised within this capitulation. These articles, albeit they were somewhat easier than they looked for, yet the *Etolians* requested, that they might acquaint their Council withall: and permitted they were so to do. Some small variance and debate distracted and held them awhile as touching those Cities, which having been in times past within their signory and jurisdiction they hardly could abide to be dismembred (as it were) from their body. But in the end there was not one but agreed to accept of the peace. The *Ambracians* gave unto the Cos. for a present a coronet of beaten gold, weighing 150 pound. Their statues of brass and marble their painted tables (where with *Ambracia* was better stored and adorned, than all the other Cities of that region, because it was the royall seat of King *Pyrrhus* where he kept his court and residence) were all taken down and carried away: nought else was touched nor any hurt done besides.

The Consul dislodged then and removed from *Ambracia* into the higher and more inland parts of *Etolia*, and encamped before the City called *Argos Amphilochium*; two and twenty miles distant from *Ambracia*: and thither at length repaired the *Etolian* Embassadors unto him, who marvelled much at them, why they staid so long. When he understood by them that the general council of the *Etolians* had approved of peace, he willed them to go directly to *Rome* unto the Senat: and permitted also the *Athenians* and *Rhodians* (their mediators and advocates) to go with them and as orators to speak in their behalf: moreover he granted, that his half brother *C. Kalerius* should accompany them: which order when he had taken, himself crossed over the water to *Cephalonia*.

When they were arrived at *Rome*, they found both the ears and hearts of the chief Senators wholly possessed beforehand, with many complaints and imputations that *Philip* had enformed against them: for he by means of his Embassador and letters (complaining that the *Etolians* had unjustly taken from him the *Dolapians*, the *Amphilochians*, and *Athamans*; and that his garrisons, yea and last of all his son *Persus*, were driven out of *Amphilochia*) had wholly averted the Senat from giving any ear at all to their requests and prayers: howbeit the *Rhodians* & *Athenians* had audience given them with patience and silence. The *Athenian* Embassador *Leon* (by report) moved and perswaded the Senat with his eloquent tongue: and by a familiar parable and simile under he compared the people of *Etolia* to the nature of the sea: For like as it, being of itself calm is troubled and made rough by the winds: even so (saith he) the people of that nation all the while they entertained friendship with the Romans, and performed their faithfull promise unto them so long were in their right kind, and continued peaceable and quiet: but after that *Theas* and *Dicaarchus* began to blow from out of *Asia*, as after that, *Maverat* and *Damocritus* blundered and puffed from the parts of *Europe*, then arose a storm and tempest, with the gusts whereof driven they were to *Antiochus*, and cast (as a man would say) upon a rock. Well the *Etolians* after they had been much tossed a long time from post to pillar in fine effected that these articles of peace ensuing were freely agreed upon. *Inprimis*, The nation of *Etolia* shall maintain faithfully and truly the Empire and Signory of the people of *Rome*. Then shall suffer to pass through their country and confines no army that shall be conducted against their allies and friends: nor assist them with any aid or maintenance whatsoever. *Item*, They shall repulse their enemies,

A mics of the Romans for their enemies, and wage war against them. *Item*, They shall deliver unto the Romans and their confederates, all runagates, all fugitives, and prisoners that are among them, excepting such as having been once taken and returned home, chanced to be caught again the second time: as those, who being Roman enemies, were taken prisoners by them, at what time as the Aetolians served in garrison under the Romans. As for the rest, as many as are forth-coming and may be found, shall be delivered (without fraud or covin) within 100 daies next ensuing, to the Magistrate of *Cercyra*: but those that appear not within that time, shall belike-wise redred whensoever their fortune is to be met withall. *Item*, They shall yield forty hostages, such as the Roman Consul in his discretion will approve and like well of: provided, that none of these pledges be under twelve years of age, nor above forty. Neither shall there be taken for hostage any Prator, or Captain over horicemen, nor publike Notary or Secretary to the State, nor yet any one that hath lain in hostage before time. Provided also, that *Cephalonia* shall be exempt from the articles of this accord. *Item*, As touching the sum of money which they are to pay, and the manner and terms of the payment, there shall be nothing changed of that which hath been concluded with the Consul: yet, if they had rather pay the same sum in gold than in silver, they may so do; provided then, that they keep the rate and proportion of one for ten, to wit, that one golden peece of coin go for ten times so much in weight of silver, and no more. *Item*, What Cities, what lands and territories, what persons toever, which having at any time heretofore held tenor of the Aetolians, were by the Consuls *T. Quintus* and *Cn. Domitius*, or any time since their Consulship, either subdued and conquered by force of arms, or otherwise of themselves came under the obedience of the people of *Rome*, the Aetolians shall make no claim nor challenge unto them. Finally, the Aetolians with their City and territory, shall appertain to the Acarnanians. Under these conditions aforesaid, the accord was concluded with the Aetolians.

Not only in the same summer, but also much about those very daies wherein these affairs were managed by *M. Fulvius* in *Aetolia*, *Cn. Manlius* the other Consul maintained war in *Gallugracia*, whereof at this present I will begin to write. This Consul in the beginning of the spring came to *Ephesus*, where, after he had received the army of *L. Scipio* and taken a review and survey thereof, he made an Oration to his souldiers; wherein, first he praised their valour and vertue, in that with one battell they had finished the war against *Antiochus*: then he exhorted them to enter into a new war with the Gauls who had incouraged King *Antiochus* with aid, and were beside of nature so rampant, that unless their puissance were abated and their courage taken down, to little or no purpose it was that *Antiochus* was removed beyond the mountains of *Taurus*. Last of all, some discourse he made of his own person, which was nothing prolix and long, implying neither vain untruths nor excessive reports. The souldiers gave audience to the Consul with great joy and a general applause, making this account, that since King *Antiochus* was vanquished, the Gauls alone (who were one part of his forces) would be of no puissance to withstand them. But the Consul supposed that it was much out of his way, that *Eumenes* should be absent (for then he was at *Rome*) who knew the countries, was acquainted with the nature of the people, and whom it imported and concerned very much, that the power of the Gauls should be enfeebled and abated. And therefore he sent for *Attalus* his brother, from *Pergamus*, and exhorted him to enter into a dition with him and take arms. And when *Attalus* had made promise to aid him both in his person and with all the power that he could make, he sent him into his country to levy souldiers. After some few daies, when the Consul was departed from *Ephesus*, *Attalus* (accompanied with a regiment of a thousand foot and two hundred horse) met him at *Magnesia*: and had given order to his brother *Athenus*, to follow after with the rest of the forces; having committed the guard and government of *Pergamus* and the kingdom to those, whom he knew to be fast and faithfull to his brother and himself. The Consul, after he had praised and commended the young gentleman, marched forward with his whole power as far as *Mander*, and there encamped, because it was not possible to pass the river at any foord, and therefore boats and barges were to be got together for to ferry and transport the army. When they were set over the river, they went to *Hiska Coma*, where there was a magnificent and stately Temple of *Apollo*, and an Oracle in it. And by report the Priests and Prophets there, deliver the responds and answers of the Oracle in verses, and those not rudely composed without rhyme or meter. From hence they removed, and at two daies end arrived at the river *Elapesus*: thither were embassadors come from the Alabandians, requesting the Consul either by vertue of his authority, or by force of arms to compel one of their fortresses which lately had revolted from them and rebelled, to return again to their former obedience. And thither *Athenus* also, brother to *Eumenes* and *Attalus*, was come together with *Leusus* the Candian, and *Corragus* the Macedonian, bringing with them 1000 foot, and 300 horse, of divers nations mingled together. The Consul sent one of his martiall Tribunes or Colonels with a mean company to summon the Castle or fortress aforesaid, and after it was forced and recovered, he delivered it into the hands of the Alabandians. Himself kept on his direct way, and turned on no side until he came unto *Antiochia* upon the river *Mander*, where he encamped. This river *Mander* riseth from *Celana*, where the first head and source thereof is to be seen. Now this *Celana* had been in times past the capitall City of all *Phrygia*. But in proceess of time this old *Celana* was abandoned by the inhabitants, and not far from it they peopled a new City called *Apamea*, bearing the name of *Apamea* the sister of *Selucus*. The river *Mander* likewise springing not far from

* Otherwise named *Galatia*

* *Mander*

the foresaid sources of *Mander*, dischargeth it self thereto. And as the common fame goeth at this *Calava* it was, where *Marsyas* the Musician gave denance to *Apollo*; and challenged him to play upon the flute. This *Mander* abovenamed, issuing out of an high hill at *Calava*, runneth through the midst of the City and first keeping his course along the country of the *Carians*, and afterwards of the *Ionians*, falleth at the last into an arm of the sea, between *Priene* and *Miletus*.

* The same that Gordian come or Julian.

Whiles the *Cos* lay encamped about *Antiochia*, *Solimus* the son of *Antiochus*, presented himself unto him with corn for his army, according to the covenant contracted with *Scipio*. Some small variance and difference there was as touching the aid demanded of *Antiochus*: for *Solimus* pleaded that *Antiochus* had capitulated only to find corn for the Roman souldiers. But this debate was soon at an end by reason of the stiff resolution of the *Cos*: who sent a Colonel to warn and charge the souldiers to accept no corn, before the aid souldiers of *Antiochus* were received. From thence he marched to *Gordianichus* (a City so called) & so forward the third day to *Taba*. This City is seated upon the frontiers of the *Indians*, in that coast which boundeth upon the *Pamphylian* sea. This quarter was able to yield lusty men for war, when it had not been any way endamaged, but remained entire and whole. For proof whereof, even then also there issued out of the City a cornet of horimen, who charged upon the Romans as they marched, and at the first onset troubled them not a little. But afterward, seeing themselves neither for number, nor yet for prowess comparable unto them, they were driven back into the town, & craved pardon for their trespass, ready to surrender their City into the *Cos*'s hands. The *Cos*, imposed upon them a payment of 25 talents of silver, and 10000 medimms of wheat, and upon that composition their surrender was accepted. Three daies after, the Romans came to *Chius* the river & from thence to the City *Eliza*, which at the first assault they won. After this the army marched as far as to a Castle called *Thabustan* standing over the river *Indus*, so called of a certain Indian, whom an Elephant threw and cast into it. Now they were not far from *Cybra*, & yet no embassage appeared from the tyrant of that country and state, *Maugres*, a disloyal and treacherous man in all his dealings: and besides, extremely hard and unreasonable. Whereupon the *Cos* sent out before, *C. Helvius*, with 4000 foot and 500 horse, to sound his disposition and mind. As these companies entered into his frontiers, there encountered them his Embassadors, giving them to understand that the tyrant their Master was ready to do whatsoever they would command: only his request was unto *Helvius* to pass peaceably through his country, and to restrain his souldiers from wasting & spoiling the territories: & 15 talents they brought with them for to make a crown of gold. *Helvius* promised to save his lands for being spoiled and wasted, but he willed the embassadors to go to the *Cos*. Now when they had related the same unto him, he made them answer in these termes, We cannot gather by any sign (qd. he) that the tyrant beareth good will and affection to us Romans: & again, if he be such an one as the world taketh him for, we are to think rather of his chastisement, than of admitting him into our amity. The embassadors were troubled at this word, requested him for that present no more, but to take the crown of gold, and to permit that the tyrant himself might have access into his presence for to parle with him and clear himself. The morrow after, by permission of the *Cos*, came the tyrant into the camp bearing no port of a Prince. For a privat person and mean man of small wealth would have gone in better apparel, and carried a greater train about him than he: neither went he so meanly, but he spake as lowly, hacking and hewing his words, as if he had not been able to speak them out. He complained of his own bareness and want & likewise of the poverty of the Cities under his seignory (for besides *Cybra* he held in possession *Sylum* & that which is called *Alimne*). Yet he promised to see what he could do, if haply by undoing himself & spoiling his subjects, he might make up five and twenty talents. Many he mistrusted greatly that he should never effect so much. Are you thereabout? (qd. the *Cos*.) Now verily I can no longer endure his mockery. Was it not enough, that in your absence you bashed not to delude and disappoint us by your Embassadors, but you must persist still in the same impudency now that you be here your self in person? And would you make us beleieve indeed, that the disbursing of 25 talents will begger you and your whole kingdom? Come on sir, I say: Bring me hither within these three daies, and lay me down in ready money 500 talents, or look for no other favour, but your territory to be wasted, and your City besieged. Greatly affrighted was he at these minatory words, howbeit he continued still obstinately, countering & pretending his neediness and poverty, and after much base hucking, and rising by little and little, one while hasting and wrangling, another while praying and entreating, (and that with whining and putting finger in the eye) he was fetcht over at length, and came off to pay 100 talents of silver, and to deliver 10000 medimms of corn besides. And all this was exacted of him to be performed in six daies. From *Cybra* the *Cos*, conducted the army through the country of the *Sindenians*, and after he had passed over the river *Calanrys*, he there pitched down his tents. The morrow after they marched by the lake or near *Calanrys*, and set them down and rested upon the river *Mander*. As they advanced from thence toward *Lagon* the next City the inhabitants fled for fear: wherupon the town void of people, but replenished with abundance of all things was ransacked and rifled. This done, they arrived at the head or spring of the river *Lyens*, and the next day marched toward the river *Cobulans*. The *Termissians* at the same time having forced and won the City of the *Lyrians*, were now upon the point to assault the Castle. They who were within besieged, seeing no other hope of succour, sent their Embassadors to the Consul, beseeching his help, and making pitifull moan, how they with their wives and children were shut up within the fortress, and looked every hour for death, either by famine or the sword.

* Hind, Nigro, Dial. Incolis.

divul. O. R. 10000 medimms

A sword. This fell out as the Gaul wished; namely, to have so good an occasion presented unto him, of turning his way into *Pamphylia*. At his first starting he delivered the *Lyrians* from the siege. To *Lar mellus* he granted peace upon composition that he should receive first 30 talents. In like sort he dealt by the *Apudians* and other States of *Pamphylia*. In his return from thence, the first day he encamped fast by a river called *Taurus*; and the next day following, near a town which they call *Xylinus Camp*. From whence he marched and held on his journey continually, untill he came to the City *Cormaja*. The next City unto it was *Darsa*, which he found abandoned by the inhabitants for fear howbeit full of all kind of goods. As he was tied still along the marshes, there met him Embassadors from *Lagina* who came to render their City into his hands. After this, he entered into the territory of *Sagelassus*, a fertile & plenteous quarter, for all sorts of corn & fruits. The *Pisidians* inhabit those parts, who are the best warriors in all that country. In regard whereof, as also for that their territory is fruitful and well peopled, and their City strongly situated (as few like unto it) they were grown to be hardy and courageous. The Gaul seeing no embassy presented unto him in the entrance of the frontiers, sent out foragers to fetch in booties. When they perceived once their goods harried and carried away before their faces, their stomachs came down, and then they sent their ambassadors, and upon composition to pay 50 talents, 2000 medimns of wheat, and as many of barley, they obtained peace. From thence he passed to the mountains of *Othrimus*, untill he came to a village which they name *Aperidon Coma*, and there he encamped. Thither repaired the next day *Salmus* from *Apamea*. And the same day, after he had sent away unto *Apamea* his sick folk and other baggage, and lest that he had (good for nothing) he took guides of *Salmus* for the way, and entered into the plains of *Metropolis*, and the next morrow marched as far as *Dion* in *Phrygia*. After this, he entered into *Syunda*, where he found all the towns about abandoned for fear, and left desert. With the booty and pillage whereof his army was to heavily charged, that hardly he could march five miles a day; and so he came at length to *Bendor*, named. The old. From thence he passed to *Anatura*, and the next day to the source of *Alander*, and the third day pitched down his tents near *Abassus*. There he lay encamped many daies together, because he was now arrived into the country of the *Tolistobogians*.

The Gauls in times past being a mighty people in number, were induced to take a voyage, either for want of land to inhabit, or for hope of booty and prizes: and supposing withall, that they could not pass through any nation whatsoever, comparable to themselves in sort of arms, ended under the conduct of *Brumnus* into the country of the *Dardanians*. Where they began to mutiny among themselves: by occasion whereof it hapned, that to the number of twenty thousand of them, following two of their Princes *Lumnus* and *Lutarius*, departed from *Dardanus*, and took their way into *Thracia* where partly by warring with them that made resistance, and partly by imposing tribute upon them that craved peace, they came at length as far as to *Bizantium*: and after they had held tributary a good time the coast of *Propontis*, they possessed themselves also of the good towns and Cities of that quarter. After this, they had a mind and desire to invade *Asia*; for they heard (by being so near, how fertile and plenteous the soil of that country was. And after they had surprised and won *Lysimachia* by a mile, and by force of arms conquered all *Chersonesus*, they descended to *Hellestus*. Where seeing how they were divided from *Asiatic* only by the straits, and that it was but a small cut thither, their desire was much more inflamed to pass over. And for this purpose they dispatched certain curriers to *Asiatic* the governor of that coast, to demand passage. But by reason that they effected not this so soon as they hoped, there arose another new sedition between the Princes themselves. Whereupon *Lumnus* accompanied with the greater part, retired to *Byzantium* from whence he came. But *Lutarius* took from the *Macedonians* (who under colour of an embassy were sent from *Antipater* in espial) two covered ships, and three brigandines. By means of these vessels, within few daies he had set over all his army, transporting them one after another day and night continually. Not long after *Lumnus* also sailed over into *Asia* from *Byzantium*, by the aid of *Nicomachus* Kings of *Bithynia*. After this, the Gauls joined again together in one, and encouraged *Nicomachus* in his wars against *Zyba*, who held a part of *Bithynia*, and by their help and assistance especially, *Zyba* was vanquished, and all *Bithynia* became subject to *Nicomachus*. Then they departed out of *Bithynia* into *Asia*. Now of twenty thousand there were of those men thins and armed. Yet to great a terror they struck into all nations on this side the mountain *Taurus*, that both they to whom they approached not near, and also they whom they came within well the firstest as the nearest, submitted themselves, and yielded under their obedience. At the end, being three nations of them, to wit, the *Tolistobogians*, the *Trocmians*, and the *Tectosages*, they divided *Asia* likewise into those parts, and parted them so equally among themselves, that each nation of them possessed several tract which paid them tribute. The coast of *Hellestus* was given to the *Trocmians*: the *Tolistobogians* had for their share *Asien* and *Ionis*; and unto the *Tectosages* were allotted the inland parts of the main continent of *Asia*. And in open trade they demanded tribute of all *Asia* on this side *Taurus*. But they planted and sowed themselves about the river *Haly*. The fruit of their name was so fearful and terrible, and especially after their issue was multiplied and increased in great number, that the *XX* also of *Asien* in the end refused not to be their homagers, and give them tribute. The first of all the inhabitants in *Asia* that denied them homage, was King *Antalus* the father of *Eumenes*; and for as much beyond the expectation of all men, favoured his hardy and courageous enterprise: for he vanquished them in battle. Howbeit, he danted not their hearts so much, but still they offered

and maintained their sovereign feignory, in such sort, as their puissance continued until the war between Antiochus and the Romans. Yes, and after that Antiochus was vanquished and chased out of part of his Realm, they conceived great hope to hold their own still: by reason they were so remote from the sea, and therefore thought that the Roman army would never pierce so far as to them. The Consul now, for as much as he was to war with this nation, so terrible to all their neighbours in those quarters, assembled his souldiers to a publike audience, and in this manner made speech unto them.

I am not ignorant, my souldiers, that of all the people which inhabit Asia, the Gauls are most renowned for valiance in war. And why? this fierce and cruell nation having run over the world in a manner, and warred with all countries, chose them a place of abode; and to settle themselves in the midst of a generation, of all other most mild and tractable. Big and tall they are of stature, and personage: their hair they wear long in golden crisped and shining locks: they carry bucklers of huge bigness, and handle swords of exceeding length. Besides, when they enter into battell, they use to sing, to hoop, and dance, and with clattering their targets and weapons together, after the guise of their country, they make an horrible noise. And all this is done of purpose by them to terrifie their enemies. But such devices as these be, let the Greeks, the Phrygians, and Carians be afraid of, who are not used and accustomed to hear and see such things: as for the Romans, acquainted, with the Gauls sudden and tumultuous wars, they can skill well enough of their toys and vanities also. Once indeed, and but once, at the first encounter they discomfited the Romans at the river *Allia*: but since that time our Ancestors for the space of two hundred years have made havock of them; killed, put to flight, and driven them like sheep before them: and oftner, I dare well say, have they triumphed of the Gauls, than of all the world besides. Thus much we know of them by experience, that if a man be able to stand out their first shock and violence (which upon a furious heat of their own by nature, and in blind choler and anger they spend all at once) all the parts of their body run to sweat and become faint: their weapons are ready to fall out of their hands: their bodies are so tender, their courages so feeble (after their cholarick anger is once allayed and passed) that the very heat of the sun the dust and the drought is able without drawing sword, to overthrow them and lay them along. Proof and trial we have had of them: not only legions to legions, but man to man. *T. Manlius* and *M. Valerius* have showed plainly how far Roman vertue and prowess surpasseth the furious rage of Gauls. Why? even *Marcius* *Antiochus*, one man alone, repulsed and beat down the Gauls as they climbed up by numbers to the Capitol cliff. And those ancestors of ours before named, had then to deal with natural Gauls indeed, born and bred in their own country: whereas these here, by this stalme now are a bastard sort of them, and clean degenerate, mingled they are with others, and in truth as they be called so are they Gallo-greeks. And it fareth with them as with plants, fruits, and living beasts in which we see that the seed is not of that vertue, & so effectual to keep and retain still the own kind and nature, as the property of the soil and the air where they are nourished is, to change the same. Thus the Macedonians who inhabit *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, who dwell in *Selencia* and *Babylonia*, and other Colonies dispersed over the earth, are grown out of their own kind, and in manners become Syrians, Parthians, and Egyptians. *Muscia* lested among the Gauls, hath drawn somewhat of the nature of the nations adjoining and bordering upon them. And what have the Tarentins left them of that severe, rough, and hard discipline of the Spartans? For, whatsoever is ingendred and bred in the own proper place, is evermore kindly, and retaineth its own nature better: but look what is transplanted into another soil, doth soon degenerate, and grow into a bastard kind: for nature transformeth her self, and changeth into that wherewith she is nourished. Be sure therefore, that like as ye have defeated these Phrygians (for no better they be) overcharged and loaden with French arms in the battell against Antiochus, even so being now conquerors, ye shall subdue and hew them in pieces once already vanquished. And I fear me more that ye shall win too small glory of them, than I doubt ye by fighting so little with them, that ye shall have their hands too full of war against them.

Why, even King *Antiochus* many a time and often hath discomfited and put them to flight. Neither would I have you to think, that savage beasts only newly taken, and keeping in the first their fell and wild nature, after a time that they have been fed by mans hand, grown to be tame and gentle: but that the fierceness and cruelty of man is likewise of the same nature to be dulced and made tractable. Are ye perswaded that these Gauls resemble their fathers and grandfathers in conditions? Their forefathers long since left their native country for want of ground and land to possess; and being driven to pass through the most rough and difficult country of *Thracia*, first came into *Paonia* & afterwards travelled all over *Thracia*, fighting ever as they went with most fierce and cruell nations, untill at length they seized upon these parts and settled there. After (I say) they had been hardened and made more fell by so many travels and dangerous adventures, they were received by the end within such a land, as through abundance of all good things, might feed and frank them up. All that the fierceness and savage nature of theirs, which they had when they came first thither, is (no doubt) mollified by the goodness of the most fertile soil, by the sweetness & pleasure of a most temperat air, and last of all by the gentle and debonaire nature of the inhabitants their neighbors. And even you also (in good faith) are to look unto it: (marshall men although you be, and the very off-spring of *M.* himself) ye are (I say) to take heed and beware of these delights of Asia, and betimes to get you forth from them. So

forceable

H^{ow} forceable are these forraie pleasures and delightfull enticements, to quench and corrupt the vigor of
 your spirits: so powerfull is the common and conversing with strangers: so potent is the con-
 tagion (as it were) of their manners and discipline of their bow inhabitants. Yet this one good
 turn ye shall have: that as against you they have not that courage which in times past they had;
 so among the Greeks here, they are of as great name as ever they were in ancient time. So that
 amongst your allies, you shall win as great honour by your victory, as if you should have conque-
 red the Gauls, when they were at the height of their valour and prowels. After the assembly dis-
 missed, and Embassadors sent to *Eposognatus* (the only Prince in those parts who persisted in ami-
 ty with *Ennienus*), and had refused to aid *Antiochus* against the Romans) the *Col.* marched for-
 ward. The first day he came to the river *Alander*, and the morrow to a certain village which they
 call *Tylson*. Thither repaired unto him the Embassadors of the *Oroadians*, craving to be accepted
 as friends: but they were enjoined to pay two hundred talents: and when they requested leave
 to make relation and report hereof at home, they were permitted. From thence the *Col.* led his
 army to *Plaudan*: and after that he encamped at *Thictor*. Thither returned they who had been
 sent to *Eposognatus*, together with the Embassadors of Prince *Compulsus*, requesting the Romans
 not to war upon the *Tectosages*: for that both himself and *Eposognatus* also, would go in person
 to them, and perswade the nation to do whatsoever they should be commanded. The Prince ob-
 tained his request: and so from thence the army began to march through the land which they
 call *Axylon*, and well it might be so called, for it hath no wood at all in it, nor beareth so much
 as thorns, or any thing else to burn and maintain fire: cow-dung is all their burning, for want of
 other fiewell. Whiles the Romans lay in camp before *Cuballum*, (a fortress of *Gallugacia*) they
 discovered the Cavalry of the enemies coming toward them with a great hurrey and tumult:
 and they charged so fiercely and suddenly upon the *corps de guard* of the Romans, that they not
 only troubled and disordered them, but also killed some of them. The alarm being given within
 the camp, the Roman horsemen at once issued forth of all the gates, discomfited the Gauls, and
 flew certain of them in the chase. The Consul perceiving now that he was come into his enemies
 country, marched not from thenceforth without tending out his espials before, and kept his army
 together in battell array with great heed and carefulness. Thus he held on his journey continual-
 ly, until he came to the river *Sangarius*, where he purposed to make a bridge, because there was
 not passage over at any foord. This *Sangarius* ariseth out of the mountain *Adoreus*, and running
 D through *Phrygia* is joyneth with the river *Thymbria* near unto *Bithynia*, and so growing bigger
 by receiving a double current, keepeth his course through *Bithynia*, and dischargeth himself into
Propontis, a river, not so famous and noble for the greatness thereof, as because it yieldeth fish
 abundantly to all the nations bordering and dwelling thereupon. When the bridge was finished
 and the army passed over, as they marched along the bank side, the Galli or Priests of *Cybele* (the
 great mother of the gods) were come from *Pessinus*, and with streamers, insules, and other orna-
 ments, met them: and in their fantastical veries (as men distracted of their wits) seemed to pro-
 phesie and foretell, that the goddels vouchsafed the Romans a fair way to war and victory, yea,
 and the conquest and feignory of that country. Hereat the Consul said: That he accepted their
 words for a presage of good fortune, and thereupon in that very place he pitched his Tents. The
 next day he went as far as *Gordium*: a town verily it is none of the greatest, but more frequented
 and resorted unto for traffique and merchandise, then usually such dry towns are that stand far
 within the land. Three seas there be triangle-wise, of equall distance all from it. On the coast
 toward *Sinope*, is the bay *Helleffore*, and the shores of the other tract, whereas the *Cicilians* inhabit
 by the sea-side. Moreover, it bordereth upon the confines of many great nations, who for their
 mutual need and commodity, have commerce of negotiation, and meet together in that one
 place. This town at that time they found altogether dispeopled, by reason that the inhabitants
 were fled for fear: but well stored, and full of wares and goods of all sorts. Whiles the Romans lay
 there encamped, there came Embassadors from *Eposognatus*, reporting unto them, that he had
 made a journey to the Princes of the Gauls, but could obtain no reason at their hands: also,
 that they were dislodged out of the champaign country, had quit their villages and lands in great
 numbers, and together with their wives and children drive before them, and carried with them
 whatsoever they could, and were retired to the mount *Olympus*, from whence they purposed
 to defend themselves by force of arms, and the strong situation of the place. The Embassadors
 likewise of the *Oroadians*, gave more certain intelligence, to wit, That the whole people in
 general of the *Tolistobogians* had seized the hill *Olympus*: that the *Tectosages* severally by
 themselves had taken another mountain called *Megara*: that the *Trocmians* had committed
 their wives and children to the guard of the *Tectosages*, minding with a main army to aid the
Tolistobogians. Now at that time the Princes of those three States were *Oryago*, *Combaldus*,
 and *Caubras*. And the principal reason and means that these had to enter into war,
 G was this: That being possessed of the highest hills of that country, and having brought thi-
 ther provision of all things, so service them for a long space, they supposed to weary and wear
 out the enemies in process of time. For this account they made, that they would never ven-
 ture to march against them, through so hard, so difficult, and disadvantageous places: and if they
 assaied so to do, they might be empeached, repulsed back, and bearendown with a small com-
 pany: again, if they would sit still in league at the foot of those frozen mountains, and do no-
 thing, they were never able to endure the cold and the scarcity which they should find there.
 And

* Woodlesia

And notwithstanding the very altitude and height of the places defended them, yet out and beyond they cast a trench, and made other defences round about the tops of the mountains which they held. Also for provision of darts and other shot, it was the least of all their care, supposing that the rough places would furnish them with sufficient store of stones to sling. The Consul considering in his mind that he should not deal with these enemies close at hand fight, but at a far off when he was to assail their holds, had made provision aforehand of great store of darts, light military javelins, arrows, bullets of lead, and small stones that might be levelled and sent out of slings. Thus being well appointed and furnished with such kind of shot, he led his army toward the mountain *Olympus*, and about five miles off he encamped. The next day he together with *Attalus* advanced forward with 500 men of arms to view the nature, and standing of the mountain, together with the situation of the Gauls camp. But the enemies, horsemen being double in number to them, issued out of their camp, and put them to flight, slew a few of them in the rout, and hurt many. The third day he set forward with all his forces to discover the places, and by reason that there came not one of them out of their defences and fortifications, he rode round about the mountain in safety at his pleasure, and perceived that on the South-side, there were certain little hills, all of of clean earth without stones, and the same rising up with an easie ascent to a certain place but to the North were high rocks, and the same in manner steep upright. And whereas another rest were inaccessible three only waies and adventures he found, the one directly toward the midle of the mountain (where those little mounts of earth stood) the other two were difficult the one lying Southeast, and the other Northwest. After he had considered and viewed these places that day he pitched his camp at the very root and foot of the hill. The morrow after he sacrificed, and finding by the first beasts which he killed, that the gods were pacified and favourable unto him, he divided his army into three battailons, and so advanced against the enemy, and himself in person with the greatest part of his forces mounted up the hill, whereas it yielded the easiest ascent. He commanded his brother *L. Marcius*, from the Southwest to get up the hill, as the place would permit with safety, giving him in charge that if he met with any dangerous places steep and hard of ascent, that he should not wrestle with the difficulties of the ground, nor strive against those things which to force and overcome were impossible; but rather to traverse the ground, and retire toward him, and so to joyn with his battailon. As for *C. Helvius* he willed him with a third part of the forces to wheel about by little and little, and fetch a compass at the hill foot, and then from the Northwest to mount up. Likewise the aids of *Attalus* he divided into three equal parts, and took order that the young Prince himself in person should keep with him. The Cavalry and the Elephants he left in the rear down beneath the hills, and charged the Captains thereof to have a carefull eye and good regard to mark what was done in every place, yea and to make haste to relieve and succour wheresoever need should be. The Gauls making full reckoning that on two sides they were sure enough, and the place that way to be inaccessible; because they would stop the other adventure by force of arms on the South side, sent forth about four thousand armed men to seize upon a certain hill within a mile of their camp, which hill commanded the way, supposing there as from a sconce and fortress to debar them of passage. Which when the Romans perceived they put themselves in readiness to fight. A pretty space before the ensignes, marched the skirmishers, together with the Candiot archers and slingers from *Attalus*; likewise the Triballians of *Thrace*. The ensignes of the footmen followed lastly after (as well as they might) against the hill, bearing their targets before them so, as they seemed to cover themselves only to avoid the shot and meant not to enter into any fight hand to hand. The fight at first was equally performed with shot a good distance off; for as the Gauls got the advantage of the ground, so the Romans had the odds for variety and store of darts. But as the skirmish continued and increased, there was no more equality seen. For the shields of the Gauls being made long, and not broad enough for their bodies, and withall flat and plain without, hardly covered and defended them; and by this time all their shot was spent; & weapon had they none but their very swords, whereas there was no use at all considering the enemy came not to close fight. The only help they had was with stones, and those too big for their handling, and not easie to wield by reason they were not provided before, but such as in that haste came next to their hand without any choice. Moreover, being not used, and exercised to slinging, they had neither the artificiall sleight, nor yet sufficient strength to help themselves withall; but contrariwise, from all parts were pelted with bullets of lead and galled with arrows & darts at unawares which they could neither ward nor avoid, and for that with anger & fear together their wits & understandings were blinded; they wist not what to do, seeing themselves surprised and overtaken in a kind of fight whereunto they were less of all fitted. For as in close conflict hand to hand, where blows are dealt, where rips are given and taken interchangeably, choier kindleth courage even so when men are wounded aloof with light darts, & from whence they know not they work upon whom to run, fear whom to make in that blind fit of theirs, but they run upon their own fellows without all reason as a venere, like wild beasts galled with arrows sticking in their sides. Now, they receive not a wound but it is seen by reason that they fight naked, and their bodies are so full of slick and whire, as being never bare but in battells by which means, greater store of blood gushes out of the wounds in their fleshy bodies, the gases appear greater, and their white skin much more stained with black blood. But they pisse not so much for broad & wide fleshes (for otherwhiles, when the skin is cut away & the wound rather broad than deep, they take more pride therein, & think they fight with greater honor, & it happen

It happen at any time, that a parrow head or a bulles sticking within the flesh all hidden, pouthen no pain and torment, notwithstanding the hurt be small in appearance, yet when they seek to pluck out an arrow, and the head will not so love, then they take on and are stark mad, for finding that so small a prick should plague them so, and be ready to kill them, inasmuch as they cast themselves on the ground, and lie mallowing along every where. Qthers there be of them that can fall upon their enemy, and those were sicked with arrows and darts from all parts: & when they came near to hand, were by the skirmishers killed and cut in pieces with their swords. These found it convenient to cover themselves with a shield of three foot long, carrying in their right hand certain spears to use aloof, and wear by their side a Spanish sword. Now in case they come to hand fight, they thrust their spear out of their right hand into the left hand and take them to their swords. By this time there were but four of the Gauls left alive: who perceiving that the light armed skirmishers of the enemies were too good for them: & seeing withall the ensignes of the legions to approach near unto them, took them to their heels on all hands, and began to flee again toward the camp, which now was full of fear and trouble, as where women and children and a multitude of feeble folk (not fit to bear arms) were crowded and thronged together. The Romans following the train of their victory, seized the hills abandoned by the enemies that were fled. About the same time *L. Manlius* and *C. Helvius*, having mounted in far as they could find way, traversing the sides of the hill, when they were come to an end, where they could see neither way nor path, they went to that quarter of the hill which only afforded a way, and both of them began to follow the Consul's harcaillon a pretty distance under, as if they had agreed beforehand so to do: and that which at first had been simply the best thing to be done, they were of necessity forced at last to put in execution. For in such difficulties and places of disadvantage, soldiers beheld in a rearward, have often times served in right good stead: that is, those in the vanguard should chance to be beaten back, they in the second place might receive and protect them, and also begin freshly a new fight. After that the foremost eagles of the legions were come to those hills: which the light armed before had seized, the Consul commanded the soldiers to rest them awhile and breathe themselves, and if (as he) the light armed skirmishers have made such a riddance of them, what is to be looked for at the hands of the legionary soldiers, armed all over in compleat harness? What will they do that carry the hearts of most noble warriors? Surely they must needs win the camp, in to which the enemy is chased and driven by the light armed soldiers. Howbeit he commanded the light armed to go a foot, who all the while that the legions rested themselves spent not the time in vain, but employed it in gathering together the darts and javelins that lay about the hills, to the end that they might have sufficient shot. Now the Romans marched forward and approached the camp. The Gauls likewise for their parts, fearing lest their defences would not be able to defend them, stood armed before their trench and sumpier. But afterwards being overcharged with all sorts of darts, they were driven in the turning of an hand, within their hold; (for the most they were in number, and the thicker they stood, the less lighted any dart in vain) only they lost strong guards about the gates and entrance into the camp. Moreover, among the multitude which was driven into the hold, there was discharged a random a mighty number of darts: and thus many of them were hurt thereby, appeared by their cry mingled with the shrieks of women and children. Now against them that warded the gates, and took up the arrows with their guards the legionary soldiers in the forefront let fly their javelins. And altho' these were not wounded in their bodies, yet by reason that their shields & bucklers were pierced through, they were most of them entangled one within another and stuck fast. Long they could not abide the violence of the Romans, in so much as before that the victors could enter into the camp, the Gauls fled forth at all the gates wide open, and ran they wist not whither like blind men, as well through places which had no way as those that were passable. No rocks so steep with downfalls, no cliffs so rough with crags, could stand in their way, and nothing feared they efforts: their enemies only at their heels affrighted them. And therefore most of them either fell headlong down a mighty height and brake their necks, or else for very feebleness lost their breath, were windless, and ready to die. The Consul after he had taken their camp, would not suffer it to be ransacked, but commanded the soldiers every one to follow the chase hand and while the enemies were thus affraid, to assaile them thoroughly. Then came the other regiment with *L. Manlius*, but the Consul would not suffer them to enter the camp, but sent them forth with to pursue the enemies. Himself also in person accompanied the army: for this reckoning and resolution he made, that the war was at a small end, if in this tumultuous fright of theirs he might either kill or take prisoners a number of them. The Consul was no sooner departed, but *C. Helvius* came with his third regiment, but he could not hold his soldiers from the pillage of the camp, inasmuch as the booty and prizes were most unparallel, and not of the light, or that their fellows had gotten the victory: but afterwards they altho' sparing the Gauls dispersed about the foot of the mountains, made after them as well as their horses would mount against the hills: some they slew, and others they took prisoners. The just number of those that were slain cannot easily be counted, because they fled far and near among the crags and windings of the mountain, where they were killed in blind corners. Many of them besides, having engaged themselves to the crags and rocks that had no way forward,

ward, stumbled down into the valleys of a monstrous depth and darkness: Yes, and some hapned to be belied in the woods amidst the thickets & bushes; *Claudius*, who writeth of two battles fought upon the mount *Olympus*, reporteth that there died there forty thousand enemies, with *Barbarians* *Adrian*, who otherwise is wont to overreach and exceed in number, hath ordered none above ten thousand. But without all question the prisoners amounted to forty thousand full, because they were with a train of all sorts and ages, more like men of ill breeding and removing out of our country into another, than going to war. The Consul, after he had burned all the riches of his the mine in one heap, commanded his soldiers to bring forth the rest of the pillage and spoils into one place, and either sold and made money of that which was to come into the publique treasury of the City, or else parted it amongst the soldiers indifferently, with great regard, that every one should have a just and even portion. Moreover, he commanded them all to open audience, and rewarded every one besides with gifts according to their several merits. But above the rest, and with the general accord of all, he both praised, and also recompensed *Anulus*. For seeing that young gentleman shewed not only singular valour and forwardness in all brave and dangerous, but also a special modesty and rare sobriety.

There remained yet entire and whole the war with the *Tectosages*, against whom the Consul made an expedition; upon the third day arrived at *Ancyra*, a noble City in those parts, from whence the enemies were little more than ten miles distant. During the time that he lay there encamped, there hapned a memorable act, performed by a captive Lady. Among many more prisoners, there fortune'd to be kept in ward, the wife of *Orragon*, a woman of surpassing beauty. The Centurion who had her person in safe custody, was lecherous and covetous with all as many of these soldiers as. Her he solicited and tempted, first to commit folly; but seeing her altogether unwilling, and that she abhorred to prostitute her self unto him; he did violence upon that body of hers, which fortune had made bond and thrall unto him. But afterwards to mollifie and atwage the indignity of this villany, he put the woman in good hope, and promised that she should return home again to her friends: many he would not do all for pure love alone, and ready without any ransom, for he bargained to have a certain sum of gold blende. And to the end forsooth that no person belonging to him might take knowledge thereof, he permitted her to send one of the prisoners, whom she would herself as messenger to her friends and kinfolk, and appointed a place near unto a river, whither the next night following should repair two, and no more of the said captive Ladies friends, with the gold above said, for to receive her in his hands. It fell out so that among the rest of the captives, committed to his guard, there was a bondslave of her own; this messenger at the striking in of the evening the Centurion conducted without the wall, and sent. The morrow night after came accordingly to the place appointed, both the two friends, a friend of the gentlewoman, and also the Centurion himself with his prisoner, where they shewed the gold, amounting to the full sum of one Attick talent (according as it was agreed between them) and with that the woman spake unto them in her language and commanded them to draw their swords, and kill outright the Centurion as he was weighing the gold; which done, she caused his head to be stricken off, and wrapped it her self within her garments, and so carried it home to her husband *Orragon*, who from *Olympus* had fled and escaped to his own house. But before this she clipped and embraced her husband, she threw down the Centurion his head at his feet. And when he wondered what mans head it was, and what at this night he saw passing a womans deed, she confessed to her husband the injury that her body had suffered, and that with the revenge for the abuse of her chastity by force and violence, and (as it is reported) she was satisfied the honour of this matronlike act ever after even to her dying day, in all simplicity of life and modest carriage of herself like a chaste dame.

Whiles the camp lay at *Ancyra*, the Orators of the *Tectosages* shewed themselves unto the Consul, requesting him not to dislodge and remove from thence before he had parted with their Lords and Princes: saying withall, that they would accept any conditions of peace whatsoever, rather than war. The time was set down even the next morrow, and a place likewise appointed, as just in the mid way (as it could be guessed) between the camp and *Ancyra*. The Consul ther came at the hour assigned, accompanied with a guard of five hundred horse, but perceiving no Gauls all there, he returned into the camp. And thither repaired the same Orators unto him the second time, excusing the default, and saying that their Princes could not come in person by occasion of some scruple of conscience that arose the while; howbeit, the chiefest nobles besides of the whole nation should appear, by whom all matters might be composed as well as with themselves. The Consul made answer, that he likewise would send *Anulus* in his stead. So they came to this comparing from both parts; *Anulus* had three hundred men of arms about him for his guard, and certain conditions of peace were drawn and propounded: but forasmuch as they might not grow to any final conclusion in the absence of their chief Commanders, it was that the day following the Consul and their Princes aforesaid should meet in that place together. Now the drift of the Gauls in making these delays and trifling off the time, was this, that first they might gain some convenient space to transport over the river *Halys* all that ever they had (which they would not hazard with their own persons, together with their wives and children) and afterwards to lay a train of an ambush for the Consul himself, who took small regard, and was not provided for to prevent their villany intended under the colour of this conference. For that purpose, they chose a thousand horsemen out of all their cavalry, of especial valour and approved hardi-

A pass for the execution of this treacherous design. And surely this their stand had taken effect, if fortune had not defended and maintained the law of nations, which to break and violate they had plotted. Certain soldiers of the Romans sent out to purvey forage and fuel, were directed to those very quarters, whereas the party aforesaid should be kept. The Colonels thought it the surest place for them, because they were to have the Gauls guard also opposed for their defence against the enemy: howbeit, they set another *corps de garde* of their own, consisting of 600 horsemen nearer to the camp. Now by reason that *Attalus* assured the Consul certainly, that their Princes would come, and that the matter might be soon knit up and dispatched, he departed out of the camp with the same guard of horsemen as before, and when he had marched almost five miles forward, and was not far short of the place appointed, he discovered all of a sudden the Gauls riding in full gallop against them in most furious manner as enemies; whereupon he staid the march and made a stand, commanding the horsemen to make ready their weapons and resolve to fight. The first charge and shock he received right valiantly, and stepped not back one foot: but afterwards, as the multitude pressed still upon him, he began to give ground and retreat, but so as he brake not the ranks of his troops. But in the end, when they found more danger in longer stay, than commodity and help in keeping their armies, they all at once turned their horse heads and fled. When they were disarraid once, the Gauls pursued hard and killed them: and no doubt a great part of them had died for it, but that the forragers guard of 600 horse aforesaid came in to rescue them. For they hearing afar off the fearful cry of their fellows, made ready their armor and horses, and being fresh & in heart, entered upon the fight that was given over by their wearied and discomfited companions: whereupon fortune quickly changed, and the fear turned from the losers to the winners: for at the first encounter the Gauls were put to flight: and withall, the said forragers and jewellers came running out of the fields, and from all parts made head and affronted the Gauls: inasmuch as they could neither flee readily nor escape surely, because the Romans with their fresh horses followed them in chase, and they themselves were already tired: few therefore went away with life, and not one was taken prisoner, for the greater part by *Sed* paid dearly by the loss of their lives, for violating of this their party under the colour of trade and fidelity. The Romans while their stomachs were inflamed with anger, the very next day came against them with the puissance of all their forces. But the Consul employed two whole daies himself in viewing and discovering the situation and nature of the hill, because he would not be ignorant of any thing regarding it. Upon the third day, after he had first taken the auspices and presages of the birds, and afterwards killed a sacrifice, he led forth his army divided into 4 battailions. Two of them were to mount up the midst of the hill & the other two he set in the sides to flank the wings of the Gauls, and to march up against them. The *Tectosages* and *Trocmions*, who were the whole flower and strength of the enemies, made their main battel in the midst, consisting of 5000 men; and because there was no use of horse among those rough & uneven rocks, the cavalry alight on foot to the number of 10000, and those they put in the right wing. The Cappadocians with *Arivarus*, & the auxiliary Morzians who arose to the number almost of 4000 men, held the left. The Consul (like as before in the mount *Olympus*) marshalled his light armed for skirmish in the forefront of the vanguard, & gave order to have ready at hand as great store of darts & other shot of all sorts as he had before. When they approached one another, all things answered both of the one side & the other, like as in the former conflict: saving that the courage of the victors increased in regard of their fortunate success, & the hearts of the enemies were much abated and danted. For albeit themselves had not yet been soiled & vanquished, yet they took the overthrow & loss of their countrymen for their own. And therefore as the beginning of the battell was suitable to the issue was likewise. For the Gauls battell was overspread & covered again as it were with a clond of light shot. And not one of them durst run forth out of his range, for fear he should discover his whole body & lay it open to take all that came: and keeping still together as they did, the thicker they stood, the fairer mark they were for the enemies to level at, & the more wounds they received. The Consul perceiving they were already of themselves troubled and supposing that if he set forward & presented unto them the ensigns of the legions, they would immediately all of them flee, received the light armed loose shot, & the rest of the auxiliary soldiers within his own ranks and files, and then advanced his legions. The Gauls affrighted with the fresh remembrance of the late defeat and overthrow of the *Tolistobogians*, carrying also about themselves the darts sticking in their bodies, weary besides with long standing afoot, and overcharged likewise with many a wound, could not abide so much as the onset and shout of the Roman legions. Then began they to take their heels and flee toward their camp, but few of them recovered it, and got within the rampier and other defences. The greater number fled here and there, on both hands, and dispersed themselves into all parts as it took them in the head, and as every man in this confused flight caught a way by himself. The Conquerors followed them still even hard to the very camp, and all the way charged upon their backs and beat them down. Which done, they staid and stuck still in the camp for desire of pillage, and there was not one that followed one foot after. The Gauls in the wings stood to no longer, by reason that it was later ere they were for upon but able they were not to abide the first charge and shot of the Roman darts. The Consul, who could not possibly pluck those out of the camp that were once entered in for greediness of spoiling and sifting the tents, sent out those immediately that were in the wings to follow the enemies in chase still forward. These pursued them a certain space, howbeit in this flight, for in truth it was no fight at all, there were not above eight thou-

sand

land and left their crosses behind them; all the rest recovered the other side of the river. Many of the Romans remained that night within the enemies camp; the rest the Consul brought back again to his own. The next day he took account and survey of the prisoners and spoils which were so great as a man would conceive that a nation of all others most greedy of pillage and spoiling might possibly take and heap together for so many years, as they held in those parts. In the mountain *Taurus* by force of arms. The Gauls thus scattered in flight, rallied themselves to one place, as being many of them hurt or disabled; and stripped clean out of all they had, sent their ambassadors unto the Consul to treat for peace. The Consul willed them to give attendance upon him at *Ephesus*: himself made haste to remove out of those cold quarters, by reason that the mountain *Taurus* was so near (for now it was the midst of Autumn) and led back his victorious army to pass the winter near the sea side.

While the affairs thus passed in *Asia*, all was quiet in the rest of the Provinces. At *Rome* the Consuls *T. Quintius Flamininus* and *M. Claudius Marcellus* made a new choice of Senators; and *P. Scipio Africanus* was chosen the President of the Senate now the third time: four only were left out, and discarded; but not one of them had born office of State, and had the honour to sit in the Curule chair. The Consuls showed themselves likewise passing mind in the review of the Cavalry and order of Knighthood. They put out to framing the foundations and ground-works upon the *Aquileum* in the Capitol: and likewise they bargained for to pave the street with hard stone or pebble from the gate *Capena* to the Temple of *Mars*. The Campanians demanded of the Senate, in what place they should be settled and enrolled: and thereupon a decree passed for their enrolment at *Rome*. The rivers were out, and great deluges hapned that year. The *Tyber* overflowed his banks twelve times, and drowned *Mars* field and all the low parts of the City.

After that *C. Atilius* the Consul had brought the Gauls war to an end in *Asia*, the other Consul *M. Fulvius* having utterly subdued the *Ætolians*, passed over into *Cephalonia*, and sent to all the Cities about the Island certain messengers, to sound them whether they would rather yield themselves unto the Romans, or hazard the fortune of war? And so for this was fear among them all, that there was not one person refused to surrender. And being enjoined (according to the ability of the people who were but bare) to give hostages, the *Nesiores*, *Cramiens*, *Peleusians*, and *Sameans* delivered twenty apiece. This peace no sooner shone upon the *Cephalonians* beyond all their expectation, but suddenly one City of the *Sameans* revolted, and upon what cause it is not known; themselves alledged and said: That forasmuch as their City was seated in a commodious place they feared greatly to be dispossessed and turned out of it by the Romans. But whether they only imagined this and put themselves in fright, and so changed their quiet and repose for vain and foolish fear, or whether there had been question hereof among the Romans, and upon much canvassing in men's mouths the rumour of such a matter, ran unto them, it is not certainly known. Only thus much after they had given their hostages, they shut their City gates upon a sudden, and desired they would not from their enterprise, for all the entreaty and prayers that their own hostages made, whom the Consul had sent (on purpose) even under their walls, to move their countermen and parents to pity and compassion. When as therefore they would make no answer sending unto peace, the Consul began to assault the City: and all the ordnance of artillery and engines of battery were under his hand, which had been brought from the siege of *Ambracia*. And look what works and fabricks were needfull besides to be made, the soldiers with great diligence and forwardness performed. So in two places at once they planted rams against the City, and battered the walls. The *Sameans* on the other side for their part omitted and neglected nothing, that might either annoy the enemy or impeach the works. But two things there were principally wherewith they made resistance and withstand their violence: the one was, a counter-mine within the City, which they ever raised new instead of the old & full as strong as it was, that was demolished and broken down: the other was their often sudden sallies, one while upon the fortifications and fabricks, other whiles upon the *corps de guard* of the enemies; and for the most part in these skirmishes they had the better hand. But one mean there was devised, and the same of skill shew to speak of, to restrain and keep them in from falling forth. The Romans sent to the *Ætolians*, *Paras*, and *Dians*, for an hundred slingers. These nations from their childhood used to exercise themselves (after the manner of the country) to discharge one of slings into the open sea, certain round stones, which commonly the shore is overspread with among the sands: by reason of which exercise they have more skill both to sling farther from them, and also to strike more surely and give a smarter rap and stroke than those of the *Ætolian* Islands: for their sling is not made with one only cord as the *Balestians* are, and those of other nations: but is back three leather thongs hardened and made stiff with many sinews and leames, lest if the leather were soft and gentle, the bullet and stone within should wag to and fro and roll out in the delivery and hurling of it: but being leered and counterpoised (as it were) it went merrily away, and sent and driven out of the noose of a stone-bow. And so well practised they were in this fashion, that they could a great way off level a bullet through garlands, rings, and hoops of small compass, and miss not: nay, they would be sure to hit, not only the head of an enemy, but any part of his face that they aimed at, point blank, and never fail. These slings (it is to be noted) the *Sameans* so pluck in their hands, that they durst not fall out neither to one nor to holdy as they did. In the night, as from the walls, they requested the *Ætolians* for a while to go aside, and repose themselves; and let them know they skirmished with the *corps de guard* of

* *Village*
* *Paras*, or
Balestia.
* *Clarens*:
all three towns
of *Achaia*.

A of the Romans. Four months space the Romans endured the siege. Now when of that small number which they had, some or other daily drop away, and were either killed outright or wounded, and they that remained, were both tired in body, and daunted in courage: the Romans one night passed over the wall by the fortress which they call *Cynus* for the City where if both death upon the Sea, both toward the West, and entered so far as the market place. After that the Samians perceived that one part of the City was taken by the enemies, they fled with their wives and children into a greater fortress, and the next day yielded: the Town was ransacked, and they themselves were all sold in open market, to who would give most.

The Consul having set the State of *Cephalonia* in good order, and put a garrison within *Samus*, passed into *Poloponnisus*, having been called and sent for to come thither a long time, principally by the *Agiens* and *Lacedemonians*. Time out of mind, and from the first beginning of the Diets of *Achaia*, the whole nation used to assemble and meet at *Argium* ordinarily, were it for to graze or honour the City, or because the place was commodious therefore. This ancient custom *Philopomen* that year began first to infringe, and went about to make a law and ordinance, That in all the Cities of *Achaia*, their Councils and Diets shall be holden in course and order at their times. And against the coming of the Consul, when the Demulges of the free Cities and States summoned the Diet to be kept at *Argium*, *Philopomen* (Pretor for that time) came with a counter-summons and proclaimed it to be held at *Argos*. And when it was evident to be seen, that they all in manner minded thither to resort; the Consul also (albeit in affection he favoured the *Agiens*) came to *Argos* where, after much debate, seeing the matter growing the other way, he desisted from his design and gave over the cause. After this, the *Lacedemonians* averted him from thence, and drew him away to the deciding of their controversies and dissensions. Certain banished persons they were who most of all disquieted and troubled that State: and many of them had their abiding place in the Castles coasting along the frontiers of the *Laconian* territory toward the Sea, which was taken wholly from the City. The *Lacedemonians* much discontented and offended hereat, entered one night a certain borough called *Lus*, surprised it unawares to the inhabitants, and kept it to their use: to the end, that if need were at any time to send Embassadors to *Rome* or else whither, they might have some free access unto the Sea: and withal, be served of a mart-Town for sent, and a place of receipt for all forrain merchandise from strangers to their necessary uses. The Townsmen within, as also the exiles aforesaid (there dwelling) were terrified at the first with this sudden and unexpected occurrence: but afterward (before day-light) which they had, once rallied themselves together, with small ado and skirmish chased forth the *Lacedemonians*: howbeit, the fear spread over all the Sea coast, so that in one general accord, the Castles and Villages every one, yea, and the exiled persons (as many as there inhabited) dispatched their Embassadors to the *Achiens*. *Philopomen* their Pretor (who ever from the beginning sided with the cause of the banished, and had always advised and counselled the *Achiens* to abate and take down the puissance and reputation of the *Lacedemonians*) granted them at their suit and seeking, a Diet. In which (upon a motion by him made) there passed a decree in this form: That whereas *T. Quintus* and the Romans, had committed and delivered to the safeguard and protection of the *Achiens*, the fortresses, burroughs, and villages, situate along the Sea-coast of the *Laconians*; and (by virtue of a covenant and accord) the *Lacedemonians* had nothing to do therein; but ought to forbear them: and yet notwithstanding, the Town *Lus* was by them forced, and a great massacre there committed: therefore unless the principals and accessories both of that outrage, were yielded to the *Achiens*; they deemed the covenant and accord in that behalf provided, to be broken. Whereupon immediately were Embassadors addressed to *Lacedemonia*, to challenge and demand the parties aforesaid: but the *Lacedemonians* took this for so proud a commandment, and thought it such an indignity, that without all doubt, if they had been in good stead, they would have taken arms. But nothing troubled and disquieted their spirits so much as this, for fear lest if once they received the yoke of subjection upon their necks, in yielding obedience to their first demand, *Philopomen* would perfect and finish execution that which he long intended and went about: even to deliver the City *Lacedemonia* into the hands of the banished aforesaid. Enraged therefore with choler and anger, they set upon thirty of that faction who were consorted in council with *Philopomen* and the exiles, and slew them outright: and withal made a decree, To renounce and reject all society with the *Achiens*; and forthwith to bid their Embassadors to *Cephalonia*, with commission, to deliver *Lacedemonia* unto *Antistius* and the Romans: and to beseech him to take the same in consideration of *Philopomen* sake, the next receive the City *Lacedemonia* under the obedience and protection of the people of *Rome*. When the Embassadors had made relation hereof to the *Achiens*, presently were proclaimed against the *Lacedemonians* by common consent of all the States of that assembly, and indeed of mankind: but the winter impeached them for entering in any action, and stayed the execution. So that it they made small roads into their frontiers, and wasted the same not only by hand, but also by Sea, after the manner of robbery and piracy, rather than of warfare: they also troubled the coast of *Poloponnisus*, and withal committed a Diet war, published the children as *Argos*; and thus was the *Lacedemonians* sent for a long and dangerous journey. When there came not only much reasoning and dispute, but also wrangling and quarrelling. The Consul who in other points bore him out in the behalf, and seemed in doubtful things, was willing to declare both parties determined, and ended the conflict in one only word,

word, warning them both to put up their swords, and lay arms aside, until they had sent their Embassadors to the Senate of *Rome*. So there were embassages addressed both from the one and the other to *Rome*. In likewise the banished Lacedæmonians joined their cause and embassy with the Achæans, *Diophanes* and *Lycortas*, both Megapolitans, were the chief in the embassy of the Achæans, who as they jarred and disagreed in the managing of State-affairs, so they accorded not but varied in the speeches that they delivered. *Diophanes* referred the decision of all matters unto the Senat, as who were best able to compose all controversies between the Achæans and Lacedæmonians. But *Lycortas*, instructed by *Philopamen*, required that the Achæans might do and execute whatsoever they had ordained, according to the covenant, and the conditions therein comprised; and that they would maintain their full liberty without abridging and empaing the same, according as they had received it at their hands. The nation of the Achæans in those daies was in great credit and reputation at *Rome*, howbeit the Senate thought it not good to make any change and alteration in the State of the Lacedæmonians. In conclusion, they returned such an intricate and doubtful answer, that both the Achæans might construe it, as if they had permission and free liberty to do what they would with *Lacedæmon*, and the Lacedæmonians again took it, as though they had not so large a scope and absolute power allowed them, as to do their pleasure in every thing. But this authority and liberty whatsoever it was, more or less, the Achæans stretched beyond all measure and compass, and used it too proudly and insolently. *Philopamen* continued still in place of foreign government, and levied a power to be ready in the beginning of the spring, and so encamped upon the frontiers of the Lacedæmonians. This done, he sent his Embassadors to demand the delivery of them into his hands, who were the authors of the revolt; promising withal, that if they would so do, their City should remain in peace without any molestation, and they suffer and sustain no harm, before they had answered for themselves in open audience. All the rest for fear kept silence and said not a word, only they whom he had challenged by name, made offer of themselves to go, under safe conduct received from the Embassadors, and faithful promise that no violence should be done upon their persons, until they had pleaded their answer. Accompanied they were with divers noble personages of great mark and name, both as advocates unto them in their particular quarrels, and also in regard of the Common-weal, as far as their private cause any way touched and concerned it. Never had the Achæans before time brought the Lacedæmonian exiles with them into the confines of *Lacedæmon*, because they supposed that nothing might so much alienate and estrange the hearts of the whole City as that. But then the whole head, as it were, of the vanguard, were no other but those banished persons. And as the Lacedæmonians a-hovelayd were coming, who should meet and affront them arranged in order of battle at the very gate of the camp, but they? At the first they welcomed them with chiding and railing; after that they fell to bitter words and brails, and their blood was up on both sides, insomuch as those of the banished crew who were of hottest spirit and sharpest metal, made no more ado but ran upon the Lacedæmonians; whereupon they called the Gods to witness, and cried to the Embassadors for protection; who together with the Pretor himself came between, voided the press, and safeguarded the persons of the Lacedæmonians, enpeaching and staying some of their hands who were already about to bind them and make them sure. But the tumult still increased, and the multitude was all up on a hurray. The Achæans ran first to see only what the matter was, and to be lookers on. But afterwards, when the exiles began with a loud voice to cry out, and report what wrongs and injuries they had sustained, beseeching them of their help, and avouching with all right confidently, that if they let slip this opportunity, they should never have the like again, a wedding moreover, that the league first made in the Capitol, after reaped at *Olympia*, and last of all confirmed by a sacred oath in the Castle of *Athens*, had been broken and dissolved by them, and therefore the guilty and culpable parties were to be punished accordingly, before they entered into any bond of new accord. At these words the multitude was incensed, and by occasion of one mans voice, who cried to strike and knock them down, fell to flinging stones at them. And by this means seventeen of them, who during the garboil chanced to be tied in bonds, were stoned to death. The rest, to the number of six and thirty, were the next morrow apprehended; whom the Pretor had shielded and protected from violence, not for any desire he had to save their lives; but because he would not have them miscarry and perish before they were heard. These were presented and exposed as a prey to the unruly and angry multitude; and when they had made some small speech unto them, from which they turned away their ears; they were all condemned and delivered over to be led to execution. When the Lacedæmonians were once put in this fear, then they were commanded, *Imprimis*, To demolish and break down their walls. *Item*, That all foreign auxiliary soldiers, who were waged and served for pay under the tyrants, should avoid out of the Lacedæmonian country. *Item*, That all the slaves whom those tyrants had set free (and of such there was a great number) should depart before a certain day; and that it might be lawful for the Achæans to smite the bodies, to sell and carry away as many as staid and remained behind. *Item*, That they should abolish the laws, ordinances and customs of *Lycorgus*, and frame themselves to live as the Achæans, for so they should be incorporated into one civil body and better accord and foregather in all things. They consented to none of all these conditions more willingly and sooner, than to the rasing of their walls; and nothing troubled them so much, and vexed their hearts, as the restoring of the banished persons. Howbeit these passed an act at *Tegæ* for their institution in a general Council of all the Achæans there held,

A In which assembly, upon request and motion made, that the necessary strangers should be sent, and the new enrolled Lacedæmonians, called *Agasips*, (so to they were called, in the by the Romans) were enfranchised and endowed with freedom, (had abandoned the City, and were departed further into the country, it was thought good before the Army was dissolved and called, that the Praetor should appoint a company, lightly armed and appointed to lay hold upon all that sort of people, and make sale of them, as of spoils and booty gained from the enemy. Many of them were apprehended and sold. And in the money raised of them, that porch or Gallery at *Acropolis*, which had been raised by the Lacedæmonians, was by the permission of the Romans razed. Likewise the territory of *Ullubis*, which the Lacedæmonians unjustly held in possession, was laid again to that City, according to an old decree of the Achæans, which was made during the reign of King *Philip*, son of *Amphion*. The City of the Lacedæmonians by this was much enfeebled, continued a long time in subjection and thraldom under the Achæans, but their State received damage by no means so much, as by the abolishing of the discipline of *Agasips*, to which they had been used and accustomed for the space of 700 years.

Presently after the holding of this Diet, wherein the Achæans and Lacedæmonians debated their cause before the Consul, *M. Fulvius* repaired to *Rome* (for that this year was almost expired) against the solemn election of new Magistrates: wherein he created his Consuls, *M. Fulvius Messala*, and *C. Brutus Sabinus*, and gave the republic to *M. Fulvius Brutus* his enemy, who that year made suit also to be Consul. This done, there were Praetors also chosen, *Q. Marcius Philippus*, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, *C. Serrinius*, *C. Gaius*, *P. Claudius Pulcher*, and *L. Manlius Acidinus*. When this election was ended, it was thought expedient, that *M. Fulvius* should return into his former Province to the army there: and the only he but his colleague, *C. Marcius*, had their commission revived, and they continued in government another year.

C The same year according to the direction of the Decemvirs, there was brought into the Temple of *Neptunus* the statue of the same God: and within the Capitol were set up by *C. Marcius* in gold drawing a chariot with this inscription, That he being Consul gave that person, *Allo P. Claudius* and *S. Sulpicius Galba*, *Adversus Quos*; hung up twelve brazen shields, made of the fines that certain corn-hoorders paid, for hoarding up and keeping in their grain. Moreover, *Q. Fabius Pileatus* an Edile of the Commons, erected two golden images raised of the money that one guilty person was condemned in (for they commenced their actions privately by themselves). As for *A. Cecilius* his companion, he condemned none. The Roman great games were for forth all

D throughout, thrice: and the Plebeian plays exhibited likewise full and whole, five times.

After this, *M. Fulvius Messala* and *C. Brutus Sabinus*, entered their Consulship upon the 15. day of March, and proposed before the Senat as concerning the affairs of the State, touching their Provinces also, and the armies. As for *Ætolia* and *Asia*, there was no charge at all. The Consul, by a decree of the Senat had the charge, one of *His*, together with the *Liguans* and the other of *Gaul*: and they were commanded either to agree between themselves, or to cast lots for their Provinces. They were enjoined also to levy new armies, and each of them to enrol two legions, and either of them to charge the allies of the Latine Nation with 4000 foot, and 1000 horsemen. Unto *Messala* fell the government of *Liguria*: and to *Sabinus* of *Gaul*. After this, the

E Praetors likewise cast lots for their Provinces: the jurisdiction within *Rome* of citizens was allotted to *M. Claudius*, and of strangers to *P. Claudius*. Sicily to *Q. Marcius*, *Sardinia* to *C. Serrinius*, high Spain to *L. Manlius*, and the low to *C. Acidinus*. As for the armies, ordained it was, that the legions under the conduct of *C. Lælius* (should be withdrawn out of *Gaul*, and made over to *M. Titius* the Praetor for to serve in the Brutian country. *Item*, That the forces which were in Sicily should be discharged: and that *M. Sempronius* the Vice-prefect there, should bring from thence the fleet to *Rome*. Ordained likewise it was, that either of the Provinces of Spain should have one legion, which at that time served there: and that both the Praetors should for supply levy of the allies three thousand foot, and two hundred horsemen apiece, and transport the same over with them. Now before that these new Governors went to their Provinces, by order from the whole colleges and society of the Decemvirs, there was published a general procession and supplication to be holden for 9 days in all the quarters or cross streets of the City: for that in the day time between the third hour and the fourth, there arose a general darkness which continued almost all that while. Moreover, a Novendial sacrifice was published to be celebrated for 9 days together, because on the Aventine hill it had rained stones.

The Camps, when as the Censors (by virtue of an act of Senat which passed the former year) compelled them to be enrolled in *Rome*, (for aforesaid they knew not where to be enrolled) made petition now that they might contract marriages and take Roman citizens to their wives: and that who ever had wedded any of them before, might keep them still: and what children soever they had born before that day, should be reputed legitimate and their rightful heirs. Both suits were granted. As concerning the free burgesses of *Fornis*, *Fundani* and *Arpinum*, *C. Papius Mutilus* a Tribune of the Com. presented a bill, that they might be privileged to give their voices in *Rome*: for before that time, citizens in deed they were of *Rome*, (and that was all) for many of them they had none. This bill was crossed and nipped by four other Tribunes, because it was presented without the warrant and approbation of the Senat. But being afterwards better advised and informed, that it appertained to the people and not to the Senat to give their voices where it pleased them, they gave over their enterprise, and opposed themselves

the Galatians and their associates, in the good estate and peace as they were before the war began. And if any money or debts be to them due, they may demand and receive the same. If any of the Romans have been taken from them, they shall have good law, and right to teach, buy, demand, and challenge again. And if any of those Cities will not be ruled, be held by these laws, or whom Antiochus hath committed them, he shall withdraw the garisons from thence, and take order that they be furnished accordingly. And he shall pay within five years by even portions 12000 Attick talents of good and lawful silver, provided, that every talent weigh no less than eight pound after Roman pounds, besides 240000 Modii of wheat. And he shall pay unto King Antiochus 250 talents within five years, and for corn according to the rate and proportion of 25 talents. And he shall send unto the Romans 20 hostages, and change them for 20 others every three years, provided, that they be not under 18 years of age, nor above 45. And if any man of the people of Rome begin of their own motion to make war upon King Antiochus, it shall be lawful for him to revenge himself, and use for that means to withstand their violence, yet so, as he hold no City in right of war, nor receive any into amity: and all controversies which shall arise between them, shall be decided by law and justice: or if both parties be so pleased, they shall use the same by force of arms. And it was comprised also within the covenants of this accord, that he should deliver into the Romans hands, Antioch the Carthaginian, Thous the Etolian, Antiochus the Acarnanian, Eubulus likewise and Philo the Chalcidians. Finally, if ought hereafter happened to be added moreover, or changed otherwise, the same in no case to prejudice any thing contained within the covenants aforesaid. To this accord the Consul Sura, and to receive the Kings oath likewise, there went unto him Q. Minutius Terentius and L. Minutius, he who returned at that time to return from the Crodians. And the Consul wrote his letters to Q. Fabius Labeo Admiral of the fleet, presently to come to Parus, and what ships soever of the Kings were there, to hew them in pieces, and make a light fire of them. So he departed from Ephesus, and either brake into fitters or burnt, so covered ships belonging to the King. In the same voyage and exploit he surprised and won Telmessus, by reason that the Townsmen were so affrighted at the sudden coming of the fleet. Then forthwith he departed out of Lycia, and having given order to those that were left behind at Ephesus to follow after, he crossed the Seas (between the Islands) over into Greece. After he had sojournd some few daies at Athens, until the ships from Ephesus were sent into the harbor of Piræus: from thence he brought back his whole armada to Italy. Q. Minutius having received (among other things which were to be yielded up of Antiochus) the Elephants also, and bestowed them all freely upon Eumenes, gave audience to the controversies of many Cities and States, amongst whom (during these changes and alterations) there arose many troubles and much variance. And Ariarathes the King, who by the means and mediation of Eumenes (unto whom about that time he had affianced his daughter in marriage) was discharged and had acquittance for the one moiety of the money imposed upon him, entered into amity with the people of Rome. When the differences of the Cities aforesaid were debated and known, the ten Commissioners set down an order between them, respectively to their condition. To as many as had been tributaries to King Antiochus, and yet sided with the people of Rome in affection, they granted franchise and immunity: but as many as took part with Antiochus, or were tributaries unto King Antiochus, those were commanded to pay their customs and duties to King Eumenes. Moreover, they freed and exempted from all task and tallage (expressly by name) the Colophonians inhabiting Notium, together with the Cymeans and the Mileians. Unto the Chazomenians (over and besides the same freedom) they gave the land Drynisa. To the Mileians also the territory called Sacer: to the Tlians, they annexed Rhateyns and Gergethus, not so much for any fresh and late deserts, as in memorial of their ancient beginning and foundation, which was the cause also that they let Dardanius free. Semblably the Cnians, Smyrneans, and Erythreans, for their singular loyalty and devot which they shewed in that war they not only indowed with fair lands and territories, but also graced with all kind of honor and reputation above the rest. Moreover, the Phocians had both their own lands restored unto them which they enjoyed before the war, and also liberty to live under their ancient laws. As for the Rhodians, they had those things now continued and established unto them, which by a former decree were granted: and to better their estate, Lycia and Caria were bestowed upon them, as far as the River Meander, all save the City Telmessus. Unto the dominion of King Eumenes, they laid Chersoselas in Europe, and Lysimachus, with all the Castles, Villages, and Lands thereto belonging, in as large terms and ample manner as Antiochus held the same: also within Asia, the one and the other Phrygia, as well that which cometh upon Hellespont, as the other which they call the Greater. Moreover, they restored unto him Mysia, which King Prusias had taken from him: over and besides, Lycania, Mylas and Lydia, together with these Cities by special name, Prallus, Ephesus, and Telmessus. As touching Pamphylia, some debate there was between the Agents of Eumenes and the Embassadors for Antiochus, because one part thereof is situate on this side the mount Taurus, and the other lyeth beyond. The decision of this controversy was wholly referred to the judgement of the Senat. Marcus having set down these covenants and decrees, departed with the ten Legates and all his army toward Syria: and when he had caused the Princes of the Gauls thither to repair before him, he dealt with them in what terms, and under what conditions they should entertain peace with Eumenes: & therewith he gave them warning to leave their manner of roving and roving in hostile wise by force of arms, and to contain themselves within the precincts and

bounds of their own territories. After this, having gathered into one place all the vessels from the Sea coasts, together with the entire store of King *Enneus*, which by his brother *Aschimus* was brought from *Elen*, he transported all his forces into *Europe*. From whence he marched through *Chersonesus* by short & easy journeys, because his army was heavily charged with prizes and booties of all sorts; and encamped at *Lyfimachia*, purposing there to rest a while, to the end that his travelling beasts of draught and carriage might be fresh and in good heart to pass through *Thracia*, which was a voyage and journey commonly feared and abhorred. The same day that he dislodged from *Lyfimachia*, he came to the River which they call *Mela*, and from thence the next day to *Cypsela*. When they were past *Cypsela*, they had for ten miles almost no other way, but through wild woods, narrow freights, and those rough withal and uneven underfoot. For the difficulty of which passage, the army was divided into two parts. The one he commanded to march before, the other to come behind in the reeward a great distance after, and in the midst between, he bestowed the carriages with bag and baggage, and amongst them were waggons and wains, laden with the publick treasure, and other pillage of great price. As he thus marched through the freight pass, there were about 10000 and not above, railed out of four nations of *Asia*, to wit, the *Asians*, *Carians*, *Maduarenes*, and *Cæletes*, who beiet the freights to debar them of passage. It was supposed that King *Philip of Macedony* his hand was herein, and that they entered not into this action without his priuity and fraudulent practice: who as he knew that the Romans could return no other way but by *Thracia*, so he was aware and wist well enough what a mass of money they carried with them. The Roman General himself was in the vanguard, careful only and troubled about the difficulty of the way. All this while the *Thracians* sat still and stirred not, until the armed souldiers were passed by. But when they perceived once, that the vanguard was gotten out of the freights, and that the reeward was far enough behind, they fell in hand with the packs and coffers of the carriages; and after they had killed the guards, some of them ranacked and rifled that which was in the waggons, others led away the pack horses and other lumpier beasts with their load and burden on their backs. Hereupon arose a cry and alarm, and was first heard of those that followed, but afterwards of them also in the foreward, & so from both ends they ran to the midst, and at one time in diverse places, skirmished without all order confusedly. The *Thracians* heavily charged and encumbered with pillage, and most of them without any weapon at all, because they might have the use of their hands more nimble and agile to snatch & catch unto them their prizes, were by this means more exposed to receive hurt, and soon killed. The Romans again were much distressed and annoied through the disadvantage of the ground and the waies, which the barbarous people were well enough acquainted with, and out of them would issue forth to encounter, and otherwhiles lurk within hollow blind caves, and not be seen. The very packs likewise and the waggons, standing and lying unto wardly in the way, sometime of one, and sometime of other (as it hapned) troubled and hindered them much in their fight. So as here in one place lay the thief dead, there in another the true man that pursued him. And according as the plot of ground was good or bad, as well for the one sort as the other, as their hearts and courages served or failed them, and as the number was more or less, so the skirmish and fight was variable: and in one word, of both sides many a man lay in the dust and lost his life. By which time the night approached, and the *Thracians* departed out of the conflict, not so much to avoid wounds and for fear of death, as for that they had spied themselves sufficiently of prizes. The Roman vanguard encamped without the Forrest in the open ground about the Temple of ** Bendis*. The reeward remained still behind in the midst of the woods to guard their carriage, fortified within a double pallado of strong stakes. The morrow after, when they had well discovered by their espials the way before them, they joined themselves with the vanguard. In this battel (over and besides a great part of their pillage lost, and a number of camp-followers and lackies slain, with some souldiers also, for that there was skirmishing every where throughout the chase) there died *Q. Minucius Thermus*: and a right great loss there was of him, for he was a man of much valour and execution. That day the army marched as far as to the River *Hebrus*. From whence they passed through the confines of the *Anians*, neer unto the Temple of *Apollo*, whom the inhabitants name *Zerynthus*. And there they met with another freight passage about a place called *Tempyra*, as rough and cumbersome underfoot as the former. But forasmuch as there were no woods about it, it yielded no good place for ambushes. Howbeit the *Thracians* (a people likewise of *Thrace*) assembled together, hoping also to light upon the like booty. But by reason that the vallies lay naked and open, so as if any beiet the narrow waies they might be discovered a far off, the Romans were less afraid and troubled. For, say that they were to fight in some place of disadvantage, yet they might arrange themselves in battel array in open field, and join in close fight hand to hand. Being therefore embattelled in Squadrons thick and strong they charged the enemy with a great shout and cry, and at the first shock forced them to retreat and lose ground, and afterwards to turn back and flee. And in the rout they were beaten down and killed: for even their own freights which they seized for their vantage, empeached and hindered themselves. The Romans having gotten the victory, encamped neer a village of the *Maronits*, called *Sare*. The next day they marched through the champaign open countrey *Priaticus*, where they so journeyed three daies to take in corn, partly from out of the fields of the *Maronits*, which willingly of themselves they conferred upon them, and partly out of their own ships, which followed after, well furnished with all kind of provision. From this place they made but one daies journey to *Apollonia*, and so passing through the territory

* Diana.

A of the Abolition, they came to *Miletus*. All this way they journeyed peaceably through the Colonies of the Greeks. But the sea behind them was no dangerous unto them for any hostility; yet suspected still it was, all the while that they passed night and day through the middle of the Thracians; until at length they came into *Macedonia*. The same army conducted sometime before by *Scipio* that very way, found the Thracians more gentle and credible, for no other cause, but that they had less hope of pillage and booty with them to be their flesh on water, and fingers on fishing. And yet even then also (as *Cleodius* writeth) there were fifteen thousand Thracians that encountered *Manlius* the Numidian; as he marched before the vanguard to discover the coast; and he saith, that he had in his company four hundred Numidian horsemen, and some few Elephants: also that his son, with an elect wing of a hundred and fifty more, brake through the middle of the enemies, who also within a while after, (when his father *Manlius* having placed the Elephants in the midst, and the Horsemen in the flanks, joined in battel with his enemies, charged them upon their backs, and put them in great fear) by means of which storm and tempest (as it were) of the Cavalry, they never came so far, as to deal with the battel of the footmen. *Cn. Manlius* led his army through *Macedonia* into *Thessaly*, and marching on by the way of *Epirus*, arrived at *Apollonia*, where he abode all winter. For he made not so light a matter of winter failing, that he durst take the Sea, and hazard the passage at that time of the year. The year almost expired, *M. Fulvius* the Consul returned out of *Liguria* to *Rome*, for the creation of new Magistrates, having achieved no such memorable exploit in his Province during the time of his government, as might have yielded any colourable reason of his long stay, in that he came more tardy (than the usual manner was) to the assembly for an election of Consuls: (for holden it was upon the 12th calends of *March*) wherein were created, *M. Aemilius Lepidus* and *C. Flaminius*. The next day after, these Pretors were elected; namely, *Ap. Claudius Pulcher*, *Ser. Sulpicius Galba*, *Q. Terentius Culleo*, *L. Terentius M. Sulpicius*, *Q. Fulvius Placcus*, and *M. Furius Crassipes*. After the election of Magistrates the Consul proposed to the Senat as touching the Provinces and governments of the Pretors. And the LL decreed that two of them should remain at *Rome*, to minister laws and execute justice: other two should be employed out of *Italy*, in *Sicily* and *Sardinia*: two in *Italy*, to wit, at *Tarentum* and in *Gaul*. Immediately before they entered into office, they were enjoyned to cast lots: and *Ser. Sulpicius* had the jurisdiction of the citizens, and *Q. Terentius* of Strangers and aliens: *L. Terentius* took the charge of *Sicily*, *Q. Fulvius* of *Sardinia*, *Ap. Claudius* was to govern *Tarentum*, and *M. Furius* to rule *Gaul*. It fortuned the same year that *L. Manlius* *Optimus* and *L. Manlius* were delivered to the Carthaginian Embassadors, by the hands of the Fœdial heralds at the commandment of *M. Claudius* Pretor of the City for the time being, and transported over to *Carthage*, so that the voice and speech went, That they had beaten the said Embassadors. A bruit and rumour there was of a great war begun in *Liguria*, & which encreased every day more than other. Whereupon the Senat ordained to both the new Consuls the Province of *Liguria* that day on which they propounded unto the Senat to consult about the Provinces and the affairs of the Common weal. But *Lepidus* the Consul opposed himself against this their act and ordinance alledging, "That it was a shameful indignity, that both the Consuls should be shut up and enclosed within the vallies of *Liguria*; whereas for two years already *M. Fulvius* and *Cn. Manlius* had reigned like Kings, the one in *Europe*, the other in *Asia*, in stead of *Philip* and *Antiochus*. And if (as he saith) be the pleasure of the Senat that there should be armies maintained in those parts, more meet, I wot, it were, that Consuls should have the command & conduct thereof, than those privat persons. As for them, they range about those nations, terrifying them with threats of war against whom there hath been none proclaimed; making merchandice and selling peace amongst them for sums of mony. Now if it be requisite and needful to keep two armies for the government and defence of those Provinces, like as *M. Fulvius* and *Cn. Manlius* Consuls, succeeded *M. Atilius* and *L. Scipio* Consuls: so *C. Livius* and *M. Valerius* the Consuls ought to have succeeded in place of *Fulvius* and *Manlius*. At leastwise now, when the *Etolian* war is finished and brought to an end, *Asia* recovered and conquered from *Antiochus*, and the Gauls vanquished and subdued, either ought Consuls to be sent unto their armies, or else the legions to be brought back from thence, and at length delivered to the Common weal. The Senat notwithstanding they gave him the hearing, persisted still in their resolution, that both Consuls should be imploied in the Province of *Liguria*. Yet thought good it was, that *Manlius* and *Fulvius* should leave their Provinces, withdraw their forces from thence, and return to *Rome*. An old grudge there was and a rankned enmity between the said *M. Fulvius*, and *M. Aemilius* the Consul: and among other matters of discontentment, *Aemilius* gave out, that by the means of *Fulvius*, himself was created Consul two years later than otherwise he should have been. And therefore to work him despite and make him odious to the World, he caused the Embassadors of *Ambraia* (whom he had suborned and set on for to lay matters to his charge) to enter into the Senat-house. These being in place, complained that *M. Fulvius* had waited upon them, at what time as they were in peace, performed all that other Consuls before had imposed upon them, and were also ready in all duty and allegiance to do the same unto him. "First our lands and territories say they were peaceably spoiled and wasted: then were we terrified with the sacking of our City, and threatened with the killing of our people, that for very fear we were forced to shut our gates. "Afterwards we were beleaguered and assaulted, and against us all kinds of hostility practised, "by sword, by fire, by ruining and ransacking our City. Our wives, our children, have been led "and

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and led into captivity and bondage of our goods violently taken from us (and this which I have written is not for our heart) our Temples throughout the whole City, despoiled and stripped of their godly ornaments the images of our Gods, and finally our Gods themselves which were of their shew and place, and to carried away; yea, the very walls and pillars left standing naked; for the Ambracians have no Gods remaining amongst them roads, and so much they might make their prayers and supplications; As they poured out their complaints, the Consul of a mind more aggraved and heap more matter upon his adversary, ceased not to propound unto them many interrogatories (as it was plotted between them before) and drew them on to speak many things; as if with thing and will they would both have altered them; When the right of the Law were moved here with the other Consul, *Plautius* under took the apology in defence of *M. Fulvius*, saying: That the Ambracians trod in a well beaten way, and did no otherwise than what we before them had done. For even so was *M. Manlius* accused by the Syracusians, so was *Q. Fulvius* charged by the Capuans; And why, by the same means suffered they not *Q. Quinctius* to be charged by King *Philip*, *M. Acilius* and *L. Scipio* by *Antiochus*, *Cn. Mallius* by the Gauls, and the same *Fulvius* himself by the Argolians and people of *Cephallenia*? That *Antiochus* was assailed, battered, and forced in the end; that images and ornaments were taken from thence; that other acts were done and committed, which usually follow upon the winning of Towns, think ye my Law, that either I in the behalf of *Fulvius* will deny, or *Fulvius* himself will disavow? who, in regard of these worthy exploits and noble acts, is minded to stand as your hands the honor of a Triumph; who purposeth to carry before his triumphant chariot the portraiture of *Ambracia* as it was taken; the images which they accuse him to have carried away and other spoils of that City; yea, and to set them upon the posts of his house for a memorial to posterity? No reason there is that the Ambracians should sever themselves from the Argolians, and do more than they for their case and condition is alike. And therefore let my colleague the while stand and make, and bewray a feigned enmity in some other cause; or if he will needs follow and pursue this forward, let him therein and keep still his Ambracians unto the coming of *M. Fulvius*. And for mine own part, I will suffice me as to pass either of the Ambracians on the Argolians, so long as *M. Fulvius* is absent. *Fulvius* accused his enemy for having a crafty head of his own, and for his subtle forgeries, as being notorious and well known to all men; for he never saying that full cunningly he would strive out the time, and make debates all the year long, that he might not come to *Rome* so long as his adversary was Consul. Thus in this debate between the two Consuls two dayes yet spent and nothing else done. And it appeared evidently, that so long as *Plautius* was in place and presence, nothing could be concluded and determined. Whereupon time was spied out when *Plautius* chanced to be sick, and by that occasion he was away. It then upon a motion made by *Fulvius* there passed an act of the Senat, That the Ambracians should have all their goods restored unto them again; that they should enjoy their freedom and franchise, and live under their own Laws; and finally might take what customs, toll and imposts they would for postage, as well by Land as Sea: provided always that the Romans, and their allies the Latins, should be exempted and free there from. As for the images and other ornaments which they complained were taken out of their sacred Temples, the Senat ordained that when *M. Fulvius* was returned to *Rome*, the college of the Pontifics should have the hearing and deciding thereof, and look what they awarded and set down, it should stand and be performed accordingly. And the Consul not content with all this, took the vantage when there were but few Senators in the house, and procured an other act of Senat in this form. That they judged *Ambracia* not to be reputed a City forced by assault. This done, there was by virtue of an order from the Decemvirs a solemn supplication holden three dayes for the health of the people, in regard of a grievous pestilence that dispeopled both City and Countrey. After that the Latins feast and holy dayes were celebrated. When the Consuls had accomplished these devotions, and rid their consciences of scruple, and with all made all and complete levy to furnish legions (for both of them were desirous to have new soldiers) they departed into their Provinces, and called all the old, as to assist in the coming of *M. Fulvius* to *Rome*.

After the Consuls were set forward on their journey, the Pro-consul *Cn. Manlius* returned home to *Rome*. For whole sake the Pretor *Sevius Sulpicius* assembled the Senat in the Temple of *Bellona*. Where after relation made of his deed achieved, he demanded that in consideration thereof, due honor and thanksgiving should be rendered to the immortal Gods, and withal, that himself might ride triumphant into the City. The most part of the Legats and Commissioners, who had been with him gainst and denied the same, and above all the rest *L. Furius Purpureus*, and *L. Emilius Paulus*, who stepped forth, and informed against him in these terms: That they had been sent in commission to assist *Cn. Manlius*, for the making of a peace with *Antiochus*, and finishing of that accord and those covenants and conditions, which were commenced and begun between him and *L. Scipio*. Yet *Cn. Manlius*, say they, endeavored all that ever he could to trouble that peace, and to have surprised and trapped *Antiochus* by straits of ambush, if he had ever come in his way, or within his reach. But the King being aware of the Consul's fraud and deceit, albeit there was much great means many a time to have caught him by colour of parley, and conference, yet avoided even and never only to have speech and communication with him, but also to come within his sight, in *Antiochus* *Manlius* would needs have passed over *Taurus*, hardly and with much ado could he be kept back, notwithstanding all the commissioners prayed

and brought him to Italy; and not so far from himself and in the danger of a notable loss and
 and overthrow fore-told by the verses and prophecies of *Sibyl*, as to fight upon them that would pass
 beyond the bounds limited by the fatal destinies. All this not without having he advanced forward
 and approached with his army, yet and accompanied near the high pitch and top of the mountain,
 where all the water that filled from above, run down contrary way into divers Seas. And
 when he could find no quarter there for which the night water war (because the Kings people
 and subjects were ill and cold) he turned the army about to the Gallio Greeks, against which
 nation there was no way intended, either by warrant and authority from Senat, or by grant and
 commission from the people. And what man was ever so hardy and bold, as to war upon his
 own head? The wars against *Antiochus*, *Philip*, *Annibal*, and the Carthaginians are most fresh
 in each mans remembrance: and of all these the Senat was consulted with, and the people gran-
 ted their ordinance. Embassadors many a time had often were addressed before, restitution and
 friends were by order demanded: and last of all, heralds were sent solemnly to denounce and
 proclaim war. Now tell me, *Q. Minutius*, which of all these things were done: that we may call
 this by the name of a publick war, allowed by the State of the people of *Rome*, and not rather a
 private brigandage and robbery of your own? But contented you your self with this, and did you
 no more? marched you directly forward, and took you nothing but that which was in your
 way, leading your army against those only whom you took to be your enemies? or rather bat-
 tling all things and windings, nay, at every forked high way leading on both hands, when you
 were a hard, followed not you like a mercenary and wicked Consul unto *Antiochus* (*Minutius*,
 brother) with the Roman army? what hand soever he turned and marched, there
 was not a bank and no ditch you victed; there was not a tract that you left unsearched, in all
Phrygia, *Lycaonia*, and *Phrygia*. There was not a tyrant, Prince nor Potentate, there was not a lord
 of any borough or castle, how far soever out of the way, but you had a saying to them to pill and
 spoil them, and to pick peace out of their purses. For what business had you with the Orontid-
 ans? What need you to do with other nations, as innocents and guiltless as they? Now is com-
 ing the war, in regard whereof you demand a triumph? in what sort managed your
 fought you a battle, either in place commodious or time convenient? Surely, I must needs say,
 great reason you have and good cause, to require that honor and praise be given to the immor-
 tal Gods: first for that their gracious will and pleasure was that the army should not fight
 for the cemetery and riches of their chief leader, wanting as he did against the law of nations;
 then in that they presented unto us, not men indeed for enemies, but very beasts and no better.
 For ye must not think, that it is the name only of the Gallio Greeks, which is mingled and com-
 pounded for long time before, both their bodies and minds have been mist and corrupted,
 and the men themselves bawdy and degenerate from their first nature. Had they been the same
 Gauls with whom we have fought a thousand times in *Italy*, and with doubt full issue, and lost as
 much as we won, and every foot received as good as we brought, think ye there would have re-
 turned a messenger from thence, to bring us news, for any good at least, wise that our Gene-
 ral there did? Twice he came to combat with them; twice he encountered them in place of dis-
 advantage, mounting with his army against the hill, and ranged in the horom of the valley,
 even under the enemies feet: in such sort, that if they had lacked no darts against us from the
 higher ground, but only come upon us with their naked and disarmed bodies, they had been able
 to have overcome us and gone over our bellies. And what hapned hereupon? God-amercy the
 good fortune of the people of *Rome*: we may thank (I say) the great and terrible name of the
 Romans. The fresh renown of the late runs and overthrowes of *Annibal*, *Philip* and *Antiochus*,
 amazed and astonished (as one would say) these men with their so corpulent and mighty bo-
 dies, with flings and arrow, that only were they discomfited and put to flight, so affrighted
 were they. There was not a word once bloudied in all this Gauls war: at the first twang of the
 bow and ringing of the arrow, they fled away like swarms of bees with ringing of basons. And
 yet believe me, even we the same and no other (as if fortune would admonish and shew what
 had become of us if we had affronted an enemy indeed) in our return, when we forsook to
 light upon certain petty robbers and thieves of *Thrace*, were soundly beaten, killed, and put to
 flight, and spoiled and well strip of our bag and baggage. *Q. Minutius Thermus* by whose death
 we have sustained a far greater loss, than *Q. Fabius* had miscaried, whose rashness was the
 cause of all this calamity and misfortune, with many a tall and valiant man besides lost his life in
 this affront. Our host bringing away with them the spoil and pillage of *Antiochus*, was dis-
 membered and parted into three troops: the vanguard in one place, the rereguard in another, and
 the carriages in a third were fain to take up their lodging one whole night amongst bushes, bri-
 ars, and brambles, and lay within the caves and dens of wild beasts. Are these the brave and
 worthy exploits for which you demand a triumph? But say, that you had received in *Thrace*,
 neither damage nor dishonor, which be the enemies over whom you would need triumph in
 all the world? do they be those whom the Senat & people of *Rome* destined & assigned to be your
 enemies for to was triumph granted to this *L. Scipio* here in place: so likewise to that *M. Aemilius*
 before him over *Antiochus*, to also crownde to *T. Quinctius* for the victory of *Philip*, and so to
 conclude unto *P. Africanus* for subduing *Annibal*, the Carthaginians, and *K. Syphax*. And when
 the Senat had assigned war, yet before they enterprised and began these high and heavy affairs,
 they made some doubt and pause in such petty circumstances as these, to war, unto whom they
 "should

should find defence and support the said war should be to strike themselves in their own
 persons or it were sufficient to give assistance in one person or other within their territories.
 And would ye now (my masters) that all these observations and ceremonies should be pub-
 licly thank offered that the rights and laws of the Gauls and Gauls should be abouted. It
 is that there shall be no more Gauls at all. But let religion and divine service (God forgive me) be
 (as it is to blaspheme) be under such force: Suppose the Gods were miserly forgotten of you and
 of their remembrance quite ended one of your hearts: Is it your pleasure, also, and think you more
 than the Senat has consulted so more for their advice in question of war? or that a bill be not
 proposed to the people, in this wise: Pleaseth it you or no, to ordain that was be levied a-
 gainst the Gauls? The other day, and no longer since, the Gauls were desirous and earnest to
 govern *Greiceland Asia*, yet when they perceived you to be resolute and perfit still in fighting
 against them both, the Province of *Lygia*, they were content and obeyed. Great reason shall
 they have therefore to demand a triumph at your hands, after they have achieved so happy
 a victory and finished that war, which they first enterprised under your assistance and authority.
 After this manner as ye have heard, spake *Furius* and *Camillus*. And *Manlius* again, as we find in
 the book answered thus, or much to this effect as followeth: "Right honorable is my very good
 father the Tribunes of the Commons were ever wont afore-time, to repugn and cross them that
 demanded triumph: and I take my self much beholden unto them for this favour, that either in
 their love to my self, or in regard of my great and notable exploits, they have not only by their
 silence given their consent for my honour, but also seem ready and prest to propound the same
 unto the people, if need had been. But now forsooth, whom have I (and God will) for mine ad-
 versaries, but even some of my neighbours or suffragans, whom our ancestors thought good to
 give unto their Generals in the war, as a counsel both to assist and aid them, and also to coun-
 sel and grace them in their victory? *L. Furius* and *L. Camillus* are the men and none but
 they, who inhibit and debar me for mounting up into the triumphal chariot: they are ready to
 pinch from my head the glorious and honorable crown that I should wear: even those (I say)
 whom (if the Tribunes had hindered and impeached my triumph) I would have reported my self
 unto as witnesses of my worthy acts. Certainly, (say I, L.) far be it from me, that I should envy
 and repine at the honour of any man: but I remember well, that of late daies when certain Tri-
 bunes of the Commons (men of great courage and action) went about to stay and forbid the
 triumph of *Q. Fabius Lubus*, yet by your authority diverted and scared them from that intended
 enterprise: and he triumphed in the end, notwithstanding his adversities gave out and said a-
 hand, not that he had fought a war unjustly, but in a reprochful manner charged him. That he had
 lost so much as set eye upon the enemy. And I, who have so often in ranged battel fought with
 him 100000 most fierce and warlike enemies, slain or taken prisoners more than 40000 of them,
 forced and won two of their camps: and left all places on this side the ridge of the mountain
Taurus more peaceable and quiet than is the Land of *Italy*, am not only frustrate and put aside
 my triumph, but also stand here before your honours to defend my self against the challenge of these
 mine own Councel and Suffragans. Which accusation of theirs consisteth (as ye have heard my
 L.) of two principal points: for objected they have, first, that I ought not at all to have made
 war with the Gauls: and secondly, that I conducted and managed the same, rashly and with-
 out discretion. The Gauls (say they) were no enemies of ours: but being quiet in peace, and
 ready to do whatsoever they were charged, were by you abused and wronged. I will not require
 (my L.) that ye should have the same hard conceits of the Gauls which inhabit in *Asia*, as touch-
 ing their cruelty and mortal hatred against the Roman name, which ye know generally to be in
 the people of the Gauls: Do but consider and judge of these Gauls as they be in themselves
 simply without respect of the infamous name and odious opinion that goeth of the whole ge-
 neration: O that King *Eumenes* were here. Would to God that all the States of *Asia* were pre-
 sent in place, that ye might hear them rather what complaints they would make, than my self ac-
 cusing of them. Send but your Embassadors to all the Cities of *Asia*, and enquire whether ser-
 vitude were greater and more grievous, that which they were delivered from by the chains of
Antiochus beyond the mountain *Taurus*, or this wherewith they are now eased by the subduing of
 the Gauls? Let them relate unto you, and make report how often their territories have been
 wasted by them, how many booties have been driven, and prizes carried away out of them, and
 how they were brought to so low a pass, that they hardly could find means and make any shift
 to redeem their prisoners by ransom. Let them tell you what they heard there besides, how
 they killed men, yea, and their children, to sacrifice, unto their Gods. But know ye now from
 me, that your allies yielded tribute to the Gauls, yea, and should have paid still at this day, not-
 withstanding they were by you delivered from their subjection under King *Antiochus*, if I had
 not bestirred my self the better. For the farther than *Antiochus* was removed from them the more
 proudly and outrageously would these Gauls have ruled like I, over all *Asia*, and whatsoever
 lands had lien on this side the top of the mount *Taurus*, you should have laid to the languish of
 the Gauls and not annexed to your own Empire & dominion. All this is true will some one say,
 and what of all that? These Gauls likewise once spoiled the temple at *Delfos*, reported in times
 past the common Oracle of the whole world and situate in the very heart and midst of the earth.
 & yet the people of *Rome* neither denounced nor made war for al that. Certainly, I always would
 have thought there had been some difference to be made between those daies, when your
 brethren

- A *Greecia* nor *Asia* was under your jurisdiction and obedience (that you should need to take care and regard of what was done in those parts) & this present time, in which ye have set the mountain *Taurus* to be the bound & limit wherunto your Empire extendeth in which you give freedom and immunity to Cities in which ye enlarge the confines of some, and take in the precincts of others, fining these cities with forfeiture & lots of their territories, punishing those with taxes and tributes: in which I say, you augment and diminish realms, give and take away Kingdoms at your good pleasure; and in one word, in which ye judge it a matter that concerneth you, to provide that there may be a general peace both on land and sea. Were you of opinion indeed, that *Asia* might not be counted free, unless *Antiochus* had withdrawn his garrisons, which kept quiet within their fortresses and castles, and stirred not forth; and thought you withal, that your gifts granted unto King *Eumenes*, might be assured unto him, and the freedom likewise of the Cities, established unto them, if whole armies of Gauls might range all about to and fro in those countries? But why stand I so much arguing and reasoning in this manner, as if I had not found the Gauls enemies, but rather caused them to be our enemies? O *L. Scipio* I call you here to witness, into whose charge and government I succeeded, whose virtue and felicity withal, I besought the immortal Gods to vouchsafe unto me (and my prayer was not in vain;) and you likewise O *P. Scipio*, who with the *Col*, your brother and in the whole army, had the room & place indeed of an adjunct Lieutenant and no more, but carried the Majesty of a Colleague & joint companion; speak frankly both of you upon your knowledge, whether whole legions of Gauls served not in the army of *Antiochus*? Tell us, whether you saw them not in the field, marshalled in both the points and flanks of the main battel, as the very flower and strength of the whole puissance of *Antiochus*? Say directly, fought ye not with them, slew you them not, & carried away their spoils, as undoubted and lawful enemies? And yet both Senat decreed and people ordained war with *Antiochus* by name, and not with the Gauls. But I tro (or else I am much deceived) within this decree and ordinance, they included all those besides that came to aid and assist him. Of whom (excepting *Antiochus* himself, with whom *Scipio* had articulated peace and alliance, and ye also had expressly given order therefore) they all were our enemies no doubt, who had born arms against us in the quarrel and behalf of the said *Antiochus*. Now albeit the Gauls above all others were comprised in this number, together with some petty Kings and Tyrants besides; yet I contracted accord and peace with others, (after I had forced them to suffer due punishment according to their deserts) as far forth as I thought it expedient for the honour of your Empire: yes, and I assayed also to gain and win the hearts of the Gauls, if haply it had been possible to have subdued and reclaimed them from their inbred fierceness and natural cruelty. But when I perceived that they were untractable, untamed, and implacable, then and not before I resolved, that it was high time to bridle and bring them into order by violence and force of arms. Now that I have cleared the former point of my accusation, as touching the enterprise of the war, it remaineth that I yeeld you an account of the conduct thereof. Wherein surely I would make no doubt to approve mine innocence, and justify the goodness of my cause, if I were to plead; I say not in the Senat of *Rome*, but even at the counsel table of *Carthage*; where (as men say) they make no more ado, but truss up, hang, and crucify their Generals, if they proceed to execution of any service in war with bad advice and counsel, although the issue and event be never so good. But in that City, which therefore useth the name of the Gods both before they begin, and also when they proceed to the managing of all their affairs, (because no person should come to detract or deprave that milicionally, which the Gods have once approved) and which City in the grant & ordinance either of procession or triumph, useth this solemn form of words: *For that he hath well and happily administered and managed the weal publick*: In this City, I say, if I were unwilling, nay, if I reputed it an odious matter, and favouring too much of pride and arrogance, to vaunt myself and boast of mine own prowess; yet if in regard of the happy success and felicity of my self and mine army, in that without any loss of soldiers, we vanquished and subdued so great and mighty a nation, I demanded first that due honour and thanksgiving should be rendered unto the immortal Gods, and then, that I might myself ascend and mount up the Capitol in triumph, from whence I descended to take my voyage, after I had conceived and pronounced my vows, and made my prayers after the solemn and religious order: would ye deny both me and the immortal Gods, also? Yes, marry would you; and why? Forsooth I fought in a place of disadvantage. But tell me then, I pray you, in what ground I might have fought with better vantage? considering the enemies were seized of the hill, and kept themselves within their strength and fort. I thought have gone unto them, if I had been willing to have vanquished and overcome them. What? how if they had been there within a strong City? how if they had kept within the walls, and would not have issued forth? You must then have laid siege unto them and given the assault. Must I so indeed? And how I pray? Fought *M. Acilius* (I beseech you) at *Thermopylae* in a place of advantage? Why? did not *F. Quintius* after this manner dispose *Philip* of the high Mountain, which he held over the River *Aous*? In faith, I cannot yet devise what kind of enemies they either imagine to themselves they were, or would have you to take and esteem them to be. If degenerate, if effeminate, if enervate with the delights and pleasures of *Asia*; what danger was it to march up the hill against them with all disadvantage? If redoubted and terrible for fierce courage and bodily strength, deny ye triumph for so noble a victory? *Envy* (my good *L.*) is blind, and can skill of nothing but to detract and defame virtues, to falsifie and

and corrupt the honors and rewards due thereto. Pardon me I beseech your Honors and hold me excused, if I have been over long and tedious. It is not, I assure you, any delight and pleasure that I take so put forth and glorify my self, but a necessity imposed upon me (in mine own defence, to confute these crimes objected against me) which hath driven mine Oration out in length. To proceed, was it possible also that in *Thrace* I could make the passes within the forests large and wide, which naturally were straight and narrow? the ground plain and smooth, which by nature was uneven and rugged? Could I make level downs of steep mountains? open champion and fair fields of woodland overgrown, and rough wylds. Lay it in me, so prevent those Thracian thieves that they should not hide themselves within their lurkingholes and ordinary covert thickets? Was it in my power, to impeach them that they might snatch and carry nothing of our baggage? Was I able to warrant that none of our laboring beasts out of so great a number, should be driven and led away from their company? that no person should be hurt? and finally, that *Q. Minucius* a brave and hardy knight, should not die of his wound? My adversaries press hard and much upon this misfortune, that it was our unlucky hap to lose so worthy a Gentleman: but they never think that if they would say nothing but suppress and conceal all, yet you should know (since the whole army is here present to testify that which I say) That although the enemy assailed us in a narrow streight, in an inconvenient place of great disadvantage, yet both of our battailions at once, as well the vanguard as reeward, compassed the army of the Barbarians busy and occupied in rifling of our carriage, slew many thousands of them that very day, and within few daies after either killed or took prisoners a greater number of them by far. Well, if I had not drawn a sword in *Asia*, if I had not seen an enemy there, yet I Pro-consul had deserved a triumph well enough for those two battels in *Asia*. But enough hath been said of these matters, and I am to request you rather (my Lords all) to forgive me for my boldnes, if I have held you longer than my will and desire was.

The accusation that day had prevailed more than his own defence, but that they continued arguing and debating in the Councel-house until it was late in the evening. Then the Senat arose with this mind (as it should seem) to deny him a triumph. The next morrow, the kinsfolke and friends of *Cn. Manlius*, laboured all that ever they could. Likewise the authority of the ancients stood him in great stead: who said plainly that the precedent could not be found in any histories, That a General who had vanquished his enemies, accomplished the full time of government in his Province, and brought his army back, returned into the City as a private person, without the honor of the triumphal chariot and the laurel garland. The very indignity and shame of this example, surmounted the malice of his adversaries, in so much as the Senators in a frequent assembly granted his triumph.

The remembrance and memory of this debate, was afterwards drowned in a greater contention that arose with a far mightier and more noble personage. For as *Valerius Antias* hath recorded, the two *QQ. Petillii* called *P. Scipio Africanus* into question, and set him down a day peremptorily to make his appearance, and answer for himself. This action divers men construed diversly, according to their severall disposition and affection. Some blamed not so much the Tribuns of the Commons, as the whole City in general, for suffering such an abuse: discoursing in this wise: That the two chiefest States and Common-wealths in the World were become at one time unthankful, but *Rome* more ungrateful of the reward. For *Carthage* being subdued, had banished *Annibal* likewise vanquished: but *Rome* a victress was about to expulse *Africanus* a conqueror. Others again reasoned thus: that in no State there ought to be a citizen so pre-eminent and high above the rest, that he might not be under law, and brought to answer unto interrogatories accordingly. And nothing preserveth ifonomy in a City, and maintaineth equal liberty more, than to have the mightiest man to hold up his hand at the bar. For what may be safely committed to any man (and surely the sovereign rule of the State least of all other things) if he be not to yeeld an accompt of the managing of his affairs? And verily, he that can not abide to be equal unto others, to proceed against such a one by rigor and force, is no injustice at all. Thus men commonly talked and centre, until the judicial day came of his personal appearance, and answer to be made. Never was there man known before that day (no, not *Scipio* himself when he was at the highest, either Consul or Censor) accompanied with a greater train of men of all degrees and qualities, than he that day was conducted unto the common place and court of Pleas as an accused person, there to plead his cause. Being commanded to speak in his own defence, he began his oration without any mention at all of the imputations and matters with which he was charged, and entred into a discourse of the acts by him achieved: and that with such a Majesty and magnificence as it was well known and confessed, that never man was praised either better or more truly than he. For with what courage and mind he achieved those his brave exploits indeed, with the same spirit he delivered them in words. And no man thought him tedious and was weary to hear his speech, because all that he related was for his own defence in this his danger, and not upon vain glory and ostentation. The Tribuns of the Commons his adversaries, when they had laid open certain supposed crimes committed of old, as touching his wastful excess whiles he wintered in *Syracusa*: as also the riot and outrage of *Pleminius* which happened at *Lerna*: they proceeded to charge him by presumption and suspitions, rather than by direct evidences and proofs, for emberling and averting to his proper use certain treasure gotten from King *Antiochus* and namely that his son being taken prisoner, was rendered unto him without ransom: and that in all other things, *Scipio* was respected and regarded

A alone had carried the Roman peace and war under his guide. Also that he bare a strong hand over the Consul, more like, I wot, a Dictator and absolute commander, then a Lievtenant and assistant unto him, all the while he was in the provinces. Neither aimed he and shot at any other mark, when he went that journey, but that the same, which long before was notoriously known to Spain, Gaul, Sicily, and Africa might as evidently appeare to Greece, to Asia, and all to the Kings and nations of the East parts, to wit, that he was the only man, he was the chief, the head and pillar of the Roman Empire, that under the shadow of *Scipio* his wing, that City which is the lady of the world, was covert and protected; that a beck and nod of his head, was as good as all arrests of Senat and helts of people. Thus when they could not touch him in life, nor fasten upon him any note of infamy, they charged him all that ever they could with matter to kindle rage. Thus with orations they spent the time untill night came, and the business was put over to another day: which being come, the Tribunes, only in the times in the morning were set in their power within the *Rostra* [or common pleading place] the defendant was called, who guarded with a great company of his friends and followers, passed through the midst of the assembly, approached the *Rostra* and stood just under it. Then after an *opus*; and silence made: "My Masters (quoth he) you that are Tribunes of the commons, and ye likewise Quirites, my neighbours and citizens of Rome, upon this very day of the month it was that I fought a pight battell against *Annibal* and the Carthaginians, with right fortunat and happy successe; meet therefore and good reason since it is, that to day all pleas and actions surcreate: I will go directly and immediately from hence to the Capitol and present my self before *Jup. Ops. Max.* before *Juno* and *Minerva*, with all the rest of other gods and goddesses, presidents and patrons of that temple and portresse, to perform my humble duty unto them to talise and thank them, for that they have vouchsafed me that resolute affection and powerfull means with all, both on such a day as this, and also many times besides, to perform my devoir well and truly unto the Commonwealth. As many of you therefore (Quirites) as well may, go ye with me, and pray the gods to send to you like governors to my self, and no worse. If I say (and not else) as you ever think: I was seventeen years of age, even on these mine old daies, you alwaies advanced me to honours before the ordinary time of mine age, so I again advanced and prevented the said honours with good service and noble deeds. This said he departed from the *Rostra* and ascended up to the Capitol: whereas the whole audience there assembled turned at once and followed *Scipio*: in so much as at last the scribes and notaries, ye and the very sergeants left the Tribunes there alone, without any to bear them company but their own bondservants and the common cryer, who still from the *Rostra* called and cried the defendant. *Scipio* not only visited the temples upon the Capitol hill, but also made a perambulation with the people of Rome throughout the whole city to all the churches and chapels of their gods and goddesses. This was in manner a more solemn day unto him in regard of the affectionate favour of men, and the estimation of his true greatness indeed, then on which he rode into the City in triumph over King *Syphax* and the Carthaginians. But it was the last fair day that ever he saw: and never shone the sunne in pleasurable upon *P. Scipio*. For after this, foreseeing envy growing toward him, and what a life and how full of debates he should have with those Tribunes, upon a longer day granted for the procees of law against him, he retired himself apart to *Lavinium*, of set purpose to make default and not appear to plead his cause any more. He carried a greater spirit with him, his heart was too big, & used he had been to a higher degree of port & honour then to take knowledg what it was to be accused: he could not skill to vail bones and stoop so low, and to abase himself to the abject condition of those that plead for themselves at the bar. Now when the day was come, and that in his absence his name began to be called, *P. Scipio* answered for him, and alledged sickness to be the cause why he was away. But the Tribunes his accusers, would not admit of that excuse, replying and saying, That upon the same pride of heart, in which he avoided once before, his judicial trial, and Justice Tribunes and the whole assembly, he now also would not appear to make his answer. Even so triumphed he then over the people of Rome, when accompanied with those whom he had taken for prisoners (after he had once taken from them their power and liberty to give them death and doom of him) he frequented himself that day, by way of an insurrection from the Tribunes of the Commons into the Capitol. Well are ye now served therefore (say they) and justly punished for that dauntlessly and rashness. For lo, how he himself now abandoneth you, who was your motive and leader then, to forsake us. See how every day more then other our courage is fallen and heart abused: and dare not we now send folk to fetch him (a privat person and no more) out out of his farm and house in the country, and make him to appear and plead his answer, unto whom not past 7 years ago, at what time as he was General of an army on land, & Admirall of the Armado by sea, we were so bold as to send Tribunes of the Commons, to fetch him away with them to Rome? In the end, whereof the Tribunes of the Commons being called earnestly unto by *P. Scipio* for their lawfull favour, set down his order of conclusion, that if sickness were alledged for his excuse, and that there were nothing else but that occasioned his absence, it should be received for good & lawfull, and their colleagues should adjourn the trial to a farther day. It fortuned at that time that *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus* was one of the Tribunes, between whom & *P. Scipio* there was some quarrel. He forbade expressly that his own name should be subscribed to the instrument of the aforesaid decree of his colleagues. And when every man looked to hear some heavier sentence denounced against *Scipio*, he awarded

in this manner, "For as much as *L. Scipio* excuseth the absence of his brother by sickness, it is good
 "and sufficient in my opinion. And more then that, I will not for my part suffer *P. Scipio* to be ac-
 "cused before he return again to *Rome*. Yea, and then also, if he call for my helping, and I will
 "give him assistance, and stop the course of proceed against him. And as to the main point of
 "the cause, this is my resolution, that *P. Scipio* being advanced so highly as he is to that pitch of
 "honor, by his noble and famous exploits, and by the dignities received at the hands of the peo-
 "ple of *Rome*, as if both gods and men had consented to let him aloft, for him to come down
 "now and stand pleading below at the bar beneath the *Rostra*, and there to have his ears glow
 "and ring again with the checks and taunts of certain green heads and busy youths, were a grea-
 "ter shame and disgrace to the people of *Rome*, then to himself. Nay, he staid not thus with
 "this bare sword, but sealed and set it on surely with words of indignation, testifying his discon-
 "tentment for this course and manner of proceeding. And shall *Scipio* (quoth he, my master *Ti-
 "burtius*) that renounced conqueror of *Africa*, stand under your feet at your devotion? Defeated
 "he and put to flight in *Spain* 4 most brave and noble Generals of the Carthaginians, with their 4
 "entire armies? Took he *Syphax* prisoner, vanquished he *Annibal*, subdued he *Carthage* and
 "made it tributary unto us? Chased he *Antiochus* beyond the mountain *Taurus*, (for it must be
 "confessed, that in this glorious conquest *L. Scipio* had his brother copartner with him) and all
 "for this, to be troden under foot of two *Publii*? And that ye should seek to triumph over *P. A-
 "fricanus*? Will it never be better? Shall great personages (with all the good deserts of their own
 "for all the dignities and honors by you upon them conferred) never reach and attain to a strong
 "fort and sure place of defence, wherein they may make account to be safe and past all danger, K
 "and wherein their old age may rest and repose, if not with worship and honour, yet at least with
 "insecurity, exempt from abuse and violent outrage? The sentence it self of *Gracchus* (enforced
 "with such a speech especially) moved not others only, but also the very accusers themselves; who
 "made no other rejoinder again but thus, That they would consider better what they might
 "by their place and what they ought of duty to do. When the assembly of the people was
 "was broken up, the LL. of the Senat began to sit in counsell; where, the whole order of the Sena-
 "tors (but principally the ancients and as many as had been Consuls) highly commended and
 "thanked *Tib. Gracchus*, for that he had preferred the weal-publick, before private grudges and
 "particular quarrels. But the *Publii* were well spent and baited with reproachfull checks and bit-
 "ter rebukes, in that they would seem to rise by the fall of another, and so grace themselves with L
 "the disgrace of *Africanus*, and seek to triumph over him and be enriched with his spoils. Well af-
 "ter that, there was no more words of *Scipio Africanus*. The rest of his life he passed at *Livornum*
 "and never had mind to come to the City: there ended he his daies in a country village; and (as
 "they say) he charged his executors upon his death-bed, to inter him in that very place. And there
 "his tomb or monument was built, because he would not that so much, as his funeral obsequies
 "should be performed at *Rome*, (his native country) to unthankfull, as it was. A rare man he was
 "and worthy to be recommended to the memory of all posterity: howbeit the former part of his
 "life was more singular and memorable, as well for the conduct of martiall exploits in war, as the
 "governance of civill affairs in peace; then in his latter daies. For in his youth, he followed the
 "wars continually; whereas in his old age, as his body decayed and faded, so what (ever he did, M
 "lost much of the wanted beauty and lustre. Besides, there was no matter presented, to employ
 "that wit and spirit of his. What odds was there between his former Consulship and the second, al-
 "though ye put his Censorship to it in the ballance? What comparison was there, and what
 "semblable thing in that lieutenantancy of his in *Africa* of so little or no employment was it by reason
 "of his own sickliness; and blemished withall, by the occasion of the misfortune of his son. And
 "afterward, his return home again was no lesse unfortunate, for the hard choice whereunto he was
 "driven, forced of necessity to abide the trial of a doubtfull issue in judgment, to quit withall his
 "native City for ever. Howbeit he alone went away with the honor above all other, of finishing
 "the punick war, as great and dangerous to the Romans as any that ever they made.

When *Africanus* was once dead and his head laid, his adversaries and enemies were aloft: of
 "whom, *M. Porcius Cato* was the chief and principall: a man who was wont to bark (as it were)
 "and rail against him during his life in regard of his greatness. And it is thought, that the *Publii*
 "were set on by him, and procured through his persuasion, both in the life of *Africanus* to have
 "drawn out, and after his death to have preferred a bill in this form and manner following: May
 "it please you to grant and ordein, that true search and diligent enquiry be made, what sums of
 "mony were taken in prize, carried away, and levied away of King *Antiochus* and those which
 "were under his obedience and dominion; and that of as much thereof as came not into the pub-
 "lick treasury and chamber of the City, *Serv. Sulpicius* (the Pretor of the City) may propose unto
 "the Senat, to know their advice and pleasure touching it: that whomsoever of all the Pretors, O
 "for the time now being, it shall please the Senat to appoint, he may sit in commission and inqui-
 "sition thereof. This bill was first crossed by *Q. and Lucius Mammian*, who thought it meet and
 "reason, that the Senat alone (as at all times heretofore) should make due enquiry of the monies so
 "purloined and embezzled: as is aforesaid, and not brought into the common chest of the City. The
 "*Publii* charged the *Scipios* for being over great and mighty, and as it were KK in the Senat, to cary
 "all before them. *L. Furius Purpureo* (a man that had been Consul, and one of the ten commission-
 "ers in *Africa*, was of opinion, that the forsaide enquiry should be granted in more large & ample terms,
 "namely,

A namely, as touching the money not only taken from *Antiochus*, but also from other Kings and nations: covertly taxing hereby *Cn. Marcius* his old enemy. *L. Scipio* on the other side stood forth to disprove this matter: albeit it was thought he would rather speak in defence of himself, than against the thing. He complained much and shewed his grievance, that such a bill as this should come forth now, and be set on foot after the death of his brother *Africanus*, the most valiant knight and noblest personage that ever was. As if it were not sufficient, that *P. Africanus* wanted the solemn Panegyrick oration at the *Rostra* after his death, but he must be accused also. Why? the very Carthaginians are contented with the exile of *Annibal*, and seek no more: but the people of *Rome* is not satisfied even with the death of *Scipio*, unless both his own good name after he is buried be wounded and mangled, and his brother also (to fill up the measure of mens malice and hatred) be killed and sacrificed upon his tomb. *M. Cato* spake in the behalf of the bill, and perswaded that it might passe. His oration as touching the treasure of King *Antiochus*, it extant to be seen: and by the majesty of his authority, he diverted the two *Publii* Tribunes of the Commons, clean away, from interposing themselves any more. When they once had renounced and given over their negative, all the tribes in general passed their voices affirmatively, *Pro rogatio*. After this, *Sex. Sulpicius* proposed unto the Senat, Whom they would appoint for this enquest according to the act *Peritia*? and the L.L. of the Senat deputed *Q. Terentius Calles*. This Pretor was so great a friend to the house of the *Cornelii*, that some authors, namely those, who report how *P. Scipio* both died and also was carried forth to be entered at *Rome* (for that bruit also runneth current) have written, How he went at his funeralles before the bier and the mourners, with a cap of liberty on his head, like as he had done before in his triumph, and gave sweet wine or meade to all those that attended the convey, as far as to the gate *Capena*. This honour he did *Scipio* at his death, for that among other prisoners in *Africa*, he was by his means recovered out of the enemies hand. But it should seem rather, that he was such an enemy to that family, that for the cankred rancour and malice which he carried against that name, he was by the adverse faction of the *Scipios*, chosen especially of purpose to sit upon & execute that inquisition. But certain it is, before this Pretor (all in his extremities, who either in love & friendship, or in hatred and enmity, kept no mean) information was given immediately against *L. Scipio*. Presentments were made likewise, and the names received of his lieutenants *A. Hostilius* and *L. Hostilius* both *Cases*: and of his treasurer besides, *C. Furius Aulus*. And so the case that it should appear to the world, that they were all authors of this crime of purloining and robbing the publick treasure of the common-wealth in one complot, there were two secretaries also and one of his sergeants called into question. But these three last mentioned, and *L. Hostilius* before named, were found unguilty and acquit, before *Scipio* had his judiciall trial: howbeit *Scipio* and *A. Hostilius* his lieutenant, together with *C. Furius* were condemned. *Scipio*, for that he (as *Plutarchus Antonius* writeth) to make a more easie peace to the contentment of *Antiochus*, received 6000 pound weight of gold, and 480 pound weight of silver more then he brought into the City chamber. *A. Hostilius*, for that he likewise detained eighty pound weight of gold, and 483 pound of silver: and *Furius* the Quæstor for keeping back to his own use 130 pound of gold, and two hundred of silver. These sums I set down of gold and silver, as I find them gathered and registred by *Valerius Antonius* in his Chronicle. As for the sum of gold and silver, which *L. Scipio* should embezzle, I would rather think that the clerk or secretary faulted with his pen in writing the copies, then the author lied so loud with his tongue in the first printing of the Original. For it is more likely of the twaine, that the weight of the silver was more then of gold. As also for the fine wherein he was condemned, should amount but to forty thousand *Sesterces*, then arise to two hundred and forty thousand. And I am rather induced thus to calculate, because it is said that *P. Scipio* himself was required in the Senat to give his account but of such a sum: and when he had bidden his brother *L.* to fetch him that book of accounts, he took it of him, and there before the Senat, rare and rare in with his own hands, with indignation, that having brought into the Treasury two millions of *Sesterces*, he was called to his account for forty thousand. In which confident boldness of spirit and courage, when the Quæstors durst not against the order of law take forth money out of the Treasury, he called for the keys, and said he would be so bold as to open the chests of the Treasury since he was the cause that they were locked. Many things besides are diversly reported of *Scipio*, especially as touching the latter end of his life, his trouble and accusation, his death, his funeral, and last of all, of his sepulchre and tomb, which distract me so, that I wot not what report to cleave unto, nor which records to believe. For they accord not as concerning his accuser. Some write it was *M. Nevius*, others affirm that they were the *Publii*, that called him to answer. Neither agree they in the time when he was troubled, nor in the year, no, nor the place wherein he died, nor yet where he was entered. Some affirm he ended his daies and was buried at *Ardea*, others at *Lutetia*. And in both places there are monuments and Statues of him to be seen. For of *Lutetia* there stood a tomb, and over the same tomb an image of his sepulchre erected, which of late time we our selves saw overthrow in a tempest. At *Rome* likewise without the gate *Capena*, there be three images upon the monument of the *Scipios*, whereof two are said to be of *P.* and *L. Scipio*, and the third of *Q. Emilius* the Poet. And this difference among authors is not touching his facts and actions only, but also about the very Orations (if so be they were the orations indeed of *P. Scipio* & *Tiberius Gracchus*, which are commonly so taken and carried about, which disagree so much as they do. For the title of the oration that goeth for *P. Scipio*, hath the name of *M. Nevius*, a Tribune of the Commons: but through the whole

* *Sesteris*, is the fourth part of a Roman *denarius*, three halfpence farthing cue.

Orators it self there is no mention at all of that accusers. He termeth him one while *Nebulo* [Knave] and another while *Nugator* [Confiner.] In like sort the oration of *Gracchus* maketh no mention at all either of the *Perulis*, the accusers of *Africanus*, or of the day assigned unto him for his answer. And we must devise to tell the whole tale otherwise, it would have it to agree with the oration of *Gracchus*; and follow we must those authors; who write, that when *L. Scipio* was accused and condemned for taking bribes of King *Antiochus*, his brother *Africanus* was Ambassador in *Taicany*; and upon the news of his brothers misfortune, left his embassy and made hast to *Rome*. Where he took his way directly from the gate to the common place (for that it was told him how his brother was going to prison) and thrust the sergeant from his body, yea, and when the Tribunes themselves would have restrained him, he used violence against them, and carried himself in this action so, as he shewed more kindness and love to his brother, then manners and civility otherwise. For thus complaineth *Gracchus* in his oration, that the Tribunes authority and power was infringed and broken by a privat person. And in the latter end, when he promised to visit *L. Scipio*, he knit up his speech with these words, that it was a thing more tolerable that both the Tribunitian puissance and the Common-weal should seem overcome and surmounted by Tribunes themselves, then by a privat man. But he aggravated and enforced this one violence and excessive outrage against him, and made it odious in such sort, that in blaming him for so much overshooting himself and degenerating as it were from his own nature, he rehearsed the commendable parts of his moderation and temperat carriage of himself aforetime, and that in so good terms and ample manner, that thereby he made him some part of amends for the sharp reprehension he used for the present. For he said, that in times past he had rebuked and reproved the people, when they would have made him a perpetuall Consul and Dictator; that he had forbidden expressly, that any of his Statues in triumphant habit, should be set up and erected in the publick places of assemblies, as in the *Comitium* and *Curia*, in the Capitoll and chappell of *Jupiter Op. Max.* These commendable reports of him, if they were uttered in an oration penned of purpose for his praise, must needs testifie and shew a wonderful magnanimity of his, in the moderate use of high honours according to a civil port; which an enemy by way of reproach and upbraiding him, acknowledgeth and confesseth. But all writers accord, that *Gracchus*, took to wife the younger of his two daughters (for the elder without all question was affianced and given in marriage by his father to *P. Cornelius Nasica*. But it is not so certainly agreed upon, whether she was both betrothed and wedded alownto him, after her fathers death or no. As also, whether it be true (as it is reported) that when *L. Scipio* was a leading to prison, *Gracchus*, seeing none of his own fellow Tribunes to succour and release him, swore a great oath and protested that he was an enemy still to the *Scipios* as much as ever he was, and would not do any thing to curry favour with them, or to come into their grace, yet could he never endure that he should be carried to that prison, into which he had seen his brother *Africanus* lead Kings, great generals and commanders of armies, captive. Moreover, that the same day the Senat fortified to be at supper together in the Capitoll, and arose up all at once, and requested *Africanus* to affiance his daughter to *Gracchus*, before the supper and banquet was ended. Which espousals being performed with all due complements accordingly, during the time of that solemn feast, *Scipio*, when he was returned home to his house, said unto his wife *Emilia*, that he had fianced and bestowed his daughter upon an husband. She then falling into a fit of choler like a woman, and chafing that he had not made her acquainted with the matter, and taken her advice touching the maiden, who was as much her child as his, brake out into these words withall, that if he had given her in marriage to *Tiberius Gracchus*, yet good reason it was that the mother should have been at the making of the bargain. Whereupon *Scipio* took great contentment and joy at this conformity of judgment in the choice, and inferred straightwaies, that he was the man to whom she was espoused. Thus much I thought good to relate of this worthy and noble person, albeit there is great variety of opinions, and diversity of writings in that behalf.

After the Pretor *Q. Terentius*, had finished the inquisition and whole process thereof, *Hastilius* and *Furius*, who were attaint and condemned, that very day put in sufficient sureties to be bound in recognisance to the treasurers of the City, for the payment of their fines. But *Scipio* debating the matter still, & pleading that all the money which he had received was in the City chamber, & that he had perloined none of the publick treasure, was laid hold on to be had away and committed to prison. *P. Scipio Nasica* called unto the Tribunes for their help, and made a speech full of true praises and commendations, not in generall only of the whole name and family of the *Cornelii*, but in particular also of his own house. And namely he alledged and said, That himself and *P. Africanus*, together with *L. Scipio* (who now was going to prison) had to their fathers *C. Scipio* and *P. Scipio*, most noble and famous personages; those who for certain yeers in the land of *Spain*, advanced the renown and glory of the Roman name, manere the heads of many captains & armies, as well of Carthaginians as Spaniards, not only in martial feats of war, but also in this especially, that they had given testimony and proof unto those nations, of the temperate government, & faithful dealing of the Romans: and in the end both of them spent their blood and lost their lives in the quarrel of the people of *Rome*. And albeit it had been sufficient for all their posterity to maintein only & uphold the glory from them received, yet *P. Africanus* so far surpassed the praise worthy acts of his father, that it was verily beleaved he was not born of human blood, but descended from some divine and heavenly race of the gods. As for *L. Scipio*, who now is in trouble, to say nothing of his worthy acts which he achieved in *Spain* and in *Africa*, when he

- A "was lieutenant there to his brother Consul) he was both repaid by the Senat sufficient, with
 "out any calling of lots, to undertake the province of *Africa*, and the same year King *Antiochus*,
 "and also esteemed by his brother *Scipio* as to worthy a person, that himself who had been Con-
 "sul twice, Censor once, and had ridden in triumph, thought it no scorn to accompany him into
 "Africa in quality of his lieutenant. In which province to the end that the greatest respect of
 "glory of the lieutenant should not dim the brightness of the Consul, and to give him his virtues and
 "good parts) it so fell out, that the very same day, on which *L. Scipio* was quitted, *Antiochus*
 "near *Magnesia*, *P. Scipio* lay sick at *Elaea*, a City distant certain daies journey. He defeated I say
 "an army there, nothing inferior to that of *Antiochus*, with whom his brother had encountered be-
 "fore in *Africa*. In which battell among other great commanders and captains under the King,
 B "Antiochus was himself imployed in person, even he who had been the grand General in the Pu-
 "nick war. Which service was so well conducted and managed, that a man possibly could not
 "find fault so much as with fortune, or any accident that hapned there. And now when the war
 "is unblamable, there is picked matter of crimination in the peace: and it (they say) was bought
 "and sold for money. In which challenge the ten deputies and assistance in council, are also touch-
 "ed and noted with corruption, by whose advice the said peace was granted and concluded. Well,
 "of those ten, there were some that stepped forth and accused *Cn. Manlius*: yet to far off was
 "that accusation of theirs from being credited, that it did not so much as hinder and delay the ve-
 "ry time of his triumph. But (believe me) in *Scipio* his case, the very conditions of peace favour
 "strongly of bribery and indirect dealing, for that they are advantageous, respective & favorable on
 C "part of *Antiochus*. For his kingdom is left entire and whole unto him: and that he is vanquish-
 "ed, he possesseth as much as before the war began; and *Scipio* having received from him a mighty
 "masse of gold and silver, hath brought nothing into the common treasury, but averted all from
 "thence, and converted it to his proper use. Why? was there not carried in pomp at the triumph of
 "L. *Scipio* (in the very sight of all men) as much gold and silver, as in ten triumphs before (and put
 "them all together) could not be shewed. For what should I speak of the confines and frontiers of
 "his realm? Namely, that *Antiochus* beforetime held under his dominion all *Africa*, and the marches
 "also of *Europe* adjoining? & great a part of the world that is, which extendeth from the hill *Tan-*
 "nus, and lyeth out so far as the *Egean* sea; how many nor Cities only, but spacious countries
 "and populous nations it containeth, all men know right well: as also that this contrary bearing
 D "out in length more then 30 daies journey, and in breadth between two seas ten daies journey,
 "even as far as to the top of the mountain *Taurus*, is taken from *Antiochus*; & he driven into the
 "utmost angle and corner of the globe of the earth? What could he have been diseized of more
 "in case his peace had cost him never a penny of money? When *Philip* was conquered, he had
 "Macedony left unto him; when *Nabis* was subdued, he enjoyed still *Dardaniens*: and no man
 "ever went about to call *Quintus* in question for it. And why? may he had not to his brother
 "Scipio *Africanus*, for whole sake the envy and malice of men hath defiled and hurt L. *Scipio*,
 "whereas his brother's glory ought to have graced and helped him. Would any man of sense and
 "reason judg, that so much gold and silver was brought into the house of L. *Scipio*, as may not
 "not possibly be raised, if all the goods he hath were sold to the world? What should become of
 E "all that gold of the Kings? Where be those great purchases of lordships and inheritances that
 "he hath made therewith? Certainly it cannot be, but in that house that hath not exceeded in
 "superfluous expence, there should be seen some heap and mount of this new treasure. But what
 "care his enemies for this? That which cannot be made of the substance and goods of L. *Scipio*
 "they will make good on his body and back; which they mean to torture (belike) and expose
 "to contumely & villany, to the end that a man of the best mark and quality that ever was, should
 "be shut up in a dungeon among robbers, by the high way side, amongst night thieves and cut-
 "purses, and there in the hard stocks and balefull darkness render his last breath; and when he is
 "dead, to have his body cast out naked at the prison door. But be it what it will, this will
 "be no greater blot to the house *Cornelia*, then a shamefull reproach for ever to the City of
 F *Rome*. Against all these remonstrances, the Pretor *Terentius* opposed and read the law *Porcia*, the
 "decree of the Senat, and the sentence given of L. *Scipio*, and he for his own part said, he could not
 "do withall, but if the sum wherein he was condemned, were not brought into the common
 "Treasurehouse, he knew no other remedy, nor what else to do, but to condemn him (a condemned
 "person) to be apprehended again, and led away to prison. Then the Tribunes went apart to con-
 "sult and lay their heads together. And within a while after *C. Plautius* pronounced aloud, ac-
 "cording to his own advice and the opinion of all his Collegues (excepting only *Gracchus*) that the
 "Tribunes would not interpose themselves, but that the Pretor might do and execute his office and
 "his authority to the full. But *T. Gracchus* did so, he did decree in this form, That to touch-
 G "ing the sum wherein L. *Scipio* was condemned, he would not be against it, nor impeach the Pre-
 "tor, but that he might use his power according to his place, and take out of his goods as far as
 "they would extend. But that L. *Scipio* who hath subdued the mightiest and most puissant monarch
 "in all the world, who hath drawn out and extended the bounds of the Roman Empire, as far as the
 "farthest frontiers of the earth; who hath obliged and bound King *Antiochus*, the *Rodians* & so ma-
 "ny Cities and States besides of *Africa*, and made them belonging to the people of *Rome* for favours
 "and benefits bestowed upon them; finally, who hath himself laid up full in prison many a General
 "captain over the enemies, after he led them in triumph, that he *L. Scipio* should lie in prison or iron

among the enemies of the people of Rome he would never suffer: and therefore he commanded him to be released and set at large. This decree was heard with so great applause, and all men were so jealous to see *L. Scipio* delivered, that hardly a man would have believed (unless he had seen it) that there had been such a judgement passed in the same City. Then the Pretors sent the Quæstors or Treasurers to enter and seize upon all the goods of *L. Scipio*, in the name and to the use of the City: whereof there was not to be found, so much as any one token or mention of the Kings money, no, nor so great a sum could be raised, as the time came to wherein he was condemned. The friends, kinsfolks, followers, and wellwillers of *L. Scipio*, made such a contribution of money for him, that if he would have accepted of it, he had been a richer man by odds, than before this cross and calamitie fell upon him. But he took never a denier. His nearest kinsmen in blood bought again and redeemed as much of his own goods, as served for his necessary maintenance and so more. And the envy and hatred of men intended against the *Scipios*, turned upon the heads of the Pretor and his counsell, together with the accusers themselves.

The nine and thirtieth Book Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the nine and thirtieth Book.

Marcus Emilius the Consul after he had subdued the Ligurians, made the street or high way from Pleisance to Ariminum, untill it met with the way Flaminia. In this book are recounted the beginnings of virtue and dissolute life brought in by the Asian army. All the Ligurians on this side Appennine were tamed and brought under. The Bacchanales (a Greekish feast and celebrated in the night seasons, the very seminary and nurse-garden of all wickedness, being grown to this enormity, that therein was contrived a conspiracy and compact of a mighty multitude) were now visited and searched out by the Consul, and put down with the punishment of many persons. *L. Quinctius Flamininus*, the brother of *T. Quinctius*, was deprived of his Senators dignity by the Censors, so was *L. Valerius Flaccus*, and *M. Porcius Cato*, a right excellent man, as well for feats of arms as peace. The cause was this, for that whilst he was Consul and governor in Gaul, at the request of one *Philippus Ptolemy*, a certain nation *Garmade* whom he taught, he slew a certain Gaul with his own hand: or, as some have written, because as the entry of an host, upon whom he was encountered, he beheaded one of them that were enemies. The invective oration of *L. Cato* against him is extant. *Scipio* departed this life at Lintorum, and (as fortune would have his funeral accompanied with the death at the same time of two best renowned and great personages) *Annibal* poisoned himself, by occasion that *Brutius King of Bithynia* (unto whom he was fled for succour, after the defeat of King *Antiochus*) would have yielded him into the hands of the Romans, who had sent of purpose *T. Quinctius Flamininus* to demand him. Likewise *Philip* athen the General of the Achæans, an excellent man, was poisoned by the *Assenians*, who took him prisoner in war. Colonies were sent to Pollentia, Pisaurum, Munia and Batuna. Over and besides, this book containeth the prosperous affairs against the Celtiberians, also the beginning and cause of the Macedonian war, whereof the original spring arose from *Philip*, much discontented, that his Kingdom was impaired by the Romans, in regard that he was forced by them to withdraw his garrisons out of Thracia, and other parts.

The nine and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

During the time that these affairs passed at Rome (it was the year wherein they begun) both Consuls made war against the Ligurians, a nation born as it were, to maintain the military discipline of the Romans, and to find them occupied in all times of respite and rest from greater wars: neither was there any other province that gave a sharper edge to the valour of the soldiers. For, As with the beauty of their Cities, the abundance of all commodities as well by sea as land, the affeminate tenderness of the enemies, and the robbry of the Kings riches, had made their armies more wealthy then valiant: and especially under the government of *Cannus*. *Maximus* noted they were in much looseness and negligence. And therefore on it was that finding the way in Thracia more rough and difficult then ordinary to travel in, and an enemy better practised and exercised to deal withall, they received a greater and loss amongst them. Now in Liguria, they met with all things that might rouse and awake sleepy soldiers: the country rough and full of mountains, that much add they had themselves to seize the same, and against a labour they found to discomfit the enemies, that were before possessed of them: the waies steep up hill, narrow, and dangerous for ambushes: the enemy light, swift, nimble, and suddenly falling upon them, giving no time of rest, no place of repose and security. Therefore they were of necessity to assault strong and fortified Castles, with great difficulty and danger both: the country poor and needy, which caused the soldiers to spare and live hardily, and afforded them an opportunity of prey and prizes: and therefore no victuals, less horse, could be bought and lacked followed the camp: neither the labouring beasts for carriage took up a length in their march: nothing there, but armour and men, reposing all hope in their

their arms, and nothing else. And never wanted they more than to be privately and some occasion or other to make war: for by occasion of their barrenness and poverty they made roades into the lands of their neighbours, but so, as they never ventured all at once; nor put the main chance in hazard.

C. Flaminius the Consul having fought sundry times with the Frisii Ligurians, and in many battels gotten the better hand over them, even at home in their own country, brought the whole nation by composition under the obedience, and disarmed them: but because in the delivery of their armor, they dealt not soundly and faithfully, and should have been chastised therefore, they abandoned their villages, & fled to the mountain *Apenninus*; whither the Consul pursued them hard at heels: now best, being disbanded and scattered again, and most of them disarmed, they fled into the valley through places where no wayes led, and over broken and cragged steep rocks, whereas the enemies could not possibly follow after, and so passed the other side of *Apenninus*. But as in by is kept still within their hold, were beset round about and overthrown. Then were the legions led to the further side of *Apenninus*, where the enemies for a small while, defended themselves by the height of the place, but anon they yielded. Then was their armor sought for with more care and diligence then before, and they were disarmed and stripped out of all. After this, was the war diverted and before turned wholly upon the Apean Ligurians, who had so overrun the territories of *Pise* and *Bolonia*, that they could not be manured and tilled: The Consul having subdued them also, granted peace unto the borderers: and now that he had brought the province into quietness and rest, to the end that hisouldiers should not be idle and do nothing, he made a causey or street-way from *Bononia* to *Arretium*.

The other Consul **M. Emilius**, set on fire the villages, and wasted the lands of the Ligurians, as well in the campain fields as the valleys, when the inhabitants themselves were retired into the two mountains *Balista* & *Snismontium*, which they held. Afterwards he assailed them also who had taken the hills aforesaid: and first wearied them with light skirmishes; after wards, he forced them to descend into the pl. n, and there in a set battell vanquished them: in which conflict he vowed a temple to *Diana*. Thus having subdued all on this side *Apenninus*, he then set upon those that dwelt beyond the mountain; among whom were the Frisii & Ligurians, (so far as to whom **C. Flaminius** went not:) all those, **Emilius**, subdued despoiled them of their armour, he forced the multitude of them to forsake the mountains and come down into the plains. After he had quieted the Ligurians, he led his army into the country of the Gauls, and made an high way from *Placentia* to *Arminum*, so as it met with the causey *Flaminius*: and in the last battell, wherein he fought with banners displayed against the Ligurians, he vowed a temple to *Queen Juno*. And these were the exploits for that year, in *Liguria*.

M. Furius the Pretor in *Gaul*, seeking in time of peace for some pretence and colour of war, had taken from the Cenomani their armour notwithstanding they were innocent and did no harm. The Cenomani made complaint hereof at *Rome* to the Senat, and were put unto the Consul **Emilius**, unto whom the Senat had decreed a commission of *vis* and *detinendum*. After great debate with the Pretor, they overthrew him in the action, and had their armour delivered unto them again: and so the Pretor was commanded to give over his government and depart out of the province.

After this, the Embassadors of the Latin nation, who assembled and resorted in great number out of all parts of *Latium*, had audience given them in the Senat. These complained, that the great multitude of their own natural citizens, were removed and gone to inhabit in *Rome*, and there were enrolled: whereupon a commission was granted to **Q. Terentius Calla** the Pretor, to make search for them: and look how many of them those Latine allies could prove to have been enrolled (either themselves or their fathers) in any City or corporation of theirs, either at the time that **C. Claudius** and **M. Livius** were Censors, or after their Censorship, to force those to return thither again, where they had been enrolled or matriculated. By virtue of this commission, the number of 12000 Latins returned home again into their own country: for now the City of *Rome* was overcharged and pestered with a multitude of strangers and forreiners.

Before that the Consuls repaired to *Rome*, **M. Fulvius** the Proconsul returned out of *Etolia*, who after he had discoursed of his exploits petitioned in *Etolia* and *Cephallenia*, before the Senat assembled in the temple of *Jupiter*, requested of the LL. to judge it meet and requisite, and accordingly to grant him orders, that praise and thanksgiving might be rendered unto the immortal gods, and himself allowed to triumph, for that he had so well and happily managed the affairs of the common weal. Then then forth **M. Atilius** a Tribune of the Commons, and declared openly, that in case they went so out to passe any decree in that behalf, before the coming of **M. Emilius** the Consul, he would collect: for that the Consul himself was minded to contradict that proceeding, and had given freight charge unto him, at what time as he took his journey to the province, that the consideration of this matter should be reserved wholly until his return home.

And **Fulvius** (though he) in it hold to much time: and when the Consul himself is present in place to pass, then might the Senat move what decree it pleased them. Then answered **M. Fulvius** and said, If men were ignorant either of the grudge and quarrell between me and **M. Emilius**, or with what contentious spirit and Kinglike choller and indignation he pursued the said enemy and vanquished, yet it were not a tolerable thing and to be endured, that the absence of the Consul should both impeach the honour due unto the immortal gods, and also hinder and stay the triumph.

triumph which I have so justly deserved: that a General (I say) who had so worthily achie-
 ved his service, and an army so victorious, should stay and give attendance without the City
 gates, untill it pleased the Consul to return home: who no doubt of very purpose had on set pur-
 pose, upon this occasion would make slow halt and take his leisure. But now considering that
 the enmity and heart-burning that the Consul beareth to me is so notorious as it is, what indis-
 ferency and reasonable dealing may a man look for at his hands? who taking the advantage of
 the time, when a small number of Senators were assembled, caused an act of the Senat to passe
 by stealth, and entered it in the treasure house, containing thus much in effect, that *Ambracia*
 should not be reputed as a town forced by assault, notwithstanding it were assailed with
 mantlets and platforms: where we were driven to erect new fabricks, and plant other en-
 gins and ordnance of war after the former were consumed with fire: where we maintained fight
 about the wals, as well under the ground as above, for the space of 15 daies together; where
 after that the souldiers had scaled and gained the wals, the conflict endured notwithstanding a
 long time doubtfull, from morning to night; and where were slain above 3000 enemies. Now as
 touching the sacriledg committed (after the City was forced) in spoiling the churches of the im-
 mortall gods: what a slander think ye, hath he raised of me? what a matter hath he made thereof,
 and how he hath informed the Pontifics and Bishops? unless a man would say, that lawful it was
 not for the City of *Rome* to be garnished & beautified with the ornaments of *Syracusa* & other
 Cities won by force; but the law of war extended it to this only City of *Ambracia*? I beseech
 you therefore the L.L. of the Senat, yea, and I request the Tribuns, not to suffer me to be mocked
 and abused by a most insolent and proud adversary. Then at all hands they dealt with the Tri-
 bune, some intreated him, other rebuked and blamed him: but the speech of *Tib. Gracchus* (one of
 his colleagues) moved him most of all others: who shewed, that it was no good precedent and
 example, that men should maintain and follow their own privat quarrels in time of magistracy
 and publick government, but a shamefull matter and a foul indignity it was, and much becoming
 the Tribuns of the Commons and their sacred laws, that a Tribune should be Proctor to other
 men and prosecute their actions and enmities. Men ought (qd. he) according to their own discre-
 tion and judgment, either to love or hate the persons, to like or dislike the cause; not to depend
 and hang upon the countenance and becke of others, not to be carried to and fro with the wils,
 pleasure, and appetites of other men. As for the Tribune of the Commons here, he accorderth and
 taketh part with a cholericke and relty Consul, and remembreth well what *M. Emilius* left with
 him in privat charge; but forgetteth altogether that the Tribuneship was committed unto him by
 the people of *Rome*: committed I say, and put into his hands for to assise privat persons, and to
 maintain their liberties, and not to uphold the Kinglike rule and a royalty of a Consul. Never
 seeth he thus much before him, that it will be written another day in the Annals and yearly
 Chronicles, that of two Commoner Tribuns in the same fellowship and society, one for the love
 of the Common-weal renounced and gave over his own privat displeasure and enmity to a par-
 ticular person, and the other took charge as it were by way of Commission, to pursue the quar-
 rel of another man. The Tribune could endure no longer these rebukes and checks and there-
 with departed out of the temple: then the Prefor *Ser. Sulpicius* propounded the bill the second
 time; and so a triumph was granted to *M. Fulvius*. Who after he had rendred great thanks to the
 L.L. of the Senat, added moreover and said, that the very day wherein he forced the City *Ambracia*,
 he had by vow promised, to the honor of *Jupiter Opt. Max.* for to exhibit the great and so-
 lemn Rom. games. And to that effect the Cities of *Græcia* had contributed towards the charges, a
 hundred pound weight in gold: his petition was therefore, that the Senat would ordein that out
 of that mass of money which he was to carry and shew in triumph, and meant to bestow and lay
 up in the City Treasury, the forsaide sum of gold might be sequestred and reserved apart for the
 proper use abovesaid. The Senat commanded, that the Colledge of the Prelats and Priests in
 this case should be consulted with, and their advice demanded, whether they thought it necessary
 that so much gold should be spent and consumed in the charges of the said games? The Prelats
 made answer again, that it was not material to relegion and to the service of the gods, to how
 great a great a reckning soever the charges of the games should arise. Whereupon the Senat per-
 mitted *Fulvius* to defray what he would himself, so as it exceeded not the sum of 30000 [Alicia].
 He had proposed to triumph in the month of *January*, but hearing that *Emilius* the Consul (who
 was advertised by letters, that *Ambracia* the Tribune of the Commons had renounced and let fall his
 opposition which he commented) was coming in proper person to *Rome*, only for to hinder the tri-
 umph, and staid by the way sick; he prevented the day, for fear he should have had more anger
 and trouble in his triumph, then during his war. So upon the 23 day of *December* he triumphed o-
 ver the *Etolians* and *Cephalaens*. Before his chariot there were born 100 crowns of gold, weigh-
 ing 12 pound peece: of silver 23000 pound weight: of gold 243 pound weight: of Attick Tetra-
 drachms 118000: of Philip peece of gold coin 2222: images of brasse 85: of marble 230.
 Likewise of armor, as well defensive as offensive, and other spoil of the enemies, an huge deal be-
 sides Catapults, Balists, and other engins and peece of battery. Moreover, there went before him
 27 captives either *Etolians* and *Cephalaens*, or else under King *Antiochus*, left by him in those
 parts. The same day before that he entered into the City, he bestowed in the cirque *Flaminium* many
 military gifts upon many colonels, captains, horlemen and centurions, as well Romans as allies.
 Generally to all the footmen he gave out of the pillage 25 Denarii peece: twice as much to the
 centurions, and threefold to horlemen.

Now

- A Now approached the time of the solemn assembly for the election of Consuls, and because *M. Emilius* whose lot it was to be president thereof, could not be present at the day, *C. Flaminius* who came of purpose to Rome. By whom were created Consuls *Sp. Posthumius Albinus*, and *Q. Martius Philippus*. After that were Praetors elected, to wit *T. Manius*, *P. Cornelius Sulla*, *C. Calpurnius Piso*, *M. Livinius Latullus*, *C. Avarianus Scaurus*, and *L. Quinctius Crispinus*. In the end of the said year, after the magistrates were thus created, *Cn. Manlius Vulso* the third day before the Nones of *March*, triumphed over the Gauls who inhabit *Asia*. The cause why he triumphed so late, was this, for that he would avoid making his answer (according to the act of *Pandrus*) while *Q. Terentius Cullen* was Praetor, fearing he should burn in the flame of the same sentence and judgement whereby *L. Scipio* had been condemned, or lest the flame of another mans judgement;
- B I mean the sentence whereby *L. Scipio* had been condemned, would have been too hot for him, and caught hold of him likewise: considering that the jury and enquest were more incited and provoked against him then *Scipio*: for that he succeeding after him, had spoiled and murthered with all kind of licentious looseness, the military discipline, which *Scipio* had observed most precisely and severely. Neither was he noted and touched in name for those things only which by bare hearsay were reported to have been done in the province, far remote from the view of men, but also of those particular instances to be seen daily in the demeanor of his soldiers. For verily the foreign excesses and strange superfluities took beginning from the Asian army, who brought all with them into the City. They were the first with in *Rome* that took up the use of brazen tables of rich counterpoints, carpets, cupboards, cloths, hangings and curtains of sundry kinds of tyllue, Like wise of one footed standing tables, buffets and cupboards, which in those daies were counted magnificent and stately moveables. Then came up the manner of having at bankers singing miniken wenchies, and such as could play upon the dulcimers or other instruments of musick, with dancers, jotters and other pastimes, and delightfome pleasures and fits of mirth at the table. Then began the boord to be furnished and set out with more exquisite & deinty viands, and of greater expense. Then Cooks, who in old time were reputed the most contemptible slaves, as well for calling as estimation, as for the use they were put unto, came to be in great request: and that which before time was a mechanical kind of manual service, grew now to be accounted a science of deep skill and understanding. And yet all these things that then bare so great a shew, were scarce so much as small loads and lumps, to the excessive superfluities that were to ensue.
- C Well, *Cn. Manlius* carried in triumph two hundred crowns of masie beaten gold, weighing twelve pound apiece: of silver 230000 pound weight: of gold 2103 pound weight: of Attick *Tremulathum* 230000: of Cithophors 350000: of Philip golden peeces 163000. Also much armor there was and spoils of Gauls carried in shew upon wagons: and 52 captains of enemies were led before his own chariot. Amongst the soldiers he gave a donative of 42 denarii apiece, he doubled the same to every centurion. Also to every footman he gave double pay, and to every horseman triple. Many there were of all States and degrees, whom he rewarded with military presents for especial service, and those followed next after the chariot. The soldiers chanted such songs and sonnets, as a man might easily see they were composed to feed the humor of a General desirous of glory, and one that made much of his soldiers especially: whereby his triumph was more honored with the affectionate favour of them, then other wise recommended and celebrated with the hearty love of the people. Howbeit the friends of *Manlius* served him in good stead to win the good will of them also through whole soliciting & earnest endeavour, there passed an act of the Senate, that out of that money which had been shewed in triumph, there should be repaid unto the people that subsidy which had been lent among them for soldiers pay, and not yet contented back again. So the Treasurers of the City made true and faithful payment with all diligence of 25 asses and d. in every thousand [for the loan.]
- D About the same time three Colonies came out of both provinces of *Spain*, with letters from *C. Cornutus* and *L. Manlius* the governors there: by which letters intelligence was given, that the *Celtiberians* and *Hispanians* were in some wayling and spoiling the lands of the Rom. confederates. The Senate referred the entire consultation of this matter to the new Magistrates. During the time of the Roman games that year which *P. Cornelius Cethegus*, and *Aulus Posthumius Albinus* represented, was made make a high pole which stood not fast in the they place called *Circus maximus*, fell down upon the image of *Bellona*, and cast it down to the ground. The LL. hereupon made some scruple in cogitations, and ordained, that the solemnity of those games should continue one day longer, and should be a new image to be set up for that one, and that the new should be all gilt. Likewise the *Mercurian* plays were renewed one day more, by the *Ediles* *C. Sempronius Blasus* & *M. Fulvius Flaccus*. The next following year, the Consuls *Sp. Posthumius Albinus* & *M. Martius Philippus* from the wars, from the siege of *Lisbon* and government of provinces abroad, to the punishment of some misbehaving company at home. The Praetors laid costs for their provinces. *T. Manlius* had the jurisdiction of the wars, and *M. Livinius Latullus* between citizens & strangers. Also *C. Avarianus Scaurus* had the governance of *Sardinia*, and to *P. Cornelius Sulla* of *Sicily*. *L. Quinctius Crispinus* was assigned to the higher *Spain*, and *P. Calpurnius Piso* to the farther. Both Consuls were enjoined to make inquisition into secret conspiracies within the City.
- E There came a certain Caton of base degree and condition, who came first in *Hispania*: a man not endued with any of those arts, whereof the nation (for all others most learned) hath brought many notions, as well for the education of our minds, as the trimming of our bodies, but a sacrificing

being priest he was, and a divining wifed withal. Neither was it one that made outward profession of rectitude, and thereby getting a living openly, and so by an open show of religion possessed their heads and minds with fear and horror; but the knowledge he had (which for certain hidden and secret sacrifices. These mysteries of his at first he taught but unto a few, howbeit afterwards they began to be communicated and divulged as well to men as women: and to this religion were added pleasures and delights of wine and good cheer to the end that more customers might be allured and enticed for to have a liking thereof. Now when wine had drowned and dulled the understanding: when the night season, when the entertaining of men and women together one with another (and namely, they of young and tender years, with those of elder age) had clean put out and extinguished all respect and regard of themselves: there began first to be practised all sorts of corruption, for every one had all pleasures ready at commandment, and his choice of those whereto by nature he was more prone and given to lust after. Neither was there wickedness committed here, of one sort; namely, the abusing of mankind and womenkind one with another without distinction: but out of this shop and workhouse proceeded false witness, forging of seals, depositions, and testimonies; and more then so, writing and waste informations. From hence came the devilish cult of poisoning, and privy murders of benevolence of kindred in one house and the same so secret, that otherwhiles the bodies would not be found to be committed to the earth. Many sinfull parts were there played by way of fraud, guile, and cunning cozenage; but more by spelt force. As for violence, it was kept close and hidden by reason that with the hideous noises, with the sound ofymbals, drums, and cymbals, there could no voice be heard of such as cried out, when either they were forced to villany and abuse, or beaten to death. The infection of this catching poison of *Hierax*, spread as fast as *Rome*, like a contagious melody. At the first the spacious capacity of the City, having been used to drink and beat with some enormities, concealed all: at length revealed it was to the *Col. P. Fabius*, much after this manner: *P. Fabius* (whose father had served in the wars in quality of a gentleman of Robe, with a *Cary* house) left an orphan, after that his guardians were likewise deceased, became ward to himself after *Darius* and his father in law (his second husband) *T. Symplicius Rutilianus*, under whom he had his bringing up. Now as his mother was wholly devoted and obsequious unto her husband, so his father in law had so handled the matter in his guardianship, that he could not do good he compt thereof, and therefore his desire was, that either the infant should be sold to some country or else obliged and entralled unto him. The only way to compass his thing had thought, that the corruption and abuse of the Bacchantes. This she her therefore upon a time called her son to her, and told him, that she had made a vow for him when he was first, that to so soon as he should recover and be well again, she would present him to the priests of *Barbaris* to be consecrated and professed in their mysteries: and how soon she, feeling that by the goodness of the gods that was intended, and I thereby obliged by the bond of that vow, I will acquit my self thereof, that perforce it accordingly. She bare him in hand therefore, that he must for so many days live chaste and not touch a woman, and at the ten dayes end after he had eaten his supper, and was set washed and purified after the manner, she would bring him unto the holy place of those sacred mysteries. Now there was a famous stranger, by condition stood to countenance and named *Hippodamus*; too good, I wis, for that occupation which he did while she was young, which and he didervant: but yet still after that she was married and in that state of a free citizen, she maintained her self by the same trade and manner of living. Given she was like a familiar acquaintance with the forefard young *Barbaris*, by reason they were next neighbours, and therefore she was able: yet so, as she endeavored for the youth to get either to change his state, or something else ere it. For she it was that first was induced upon him, and how she would had for as much as he had but short allowance every way from his mother and father in law, and by them kept hardly, he was maintained well by the bounteous liberality of this loving husband. Nay, more than that, in continuance of time she was so deeply engaged in him, that when he was parted was dead, and her self at the disposition of some he left unto the Tribunes and old Praetors into their tutor, began to be more to make her self a wife and companion, where to she desired to find her only heart in remained or to assist. She had: There passing then betwixt them being together pledges of love, and they using to impart the one to the other the secrets of their hearts, the young youth by way of mery and pleasure talk would not one day be so careful to think any thing more, if for certain times he lay away and passed time with them: for thus upon a religious and devotion that he had, he was minded for to be professed and consecrated by the *Brigides* of *Barbaris*, and all to be spoiled from a young man in hope of his beauty. The woman following him try so, and from led in spirit, Mary go to send, (good she) and would have that for all things in the world. And better it were for me and you to be so true to me, then to be so with this she threatened, she cursed and boded, wishing all manner of plague to come upon them that had put such a thing into his head. The youth wanted much to hear his words, and to see her so to fare and take on beyond all reason and order, but that he had of all loves to be so true, and to forbear those cursed speeches, and said it was his own weakness, by the consent of his father in law, who had enjoined him to do so. And so the father in law of yours, quoth she, (that peradventure I should not do well to be me your mother, that hath such you by the action of yours to make shipwreck of your honesty and chastity, of your credit and good name, of your hope and other day, and lastly, to it and your very true heart, for you shall have much more than before

The Bacchantes detected.

A fore, and desired earnestly to know the depth of all this matter. Then after she had prayed all gods and goddesses to pardon her, if for tender love and affection that she bare unto him, she could neither will nor chuse but reveal those secrets that indeed were to be concealed, she set tale on end and said: "That she her self once entred into that chappel, when as she waited on her mistress, but since that she was made free and at her own liberty, she never set foot within the dore. And upon my knowledge (qd. he) it is the very shop and workhouse of all wickedness that can be devised. And now for certain these two yeers last past, there is not one professed and admitted to those mysteries there, who is above 20 yeers of age. So soon as any one is induced and brought thither, she or he is delivered to the priests as a very sacrifice to be killed: for they lead them to a place which resoundeth with yelling and crying, with singing of divers conorts, with jangling noise of cymbals, with thumping & bearing of tabers, to the end that the voice of any one that cryeth and complaineth of force and violence done to the abuse of his or her body might not be heard. Now I beseech you therefore, and of all loves I pray you, that in any case by one means or other you avoid this. howsoever ye do: and plunge not your self headlong thither, where first you shall be sure to endure and suffer, and afterwards to perpetrat and commit all abominable wickedness not to be named. And never would she let the yong man go from her, untill he had made her iustifull promise to abstain and forbear such mysteries and ceremonies. When he was come home, and that his mother was in hand with him, telling him what he must do this day and that day, and so forth: he flatly denied and said plainly, he would do neither the one nor the other, and at one word, professed and consecrated he would not be: whatsoever came of it. His father in law was present and at one end of this resolute speech of his, his mother straightwaies cried out and said, that he could not find in his heart to lie apart from *Hispala* one ten daies, and that he was so far bewitched and envenomed with the charms & poisoned allurementes and baits of that false serpent and pernicious *Hydra*, that he had no respective regard either of his mother, or mothers husband, no, nor any reverent fear of the immortall gods. The mother rated him of one side, the father baited and courted him on the other, till in the end they hunted him out of dores with 4 bondswaves besides. The yong man betook himself to *Eburna*, an aunt that he had by his father side, and shewed her the whole matter, why his mother had thrust him out of her house by the head and shoulders: which done, by her advice and counsell the next day he opened and declared the same in great secret, without the hearing of any earthly creature, to the

D Consul *Pomponius*. The Consul commanded him to repair again unto him three daies after, and so for that time dismissed him. Then the Consul in the mean while enquired of his wives mother *Salpina*, a brave and sober matron whether she knew an old wife called *Eburna* dwelling in the *Aventine*? Yes that I do qd. she, and I know her to be an honest dame, and a woman of the old world, and few her like now adayes. I must needs speak with her (qd. he) and therefore I would have you lend a messenger unto her for to will her to come thither. *Eburna* at the first sending came unto *Salpina*: and the Consul within a while sorted (as it were by chance) into their company, & began to find some talk of her brothers son *Eburnus*: with that the womans eyes stood full of water, and with tears she began to bewail the case and mishap of the yong man: who being spoiled of all his goods and patrimony (by those who of all others should least have done it) was now at home in her house, chased and driven out of doors by his own mother: for that the honest good youth (God blasse us all and be mercifull unto us) was unwilling to be consecrated and admitted to certain filthy and detestable sacrifices (if all be true that is reported thereof.) The Consul had enough now, and was fully perswaded of *Eburnus*, that he had told him no lie. Then he gave *Eburna* leave to go her waies home, and requested his mother in law *Salpina* aforesaid, to lend likewise for *Hispala* from thence out of the *Aventine* to come unto her, a woman (qd. he) affianched and well enough known to all the neighbours of that street: for that I have somewhat also to say to her. *Hispala* was somewhat disquieted at this message, to think that she should be sent for to so noble and honourable a dame, and knew no cause wherefore. But after that she saw the

Lictors before the entry of the doore, the troop and train also belonging to the Consul, and with all the Consul himself in person, she was astonished and (in manner) half dead. The Consul taking with him his wives mother, had the woman into an inward room of the house, and said unto her, that she need not to be afraid, if to be she could find in her heart to tell the truth: and for assurance thereof, she should have the faithfull word and promise either of *Salpina* (a lady of so good credit and reputation) or of himself if need were. Only he would have her to utter and declare what was ordinarily done at the grove of *Stabulum* in the *Bacchanals*, where they used to sacrifice in the night season. The woman had no sooner heard that word, but she fell into such a fear, trembling and quaking all over her body, that for a good while she was not able to open her lips and speak a word: but after she was come to her self again out of this trance, and by them heartned and encouraged she said, that when she was a very yong wench and a bond-maid, she together with her mistress, was there professed and consecrated: but for certain yeers of late, and namely since that she was affianched and made free, she was not acquainted with the place, nor with what work was there. I counsell thanks for this yet (quoth the Consul) that thou deniest not how thou wast there entred into that profession: but say on and tell out the rest as truly and faithfully. She answered again, that she knew no more then she had already disclosed. The Consul repaid upon her and said, that in case she were taken in a trap, & that another came forth to be face & reproved her, she should beseech him that she might have the like favour at his hand

as otherwise she might if of her self she confessed the thing. forasmuch as he who had all from H
your own mouth, hath already discovered the whole. The woman knew where he was then, and
was perswaded verily (as it was indeed) that *Eburius* was a blas of the tongue, and had revealed
this secret: whereupon she fell down at the feet of *Salpisia*; and first began in most humble man-
ner to beseech her, that she would not suffer, that words of course, passed between her an estrang-
ghised woman and her paramour, should turn not only to earnest and importance, but also to a ca-
pitoll matter, to touch her as much as her life was worth: for what I said (quoth she) was but to
fright him, and not for that I knew any such thing. *Posthumus* hereat was chafed, and fell into
a fit of choler: What? (quoth he) thou thinkest belike that thou art jesting and cogging with
thy lover *Eburius*, and forgettest how thou art in the house of a right worshipfull lady, and in
communication with a Consul. But *Salpisia* on the other side, willed her to stand up, (affrighted
as she was) and withall, both exhorted her to be of good cheer, and also appeased the wrath of
her son in law. In the end after she had taken a better heart unto her, she greatly blamed & found
fault with the disloyalty and falshood of *Eburius* for scrying her so, and requiting her full badly a-
gain for so singular a good turn that she had done him, and then said, That she stood in great awe
of the gods, whose secrets she should reveal and divulge; but in greater fear of men, who no
doubt for bewraying these matters, would be ready to tear her in pieces with their very hands.
And therefore she besought *Salpisia*, and entreated the Consul to take some order for her, and to
send her into some place out of *Italy*, where she might passe the rest of her daies in safety yet of
her life. But of good cheer woman (quoth the Consul) let me alone for that, I will provide well
enough, that thou shalt live at *Rome*, and that without all danger. Then declared *Hispala* the ori- X
ginall and first commencements of these sacrifices and solemnities. At the beginning (quoth she) it
was priviledged place & consecrated for women only & they alone medled with those mysteries;
neither was it the custome and manner that a man should enter in among them: and three let ho-
lidayes they had in the year, during which time the priests of *Bacchus* performed their ceremonies
in the day time, and folk were admitted by them, to their religion and profession; and women
they were all (and those matrons) who were created priests for that purpose, in their time & turn
one after another. But *Parulla Minia* (a Campana woman) when she was the priest, chang-
ed all, as being advertised and admonished by the gods so to doe: for she was the first that sacred
and admitted men, to wit, her own sons *Minius* and *Hergennius* the *Certinians*: she altered the
solemnity from the day to the night; and for three daies in the whole year, she ordered five in the
very month, to scrve for the attendance and ministry of these mysteries. Since which time that
these sacrifices & ceremonies were thus divulged, & men and women intermingled together, &
the licentious liberty of the night time also to help all forward, there is no act so wicked, no fact so
filthy, but there it is committed: and more sinful & unnatural abuse there is, of making one with
another, then there is of women. If any are either unwilling to suffer this foul filthiness, or bethink
themselves more dully in the beastly action and performance of that villany, such presently are to
be killed and sacrificed as beasts. And this is suppled amongst them, the principall point and sum of
their religion, to hold and beleve that nothing is unlawful whatsoever. The men shaking and
wagging their bodies up and fro after a fanaticall fashion, as if they were distracted & out of their
right wits, seem to divine and tell things to come. The women, attired like the she-priests of *Bac-* M
chus, with their heads unbound and their hair hanging loose about their ears, run down with fla-
ming torches to the river *Tyber*, where they dip their torches into the water, and take them out
again light burning still, because they are made with sulphur vive and quick lime: and they say, that
certain men are by the gods carried away from among them, no man knoweth whither: such as
they bind fast to a certain engine or frame, and harty them out of sight into certain hidden caves:
and those be such, as either would not swear to be of their conspiracy, or be partners with them
in al their mischievous designments, or endure against kind to be abused. The number & multitude
there assembled, is exceeding great, and grown now be another body of a people: and among
them are some noble persons, as well men as women. But now for these two years last past, or-
deined it is, That none should be there professed and sacred above twenty yeers old; for such ages
they lay for to serve their turn, as are soonest seduced and drawn to error, or most subject to be
forced to suffer abuse and villany. When she had thus finished her information and discovered
all, she fell down upon her knees again, and lay at their feet, and repeated her former supplication
the second time, to wit, That he would send her away out of the country. Then the Consul in-
treated his mother in law to spare some void corner of her house, whereunto *Hispala* might retire
her self, and there make her abode. So she allowed her an upper lodging in her house, and the
and the stairs that led towards the street were stopped up, and the entrance turned into the house.
Then presently were all the moveable goods and household stuff of *Postumia* removed, and her fa-
mily sent for thither, and there entertained. Likewise *Eburius* was commanded to go and lodge O
with a tenant or client belonging to the Consul. Thus when both the informers were forth-
coming and under *Posthumus* his hand, he declared the whole matter to the Senat. And after
he had laid every thing abroad in order, namely, what was reported unto him first, and what he
had learned afterwards by enquiry, the Lords of the Senat were surprized with exceeding great
fear, as well in regard generally of the commonweal, lest those conspiracies, nightly meetings and
conventicles, might import some secret complot of mischief and danger: as also for doubt in
in particular, that some of their own friends or family should be accessory and capable.
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A The Senators were of this mind, that the Consul was highly to be praised and thanked, for that he had found out and brought to light such a matter as this, both with so singular care & diligence, and also without any tumult and uprore. Then they took order and ordained, *Imprimis*, That the Consuls should have an extraordinary commission to make search and inquisition into these Bacchanals and night-sacrifices: *Item*, That *Edictis* and *Fessis* the informers thereof should not be prejudiced thereby, nor come to harm for it, yea, and that a recompence and reward should be propounded to others that could give light and reveal the same! *Item*, That the Priests belonging to these religions, be they men or women, should be sought out not only at Rome, but in all other markers towns, cities and places of frequent resort, and conveyed before the Consuls to be and remain at their disposition. *Item*, That proclamation be made at Rome, and edicts sent through-
B out all Italy, that no person whatsoever, who had been sacred & professed religious by the Priests of *Bacchus*, resort any more into assembly or conventicle for those sacrifices, nor yet do ought pertaining to such divine service. And above all things, that information and presentment be made of all those that had frequented such meetings or conventicles, to commit whoredome or any such filthiness and wickedness. And these were the ordinances of the Senat. The Consuls then granted their warrants out to the *Ediles Cursiles* to make diligent search and enquiry for those Priests of that religion, and upon apprehension to keep them in free ward and large prison forthcoming for to be examined: also to the *Ediles* of the Commons to look well, that no service of the gods be celebrated in secret. Moreover, the *Triumvirs* capital were straightly charged to set good watch and ward throughout the City, and see to meetings by night, for fear that no fire should hold
C of any place. To those three Commissioners or *Triumvirs* were five other *Quinquervirs* adjoynd assistants, who every one should watch well and take charge of all the houses of his quarter within *Tyberis*. Then the Consuls having set them about these their severall charges mounted up the *Rosses* or place of public audience. And when the people were assembled together, then the Consul ascended had pronounced the solemn prayer which Magistrates are wont to use as a preamble, before they make speech unto the people, began his Oration unto them in this wise. Never in any of your assemblies, *Quirites*, was this solemn prayer unto the gods, either so meet and convenient, or so requisite and needfull as in this, to advertise and put you in mind, that those be the gods indeed whom your ancestors ordained, that you should honour, serve, worship, and propitiate, and not these here who prick & provoke (as it were) with goods of suries, your spirits
D and minds transported and carried away with false and strange religions to commit all wickedness, mischief, & filthy lust. Surely for mine own part I wot not either what I were best to conceal or how far forth to speak out and utter my mind. If you know not all, I doubt I should give you occasion to be negligent; again, if I discover all, I fear me that I shall affright & terrifie you too much. But what and how much soever I shall say, be ye sure it will be far less than the greatness and enormity of the thing requireth. Yet endeavour will we so much to deliver, as may suffice to give you a warning and watch-word to take heed. This am I well assured of, that you understand not only by hearsay and bare report, but also by the ringing noises and yelling cries in the night season that the Bacchanals have been a long time kept over all Italy, yea, and in many places throughout the City of Rome, which resoundeth again therewith. But what manner of
E thing it is, I am verily perswaded there is not one of you that knoweth. Some beleere that it is a certain worship and service of the gods; others suppose it is some foolery and wanton pastime tolerated and winked at. But be what it will be, they think there are but a few interceded & employed therein. As touching the number and multitude of them, if I should tell you that they were many thousands, you cannot chuse but suddenly be afraid, unless I also presently shew, who they be and of what quality. Know ye therefore first and foremost, that the most part of them are women, (I leave the men to spring the source of all this mischief.) Then are there men indeed, but such as for all the world resemble women, so effeminate they are: such I say as have abandoned themselves as well to be abused as to abuse others: fanatical persons and bereaved of their wits by reason of excessive watching, past service & even stoned with bibbing of wine without measure, with howling & howling & crying all night without intermission. This conventicle of conspirators is yee of a great force, howbeit gathered much strength, in regard that they multiply still, & their number is every day more than other. Your ancestors in times past would in no wise admit that ye should assemble together at a venture and without important and just occasions, unless it were either by raising a standard or banner upon the fortresse for to levy an army; or to gather the people together to give their voices in elections of Magistrates; or that the Tribunes proclaimed a general congregation of the common people; or some of the Magistrates summoned them to an open audience for to hear an Oration, and wheresoever a multitude were thus met together, there they ordained and thought meet to have a lawfull governor and overseer of them. But what kind of night conventicles think ye first these might be & namely, where
F men and women are met and thronged together pell mell one with another? In faith, if ye will at what age they of the male sex are professed and made novices, ye would not only pity them, but also be ashamed and afflicted. Think ye my masters, *Quirites*, that young men thus professed, & having taken this oath, are meet to make soldiers of? and that ye are to put weapons into the hands of such as are taken out of that sinking and miserable Chappel? Shall these, thus raised polluted, and overwhelmed with filthy uncleanness, as well of their own kind as others, fight for the pure chastity, for the honesty (I say) of your wives and children? Less harm

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The Oration of the Consul *Posthumus*, for the overthrow of the Bacchanals.

had

"had it been, if they could have rested so, and become only effeminate by their own unchaste im-
 "purity (for that had redounded most to their proper shame and dishonour) and not have abused
 "their hands to practise mischief, and busied their brains to contrive fraud and deceit. But now
 "was there in Commonweal either so great and dangerous a malady, as touching more persons,
 "or reaching to farther matters of greater consequence. For wot ye well this, that all the fatal
 "parts committed for these late years, were it filth by lust, crafty cozening, or any wickedness whi-
 "soever, proceeded & sprung out of this one ungracious chappel and place of counterfeite holiness,
 "and no other. Yet have they not put in practice all their mischiefs, which they have most curi-
 "ly plotted and sworn to execute. Hitherto their impious & detestable conspiracy hath bro-
 "ken out, and passed no further than to particular and privat mischiefs, because they have not ga-
 "thered force and strength enough to invade and oppress the Common-weal. Howbeit, the evil
 "encreaseth, and the malady spreadeth further daily, and by this time is grown to much, as it will
 "not contain within the privat fortune and condition of particular persons, but threatneth the
 "very main State of the Common-weal. And unless (Quirits) ye take order to prevent it, these
 "night-Congregations may soon be as frequent and great as this present assembly, summoned by
 "order of Law and commandment of the Consul, in the open day time. Now are they (singled by
 "themselves apart) afraid of you, when they see you thus all assembled together, but so soon as
 "you are retired either to your houses within the City, or farms in the country, & by that means
 "severed asunder, they will surely meet together: devise they will and consult both to save them-
 "selves, and also to ruinate and destroy you at once. Then take heed to your selves: then shall you
 "(singled one from another) be in dread and danger of them all in generall. It behoveth therefore
 "every one of you to desire and wish that all they who belong any way unto your charge, be wise
 "and well given. Then, if either fleshly lust or furious rage, have drawn & haled any one of them
 "headlong into that gulph and sink of sin, to hold such a person to be of their crew, with whom he
 "hath thus sworn and devoted himself to all sin and abominable wickedness, and not reckon him
 "of your own retinue and train any more. Moreover, careless I am not of your own persons in
 "this behalf, that none of you should be seduced and led away with error. For nothing is there
 "in the world, that deceiveth more under fair semblance, than false religion. For when the name
 "and Majesty of the gods is pretended to cover and colour naughtiness, suddenly there entereth
 "into our mind a scrupulous awe, which doth captivate and possess our conscience, for fear lest
 "in chastising and punishing human trespasses, we violate and offend some divine right and power
 "therewith. But of this scrupulosity discharged ye are, by an infinite number of Pontifical decrees,
 "acts of the Senat, yea, and answers of divine Sages and Soothsayers. For how many a time and
 "often in the daies of our fathers and grandfathers, hath commission been granted to the Magi-
 "strats, To restrain and forbid expressly all forraign sacrifices and strange limgles: To chase & ba-
 "nish all odd hedge-Priests, Wizards, Tellers of Fortune, and Magicians, out of the common place,
 "out of the shew place and theatre, yea, and quite out of the City? To search out all their books
 "of Magick and Prophecies, and to set a fire on them? Lastly, to abolish all other order and man-
 "ner of sacrificing, but according to the Canon, form, and order of *Rome*? For they judged (wise
 "men as they were, and deeply teen in all divine and humane laws) nothing so forcible to ruinate
 "and overthrow religion, as when divine service is celebrated after some strange and forain fa-
 "shion, and not according to the ancient custome of the place. Thus much I thought good by way
 "of caveat to foretell you of to the end that no superstitious opinion should trouble your spirits
 "when you shall see us to demolish and overthrow the Bacchanals, and scatter these unlawfull
 "assemblies. For all this will we do with the good leave, favour, and grace of the gods. Who be-
 "ing highly offended to see their divinity and godhead thus polluted with wicked and abomina-
 "ble filthiness, have discovered the same, lying hid in darkness, and brought it to light: neither in
 "their wisdom and providence, was it their will and pleasure, that such enormities thus detected
 "should remain unpunished, but be suppressed and extinguished for ever. Now hath the Senat
 "directed out unto me and my Colleague an extraordinary commission and warrant to make due
 "inquisition hereinto: by vertue whereof, we for our parts will accomplish our charge accord-
 "ly with all diligence and expedition. As for the night-watch throughout the City, we have gi-
 "ven order already to the inferior Magistrats to look unto it. Likewise, meet and reason it is,
 "that every one of you according to his place and calling, quit himself well in whatsoever shall
 "be imposed and laid upon him: and especially to endeavour and prevent that no danger or mu-
 "tiny arise by the maliciousness of those that are culpable and offenders. Then the Consul com-
 "manded the acts of the Senat in this behalf to be read openly: they propounded and promised
 "also, rewards to all informers, that either converted and brought before them any such persons,
 "or presented their names, if they were absent and out of the way. And look whosoever were thus
 "nominated and fled upon it, they would assign him a certain day to make his appearance: upon
 "which day, if he answered not to his name when he were called, he should be condemned not-
 "withstanding his absence. And if any of their names were presented, who hapned at the time of
 "the information to be without the land of *Italy*, he should have a longer term set down, to come
 "in and make his answer. After this, they published an Edict, forbidding (lest any one should be de-
 "sirous to sell or buy ought tending to flight and departure) to receive, conceal, aid, or maintain by
 "any means those that were about to die. After the assembly of the people dismissed, great fear
 "there was over all the City: neither was it contained within the walls, liberties, and territory only

should therefore sustain discredit on their damage. Finally, the Consul Prator, at
most in place, but also these hereafter to come, should provide and order that as was be-
done to that woman, but some left from all hands. This the Senate judged meet and required be
done. All these things were likewise propounded unto the Consul, and entered at the Council to the
disposance of the Senate. Finally, as touching both the impunity and also the recompence of other
the Informers, was referred to the discretion of the Consul. *Now* *book 1* *151* *152* *153* *154* *155* *156* *157* *158* *159* *160*
By this time *Q. Marcius* also, having finished the inquisition in his Circuit had gathered made
preparation to go into his Province of *Liguria*, after he had received for to supply the make up
his legions of 6000, and 1500 horsemen Romans, besides 2000 Libians and 2000 of *Liguria*.
The same Province with the like numbers, well of horse as foot, was ordered likewise into his
company in government. Those armies they took charge of which the former years *Q. Marcius*
and *M. Asinius* the Consul had: moreover, by an act of the Senate, enjoyed they were increased
two new legions besides and withall they levied of the *Liguria* altes 2000 foot, and 3000 horses
besides 600 footmen also, and 200 horsemen Romans. All these forces (seeing also the legions) it was
thought good to be led to furnish out the army in *Spain*. And therefore the Consul, whither they were
themselves in person occupied above the foresaid inquisition, gave commission to *M. Marcius*
to take the mothers. And when those conquests were performed and done, as is before said *Q. Mar-*
cius took his journey first of the way towards the *Aguntis* in *Liguria*. But while in eager pursuit
of them he engaged himself into the secret and blind pitch, where he at all times they had their
lurking retreats and places of safe retreat: within those freights and passages which the enemies
had levied before he was environed by them in a place of great disadvantage, where he lost 400
soldiers, with three ensigns of the second legion, and eleven banners of the *Liguria* which
were all taken by the enemies. Also much armour and many weapons were thrown away here
and there, by reason that they were numbered there as they fled through the woody paths
of the forest: neither did the *Ligurians* give over their chase, before that the Romans ended their
flight. The Consul so soon as he was escaped out of the enemies territory sent his army away into
divers parts of the peaceable country to the end, that it might not be seen, how much his losses
were repaired, yet could not he for all that suppress and suppress the truth that was blown
abroad of his unfortunate journey, nor cancell the remembrance of the overthrow, nor was
the forest out of which the *Ligurians* hunted him was called. The flight of *M. Marcius* a little
before the news of the affairs in *Liguria*, the letters out of *Spain* were read, containing sorrow
mixed with joy: to wit, That *C. Calpurnius* who two years before was Prator into that Pro-
vince fought a field with the *Lusitani* in the territory of *Alba*, where, 6000 enemies fell upon the
sword, and the rest were discomfited, put to flight, and driven out of their camp. Afterwards, he
conducted his legions to the assault of the town *Alba*, which he forced and won with no greater
ado, than before he gained their camp. But as he approached near the walls and took his good
heed to himself, he was wounded, and of his hurt within few daies died. Upon the reading of
these letters (importing the death of the Pro. Prator) the Senate was of advice to dispatch a mes-
senger to overtake the Prator *C. Calpurnius* as far as the port of *Liguria* and give him com-
mand from the Senate, that their advice was, he should make all the haste he could in his journey,
to the end that the Province might not be without a governor there to command. The order
which was sent, within four daies arrived at *Liguria*: and but few daies before, *Calpurnius* was
departed and had put himself in his journey. *Moreover*, *L. Manlius Acidinus* (who was gone into his Province at the same time that *C. Cal-*
purnius went) struck a battell likewise with the *Celtiberians* in the higher Province of *Spain*. But
they departed on both sides out of the field with doubtful victory, save only that the *Celtiberians*
the next night following, dislodged and removed from thence, whereby the Romans had liberty
and time both to inter their dead, and to gather up the spoils of their enemies. And within few
daies after, the same *Celtiberians* having raised a more puissant army of themselves gave the Ro-
mans battell near the City *Calagurris*. It is not set down in the history, what should be the cause
why they were the weaker, considering their number was re-enforced: but soiled they were in
fights and had the overthrow. Of the enemies there died upon 12000, and not so few as 3000
left prisoners: and the Romans likewise were Masters of the camp. And had not *Calpurnius* been
empatched and restrained in this train of victory (which he hotly followed) by the coming of *Cal-*
purnius his successor in government, the *Celtiberians* had been utterly subdued. The new Prator
withdrew both armies to their wintering harbours. *At the same time* that these news came out of *Spain*, the plaies called *Lusitania* were exhibited
two daies together in honour of the gods. And after them, *M. F. Antonius* set out (with great furni-
ture in sumptuous manner for the space of ten daies) his plaies which he had vowed in the *Proletian*
war. And for to do him honour and grace this solemnity, many cunning actors and players came
out of *Greece*. This was the first time that there was represented at *Rome* the show of champions
and wrestlers for the best game: then also was exhibited the pastime of hunting and baiting Lions
and Panthers: and in one word, these sports were celebrated with as great magnificence and va-
riety almost as the modern pastimes and games in these daies. After all this was holden a *Novem-*
dial feast: during which, there was much sacrificing, and all by decision that for three daies it
rained stones in the *Picene* country: and because it was reported, that the lightning in divers
places, and in sundry sorts, had blasted and lightly singed the garments of a certain baby folk.
To

To the said feast, there was adjoynd a supplication of one day, ordained by a decree of the Pontifices, for that the Chappel of the goddess *Ops* standing in the Capitol was smitten with a thunderbolt. In regard of these prodigies, the *Col.* procured expiation by sacrificing greater beasts, and so they purged and hallowed the City. At the same time word was brought out of *Umbria*, that there was an *Ursus* a phœnix or Scorpion almost twelve years old. This was held for a detestable monster; and therefore order was given, that it should be kept out of the territory of *Rome*, and killed out of hand.

The same year, certain Gauls from beyond the *Alps* passed into the territory of *Venice*, without forraging, spoiling, and using any hostility; and not far from the place where as now *Aquileia* standeth they seized upon a plot of ground to build a City in. Certain Roman Embassadors were sent about this matter beyond the *Alps*; where they received this intelligence and answer from the inhabitants of the country, That neither those Gauls took that voyage and expedition by authority and warrant from the whole nation, neither knew they what they did in *Italy*.

L. Scipio likewise about the same time, set out his plaies for ten daies together; for which he said, that he had made now during the time of the war against *Antiochus*; & he defraid the charges thereof with the money contributed unto him by divers *KK*; and States for that purpose. *Valerius Antius* writeth, that after he was condemned, and his goods confiscated and sold, he was sent in Embassage into *Asia*, for to take up certain controversies and differences between the two *KK*, *Antiochus* and *Eumenes*; and then it was said he) that the said contribution was made, and many skilful artificers and plaiers gathered unto him out of all *Asia*; and in the end, after this Embassage, he moved the Senate for these games, because he had made no mention nor words at all of them after the said war, by occasion whereof (by *Valerius* his saying) he vowed them.

The year being now at an end, *Q. Martius* in his absence was to leave his Magistracy; & *Q. Posthumius* having into upon the inquisition aforesaid, and with all fidelity and carefull diligence that might be brought it to an end, held the solemn assembly for election of Magistrates: wherein were chosen *Col.* *Ap. Claudius Pulcher* & *M. Sempronius Tuditanus*. And the morrow after were elected for Prætors, *P. Cornelius Cethegus*, *A. Posthumius Albinus*, *C. Afranius Stellio*, *C. Atillius Serranus*, *L. Posthumius Tappianus*, & *M. Claudius Marcellus*. At the years end, upon the relation of *Sp. Posthumius* the *Col.* that in his visitation about the enquests aforesaid, as he rode along the sea coasts of *Italy* on both sides, he found certain Colonies dispeopled and desolate, to wit, *Sipontum* upon the Adriatick sea, and *Buxentum* upon the *Tuscan*. *T. Manius* the City Prætor (by vertue of an act of the Senate in that behalf) created three Commissaries, called *Triumvirs* for to enroll and plant new inhabitants there, namely, *L. Scribonius Libo*, *M. Tullius*, and *C. Babius Tampilus*.

The war against King *Perseus* and the Macedonians, which now was a breeding, arose not upon that cause & occasion which most men imagine, nor yet from *Perseus* himself: for the first ground-work thereof was laid by *Philip*, who if he had lived longer, would have been seen in open action. One thing there was above the rest which stung him; at what time as the Romans imposed conditions upon him after he was vanquished, to wit, That the Senate laid a bar for to be revenged of those Macedonians who had revolted from him: which he despaired not but it had been possible to have obtained at their hands, considering that *Quintius* in the capitulations of peace, reserved that point entire and excepted not against it. Now afterwards, when *Antiochus* was defeated in the battel of *Thermopylae*, and that both *Philip* & the *Col.* entred upon the severall exploits: *Acidius* went in hand to assault *Heraclea*, and *Philip* at the same time the City of *Lamir*. *Heraclea* was no sooner forced, but *Philip* had commandment to levy his siege before *Lamia*, and the town was yielded to the Romans: and this he took to the heart. Howbeit, the *Col.* appeased his choler for the time, in that making haste in person to *Nasactum* (unto which town the *Ætolians* after their rout were retired) he suffered *Philip* to war upon *Arhamania* and *Aminander*; to adjoyne also, and lay unto his kingdom those Cities which the *Ætolians* had taken from the *Thessalians*. Now had *Philip* chased *Aminander* out of *Arhamania*, and won certain Cities without any great ado, *Demetria* also (a strong City of great importance, and very commodious for all things) together with the nation of the *Magnetes*, he brought under his obedience. After this, he forced certain towns in *Asia*, which were troubled with the seditious variance of their principal and great personages, by reason that they knew not how to use their new liberty, wherewith they had not been acquainted: he won those Cities (I say) by taking part with those, who in this civil dissension were the weaker, and otherwise would have gone to the walls. By these means the wrath of the King against the Romans was well allayed for the present: nevertheless, he ceased not all the time of peace to bethink how he might gather more strength, and be able to war again, whensoever any good occasion should be presented unto him. He increased therefore the revenues of the Crown, not only by raising taxes out of all the fruits of the earth, and setting import and customs upon all merchandise brought into his Realm by sea from forrain parts; but also revived the mines of the old mines which had discontinued, yea, & in many places ordained new. Moreover, he replenish his country, which by many calamities following war, was dispeopled, he not only took order that his subjects should multiply by forcing them to get, breed, and bring up children, but also translated a great multitude of *Thracians* into *Macedony*; and for a good time whilst he was in repose and rest from the war, he bent his whole mind, and employed all his study how to make himself great, and augment the puissance of his kingdom. Then old matters and quarrels were renewed, which might whet his stomach, and kindle his anger against

the Romans. For the complaints which the Thessalians and the Perthebians made for that their Cities were by him possessed, likewise those grievances which the Embassadors of King Antiochus laid abroad touching the Thracian Towns, which he seized and held by force, were heard by the Romans: so as it evidently appeared, that they neglected them not. But that which moved the Senat most, was this, That they had intelligence how he intended to be Lord of *Asia* and *Aegyptus*: as for the Thessalians, they took less regard of them. Moreover there came the Embassadors of *Athamania*, who complained not for the loss of some part of their territory, nor that he encroached upon their frontiers, but that all *Athamania* was reduced under the subjection and jurisdiction of the King. The banished persons also of *Athamania*, who had been chased out of the City by the Kings garrison (for that they stood in defence and maintenance of liberty) made relation, that not only *Maronea* was in the hands of *Philip*, but the City of *Edessa* also. Likewise there came Embassadors from *Philipp*, to purge him of all these matters laid to their charge, who averred, That their King and Master had done nothing but by commission and warrant from the Roman General. They pleaded and alledged, that the case of the Thessalian, Perthebian, and Magnesian Cities, yea, and the whole nation of *Athamania* together with *Antiochia* was all one with the *Etolians*: namely, That after *Antiochus* the King was chased and expelled, the Country itself being employed and occupied in besieging the City of *Erastia*; but *Philip* for to recover the States abovenamed, which being vanquished in war, were now subject unto him. Hereupon the Senat, because they would not determine and set down any thing in the absence of the King, sent three Delegates or Commissioners, to decide these controversies, to wit, *Q. Caecilius*, *M. Titius*, *Babius*, *Tamphilus*, and *T. Sempronius*. Upon whose arrivall, there was published a general Dict of all those States that were at difference with the King, to be holden at *Trope* in *Thessaly*. When they were all set there in councill, the Roman Legats, as umpires and judges, the Thessalians, Perthebians, and Athamans as plaintiffs and accusers, and *Philip* as the defendant to hear and receive the challenges and accusations against him: the chief Embassadors from the said Cities, pleaded against *Philip*, bitterly or mildly, more or less, according to the several disposition of their natures, and the proportion either of affectionate favour or malicious hatred which they bore to him. Now all the question and debate touching *Philippopolis*, *Tricca*, *Phyloria*, *Eurymera*, and other towns about them was this: Whether those pieces, considering the *Etolians* won and held them by force (& well known it was, that *Philip* had taken them from the *Etolians*) belonged in right to the Thessalians, or appertained of old time to the *Etolians*? for *Antiochus* had granted them unto the K. upon these conditions, namely, if they were any of the appurtenances of the *Etolians*, and if they combined and took part with the *Etolians* willingly of their own accord, and not by constraint and force of arms. Upon like terms stood the controversy of the Perthebian and Magnesian towns. For the *Etolians* had brought a confusion in all their territories, by reason that they held and possessed those Cities, by taking their vantage upon divers occasions. Besides these substantiall points properly to be decided, the Thessalians came in with their complaints also. For that those towns (in case they were out of hand delivered unto them; yet) he should render them spoiled, naked, and desolat. For over and besides those who miscarried by casualty of war, *Philip* had carried away into *Macedony* 500, even the principall flower of their youth, and abused them like slaves in putting them to base ministeries & servile drudgeries, and took whatsoever by compulsion he redelivered to the Thessalians, he had taken order afore that they should be good for nothing. As for example (say they) *Thebes* in *Phthia*, the only maritime City for much traffick and merchandise, was in times past gainful and commodious to the Thessalians, and brought them great revenues and profits. But *Philip* had turned the staple and all the trade and negotiation by sea from thence to *Demetrias*; and having got hulks and boys, caused them to baulk and pass by *Thebes*, and direct their course for *Demetrias*. Nay, he could not so much as hold his hands from evill entreating their Embassadors, who by law of nations are inviolable. For he forelaid them in ambush as they were in their journey to *T. Quintus*. By which means the Thessalians all in general were so over-awed by him, and put in such fear, that there is not a man amongst them dare open his mouth, either in their own Cities, or in any of the Diets and Councils of the whole nation. For why? their patrons of whom they hold their liberty are far off, but an imperious Lord they have that sitteth ever on their skirts, and pricketh them continually in the sides, and will not suffer them to use and enjoy the benefits granted them by the people of *Rome*. For take away from them the liberty of speech once, what freedom have they left? And even at this present for all the assurance and confidence they have in the priviledge of Embassadors, they rather sigh and groan out their words, than speak frankly, and perley with liberty. And unless the Romans provide better in some good sort, that both the Greeks remaining in *Macedony*, may be void of fear, and *Philip* also curb'd and kept short for being so bold, it will be to no purpose at all, that either he was vanquished, or they enfranchised. He is therefore to be held in with a rougher and harder bit in his mouth, like an headstrong and unruly horse, that will not be ruled with a gentle snaffle. In this sharp and eager manner deale the last, whereas the former had used fair language to appease and mollifie his anger, beseeching his grace to pardon them in case they spake their minds for their liberty, to lay down the rigour of a Lord and Master, to bear himself like a kidd ally and loving friend, & to take example of the Romans, and them to imitate, who chose rather to gain associates by love, than constrain them by fear. After audience given to the Thessalians, the Perthebians came in place, and alledged that *Demetrias*—

- A *Philippi* (a City which *Philip* desired *Olynthus*) belonged in right to *Perthebia*: & earnest they were, that it might be restored unto them. They demanded also to have *Mallus* and *Enicium* again. Then the *Athamans* put in and spoke for their liberty; and so have the sorts of *Athenians* and *Perthebians* rendered unto them. *Philip* because he would seem more like a plaintiff than a defendant, as to accuse rather than to be accused, began himself also with complaints. He found himself grieved, that the *Thessalians* had won by force of arms the City *Mendus* in *Dolopia*, part of the appurtenances belonging to his kingdom *Stum*; That the same *Thessalians* and the *Perthebians* together had forced *Perrus* in *Pertheia*, as for *Kyma* (an *Asolus* town without all question) they had indeed laid it unto his feignory, but *Paraphelus*, which should be under *Athamania*, by no right in the world was annexed to the *Thessalians*, & comprised within their charter. For
- B as touching the matters (which he) charged upon me to obtrusively, namely, of laying wait for the *Embassadors*, of frequenting those portadons, or abandoning those: the one is a meer mockery, and riden on nothing; namely, for me to give account what havens, merchants, and mariners shall pass or arrive at; the other is dead advice & contrary to my nature & that which I never could abide to practice. For their many years (said he) *Embassadors* have never ceased and given over, to inform grievous matters against me to the *Roman* Generals; and to the *Senat* at *Rome*; and which of them ever to this day hath had so much as a foul word given again unto him from me? Supposed & objected, it is, that once they were tormented by the way as they were going to *Quina*; but it is not said with all what hapned unto them. This manner of dealing & accusation is somewhat of squabbles that is in would have somewhat to say, be it never so false, when they can find no matter of truth to charge a man withal. These *Thessalians* beyond all measure abuse the kindness & indulgence of the people of *Rome*, & saring against who had endured a long drought, they drink over-greedily, pouring in their liberty, & nothing else to it, and know not when to make an end, and to break their draught; Like, for all the world to bondslaves suddenly set at freedom beyond their hope and expectation, whose manner is to break out into broad terms and licentious language, and cannot contain but revile and rail at their very Masters. And at last, in a furious fit of cholera he hurst forth into these words: That the sun was not set and gone to bed for ever, but would one day rise again. This figurative speech of his not only the *Thessalians* took to themselves, but the *Romans* also continued as a glance at them. Upon these words arose some bitt and murmuring in the assembly, but being in the end appeased & stilled, he answered
- D the agents for the *Perthebians* and *Athamans* in this wise: That the case and condition of those Cities for which they stood; was one and the same, namely, that the *Col. Aelius* and the *Romans* passed them unto him by a deed of gift; as having a fortime belonged to their enemy. Now if they who have given, will also take away the same, then (said he) I must needs quit my hold, and lose them; but in so doing they shall to gratifie their fickle, inconstant, and vain allies, men of no regard, and good for nothing, do more and manifest wrong to a far better and more faithful friend. For nothing is there in the world more thankless and less while accepted than liberty, especially with them who know not how to use it; & by abuse thereof will soon spill the grace of such a benefit. Then the *Roman* Delegates, having heard the reasons and allegations of both parties pronounced sentence, That the *Macedonian* garrisons should quit the Cities above-said, and the Realm of *Macedony* be confined within the ancient bounds and limits. As touching the injuries which they complained to have been reciprocally offered from one to another, there was a form and course of law to be set down, which should contain a processe and manner, how the matters between the *Macedonians* and the other nations might be reformed, and composed. Hereat the King was highly offended and displeased, but the Delegates went their waies toward *Thessalonia* as to right likewise the Cities of *Thrace*, and to hear their causes; where the *Embassadors* of King *Emmanes* made a speech to this effect.
- E If the pleasure of the *Romans* be, that the two Cities *Enus* and *Maronea* shall be free, it is not for me in modesty to say any more; but advise & admonish them to leave the same in real and not in verbal liberty, and not suffer agins by them granted to be impeached or intercepted by another. But if they have less care and consideration of the Cities and States planted in *Thrace*, yet more care and reason it is, that those places which sometimes were subje& unto *Antiochus*, should fall to *Emmanes* rather than to *Philip*; by way of recompence for war-service, in regard as well of the merits of his father *Antiochus* during the war against *Philip*, as of his own deserts, who during the war with *Antiochus*, was personally present in all travels & dangers both by sea and land. And to this purpose he hath besides an award of the ten Delegates passed already before-hand, who in the gift and donation of *Chersonesus* & *Lyfymachia*, have no doubt given *Maronea* & *Enus* likewise to be as dependants of a greater gift, considering the near vicinity and neighborhood of those other Cities. For as concerning *Philip*, what hath he deserved at the hands of the people of *Rome*? What right of feignory can he pretend, why he should plant garrisons in these Cities so far remote & distant as they be from the frontiers of *Macedony*? I wish ye would call for the *Maronites*, and hear what they can say, who are able to enform you more fully and certainly in all respects of the whole state of these Cities. Then were the *Embassadors* of the *Maronites* called in, who affirmed: That the King had a garrison not in one place only of their City (as he had in other Cities besides) but in many quarters thereof at one time; so as *Maronea* was pestered full with *Macedonians*. And therefore (say they) the Kings favorites and flatterers are they that rule all and bear the sway: they and none but they, may be allowed to
- "speak

The Oration
of King Philip.

“speak both in Senat at the Council-table, and in general assemblies before the people; in cy 60 H
 “away with all honours & dignities; & either are invested therein themselves, or else confer them
 “upon whom they please. The best men, who stand either for defence of freedom, or in mainte-
 “nance of the laws, either are driven their country and banished, or sit a cold & blow their tails,
 “for any advancement they come unto; & being subject and thrall to persons of no worth stand
 “like cyphers and hold their peace. Somewhat they said moreover as touching the right of their
 “limits to wit, That *Q. Fabius Labro*, at what time as he was in those parts, confined *Philip* within
 “the bounds of the old Kings’ street or high way, which directly leadeth to *Paroreia* in *Thrace*, and
 “in no place declineth toward the sea: but *Philip* afterwards had made a new caney, and draw it
 “with a compass about, within which he empaled and took in the Cities & territories also of the
 “Maronites. To these challenges *Philip* began far otherwise, than he did of late against the *Thessali-
 “ans* and *Perrehoebians*, and in this wise he spake: “I have, quoth he, no matter to debate either
 “with the Maronites or *Enmenes*; but now at this present I am to contend even with you, my Ma-
 “sters of *Rome*;) at whose hands I have seen thus long that I can obtain no reason and equity. I
 “thought it meet and right, that the Macedonian Cities, which had revolted from me during the
 “time of truce, should be rendred again unto me: not for any great increase of feignory that
 “thereby should have accrued unto my kingdom (for small towns they are good wor, and situate up-
 “on the utmost frontiers) but because their precedent and example might have importuned much;
 “to retain the rest of the Macedonians in their duty and allegiance. In no wise it would be gran-
 “ted. During the *Ætolian* war, I was enjoyned by the Consul *Acilius* to besiege and assault the
 “City *Lamia*: and after I had been toiled out and wearied with maintaining skirmishes, raising
 “fabricks, planting ordnance and engins against it, even when I was at the very point to scale
 “the walls and force the City, the *Col* reclaimed and called me away, yea, and compelled me to
 “levy the siege, and withdraw my forces from thence: And for to make me some part of amends
 “for this wrong done, permitted I was to win again and conquer certain small piles and forts,
 “rather than Cities of *Thessaly*, *Perreboia*, and *Aschmannia*. And even those also, I may say unto
 “you *Q. Cæcilius*, ye have taken from me within these few daies. And now forsooth of late, the
 “Embassadors of *Enmenes* also (and God will) have presumed upon this as a thing granted and
 “without all question, That more reason it is for *Enmenes* to have & enjoy that which belonged
 “to *Antiochus*, than for me. But my judgment is far otherwise. And why? *Enmenes* could never
 “have continued in his Realm; unless the Romans, I will not say, had vanquished *K. Antiochus*,
 “but surely if they had not waged war against him. And therefore is he indebted unto you, and
 “you no waies beholden unto him. As for my kingdom, so far was it off, that any part or quarter
 “of it should be in hazard and jeopardy: that when *Antiochus* of his own meer motion offered
 “to buy my society with three thousand talents, and fifty covered ships of war, together with
 “all those Cities in *Greece* which I held in possession aforetime: I refused all, and disdained his
 “alliance; yea, and I professed openly, even before that *M. Acilius* came over with his army into
 “*Greece*, that I was his enemy, and together with that Consul, was employed in what part soe-
 “ver of the war, which he charged and laid upon me. Also when *L. Scipio* the Consul his suc-
 “cessor, determined to lead his army by land to *Hellasport*, I not only gave him leave to pass
 “peaceably through my Realm, but also caused the high waies to be paved and gravelled, bridged
 “to be made against his coming, yea, and furnished him with provision of victuals. And this did
 “I not in *Macedony* alone, but also throughout all *Thrace*; where among other matters, this
 “was not of least importance and consequence, to restrain those barbarous nations there, from
 “running upon them, and to keep them in peace and quietness. In consideration now of this
 “kind affection of mine (If I may not call it a good desert) unto you, whether ought ye Romans
 “in reason to give me somewhat to that I have, to augment and increase my dominion by your
 “largels and munificence, or, to take from me (as you do) that which I have either in mine own
 “right, or by gift from you? The Macedonian Cities, which you confess to have been parcels of
 “my kingdom, are not restored unto me; *Enmenes* on the other side, he comes to make spoil of
 “me, as if I were *Antiochus*, and (mark I pray you the device of it) he pretendeth a decree of the
 “ten delegats to colour his most shameless, impudent & cautelous falshood; even that by which
 “himself may be most refuted and convicted. For in very exprefs and plain-terms it is thus writ-
 “ten, That *Chersonesus* & *Lyfismachia* are given to *Enmenes*. Where I pray you, and in what cor-
 “ner of the instrument and patent stand *Enus*, *Maronea*, and the Cities of *Thrace*? Shall he ob-
 “tain that at your hands, and by your means, as given and granted from those ten Delegats, which
 “he never durst so much as once demand and requyre of them? Tell me (if the thing be worth so
 “much) in what place ye would range and reckon me? If your purpose be to persecute me as an
 “Enemy and mortall foe, spare not, but go on still as ye have begun: but if you respect me as a
 “King, as your ally and friend, I beseech you, repute me not worthy of so notorious and mani-
 “fest a wrong. This Oration of the King in some measure moved the Commissioners, and there-
 “fore by framing a mean and indifferent answer, they held the matter still in suspense undecided.
 “If (say they) the Cities in question were given to *Enmenes*, by vertue of a decree set down
 “by the ten Delegats, we will not change nor alter any thing therein. But in case *Philip* acqui-
 “red them by Conquest and force of arms, he should have held them as the guerdon of his
 “victory. If neither, we are of opinion, That the hearing and decision of this difference shall
 “be referred over to the Senat: and to the end, that all may remain entire, the garrisons in
 “those

These Cities shall be withdrawn and depopulated. These, I say, were the causes that principally incited the affection of Philip from the Romans; and who, in all contentment in his heart, inasmuch, as evident it is, that the war was not stirred up by his son *Perseus* upon any new quarrells and freshly occasion, but upon these motives set unto him by his father to be pursued.

No suspicion was there at *Rome* of a Macedonian war. *L. Manlius* the Pro Consul was returned out of *Spain*; and when he demanded a triumph of the Senate assembled in the Temple of *Bellona*, the same in regard of his noble and worthy exploits might have been obtained, but for example sake it was not granted. For an order it was in *Rome*, by ancient custome of their forefathers, that no man might triumph, who brought not his army back with him unless he left unto his successor the Province fully subdued and settled in peace. Howbeit, *Manlius* was allowed an indifferant honours, namely, to enter into the City by way of Ovation. In which solemnity he had borne before him in a pompous pageant two and fifty coronets of gold. Moreover, in gold a hundred thirty two pound weight, and in silver a thousand and three hundred. Also, he pronounced aloud in the Senate, that *Q. Fabius* the Quæstor was coming, and brought with him ten thousand pound weight more of silver, and eighty of gold, which he meant likewise to bring into the Chamber of the City.

That year a great commotion and insurrection there was of bondslaves in *Apulia*. *L. Porcius Cato* the Prætor had the government of *Tarentum*; and he sat in inquisition upon a damned crew of certain herdsmen and graziers, who had conspired together, and used to rob by the high-way side, and in the common pastures belonging to the City; which Commission he followed with such severity and rigor, that he condemned 7000 of them. Many escaped and fled, but many were executed and suffered death. As for the rest, long were they kept in the City of *Rome*, about the levy of soldiers, but at length they went into their Provinces.

The same year, *C. Calpurnius* and *L. Quintus* the Prætors in *Spain*, having in the beginning of the Spring led forth their armies out of their wintering holds, and joyned their forces together in *Baetica*, advanced forward into *Carpetania*, (where the enemies were encamped) with a resolution on to manage and conduct the war with one joint mind and common council together. Not far from the Cities *Hispin* and *Tollin*, there began a skirmish between the forragers of both parties, that were gone forth to make provision: seconded they were from the one camp and the other, by means whereof, the whole armies of both sides by little and little, came forth into the field to strike a full battel. In this tumultuary skirmish, the enemies had the vantage, as well of the ground wherein they were embattelled as of the manner of fight and service. By reason whereof, both the Roman armies were discomfited and driven back into their camp; but the enemies pressed not upon them: not withstanding they were put in great fright and much disordered. The Roman Prætors doubting lest their camp the morrow after should be assailed, dislodged in the night between, in great secret and silence, without any sound of trumpet, and departed. In the morning by break of day, the Spaniards in ordinance of battell approached the trench and rampier: and being entered within the camp (which they found void and empty beyond their hope and expectation) they filled and ransacked all that the Romans left behind them, whiles they made haste away in the night season: from whence the enemies returned to their own camp, and there for certain dates abode in standing leaguer and stilled not.

In that Battell and in the chase together, there were slain of Romans and allies 5000: and with the spoiles of their bodies, the enemies armed themselves: from thence they marched to the river *Tagus*. The Roman Prætors in the mean season employed all that time to levy and assemble new forces out of the Confederate Cities of *Spain*, and in comforting and encouraging the hearts of their own soldiers after their fright, upon this adverse conflict and unlucky foil. Now when they had gathered (as they thought) a sufficient power, and took themselves strong enough, and that the soldiers also desired to be doing with the enemy, for to rale out and cancell the former ignomy and disgrace, they encamped twelve miles from the river *Tagus* aforelaid: and about the third watch of the night advanced their standards, and marching in a four square battell, by day light they were come to the bank of the river (now were the enemies lodged upon a little mount beyond the water;) and inconspicuously in two places (where the river shewed a flood) they waded through with their arms, *Calpurnius* on the right hand, and *Quintus* on the left. All this while the enemies continued quiet and moved not: but in the mean time, while as they wondered at their sudden coming, and deviled how to trouble and disorder the soldiers as they should make haste to pass the river, the Romans had transported over themselves, and their bag and baggage also, yea, and brought all together into one place. And because they perceived by this time the enemy to stir and remove, and had no time to fortifie their camp, they put themselves in battell array. In the midst stood the fifth legion of *Calpurnius*, and the eighth of *Quintus*, which was the very flower and strength of the whole army. Now they had a fair open plain all the way between them and the enemies camp, as there was no cause to fear any ambush. The Spaniards so soon as they espied two armies of their enemies upon that side of the bank which was next to them, all at once issued out of their camp, and ran to battell: to the end that they might surprise and empeach them, before they could join and range themselves together. The fight was sharp and hot in the beginning: for the Spaniards of the one side were puffed up with the conceit and pride of their late victory. And the Romans of the other, were galled and incensed for anger of a dishonour received, which they were not used unto. The battell in the midst (consisting of two most valiant

and

and hardy legions) fought right courageously; which the enemies seeing, that they could not otherwise teach to retreat and give ground, began to charge upon them with a battailon in close fashion close together; and still they pressed hard upon them in the midst more & more number, and ever thicker ranged. *Calphurnius* the Praetor seeing this battailon distressed and pressed with all speed *L. Quintilius Varus*, and *L. Junius Tullus*, two Legions, to either of the legions severally, to encourage and exhort them to stick to it like men, and to make remembrance and recollection. That in them alone consisted all the hope of conquering and keeping. That they never to little yielded back & lost their ground, there was not one of the whole army that should ever see it again no, nor so much as that the rest of the battailon. As for himself he went with him the Cavalry of two Legions, and when he had wheeled a little about and for a while with them, he charged hard upon the flank of the battailon of the enemies which he assailed, and urged still the main battailon. *Quintilius* with his Cavalry flanked the enemies on the other side, but the horsemen of *Calphurnius* fought more fiercely by odds than the other, and the Praetor himself in person was foremost of them all; for he was the first that drew blood of the enemy. So far engaged himself within them, that hardly a man could know of which side he fought by his singular valour, the horsemen were mightily animated; and by the valour of the Cavalry on horseback, the Infantry also were enticed to fight on foot. The principal Centurions were abashed and ashamed to see the Praetor in person among the pikes and swords of his enemies, and therefore every man for his part did his best, put forward the post-ensigns, willing them to advance their banners, to the end that the soldiers might follow hard after. Then they all on all hands to set up a fresh and lusty shout; they took their bier and charged upon them from the vantage of an higher ground; by reason whereof they disarrayed them first, and like a lion the stream they bare them down before them, so as they could not stand upon their feet and sustain this violence of theirs, but fell one upon another. As many as fled toward the camp, the horsemen pursued, and so intermingled themselves among the rout of the enemies, that they could pell mell with them into their hold; where they that were left for the guard thereof, renewed the fight, so that the Roman horsemen were forced to light from their horses; and while they maintained the conflict, the first Legion came to second them, and consequently more and more succours as they possibly could ran to them: down went the Spaniards and were massacred in all parts of the camp; and not above 4000 of them all, fled away and saved themselves, of which number about 3000 (who still kept their armour) seized upon a hill near adjoining: the other thousand being for the most part armed by the balls, were scattered all over the fields. The enemies were at first above 35000, but after this battailon how few of them were left; and from them were won 133 ensigns of Roman and Allies, there died few above six hundred; of auxiliary soldiers from out of the Province, about 150. Five martial Tribunes were lost, and certain Roman Gentlemen, whose death especially made it seem a bloody victory. After which the army abode within the enemies camp, for that themselves had no time to fortify their own. The next morrow *Calphurnius* in an open audience highly praised the horsemen, and rewarded them with rich harness and trappings, declaring aloud, That by means of their good service principally the enemies were discomfited, and their camp forced. As for *Quintilius* the other Praetor, he bestowed upon his men of arms, small chains and buttons of gold. The Centurions likewise of both armies received gifts at their hands, and namely, those who fought in the main battailon.

The Consuls having finished the levy of soldiers, and accomplished all things requisite to be done in Rome, led the army into their Province of Liguria. *Sempronius* departed from Pisa, and made a journey against the Apuan Ligurians, where by wasting their territories and burning their towns and fortresses, he made way into the forest, and opened the passages as far as to the river *Macta* and the port of *Luna*. The enemies took a certain mount (an ancient hold) where their ancestors sometimes had feared themselves; but from thence they were by force dispossessed by reason that the Romans overcame the difficulties of the avenues thereto. *As Claudius* likewise for his part, was equal in valour and good fortune to his Colleague, as having fought certain prosperous battles with the Ligurian Inhabitants. He forced besides his towns of theirs, and took many thousands of prisoners within them. Of the chief authors of that rebellion, he caused three and forty to lose their heads.

Now approached the time of the solemn assembly for election of Magistrate at Rome; and albeit *Sempronius* his lot it was to hold the said assembly, yet *Claudius* returned first to Rome, because *P. Claudius* his brother made suit to be Consul. He had for his competitors, *L. Emilius*, *Q. Fabius Laber*, and *Servius Sulpicius Galba*; all four of the Nobility. Old suitors they were all, and because they had suffered the repulse at sometime, they renewed the suit for this dignity, as being so much the rather due, because it had been once denied them. And this was the cause that these four followed & pressed the harder for to obtain the same, because it was not lawful for any more than one of the *Patricii* at once to be created Consul. There were also of the Commons certain persons well beloved and of good reputation that stood in election for the place, to wit *L. Furius*, *Q. Terentius Cotta*, and *Cn. Baebius Tamphilus*; they also had taken repulse beforetime, and were put off still in hope one day yet to obtain that honourable dignity. *Claudius* of them all was only the new Competitor. Now men thought very without any doubt or question, yet and doubtless in their conceits, *Q. Fabius Laber* and *L. Furius* to be Consul. But *Claudius* the Consul together

A together with his brother desired himself and without his Officers attending upon him, travelled and laboured hard in all parts of the common place: notwithstanding the adversities, yet and the most of the Senators cried out upon him, and said, That he ought to consider and remember rather that he was the Cos. of the people of Rome, than brother to *P. Claudius*: why then sit he not still in the Tribunal either as president and judge of the court assembled, or else as a beholder and spectator only, without saying any word himself? Howbeit, he could not possibly be reclaimed from this disordinate affection, of his which he shewed in labouing for his brother. This election was divers times also troubled with the great debates and contentions caused by the Tribunes of the Commons: whiles some of them spake against the Cos. others again maintained his suit, and took part with him. But in the end, *Fabius* took the foil, and *Appius* went a way with the game for

B his brother. So *P. Claudius Pulcher* was created Cos. beyond his own hope, and more than others looked for. *L. Porcius Licinius* held his own, and obtained the second place in his course; for that the Commoners went moderately to work, & shewed more so much affection and forcible means, as *Claudius* did. After this, was holden the election of Praetors. And chosen there were, *C. Duellius Flavinus*, *P. Sempronius Longus*, *P. Cornelius Cethegus*, *Q. Nautius Marbo*, *C. Sulpicius Blaesus*, and *T. Terentius Varro*. Thus much concerning the Consuls, which was achieved both at home in the City, and abroad in the war, that year wherein *App. Claudius* and *M. Sempronius* were Consuls.

In the beginning of the next year, in which *P. Claudius* and *L. Porcius* bare the Consulate, when as *Q. Caecilius*, *M. Valerius*, and *T. Sempronius* (who had been sent to hear and decide the controversies between the two Kings, *Philip* and *Antiochus*, and the States of *Thessaly*) had made report of their embassages; they permitted likewise the Embassadors of the said Princes and Cities to enter into the Senat. Who related the self-same things again, which had been already before in the presence of the foecial Legats in *Gnecet*. After this, the C. of the Senat addressed a new embassage into *Macedony* and *Greece*; wherein *App. Claudius* was the chief for to visit and see whether the Cities adjudged and assigned to the Rhodians, Thessalians, and Perinthians were delivered unto them accordingly. They also had in charge to cause the garrisons to quit *Demetrius* and *Marone*, and to look that all the sea-coast of *Thraciay* were freed from the subjection of *Philip* and the Macedonians. They were enjoined moreover to go into *Peloponnesus*, from whence the former embassie was departed in more doubtful terms than if they had severed one the other. For ever and besides other things they were sent a way without any answer for their dispatch, and to

D be it they requested the Achaeans for to assemble their general Diet; they might not obtain it. For which, when as *Q. Caecilius* found himself discontented and grievously complained, and the Lacedaemonians withall made pious moan, that the walls of their City were demolished and razed down, the common people lead away in captivity into *Achaia*, and there sold, and the laws of *Lysimachus* taken from them, under which their City and Common-weal until that day had been maintained and governed: the Achaeans excused themselves most of all for the imputation of refusing to hold a Council; and to that purpose they rehearsed a Law and Ordinances, whereby they were forbidden expressly to call and publish a Diet, unless it were in the case of levying war, and contracting of peace, upon occasion that any embassadors came directly unto them from the Senat, or with letters, or commission in writing. But for that this manner of excuse should not serve their turn again afterwards, the Senat gave them plainly to understand, that they ought to take care and order, that the Roman Embassadors might at all times have means of free access to their Councils, like as they also reciprocally should have a Senat held for their sakes, as often as they would themselves.

After these embassages were departed, *Philip* was advertised by his Embassadors, that there was no remedy, but he must abandon those Cities, and withdraw his garrisons: and herewith being mightily offended & angry against all, yet he discharged his choler only upon the Maronites. Up to *Onomastus*, warden of the ports and sea-coasts, he gave commandment to kill the chief of the adverse part. And he by the means of *Cassander*, one of the Kings supporters and favorites, who a long time had dwelt in *Marone*, procured certain Thracians to be let into the town by night, & there F he committed murder and massacre, as if it had been a City won by force of arms. And when the Roman embassadors made complaint to him, namely of such outrages committed so cruelly against the guiltless Maronites, and so proudly and insolently against the people of Rome: in that they should be killed and cut in peeces as enemies, unto whom the Senat had ordained restitution of their freedom he made answer and said, that neither himself, nor any of those who belonged unto him, could do withall: but it was long of themselves and their variance one with another: whiles some of the Citizens drew to him, and others inclined to King *Antiochus*. Which ye may (qd. he) soon know to be a truth, if ye will but ask the Maronites themselves: For this account he made, that whiles they were all terrified with so late and fresh a massacre, there durst not one of them open his mouth against him. *Appius* replied again, and said, That they were not to make an enquiry in this so evident and notorious a fact, as if it were in any respect doubtful: but if he would discharge and clear himself as innocent of the action, he should send to Rome *Onomastus* and *Cassander*, who were named to have committed the outrage, that the Senat might examine them upon interrogatories. This word at the first so troubled and dashed the King, that his colour went and came in his face, & he knew not how to keep his countenance. But after he was come again to himself he made answer, That (if they needs would) he cared not much to send *Cassander*, for that he had dwelt & continued in *Marone*; but as for *Onomastus*, who neither was at *Marone*, nor

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nor so much as in any quarter near unto is how possibly could be discharged or touched with the H
 matter? Now as he spared *Quintus* the father of the twin, and was loath to have him come in
 question; so being his more dear and honourable friend, so he spared him much more than the
 other; lest he should betray and disclose the thing; for that himself had conferred with him
 thereunto; and besides, he had served him as a Minister to execute, and been
 privy unto him as a complice to plot such like dangerous things. *Cassius* also, as it is verily thought,
 was poisoned and made away, by means that were made of purpose to accompany him through
 Spain to the sea side; and all because the villainy should not be detected and come to light. Thus
 the *Boians* departed from the pancy and conference with *Philip*; as shewing in their coun-
 tenances that they were nothing well pleased; and *Philip* on the other side went his way as refo-
 lute to levy war again; but forasmuch as his forces as yet were not sufficient to do any exploit,
 and for as much as he would delay the time between, he determined to send his younger son *Demetrius*
 to *Rome*, both to purge his father of those matters wherewith he was charged; and also by humi-
 ble request to appease the anger of the *Senat*; supposing; that this young gentleman, who had
 been left as an hostage at *Rome*, and these had shewed a good testimony of a Princely nature and
 good disposition, might much avail to his cause. In the mean while himself undertook of al-
 liding the *Bizantins*, but so very much to strike home versus into the *Princes of Thrace*, made an
 expedition against them; and when he had in one battell discomfited them, and taken prisoner
 their chief Captain *Andron*, he returned into *Asperus*, having sent certain messengers to folk
 in the barbarous nations, inhabiting near the river *Helespont*, for to enter and invade *Italy*. In *Pelo-*
ponnesus also the coming of the Roman Legats was expected; whereby this commission were enjoy-
 ned to the point of *Asperus* in order to fight against whom became the *Achians* would not be to
 further as to say *Lysander* their Prator summoned a publicke Council aforehand, in which there
 was partly as touching the *Lacedemonians*, namely, how that of enemies they were become in-
 formers and accusers; and danger it was, lest when they were vanquished they would be more to
 be feared than all the time that they waged war. For during the war the *Achians* found the Ro-
 mans to be their good associates; but now the same Romans are more friendly to the *Lacedemo-*
niens; than to the *Achians*; seeing that *Draco* and *Alcibiades* (banished persons both out of *Lace-*
demon, and by the means of the *Achians* restored again to their place) had undertaken to go in
 embassage to *Rome* against the *Achians*; which had so well deserved at their hands; and
 there gave so hard language against them, as if they had been chased and driven out of their coun-
 try; and not restored to the place by them. Hereupon arose a great outcry from all parts of the
 assembly for to put to question, what Office should be determined expressly of them by name; and in
 this fit where all were by vote, and nothing by counsel; condemned they were to die. Some few
 did take name the Roman Embassadors, for whose sake a Council was holden at *Citium*, a Ci-
 ty in *Laconia*. But before any matter was treated on the *Achians* were surprised with exceeding
 fear, considering and thinking how this deciding of matters was not like to be managed and car-
 ried with any indifference; but in behalf of forasmuch as they saw *Draco* and *Alcibiades* condemn-
 ed by them in the last Council, to be in the company of the said Embassadors, and no man durst
 open his lips and speak a word. *Appian* declared, That the *Senat* was much displeased at those mat-
 ters whereof the *Lacedemonians* had made complaint; namely, That first in a tumultuary fray and
 conflict, they were murdered, who had been called forth by *Philypus*, and came to plead and
 speak in their own cause; Then, lastly they had celebrated their cruelty thus against their persons,
 to the end, that in no part their inhumanity should be wanting, they had rased the walls of a right
 noble and famous City, abolished their most ancient laws, and put down the discipline and go-
 vernments of *Lycurgus*, so renowned throughout all nations. When *Appian* had made an end of his
 speech, then *Lysander* (both in regard that he was Prator, and also because he took part with the
 faction of *Philopomenus* (who was the author of all that had been done at *Lacedemon*) made an-
 swer in this wise: More hard it is for us now, O *Appian*, to speak before you, than of late it was
 in the presence of the *Senat*. For then we were to answer the *Lacedemonians*, who accused us;
 Shunne this present we have you to hear our accusers, before whom, as competent judges we should
 plead in our own defence. Howbeit, we have submitted our selves, and undergone this unequal
 and hard condition, presuming upon this hope, that you will lay aside that accusatory heat
 to which not long since you used, and put upon you the person of a Judge to hear with indifference
 and equity. For mine own part, considering that you ere while have but related those matters
 which the *Lacedemonians* both here in place before *Q. Cavilius* of late, and also at *Rome* after-
 wards complained of, I would think that I am to answer therefore not unto you, but unto them
 in your hearing. You charge us with the murdering of them, who being called out by the Prator
 to *Philopomenus* to plead their cause, were killed. This crime I hold that it ought not to be objected
 against us by you Romans, no more so much by any other in your audience. And why so? because
 it was expressly specified in your own treaty and accord of covenants, that the *Lacedemoni-*
 ans should have nothing to do with the maritime Cities. At what time as the *Lacedemonians*
 took arms, and seized by force in the night those Cities, which they were precisely forbidden
 to meddle withall, *T. Quintus*, if the Roman army had been in *Peloponnesus*, as aforetime no
 doubt we must needs think, that being thus surprised and evil entreated, they would have had
 recourse thither for succour. But since ye were so far off, whither else should they flee and re-
 tire themselves, but to us your allies, whom they had seen before to help and succour *Gythium*?
 whom

A "whom upon the like cause they were to have assisted. Lacedæmonians together with you & it was in
 of your quarrel therefore that we entered a just and lawful war. Which being an act of ours, by
 others commended, and which ought not by the very Lacedæmonians to be condemned; and
 considering that even the Gods themselves have approved thereof in that they gave victory,
 how cometh it then to pass, that you bring those matters into question which are by right of
 law warranted? And yet a great part thereof in no respect toucheth and concerneth you. That
 we called them to some forth to answer their cause, who had raised a commotion of the mul-
 titude, who had forced the maritime Cities, who had ravished them, who also had massacred
 the principal citizens. We are so answer therefore, and so as that properly appertaineth. But
 that they were massacred in the way as they came into our camp, was nothing to us, but your
 deed O *Apian*, and *Alcibiades* who now (forsooth) say he some our executioners. The banished La-
 cædæmonians (of which number those two also are, and who at that time were with us, for that
 they chose the coast Towns to retire into for their habitations) supposing that their own death
 was sought, and that there would have been outrage committed upon them, they ran upon
 those by whose means they were driven out of their country; even upon an indignation, that
 they might not so much as pass their old age in banishment with safety. They were the Lacæ-
 dæmonians, not the Achæans that slew the Lacedæmonians whether justly or unjustly,
 that is not the question, neither skilleth it. But what say ye to this O Achæans: how can ye deny
 but that ye are culpable, in that ye have abolished the Laws and the most ancient discipline of
Lycurgus, and withal raked the walls of *Sparta*? And how is it possible that both these
 C "points should be objected unto us by the same men? considering that those walls were never
 built by *Lycurgus* but contrary-wise (and not many years past) for to overthrow and annul the
 discipline instituted by *Lycurgus*? For the tyrants of late daies built them to serve as a fortress
 and bulwark for themselves, and not for a defence unto the City. And if *Lycurgus* at this day
 should rise again from death to life, he would take joy in their ruins, and say that he acknow-
 ledged now his own native country, and ancient *Sparta* indeed. You Lacedæmonians should
 not have expected *Philopomen* nor the Achæans but yourselves ought with your own hands to
 have pulled down and destroyed, all the tokens and memorials of tyranny. Those walls were the
 very marks and as a map would say, the emblem and deformed scars of your tyranny and fer-
 ricide. And you who without walls for the space almost of 800 years had lived in freedom,
 D "yet and for a certain time also had been masters of *Greece*, became slaves during a hundred years,
 enclosed and restrained within walls, as it ye had been fettered by the feet. Now as touching the
 laws, which ye pretend to have been taken away by us, I suppose verily that the tyrants they
 were who deprived the Lacedæmonians of their ancient laws, and that we have not taken from
 them theirs (for none they had of their own) but rather have given them ours: neither have
 we done otherwise than well by them, but regarded much the good of their City and Common-
 wealth, in that we have joined them in our solemn court of Parliament and incorporated them
 as unto us to the end, that in all *Peloponnesus*, there should be but one body, one State, and one
 Council. Then (I wot ye will) they might have justly complained to have been wronged, when
 they might have cried, and said they had not been wronged, in case we our selves had lived
 E "under one kind of laws, and put them to be ruled by others. I know full well, O *Apian*, that
 all my speech hitherto is neither bestowing allies to us, nor detest and meet
 for a nation that is free, but rather (to speak more truly) for slaves debating before their mas-
 ters. For if that sound of the trumpet, that voice of the publick crier were not to vainly stir
 by ye, and kindle and declare that we Achæans before all others should be free: in the confeder-
 ation stand firm and stable: if our alliances and amity be entertained and observed equally, and
 indifferently, why demand not I of you Romans what you did after the winning of *Capua*? Set
 G "your own will have no Achæans to make account unto you, what we did to the Lacedæmonians
 whom we conquered by war? Set case that we caused some of them to be killed. What of that?
 Commanded not you (*Apian*) that the Senators of *Capua* should lose their heads? We have
 demolished the walls indeed, but ye have not only ruined their walls, but wholly ruined their
 City and territory. But (you will say) the confederation is in behalf of the Achæans in equal
 and indifferent to our own advantage, and in truth and effect their liberty dependeth upon the
 good will and pleasure of the Romans, who indeed have the pre-eminence of the seignory and
 dominion besides. I know it, *Apian*, as well as you can tell me, yes, and (although it behoveth
 me now to be) I am not so much offended and displeased therewith. But this I think
 you) let there be as great odds and difference as ye will between us Achæans and you Romans,
 provide this only, that your enemies and ours be not with you in as good regard and account
 as they should be, neither in their degree and condition, than we your allies and associates. For
 that they should be equal to us, we have been the cause in that we granted them our own laws,
 in that we admitted them to be incorporate in the general Diet of the Achæan State and com-
 monalty. But will ye have the truth? the conquered have not sufficient to content and satisfy
 the conquerors: except demand more than allies have and enjoy, and those things which have
 confirmed by oath, ratified and consecrated by monuments and instruments of writing, can we
 long retain in hope for a perpetual memory to all posterity, they would force and wrest from us
 by eviltoken our property. For it is, O Romans, we honour and reverence you, and if you will
 needs have it so, we dread and fear you also, for ye do us more both honour and also fear the im-
 mortal

immortal Gods more than you. And then he had with the second and consent of the greater part: H and all men judged, that he had spoken like a Magistrate indeed; and for the dignity and majesty of his place in such sort, as it was easily seen, that they were never able to hold their religion and conscience in their authority with the Romans; in case they went coldly to work and proceeded in mild terms with them. Then *Appian* answered and said, That he would gladly advise and persuade them, all that he possibly could, to be reconciled unto the Lacedæmonians; whilst they might do it with full contentments for fear lest soon after they should be constrained and forced to seek unto them against their wills and maugre their hearts. At this word they all laughed and groned again; but afraid they were and durst not refuse to do that which they were commanded. This petition only they made unto the Romans, that as touching the Lacedæmonians they would change & alter what they thought good; and not force the Achæans to sin against their conscience, in dismantling those things which they had established and ratified with a solemn oath. So the sentence of condemnation only (lately passed against *Arcus* and *Alcibiades*) was reversed.

In the beginning of this year (when at *Rome* they had sited in consultation about the Provinces of Consuls and Pretors) *Liguria* was assigned unto the Consuls for their charge and government, because there was no war in any other place. Then the Pretors cast lots for theirs. To *C. Decimius* *Flavinus* fell the jurisdiction of the City; and to *P. Cornelius Cethegus* that other between Citizens and forrainers: *C. Sempronius* had the government of *Sicily*, and *Q. Nevius Mathe* of *Sardinia*; with constitution also to sit upon the inquisition in case of poisoning. *A. Terentius Varro* was deputed *L. Governor* of high *Spain*; and *P. Sempronius Longus* of the low. Out of those 2 Provinces it fell first; that there came much about the same time two Lieutenants; *L. Juvenius Tulo* and *T. Quintilius Varus*; who having related before the Senat how great a war was now dispatched and finished in *Spain*, acquired withal, that there should be rendred praise and thanks to the immortal Gods for the happy success in the wars; and likewise that the Pretors might be permitted to bring away their armies. So there was a solemn procession ordained to be holden two dayes; but as touching the reduction of the armies, they gave order to refer it wholly to be debated at what time as there should be session about the armies of Consuls and Pretors together. Some few dayes after it was ordained, that the Consuls should have with them into *Liguria* two legions a piece; which *Ap. Claudius* and *M. Sempronius* had the conduct of. As touching the Spanish forces, great contention there was between the new Pretors and the friends of *C. Appianus* and *Q. Minus* in their absence. Both sides had Tribuns and both had Consuls to take part with them. The Tribuns attempted to cross the act of the Senat if they ordained that the armies should be brought home. The Consuls again protested, that if the Tribuns thus opposed their negative, they would not suffer any other decree and ordinance to pass. In conclusion, the respect of those that were absent; was of less importance; and an act of the Senat was entered; That the Pretors should not add above 4000 men of Romans and 400 horsemen; likewise 5000 foot and as many horse of Lacedæmonians to conduct with them into *Spain*. And when they had thus enrolled these four full legions, look what surplusage there remained over and above 5000 foot and 500 horse in a legion, they should give them their congied and dismiss them out of soldiery; first, as many as had served out their full time, and then those who had born themselves most valiantly in the war under *Calpurnius* and *Quintilius*.

After this debate and variance was appeased, there arose another in the neck of it, occasioned by the death of *P. Decimius* the Pretor, *C. Licinius* and *L. Pappius* (who had been *Ediles* the last year before) likewise *C. Valerius* the Flamin of *Jupiter*, and *Q. Fulvius Placcus*, laboured to be in his room late deceased. As for the last of these rehearsed (because he was *Edile Curule*) he brewed not himself in his white robe; but he made more means and laboured above all the rest, having to his adversary and concurrent the Flamin above said. At the first he seemed equal only unto him in the suit, but afterwards when he began to have the better of him, certain Tribuns of the Commons stood upon this point, and alledged, That his name was not to be accepted as eligible; for that one and the self same person might neither take nor exercise at one time, the conjunction of two Magistracies; and namely, both *Curule* or of State. Others again said, that it was meet and reason that he were dispensed with and exempt from the Law; in that behalf to the end, that the people might be at liberty to elect whom they would for Pretor. *L. Porcius* the Consul was first of this resolution, not to admit his name; and afterwards, because he would seem to do by warrant and authority of the Senat, he assembled the LL. together and said, that he propounded and put to question before them, That forasmuch as an *Edile* elected sued to be Pretor without all right, or any precedent tolerable in a free State; for his own part he was minded (unless they were of a contrary opinion) to hold the general assembly for the election according to law. Then the LL. gave their advice, that *L. Porcius* the Consul, should continue and treat with *Q. Fulvius*, that he would be no hinderance, but that the assembly for the substitution of a Pretor in the room of *C. Decimius* departed, might be holden by order of law. As the Consul was thus in hand with him according to the act of the Senat, *Placcus* made answer, That he would do nothing against his own person. By this doubtful and indifferent answer of his he put those in good hope who expounded and construed as they would have it; that he would accommodate and apply himself to the authority of the LL. of the Senat; but at the time of the election he sued more earnestly than before, complaining of the Consul and Senat. That they wrong and wrested out of his hands the benefit of the people of *Rome* intended unto him; and to bring him into ill will and obloquy.

A obloquy of the people, they made much ado about two officers and a double dignity: as if all the world saw not, that after he were declared and pronounced Pretor, he would incontinently resign up the Edileship. The Consul perceiving both him fully resolute and set upon a pitch in the suit, and also the favor and affection of the people inclined more and more toward him, brake up the assembly aforesaid, and called a Senat: where, in a frequent session of Senators it was ordained, That for as much as *Flaccus* was little or nothing moved with the authority of the LL. of that honorable court, he was to be dealt withal in a general assembly before the body of the people. When the people were met together at the summons of the Consul, he proposed the matter unto him before them. *Flaccus* released never a jot, but persisted still in his opinion, and gave the people of Rome thanks for their favour, in that they shewed themselves willing to elect him Pretor; B so often as they had time and place wherein they might testify and declare their love to him: which affectionate kindness of his fellow citizens, he never meant to reject and abandon. This constant and resolute speech of his, kindled and enflamed so great love and affection in them toward him, that past all peradventure he had been chosen Pretor out of hand, in case the Consul would have received his name. Much strife and debate there was amongst the Tribuns, one against another, yea, and between them and the Consul, until at length the Consul held a Senat, and there a decree passed in this wise. That forasmuch as the willfull stub bornels of *Q. Flaccus* of one side, and the inordinat affection of men on another side, was such, as the solemn assembly for subelecting of a Pretor in the place of the deceased, could not be holden according to the laws, the Senat agreed and resolved, that there were already Pretors enough, and *P. Cornelius* should administer C and execute both jurisdictions in the City, and exhibit the playes and games in the honour of *Apollo*.

After this troublesome debate about the election, was by the sage wisdom and valorous courage of the Senat suppressed, there arose another far greater, by how much the thing was of weightier importance, and the persons agents therein more in number. and for quality and place mightier. There stood in election to be Censors (and that with earnest endeavour and exceeding heat of contention) *L. Valerius Flaccus*, *P.* and *L.* both *Scipios*; *Cn. Manlius Vulso*, and *L. Furius Purpureo*, all Patricii. And of commoners, *M. Porcius Cato*, *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, *T.* and *Marcus* both *Simplicii*, the one surnamed *Longus*, the other *Tuditanus*. But *M. Porcius* over-went them all by many degrees, as well those of the Patricians as also of the commons, notwithstanding they were come of most noble families. This man carried with him so vigorous a spirit and pregnant wit, that howsoever he were born and defended, it seemed he was able to make way of himself to advancement and honour. He wanted no Art and skill meet and requisite for the managing either of private business of his own, or publick affairs of State: cunning he was in country husbandry, as well as in civil policy. Some are advanced to the highest dignities and most honourable places, by their deep knowledge in the law; others attain to promotion by eloquence: and there be again, who have risen and become great through martial prowels and feats of arms. But this man was by nature so estimable and pleasant to all alike, that whatsoever he addicted and gave himself unto, a man would have said, he had been born and framed even from his mothers womb to it and to nothing else. To war, a most hardy and valiant souldier: and in many foughten fields highly renowned. Being mounted once to high places of honorable calling, a right excellent commander he proved, and General of an army. In peace again for sound counsel in the civil law, passing well learned: for pleading at the bar and making orations, most eloquent. Neither carried he himself so, that his tongue flourished only whilst he lived, as leaving no monument behind him of his singular eloquence; but it liveth, say, it flourisheth still, immortalized as it were and recommended to posterity in all kind of writing. Orations of his there be extant many, which he penned and pronounced as well in his own cause as for the defence of his friends yea, and invectives also against others: for albeit he was to put down and weary his adversaries, not only by declaiming and accusing them, but also by pleading his own cause. Fierious quarrels and enmities there were exceeding many, that tormented him; and he plagued others with as many: and hard it is to say or set down, whether he were urged and pressed upon by the nobility, or himself coustled and baited them more. Doubtless by nature he was austere and rigorous, his speech was sharp biting, and beyond measure plain and free. But he carried a mind with him that stooped to no desires and lusts whatsoever: his life so severe and precise, as it was untouched and without all spot of blame: despising all flouting favours, and condemning earthly riches. In thrift and frugality, in sobriety, in patience, in endurance of travail and danger, his body was steel to the very back. And as for his mind and courage, it was such, as very age and time (which abateth and consumeth all things else) was not able to break and dent: when he was fourscore years old and six, he pleaded at the bar for others, he made orations for his own defence, and wrote books: and in the ninetieth year of his age he consulted *Seneca* before the people to receive his judgment by them. As all his life time before the nobility was set against him, so when he stood now to be Censor, they pressed hard upon him: inasmuch as all his competitors (excepting *L. Flaccus*, who had been his colleague in the Consulship) conspired together, how they might give him the repulse and put him besides the Censorship, not only for that their own teeth watered, and they were desirous themselves to part of that honor, not because they repined to see a new risen Gentleman, and one of the first head of the Censor, but also because they looked for no other, but that his Censorship would be rigorous and prejudicial to the name and reputation of divers men; considering how he had been

The commendation of *M. Porcius Cato*.

crossed and hate by very many, and was desirous himself to wait them a shrewd turn, and be met with them again. For even then, while he laboured and fued for the place, he used minatory speeches, and gave out, that they only were opposed against him, who feared they should have a Censorship sharply exercised without partiality and respect of persons. And herewith he maintained and upheld the suit of *L. Valerius* with him, saying that if he had but him of all others to be his colleague, he should be able to repress the wicked enormities newly come up and rise in the City, and to bring in request again the ancient manners and fashions of the old world. Men were much moved in these respects and considerations: and so maugre the heads of the nobility, they not only created him Censor, but also adjoynd unto him *L. Valerius* for his companion in that government.

After the election of Censors was ended, the Consuls and Pretors took their journeys into their several Provinces, all save *Q. Naevius*: who before that he could go into *Sardinia*, was staid behind no less than four months, about certain inquisitions of poisoning: whereof, he fate upon many without the City of *Rome*, in corporate burroughs, market Towns and places of great resort, for that he thought that manner of proceeding more convenient. And if we list to believe *V. Annius*, he condemned two thousand persons.

Sensibly, *L. Posthumus* the Pretor, (unto whom the government of *Tarentum* by lot fell) did good justice upon great conspiracies made by certain grasers: and with great care and diligence followed the enquest of the Bacchanals, and dispatched the reliques thereof quite and clean. Many of them who were adjourned and made not appearance, but gave the slip and left in the lurch their sureties bound body and goods for them, and lurked in that quarter of *Italy*: he either judged and condemned as guilty and convicted, or caused them to be apprehended and sent to *Rome* unto the Senat: who were all cast in prison by *P. Cornelius*.

In the farther part of *Spain* all was quiet, by reason that the Lusitans were in the last war subdued: but in the hither part, *A. Terentius* forced *Corbis* a Town of the Suesetans, which he assaulted with mantlets and other fabricks of war, and sold all the prisoners: which done, he passed the winter peaceably in that higher part of *Spain* also.

The old Pretors, *C. Calpurnius Piso* and *L. Quintius* returned to *Rome*; and both of them were with great accord and consent of the LL. of the Senat allowed to triumph. And first *C. Calpurnius* triumphed over the Portugals and Celtiberians. In which triumph, he carried in shew 83 coronets of gold, and 12000 pound of silver. Within few dayes after, *L. Quintius* triumphed over the same Portugals and Celtiberians. In which solemnity, there was represented in shew, as much gold and silver as in the former.

The Censors, *M. Porcius* and *L. Valerius*, while men hung in suspense between fear and hope what they would do, held a review and a new choice of the Senat. Seven Senators they displaced and deposed from that dignity: amongst whom, there was one of mark, for his nobility of birth and honorable offices which he had born, namely, *L. Quintius Flaminius* who had been Consul. An ancient order (they say) it was in time of our fore-fathers, That when the Censors had put any out of the Senat, they should note them directly for those faults which they had committed: and at this day, extant there be divers incorporations of *Cato*, against them whom either he cast and displaced out of Senat, or from whom he took away honours of service: but of all others, the fourest and bitterest is that of his, against this *L. Quintius*: which if he had pronounced as an accuser before he had noted him with that disgrace, and not as Censor after the said note, his very own brother *T. Quintius* (if he had been then Censor) could not possibly have kept *L. Quintius* in the state of a Senator. Among other grievous matters he uttered against him, That he had trained with him from *Rome* into his Province of *France* (in hope of many great rewards) one *Philippus Pannus*, a notorious and costly Ganymede. This boy, as he was fooling and playing the wanton with the said *Quintius* then Consul, used to upbraid him with this, That he was had away from *Rome*, against the very time that the shew of sword-players at utterance was to be exhibited: and this he said, to shew how ready he was to satisfy the pleasure of him his lover. Now it chanced as they were making good cheer together, and having taken their wine liberally were well heat therewith, news came and reported it was in the banker time. That a certain noble man of the Bolians was arrived, with his children as a renegar from the adverse part: and was desirous to speak with the Consul, for to have assurance from his mouth of safe conduct: who being brought into the pavilion began to parly with the Consul by a Frenchman or interpreter. And in the mids of his speech: How said thou (quoth *Quintius* to that wantonly his Ganymede) because thou hast missed and lost the sight of those sword-players at *Rome*, wilt thou see presently here this Frenchman die in the place before? He made not any great semblance unto him in good earnest of his desire that way: but the Consul at the first beck of that heathly rich and baggage, caught the naked sword which hung over his head, and first gave the poor Gaul a wound in his sponce as he was speaking unto him, and afterwards as he made shift to rise from him, and called upon the protection of the people of *Rome*, and the assistance of those that were present, *Quintius* ran him quite through the sides, *Valerius Annius*, who never had read the opinion of *Cato*, but gave credit to a flying fable only, without any head or author, telleth the tale with some other circumstance howbeit much like in substance of matter, as touching his lecherous lust and bloody cruelty. He writeth that *Quintius* while he shode at *Flaminius*, sent for a famous courtesan upon whom he was enamored, to a banquet; and as he courted and made love to this strumpet, vaulting himself

* This Philip I take to be no Carthaginian. The name soundeth not like others of that nation: but both he and Pannus are Roman proper names.

unto her, among other discourses he recovered with what rigor he had followed certain inquisitions: what a number of prisoners he had in irons condemned to death; and how many of their heads he minded to chop off. Then this harlot, sitting down beneath him, said, That she had never in all her life seen any man to cut ones head off, and it was a sight that of all other she would faint see. Whereupon a noble and amorous knight to gratify the queen, caused one of those poor souls condemned to die, to be set out of prison into the banquetting room, and presently to be beheaded before her face. A cruel fact it was, inhuman, whether it were commended as *Cato* hath objected in his Oration, or as *Plinius* hath written in his story, that any human creature should be thus massacred like a sacrifice, and the table besprinkled with his blood, amid the cups standing full of wine, and the dishes furnished with viands, where and when the manner and custome was to raise and raise the fifth essay in the honor of the Gods, and that devoutly with grace and good prayers; and all to content and feed the eye of a wanton and shameless Harlot, lying in the bosome of the Consul. In the end of *Cato* his Oration, this condition was offered unto *Quintus*, That if he would plead anguile, and deny this fact and others which he charged him with, then he should put in a real caution, and stand to his defence and trial: but if he confessed himself guilty, then he willed him to consider whether he thought any man would grieve and be sorry at the ignominie which he was to receive, who being transported beside his understanding with wine and women, made but a sport and pastime to shed mens blood, as a very banker. In taking a review of the Cavalry or Gentlemen of *Rome*, *L. Scribo*, *Asiatum* had his great horse of service taken from him. This Cenforship was likewise executed with severity and rigor to all sorts and degrees, and namely, in the pricing and valuation of their goods. For *Cato* commanded the Sergeants to take a note of all the ornaments, jewels, and apparel of women; also of their chariots and coaches if they amounted to the sum of 15000 asses, and to enrol the same in the Cenfors book, Item all bondslaves under twenty years of age, sold after the last tax or assessment for 10000 Asses or upward, that they should be valued at an higher price by ten fold than they were esteemed worth: and that for all these things they should pay and contribute to the City chamber after three in the thousand. These Cenfors cut off all water either running out of any common stream into a privat house, or derived into particular fields and grounds. And all houses either built by private persons upon common ground, or any wayes encroaching and leaning to publike places they caused to be demolished and pulled down within thirty dayes. After this, they set out divers peeces of work to be wrought at a price, of that money which was ordained to that purpose, namely, to pave certain pools with stone, to scoure the draughts and sinks where need was: and in the mount *Aventine* and other parts where none were already to make new. And particularly of themselves *Flaccus* caused the causey, or wharfe to be made against the waters called *Nepunia*, that the people might passe to and fro that way: and also a street-way through *Formianum*. And *Cato* for his part built two galleries, *Munium* and *Titium*, in the Mineries; and bought four shops for the City: he built there also the stately Hall or Palace called *Palatia*. As for the City revenues, they did let and let them forth to farmers, at an exceeding rackt rent: but all the City works they put out to undertakers by the great, at as low a reckoning as they could. These leases and bargains aforesaid being once cancelled by order from the Senat, and new made at the importunar suit and that with importunities and tears of the Publicans, as well farmers as undertakers; then the Cenfors by proclamation commanded those to avoid far from the subhastation, who had disannulled the former leases, and bargains, and with some little abatement and easing of the former rents, they demised the same profits and revenues again to others. This was a cenforship of great note, full of rapine, ill will, and hear-burning, which troubled and molested *M. Porcius* as long as he had a day to live, for that he was reputed and held to be the author of that severity and rigor exercised therein.

The same year two Colonies were erected and inhabitants sent from *Rome*, to wit, *Pollentia* into the Picene territory, and *Pisaurum* into the Gauls country. Six acres of land were assigned to every one of the coloners. And the same Triumvirs, namely, *Q. Fabius*, *Labeo*, *M. Fulvius*, *Flaccus*, and *Q. Fulvius*, *Nobilis*, were they that both parted the said lands, and also had the leading and planting of the foresaid Colonies.

The Consul that year achieved no memorable exploit at all, neither at home in City, nor abroad in war. Against the year following they created Consuls *M. Claudius*, *Marcellus* and *Q. Fabius*, who upon the fifteenth of March, on which day they entered into their government, put to question as concerning the Provinces, as well their own as the Pretors. For there had been chosen Pretors *C. Valerius* the Flamin of *Iupiter* (who also the year before was in election for the place) *Sp. Posthumius*, *Albinus*, and *P. Cornelius*, *Sisenna*, also *L. Pappius*, *L. Julius*, and *Cn. Sicinius*. Unto the Consuls was assigned the province *Liguria*, together with the charge of the same armies, which *P. Claudius* and *M. Porcius* had conducted. As for both the Provinces in *Spain* (as well beyond as on this side *Iberia*) they were reserved with their ordinary forces, for the Pretors of the former year by special commission without calling any lots at all therefore. The new Pretors were enjoined for to dispose and part their governments, that *C. Valerius* the Flamin of *Iupiter* might exercise one of the jurisdictions of *Rome*, so he was *L. chief justice* for the forrainers, and *Sisenna* *Cornelius* over the citizens. Unto *Sp. Posthumius* fell *Sicily*, to *L. Pappius* *Apulia*, to *L. Julius* *Gallia*, and to *Cn. Sicinius* *Sardinia*. As for *L. Julius* he was enjoined to make haste and set forward on his journey, for the *Transalpin Gauls* (beyond the mountains) had passed over by the streights of the forrests and water unknown beforetime, into *Italy*, as hath been aforesaid, and were building them,

a Town in that territory, which at this day is called *Agathina*. This Prefect had by him good men to peache him in that enterprise, so far forth as he might possibly without war and force of arms and if there were no other remedy but that they must of necessity use violence, then to remedy that Consiltherof: for agreed it was that one of them should lead the Legions against the Gauls. In the end of the former year there was a general assembly holden for the choosing of an *Augur* whom in *Sp. Posthumius Albinus* was created in the room of *Q. Cornelianus* *Emilius* late deceased. But in the beginning of this present year *P. Licinius Crassus* the sixth Pontifex departed out of this world, in whose place *M. Sempronius Tudicenus* was invested for the Bishop. But *C. Servilius Geminus* was created the arch-pielar or high-priest aforesaid. In the honor of *P. Licinius* at his funerals, there was given a dole of flesh and a shew exhibited of two sword-fencers fighting with sharp: likewise there were represented funeral plaies and games, which continued three dayes and after that solemnity, a feast was holden during which, when the tables were set & spread accordingly all over the grand place of the City, suddenly there arose a tempest with great storms, which forced most men to erect tents and booths there: but after a while when the weather was fair again, they were taken down and had away: and men commonly gave out and said, That whereas the Prophets & wizards had foretold among other their fatal prelages that they should be forced to quarter & pitch tents in the market place of *Rome*: now that prophesie was fulfilled, and they were freed and excused from farther danger. And no sooner were they eased and delivered of that scruple, but they were troubled with another, for that it had rained blood two daies in the court-yard of *Vatican* and the Decemvirs published a solemn supplication for the expiation of that prodigious sign.

Before that the Consuls departed into their provinces, they brought into the Senat for to have audience, the embassages come from beyond Sea. And never before that day were so many men of those forrain parts seen at *Rome*. For from the time that the bruit was blown abroad amongst the nations bordering upon *Macedony*, that the Romans gave no desear to the complaints and accusations commened against *Philip*, and that many had sped well by complaining: every City and State in their own behalf, yea, and many privat persons in particular (for an ill neighbour he was to them all) repaired to *Rome*, in hope either to be righted and eased of their wrongs, or to discharge their stomacks and be moned and comforted for their miseries. Likewise from *King Eumenes* there arrived an embassage accompanied with his own brother *Athenas* to make complaint, as finding themselves grieved that the garisons were not withdrawn out of *Thracia*, as also to inform that *Philip* had sent certain aids into *Bithynia* to *Prusias* who made war upon *Eumenes*. Now *Demetrius* (*Philip* his son) at that time a very yong Gentleman, was to answer to all these challenges: and an easy peece of work it was not, either to bear in mind all the matters objected, or to think upon the points of every answer accordingly. For over and besides that the articles were many in number, most of them were of very small consequence and importancie: namely, arise about limits and land-marks, about carrying away men and ravishing women, of driving of cattel, of ministering justice partially and with affection or else of none ministered at all: of sentences given and judgments passed in causes either by force or for favour. The Senat perceiving that neither *Demetrius* could speak to these points and give them good evidence, nor themselves be well informed and cleely instructed by him: being moved also and grieved to see the youth so raw a scholer in these affairs, and therewith much troubled in spirit, gave order to enquire and demand of him, Whether he had received any notes in writing from his father, as touching the premises? And when he answered and said, Yea, they thought the first and principal thing for them to do was, to see and hear what were the answers of the King to every specialty and particular. And thereupon they presently called for that book of his fathers, and then permitted him to read the contents thereof. Now therein were set down certain brief abstracts of pleas and defenses to each severall point: shewing *Imprimis*, that some things he had done according to the decrees & awards of the Roman Delegates and commissioners, *Item*, Whereas he had left somewhat undone, the default was not in him but in the very parties that accused him. He had interlaced between certain grievances and complaints, as touching the iniquity and hard penning of those decrees: and how matters were not scanned and debated before *Cacilius* with that indifferency and equity as was meet and requisite: and natally that without desert of his part, all men were set against him and insulted over him. The Senat collected hereby good arguments, how the heart of *Philip* was wounded and galled against the Romans. But when the yong Prince excused some of these matters, and for the rest promised and undertook, that all should be done to the uttermost as it pleased the Senat to order and set down: then it was thought good to deliver this answer unto him: That his father had in nothing done better nor more to the contentment of the Senat, than that he seemed willing (howsoever matters were passed already) to make satisfaction to the Romans by the means of his son *Demetrius*. As for the Senat, they could dissemble, forget, put up and endure many things done and past: yea, and were perswaded verily in their hearts, that they might believe and trust *Demetrius* as knowing assuredly, that although they sent his body again to his father *Philip*, yet they had his heart and affection with them still, as a sure pledge and hostage: and that he was a friend to the people of *Rome*, so far forth as his reverent duty to his father would permit and give him leave: telling him withal to understand, that for to do him honor, they would send Embassadors into *Macedony*: to the end that if ought had not been so fully effectuated as it should have been, it might be done yet in good time, without imputation of fault and blame, or partial satisfaction to be made for any thing hitherto omitted: yea, and desirous they were, that *Philip* should understand thereby the

A the mediation of *Dionysius* and for his sake, he stood year in good terms of peace and friendship with the people of *Rome*. These things he did and done for the increase of credit and reputation, presently turned to the displeasure of the young Gentlemen; and in the end to his utter ruin and overthrow.

Then were the *Lacedæmonians* admitted to audience in the Senate. They moved many petty matters and trifling considerations; but that which principally touched the main point was whether to win Whether they should be restored again to the *Achæans* had condemned; or not. Whether they were justly or unjustly killed whom they murdered. Moreover they put to question, Whether the *Lacedæmonians* were to be condemned within the general assembly and Council of *Achæa*; or, that this State (as before times) should have their rights and franchises apart by themselves from all others in *Peloponnesus*. The Senate ordained and awarded *imprætoris*, That they should be restored. *Item*, That the sentence pronounced against them, should be reversed. That *Epicharmus* should do service to this high court and public Diet of *Athens* and finally that this accord and award should be engrossed, subscribed, and signed as well by the *Lacedæmonians* as *Achæans*.

Q. Marcius was sent Ambassador into *Macedonia*, who also had direction and order given him by the same commission, to visit the State of the allies in *Peloponnesus*; for there also remained some troubles after the old quarrels and variances; yet, and the *Messenians* refused to appear at the general council of *Achæa*. Now if I would set in hand to record the causes and circumstances of that war, I should forget my purpose in the beginning of my work, wherein I resolved not to touch at all any discourse of foreign histories, no farther than they were linked to the Roman affairs. Howbeit one memorable occurrence there happened, which I cannot pass by, namely, that albeit the *Achæans* had the better hand in war, yet it chanced that *Philoparchus* their Pretor was taken prisoner by the *Messenians*, as he made an expedition to seize upon *Corone* by prevention, which the enemies were desirous to be masters of. Surprised he was in a valley of great disadvantage, and some few horsemen with him. It is reported, that by the help of the *Thracians* and *Candians*, he might have fled and escaped; but for very shame to abandon those men of arms, which were the noblest Gentlemen of that nation, to whom he lately had made choice of, he had not the power to do otherwise, but stay to see the last. For while he came himself behind in the rearward, because he was desirous to make means for their evasion through the streights of that pass, and to that purpose valiantly received the charge of the enemies, his horse fell and cast him at once, so as with his own fall and his horse lying upon him, he had like to have gone away in a swoon: a man now threescore years old and such; and which, newly crept abroad and recovered of a long and lingering disease, which had mightily wasted and consumed the strength of his body. Well, thus lay he along, and the enemies ran over him; and so soon as they knew who he was, they reared him upon his feet from under his horse, no less respecting than if he had been their own General in regard of a reverence they bare unto the man, and in remembrance of his noble exploits: they brought him again to himself, and forth of that by-valley standing out of the pass, they carried him into the high way, and were so far possessed and overcome with joy so unexpected, that they could not well believe their own eyes that they had gotten him. Some dispatched van-couriers to *Messene* with the news hereof; namely, that the war was brought to an end, considering that *Philoparchus* was taken and was their prisoner. At first the tidings seemed so incredible, that the foremost messenger was held not only for a vain liar, but also for one not well in his wits; but after that there came one after another, and all with one voice verified and affirmed the same, at length it was believed. And then, see what they did: before they knew for certain that he approached neer unto the City; they all ran forth of the gates by heaps to see the man: all (I say) bond as well as free, women and children one with another. In so much, as the gates were choaked up with the thrust and throng of the press: for no man could believe assuredly it was true, the thing was so strange, unless he might see him with his own eyes. They that had the charge of bringing him, found much ado to put by the multitude whom they encountered, and to enter in at the gate: and so thick they stood in the press, that they took up all the wayes besides, so as he could not be brought forth to be seen. Now because the most part of the people might not possibly have a sight of him, they gat up all at once into the Theatre, which stood neer unto the way, and pestered it full; and with one voice they cried aloud; That he might be brought thither and presented unto the view of the whole people. The Magistrates and principal citizens, fearing lest the compassion that might arise in mens hearts upon the beholding of so worthy a personage, would raise some trouble and commotion; while some comparing the reverence of his former authority and Majesty, with his present condition and calamity; and others calling to remembrance his manifold deserts and passing good turns, might haply be touched with pity: set him far off in the open sight of them all, and then at once took him hastily out of their view: for their Pretor, *Dionysius* gave out openly and said, That the Magistrates were to enquire and demand certain points of him as touching the main sum of the civil war. Then he was brought into their Council-Chamber, where their Senate assembled and began to consult about him. It was now well toward evening; and so far off they were from resolving in other matters, that they could not but think themselves and agree, in what place they might keep him that one night in safeguard. At which they were and amazed, to consider and think upon the greatness of his estate past, and of his noble virtue and valour; and so mandate receive the charge and custody of him in his own house, not trust any one besides with

him sleeping. At length some there were, that put them in mind of the foolishness of the City, wanted under the ground like a dunghill, and called all about them to rise from their sleep. It was he let down bound as he was, and gave him some strong drink, for his sake, as they thought, was by an engine laid over, to enclose him sure. Thus reposing more trust for his safe custody in that place than in any person, they waited and attended all the morning. When afternoon came, the whole entire multitude in general, remembering the benefits and good turns done of old by him to their City, were of mind to pardon and spare him, both by his merit and obligation, to seek for remedies and redress of their past and present calamities. But those persons, by whose motive and inducement the Maffians had devolved (and such were they, as looked to the common-weal), consulted apart in secret, and concluded, which else contented not him to death: only the doubt and question was, whether they should do this thing with speed, or by delay. But those pretailed in the end, who were more greedy of present revenge, and so they sent one unto him with a draught of poison. When he had taken the cup to his head (by stealth) he gave not a word, but only asked, whether *Lycarta* (the other General of the Achazans) were escaped alive, and the foresaid horrid men safe? When answer was made, that they were in safety: That is happy, quoth he, and therewith drank off every drop in the cup with hearty, and a while after yielded up his vital breath. But long joyed they not of his death, who were the bloody authors of this cruelty: for the City of *Maffia* being conquered by force of arms, among other capitulations, delivered these malefactors into the hands of the Achazans, who demanded presently to have them. The bones and ashes of *Philopomen* were likewise readred unto them, and inserted, how was by the general Council of all Achazans in such solemn wise, that in heaping upon him all honours that could be devised for an earthly man, they forbore not also to adore him as a God immortal. The Historiographers, as well Greek as Latine, attribute so much unto this man, that some of them have recommended to posterity (as a memorable thing of all others that happened this year) to wit, that in this one year there died three renowned Captains, *Philopomen*, *Annibal*, and *P. Scipio*. See how they have matched him in equality with the greatest warriors and noblest Generals of the two most puissant nations in the whole world.

Then came *T. Quinctius Flaminius* in embassage to King *Prusias*, whom the Romans had in suspicion and jealousy, both for that he had received *Annibal* after the flight of *Antiochus*, and also because he made war upon *Eumenes*. Now were it that among other matters *Flaminius* charged *Prusias*, that he entertained in his court the most spitefull enemy of all men living, unto the people of *Rome*: who first solicited his own native country to take arms against the Romans, and after the force and power thereof was abated and defeated, persuaded King *Antiochus* to do the like: or rather that *Prusias* of his own accord to gratify *Flaminius* there presented to do the Romans a pleasure, had a meaning and intent either to kill *Annibal*, or to deliver him alive into their hands. I wot not how it came about, but upon this first communication and conference between them, there were souldiers sent incontinently to beset and guard his house. *Annibal* evermore forcast in mind some such issue and end of his life, seeing the deadly and inevitable hatred that the Romans bare unto him: reposing besides no confidence at all in the fidelity of these Kings, and having withal some experience already of the inconstancy and levity of King *Prusias*. Moreover, he had in horror this coming of *Flaminius*, as fatal unto him, and a mean to work his final destruction. To the end therefore he might be ever provided aforehand against those inconveniences and dangers, wherewith on all sides he was encumbered, and have a ready way of evasion to save himself, he had devised and caused to be made seven doors for egress out of his house, whereof some were very privy and secret vaults, because they should not be envied nor watched with guards. But Kings commandments are of that force, that whatsoever they would have to be searched out and discovered, cannot lie long hidden. For the guards so compassed and enclosed the whole circuit of the house, that it was impossible for any to get forth and make an escape. *Annibal* being advertised that the Kings souldiers were at the gate, assailed to steal away as a postern, which stood furthest out of the way, and wherof the conceitance was most secret, but perceiving that the souldiers had beset it too, and lay for to encounter and receive him that way, and that every place was invested with a set guard, he called for the poison which he had of long time before ready prepared for all such or current occasions, and uttered these words withal, "Let us rid these Romans of this their continual fear and pain wherein they have been all this while, since that they think it so long to stay for the death of one old man, *Flaminius* shall obtain no great nor memorable victory of me, disarmed thus as I am, and betrayed into his hands. But this very day shall prove and testify, how far the people of *Rome* are degenerate and changed from their ancient manners. Their forefathers (God be) advertised King *Pyrrhus* their enemy armed in field, and lying with an host of men against them in *Italy*, they gave him warning I say to take heed of poison: but these living at this day, have sent their Ambassador, even one that hath born the dignity of a Consul, to advise and counsel *Prusias* wickedly to take the life away of his own guest. Then after he had cursed the person of *Prusias* and his whole realm, and called upon the Gods, protectors of the law of hospitality, to bear witness how he had violated his faith, and broken promise with him, he set the cup of poison to his mouth, and drank it off. This was the end of *Annibal*, *Puffinus* and *Annibal* write, that *Scipio* also died this year. But I added nothing with them nor with *Valerius*. From them I square, because I find that when *M. Porcius* and *L. Valerius* were Censors, the same *L. Valerius* being Censor, was elected President of the Senate, where

The end of
Annibal.

A *Asfricanus* had been President for ten years space together, during the time of two reviews by Censors next before. And so long as the said *Asfricanus* lived, there would have been no other chosen President in his room, unless himself were to have been called and deprived of the Senators dignity, of which disgrace and note of infamy there is not one that maketh any mention. And as for *Palerinus Antonius* he is sufficiently refuted by *M. Naevius* a Tribune of the Commons, against whom there is an Oration drawn, and the same penned by *P. Asfricanus*, and bearing his name. This *Naevius* is recorded in the rolls and registers of Magistrats, by the title of Tribune of the Commons, in that year when *P. Clodius* and *L. Porcius* were Consuls, but he entered into his office during the Consulship of *App. Claudius* and *M. Sempronius*, the tenth of December. From which time to the fifteenth of March are three months, upon which day *Pub. Clodius* and *L. Porcius* began their Consulship. So it seemeth that he was living during the Tribuneship of *Naevius*, and that he might well commense an action against him, and call him to his answer, but he departed this life before that *L. Cato* and *M. Porcius* were Censors. But in my conceit the death of these three (the most renowned personages each one of their own nation) are not to be compared one with the other in this regard, that they hapned all just at one time, more than for this, that none of them all had an end correspondent and answerable to the poore state and glorious lustre of his life. For first and foremost in this they all jumped together, that they neither died nor were entered into their native country. Again, *Annibal* and *Philopemen* were both poisoned, *Annibal* was banished and betrayed by his own friend and host, *Philopemen* was taken prisoner, and left his life in prison and irons. As for *Scipio*, although he was neither exiled nor condemned, yet making default of appearance at the day assigned unto him, and being cited to his answer in his absence, willingly banished not himself only for his lifetime, but his corps and funerals also after his death.

C Whiles those affairs passed in *Peloponnesus* (from whence our pen hath a little diverted and digressed) the return of *Demetrius* and the Embassadors into *Macedony*, diversly wrought in mens minds, and amused them some in one thing, and some in another. The common people of *Macedony*, who were mightily afraid that the Romans would make war upon them, highly affected *Demetrius*, and cast a favourable aspect upon him as the author of peace, and withal they desired him without all doubt to the Kingdom after the decease of his father. For albeit he were younger than his brother *Perseus*, yet men thought and spake, that he was begotten in matrimony by *Philip* of his lawful wife, whereas he had *Perseus* by a concubine, who carried no token and mark of a certain father, as having to his mother a woman that was nought of her body and common. Whereas *Demetrius* resembled his father *Philip*, and was as like him as might be. Moreover, men said, That the Romans would place and establish *Demetrius* in the Royal throne of his father, but *Perseus* was in no credit and reputation among them. Thus folk stuck not to give out abroad in their common talk. Whereupon not only *Perseus* was in care and doubt, that the preeminence of age only would little boote and advantage him, considering in all respects else he was inferior to his brother, but *Philip* also himself, supposing verily that it would hardly lie in his power to leave the inheritance of the crown to whom he pleased, thought that his younger son was a more in his eye, and troubled him more than was for his ease. Offended, otherwhiles he was, that the Macedonians resorted unto him so much as they did, and highly displeased that there should be

B any more Royal courts than one in his realm, during his life. And to speak a truth, the young Prince himself returned from *Rome* more puffed up, no doubt, with pride, than was becoming; as who presumed and grounded much upon the opinion that the Senat had of him, perceiving that they had granted those things to him which had been denied unto his father before: but look how much favour and honor (in respect of the Romans) he won among the rest of the Macedonians, so much envy and ill will he procured himself thereby not only with his brother, but with his father also: and especially after that other Roman Embassadors were arrived, and that *Philip* was forced to part with *Thracia* and withdraw his garrisons, and to do other things either by virtue of the old award of the first commissioners, or by a new ordinance of the Senat. Well he performed all, but with a heavy heart and many a deep sigh and groane, and so met the rather, be-

F cause he observed and saw how his son *Demetrius* conversed more with the Embassadors, and frequented their company oftner than his. Howbeit he obeyed, and did whatsoever was enjoined him by the Romans, because he would minister unto them the occasion of levying war against him out of hand. And supposing it was good policy to avert their minds from all suspicion that he intended any such designs tending that way, he led his army into the middle of *Thracia* against the *Odrysiens*, *Dantheleis*, and *Bessians*. He won the City *Philippopolis*, abandoned by the inhabitants who were fled and had retired themselves with their whole families to the high mountains near adjoining: and after he had wasted the lands and territories of the Barbarians that inhabited the champaign country, he received them under his subjection by composition. Afterwards, having left a garrison at *Philippopolis*, which soon after was chased and expelled by the *Odrysiens*, he determined to build a Town in *Demetrias*, a region of *Paonia* under the river *Alpeonius*, which issueth out of *Thracia*, and keeping his course through *Paonia*, dischargeth it self, and falleth into the river *Alpeus*, not far from *Solus* the old City, he built a new, and caused it to be called *Perseus*, thereby to do honour to his eldest son *Perseus*, and as yet it is a new world known.

E During the train of these affairs in *Macedony*, the Consuls took their journey into their several Provinces. *Marcus* sent a messenger before him to *L. Porcius* the Proconsul, to give him to understand that he should present his legions before the new Town of the Gauls. But at the first approach

approach of the Consul, the Frenchmen yielded the place. Twelve thousand they were that bare arms, and most of them had by force gotten their armour out of their country villages, which was taken from them through their hearts, with all things else that either they had gotten out of the country by pilling and robbing, or brought with them of their own. Whereupon they addressed their Embassadors to Rome, for to make complaint of these abuses and wrongs: who having audience given in the Senat by *C. Valerius* the Pretor, declared, how by occasion that *Gaul* was overcharged with a multitude of people, they were constrained as well for want of ground and possessions, as also for need and poverty, to pass over the *Alps* and seek themselves some place of habitation. And where they saw any quarters forlet, desert, and unpeopled, there they had planted themselves, without offering injury to any person: where also they had begun to build a Town, which might be a good proof and argument, that they came not to do violence upon any City or country Village. And now of late *M. Claudius* had sent unto them a message, that unless they submitted and yielded, he would war upon them: whereupon they preferring certain peace (although it were less honorable) before the doubtful hazard & adventures of war, surrendered, rather to be in the protection and safeguard, than under the subjection of the people of Rome. But a few daies after, they were commanded to quit both City and Country. And thereupon resolved in their mind to depart in silence and saying never a word, into what place soever they could, there to seek their fortune: but then they were disarmed, yea, and spoiled and stript of all that ever they had, and nothing left, that either they drew before them, or carried about them. In regard whereof, they were humble suppliants to the Senat and people of Rome, that they would not proceed in more rigour and cruelty against them, harmless persons as they were, and submitting themselves unto them, than against professed enemies. To this Oration of complaint the Senat caused this answer to be returned: That neither they had done well in coming into Italy, and presuming to build them a City upon other mens territories, without permission of the sovereign Roman Magistrate, who had the government of those parts: nor yet the Senat was well pleased, that they should be thus despoiled, considering they had yielded. And therefore minded they were to send with them their Embassadors to the Consuls, to command them in their name, to see that all their own goods should be restored again unto them, so that they made return thither from whence they came: who also should go forward immediately over the *Alps*, to give the States of *France* warning to keep in their people with them, and hold them in their native country: forasmuch as the *Alps* were the frontier limits standing in the mids to confine between them, and therefore those mountains neither ought nor might be passed of one side or the other, and so make account of this, that they should speed no better now in transgressing their bounds, than at what time as they first made a way and passage over them into Italy. The Embassadors employed about this business, were *L. Furius Purpurio*, *Q. Minutius*, and *L. Manlius Acidinus*. Thus the French after resolution made unto them of all that was their own by good right, and without wrong of others, departed out of Italy. Now when these Roman Legats were come, they had good words and courteous answer from the Transalpine nations. And those amongst them that were more ancient than the rest, blamed the people of Rome for their overmuch lenity, in that they let those persons go, who without warrant from the whole State, durst be so bold as to take a voyage to settle upon any lands belonging to the Signory of Rome, and were so hardy as thereon to build a Town. For surely they deserved not less than to abide grievous smart for their rash demeanor. Moreover and besides, whereas the Romans have given them their own goods again, they feared much that so great indulgency of theirs, would induce and encourage others to enterprise the like. So they friendly entertained and as kindly accompanied the Embassadors, yea, and liberally presented them with rewards.

M. Claudius the Consul having thus expelled the Gauls out of his Province, began to lay the ground of the *Isirick* war, and for this purpose wrote his letters unto the Senat, for a warrant and commission to pass with his legions into *Isiria*. The Senat was therewith contented. But whereas they were in question and consultation about conducting a Colony to inhabit *Aquileia*, they could not agree whom to send, whether Latins or Roman citizens. But in conclusion the *L. P. Scipio Nasica*, *C. Flaminius*, and *L. Manlius Acidinus*, in whose hands the business was committed.

The same year were two Colonies of Roman citizens erected at *Mutina* and *Parma*: and two thousand persons were to either place translated out of the territory which lately was occupied by the Boians, and before time had been in the tenure of the Tuscans. They of *Parma* were endued with eight acres of land, and those of *Mutina* with five a piece. The *Triumvir* Commissioners who had the disposing and managing of the business, were *M. Emilius Lepidus*, *T. Titinius Carus*, and *L. Quinctius Crispinus*. Like wise the colony *Saurnia* consisting of Roman citizens, was brought into the territory of *Calabria*, by the conduct of *Q. Fabius Laber*, *C. Afranius Sallus*, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, departed *Triumvirs* therefore who set out for every man ten acres of ground.

The same year *A. Terentius* the *Propraetor* for his from the River *Iberus* in the Ausonian country, fought fortuitously against the Celtiberians, and forced certain Towns which they had fortified. Basse Spain beyond *Iberus* was quier this year, because both *P. Sempronius* the *Propraetor* lay sick of a long disease, and also the Lusitanians (as good hap was) rested still and quiet, as being by no man provoked to stir. Neither was there any memorable exploit achieved in *Liguria* by *Q. Fabius* the Consul. *M. Marcellus* was called home out of *Isiria*: and after he had discharged his army,

A army, returned to Rome for to hold the election of the Magistrates. For Consuls he created C. *Debius* *Tamphilus* and L. *Emilius* *Paulus*. This man had been *Edile* *Curule* together with M. *Emilius* *Lepidus*, who was Consul five years before; and yet the same *Lepidus* suffered the repulse twice ere he was created Consul. Then were *Pretors* chosen to wit, Q. *Fulvius* *Plautius*, M. *Valerius* *Laevinus*, L. *Manlius* the second time, M. *Ogulinus* *Gallus*, L. *Cacilius* *Dentus*, & C. *Terentius* *Varro*. In the very end of the year there was a solemn supplication holden by occasion of certain prodigies; for men believed verily that in the court yard of the goddess *Concordia* it rained blood for the space of two daies: and reported it was not far from Sicily, that a new Island was discovered out of the Sea, where never any was before seene. *Valerius* *Antius* writeth, that *Annibal* died this year: and that to compass and work his death, there were sent in embassage to *Prasus*, L. *Scipio* *Africanus*, and P. *Scipio* *Nasica*, besides T. *Quintius* *Flamininus*, who in that action is named most.

The fortieth Book Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the fortieth Book

When Philip had given commandment to make straight search for the children of those whom he kept in prison (and personages they were of most noble birth) for to put them to death: the *Boeotians* fearing the King his malicious intent and wicked lust, in the behalf as well of her own children as of her sisters little ones (God wot) and very young infants, brought forth and offered unto the said children naked keen swords and a cup of deadly poison, persuading with them to avoid the imminent shame and dishonour, by present death: which after she had obtained and seen effected, she likewise placed her own pace, and slew her own self. Moreover in this book are related the debate and variance between *Perseus* and *Demetrius* the two sons of Philip King of Macedonia: and how *Demetrius* came to his death by poison, although the mischievous practise of his brother *Perseus* who devised false crimes and raised standards against him, and principally among the rest, charged him that he intended to kill his own father, and meant to usurp the Kingdom. Last of all, because he was a friend to the people of Rome: by which means after the death of Philip *Perseus* obtained the crown. Also it containeth the happy exploits achieved by many and divers commanders in Liguria, and in Spain against the *Celtiberians*. The books of *Numa* *Pompilius* were by certain husbandmen as they laboured in the ground of L. *Petilius* a Notary, under the *Jacobin* found enclosed within a coffer of stone, and written both in *Latine* and *Greek*. And when he brought off the City, to whom the books were brought, had perused them, and found therein many points tending to overthrow religion and the divine service of the Gods, he swore before the *Senate*, that it was dangerous for the State and Common-wealth, that they should be read and preserved: in such sort, that by an Act of the State, they were burned within the Comitium or Hall of publick assemblies. The *Colony* *Aquileia* was now erected. Philip exceedingly displeased with himself, and pricked with remorse of conscience for that he had caused his son *Demetrius* to be poisoned, upon the false suggestions and accusations of his other son, aimed against him, devised to punish *Perseus*, and rather to confer the Kingdom upon *Antigonus* his friend, than that his son should succeed him: but in this desertment and purpose of his he suddenly died: and so *Perseus* took the crown and Kingdom upon him.

The fortieth book of T. Livius.

IN the beginning of the year next ensuing, the Consuls and Pretors cast lots for their several governments. As for the Consuls, there was no other Province to employ them in, but *Liguria*. The civil jurisdiction among citizens fell to M. *Ogulinus* *Gallus*; and the foreign over strangers to M. *Valerius*. High Spain was assigned unto Q. *Fulvius* *Plautius*; and the Nether-land thereof to P. *Manlius*. L. *Cacilius* *Dentus* had the governance of Sicily, and C. *Terentius* *Varro* of *Sardinia*. The Consuls were employed to take matters for Q. *Fulvius* had written many of *Liguria* in the Appennines belimed to rebellion; and greatly to be feared it was, that they would break out and make roads into the territory of *Pisa*. And well they knew already, that of the two Provinces of Spain, the higher parts were in arms, and the war with the *Celtiberians* was fit to rise; and as for the lower the military discipline there, was corrupt and gone, by reason of riotous pleasures and idleness, where unto the soldiers were wholly given, by occasion that the Pretor lay so long sick. For these causes, thought good it was, that new armies should be levied and enrolled: to wit, four legions for *Liguria*, and every one of them to contain 3000 foot and 300 horse: unto which, there was an addition of 1000 footmen, and 300 men of arm from out of the *Latine* allies. And these two armies were to serve the Consuls. But over and besides, they were commanded to enrol 7000 foot, and 300 horsemen of *Latine* allies, and then to send inco *Spain* to M. *Manlius*, who was to continue still in place of command, after the term of his Consulship expired. Likewise they had in charge to levy of *Roman* Citizens 4000 footmen and 200 horse, and of allies 7000 of the one, and 300 of the other to be conducted into both Provinces of Spain. And Q. *Fulvius* *Plautius* had his commission of government renewed for one year longer, with the charge of that army which he had in *Liguria*.

The

* 19 of April:
for the feast
unto the god-
des *Pales* was
solemnized an.
x. calend. Mai.
which was, *Neu-
talis dies urbis
Romae*; the
birth day (as it
were) of *Rome*.
* Luna.

The spring season that year was very stormy and tempestuous. On the even of the last, *Palilia* about noon-tide, suddenly there arose a mighty blustering wind, which overthrew many edifices as well sacred as profane. It cast down the brazen statues and images in the Capitol: it caught up the wicket of the door belonging to the Temple of the *Mars*, (which is in the Avenue) carried it away and set it fast to the back wall of the Temple of *Ceres*. It overturned and laid along other statues in the great circus or show-place called *Circus Maximus*, together with the pillars upon which they stood. The lanterns and pinnacles it rent and tore after a strange sort from the roof and top of certain Churches, and carried them clean away. And therefore this tempest was held for a prodigious token, and the *Auspices* gave order for the expiation and satisfaction thereof. Likewise the same provision was made in regard of a report from *Brutus*, that a mule was foaled with three feet: and from *Fornia*, that the Chappel of *Apollo* (and namely at *Ceryra*) was stricken with lightning. For these prodigies, there were twenty greater beasts killed for sacrifice: and a supplication holden one whole day. And about the same time, intelligence was given by letters from *A. Terentius* the Pretor, that *P. Sempronius* having continued above a year sick, was departed this life, in the farther Province of *Spain*: which was the cause that the Pretors were willed to make more hast, and to march the sooner to pass into *Spain*.

* *Patimidia*.

After this, the embassages from beyond the Sea had audience given them in the Senat. The first was that of the two *KK*, *Enmenes* and *Pharnaces*, and also of the *Rhodians*, who complained for the great loss and overthrow by the *Sinopians* received. And about the same instant arrived also Embassadors from *Philip*, from the *Achaeans* and *Lacedaemonians*, who had their answer and dispatch after a speech made by *Martius*, who had been sent to visit the estate and affairs of *Greece* and *Macedony*. But as touching the foresaid Kings of *Asia* and the *Rhodians*, this stood for their answer; namely, That the Senat would send their Embassadors and Commissioners to take knowledge and see to all things there in place. But as concerning *Philip*, *Martius* had so told his tale, that he put the L.L. of the Senat in more fear and perplexity: for in his declaration he confessed, that *Philip* indeed had accomplished the will and pleasure of the Senat, but in such sort, as it was evident to be seen, that he would do so no longer than he were held thereto and compelled of necessity: for apparant it was, that he minded to make war again, considering that whatsoever he either did or said, tended to no other end. For first and foremost he caused all the multitude to be removed and translated (with their whole families) out of the cities by the Sea-coast, into that quarter which now is called *Emathia*, and in times past was named *Pemio*; and gave whole Cities aforesaid to the *Thracians* and other barbarous nations to inhabit: supposing that this kind of people would be more fast and faithful unto him in his wars against the *Romans*. And verily this deed of his bred a great discontentment and murmuring throughout all *Macedonia*: inasmuch, as few there were of them, who thus left their native habitations together with their wives and children, that could bite in and contain their secret grief and heart-burning, and say nothing: but being gricked and needed more to anger than curbed and bridled with fear, they brake out and were heard to crie and cry out upon the King as they went along the way in troops and companies. Hereupon his fell stomach by nature was fozalled that he had all men in jealousy, and no time nor place there was, but he suspected. In the end he began to give it out openly, that he could not make account to be in safety and security unless he apprehended and kept in prison the children of those persons whom he had before-time killed, for to dispatch and make away them also (in time) one after another. This cruelty in itself heinous enough and enormous, the calamity and wofull misery of one house made more odious and detestable. Murdered he had many years before *Herodius*, a noble man and a Prince of the *Thessalians*: and some time after, he slew also his sons in law, who had married his daughters. These Gentlewomen being left Widows, had each of them by their Husbands a little Son: and the names of these women were *Theoxena* and *Arche*. As for *Theoxena* she would in no wise marry again, albeit she had many suitors that wooed her: but *Arche* was wedded to one *Peris*, the very principal and noblest personage of the *Macedonian* Nation: and when she had born him many children, she died, and left them all very young. Thence afterwards *Theoxena* likewise was married to the foresaid *Peris*, to the end, that she might have the bringing up of those her sisters children with her own hands, and in truth she was not more kind to her own pretty son than to those her sisters children: but so tenderly regarded them all alike, as if she had born them of her own body. Now when she heard once of the Kings edict and proclamation which was gone forth, for the apprehension of all those infants whose fathers before had been put to death, supposing that these children should be exposed, not only to the abuse and scornful mockery of the King, but also, to the lust and villany of his guard, she conceived in her mind an horrible designment: yea, and she stuck not to say, That with her own hand she would rid them of their lives, rather than they should come within the churches of *Rhodia*. But *Peris* her husband (who abhorred the very naming of so odious a fact) said, that he would convey them out of the way as far as *Sikyon*, to certain trusty friends of his there, and would himself in proper person accompany them all the way thither, and take part with them of that exile and banishment. So they put themselves in their journey, all together (he and his wife and children) from *Thessalonica* toward *Aetia*, unto a solemn sacrifice and feast which yearly they use to celebrate with much ceremonies pomp, in the honour of *Demetrius* their first founder. Now when they had spent that day in feasting full solemnly, about the third watch of the night (when all others were fast asleep) they were embarked in a ship prepared for them by *Peris*: and

A making semblance, as if they would return to *Thessalonica*; but indeed purposing to cut over to *Euboea*. But when they had laboured and wrought to no purpose upon the wind, which was full against them, they were overtaken and prevented by the King's officers who had the charge and keeping of the haven, there was a platoon of foot (well appointed with armed men) set out to fetch in that vessel, with express commandment (as they would answer to the contrary at their utter peril) not to come again without it. Now as they approached neerer, *Perseus* verily for his part was very earnest with the rowers, mariners, and sailors, to pite their bunnels and make way from them; otherwhiles stretching out his hands up to heaven, calling and praying unto the Gods to help them in this their hard distress. But the courageous lady his wife, all the while (turning again to execute that designment of hers long before purposed) tempered and mixed a portion of poison, and brought forth certain swords withal. Now when she had set the poisoned cup before the children in their very eye, and drawn the words naked: Death (quoth she) is the only means we have to save our liberty: lo here the way that lead to death: now as every ones heart standeth to this or that, take thereto, and avoid the cruelty and pride of the King. Come on lads and jolly striplings, lead you the way fast that are the bigger and elder; take sword in hand, fall thereupon and work the feat at once: or if ye list rather to be long a dying, drink here of this cup. What should they do? the enemies were fast upon them ready to board their vessel, their mother on the other side, encouraging them instantly to take their death. In such wise, that to conclude, some dying the one way and some the other, were all cast headlong over shipboard, when they were but half dead. Then she for her part embracing her husband about the middle (because she would dye with him for company) threw her self and him both together into the Sea. Thus the Kings men seized upon the ship, when the masters thereof were gone.

The horrible example of this fact kindled more coals, and set the malice and hatred kindled against the King as it were on a light and flaming fire anew, inasmuch as now commonly in all places they fell to open cursing of him and his children. Which maledictions and execrations, it was not long but all the Gods heard and gave ear unto, and caused that he likewise exercised cruelty even upon his own flesh and blood. For *Perseus* seeing his brother *Demetrius* to arise every day more than other in favour, greatness, and reputation with the whole Macedonian people, and to grow also in credit and grace among the Romans, supposing with himself how he had no other hope left him of attaining to the crown, but by the means of some wicked practice bent all his thoughts and studies that way, and aimed only at that mark. But believing verily that he was not strong enough and sufficient alone, to execute and bring forth so much only, as within that unmanly and womanish mind of his he had devised and conceived, he practised with his fathers friends, and curious sounded their hearts one by one apart, calling out ambiguous and doubtful speeches. And at the first verily some of them shewed countenance, as if they could not abide to hear of any such thing, because they repented more hope in *Demetrius*. But afterwards, as the hatred of *Philip* grew daily greater against the Romans, which *Perseus* still fostered and maintained, whereas *Demetrius* with all his might laboured against it; they fore-seeing in their mind the unhappy end of *Demetrius*, who lay too open and was not heedful enough to guard himself against the fraudulent and mischievous plots of his brother, sided with *Perseus*; making this account in policy, to let that go on and help it forward, which in the end would rake effect, and namely to entertain and advance the hope of the mightier. For the execution of the rest they reserved every thing to a meet and convenient time thereafter. As for the present, the best course they thought upon was this, to incense the King all that ever possibly they could against the Romans, to incite and put him forward still to think of nothing but war, whereto of his own accord his mind stood well enough, and was inclined. And withal (to the end that *Demetrius* might be from day to day more and more suspected) they entered of purpose (as before they were agreed) into speech, as touching the hope and great part of the Romans: whereto when some of them would lead again in scorn, wife to debate their manners and fashions; others to deprave their deeds and ways, some rolling in general at the very form and making of their City, how it was not yet embellished & beautified either with stately edifices in publick places, or with fair houses of private men; others mocking and having in derision the principal and chief performances of the City in particular the inconsiderate young Gentleman, carried away as well with an affectionate love to the Romans, as with a desire to do his brother, would answer to all those points in the defence and maintenance of the Romans: by which means he brought himself both into more favour with his father, and also to be more & exposed to slanderous imputations. Whereupon his father acquainted him no more with any counsel as touching the Roman affairs, but wholly relied upon *Perseus*, and with him conferred thereabout, imparting unto him both day and night all his projects and designs whatsoever. By this time were they returned, whom he chanced to see, the soldiers for to levy soldiers and soldiers, and brought they had with them from thence certain noble young Gentlemen, and some among of royal blood. One of them promised to give his sister in marriage to one of *Philip's* sons inasmuch as the association by way of affinity with that nation set the Kings heart also aloft. But *Perseus* brake out into these words: "What serves all this for (quoth he) since we have not so much help and safety by aids from abroad, as harm and danger by a mischief and mischief at home. We keep here and foster in our bosome, I dare not say a traitor; but I assure you a very dangerous spie and no better: whose body verily the Romans

have lost it again, but his heart and soul they are possessed of, ever since he won it before at H
 Rome. All the Macedonians in a manner have their eyes upon him, for him they come, and give
 out in plain terms, that they will no other King than whom the Romans shall set up. *Old Philip*
 was of himself badly enough affected in his mind, but upon these suggestions buzzed into his head,
 he was the worse, and more disquieted, and set out of frame: he entertained these rumours, and let
 them nearer to his heart than he made fair in outward shew and countenance. Now it happened
 that the time was come of the ordinary review of his army, the solemnity whereof was usually per-
 formed in this manner. They cut a dog overthwart the midst in two halves, the head and foreparts
 together with the entrails were set on the right hand of the high way; the hind parts on the left.
 Between this sacrifice thus divided, the companies in their armour passed in a shew. Before the
 front of the vanguard were carried the coats of arms and royal ensigns of all the Macedonian Kings,
 that ever had been from the beginning. Then followed the King himself in person with his chil-
 dren. Next marched the Kings guard and cohort, with the squires of his body. And last of all in the
 rearguard behind came the rest of the multitude and commons of the Macedonians. Of either side
 of the King went his sons, two lusty Gentlemen. *Perseus* was about 30 years old, and *Demetrius*
 five years younger: the one in the midst and best of his age and strength, and the other in the very
 prime and flower thereof. An happy father had he been for so fair issue, seeing this proof, this matu-
 rity and perfection of theirs, if the grace of God had gone withal, and that they had been well dis-
 posed and affected in mind. The manner and custome of this review and solemn sight was (after
 the sacrifice duly accomplished) for the whole army to joust and tourney in this wise, that being
 divided into two battalions, they should one charge the other, and represent the shew of a very
 conflict and set field. And who should be the chief leaders and captains in this brave pastime, but
 the Kings two sons? But believe me they jested never a whit, nor made a vain shew for sport,
 but went to it roundly in good earnest, as if they would determine now, who should be King a-
 nother day? Foul work they made with their wooden wasters and headless pikes: many were
 wounded, and nothing wanted there but sharp iron of a very bloody battle indeed. That regiment
 which *Demetrius* commanded, had the upper hand by odds. *Perseus* shewed himself highly displea-
 sed and angry thereat; but contrary-wise his friends and favourites of the wiser sort, rejoiced at it,
 and made remonstrance, That this was the only thing to minister just occasion unto him for to
 challenge and accuse his younger brother. Now the same day, the one as well as the other tested
 their companions, who had thus performed the jousts and tournaments of either side with them.
Perseus was invited by his brother to supper, but he refused and denied to come. However such
 was the good fellowship amongst them, and so merry were the yong gallants and lusty Cavaliers,
 that they passed the festival day in all joy and mirth, either part with their Captain and plied the
 wine full liberally. Then in their cups they fell to discoursing freely of their running and pastime,
 and began to cast out merry conceits and broad jests at their adversaries of the contrary side, in-
 so much as they forbore not to glance at the very Captains themselves. Now had *Perseus* sent a
 privy spie, one of his guests, to listen what good talk there was at his brothers board, but he de-
 meaning himself & walking not so circumspectly as he should, was encountered by certain youths,
 that chanced to come forth of the hall or parlor where they sate at supper, and was evil treated
 and well beaten for his labour. *Demetrius* nothing aware thereof, among other table talk, Why
 go we not (quod he) and banquet with my brother? and if there remain any anger and displeasure be-
 hind after our jousting in jest, appease and mitigate the same in simplicity of heart and mirth-ma-
 king? Mary, no better, cried they all again with one voice, Iave only those that feared to be met
 withal presently and served alike for mistaking & knocking the toad out. *Demetrius* would needs
 draw even them also with him; whereupon they carried weapons hidden under their apparel, for
 fear of the worst, that they might defend themselves, if any violence were offered. But what can be
 carried so secret, but our it will, where there is intestine discord in one family? All was full of spies
 and false knaves, as well in the one house as the other. For there ran a pick-thank and false carrier
 before unto *Perseus*, and declared unto him that there were coming with *Demetrius* four yong men
 with privy skins by their sides. And albeit he wist well enough what was the cable thereof (for
 he had heard that one of his guests was by them beaten), yet to aggravate the matter and make it
 more odious, he commanded the dore to be fast locked, and from the upper rooms and lofts of the
 house and out of the windows to the street side, he kept off and repelled those (that came to ban-
 ket and be merry with him) from approaching the dore, as if their coming were for no other pur-
 pose but to murder him. *Demetrius* after he had for a time cried out in the street, and given on
 for this disgrace and indignity, saying it was long of the wine and nothing else that he was thus
 excluded, returned again to his own house to make an end of the banquet there: and all this while
 knew nothing what the matter was. The morrow after *Perseus*, so soon as ever he thought he
 might have access to the speech of his father, came to the court, and in the sight of the King stood
 afar off with a troubled countenance and heavy cheer, and none a word with him. How now (quod
 his father) what is amiss with you? is not all well? Ah my good lord and father (quod he) would
 you knew, that it is the fair gift & grace of God, that I am a liveliman at this hour. I that brother
 of mine, goeth not about us any more by way of secret practices and hidden ambushes: for the
 night that was, he came with armed men to set upon me in mine own house, and to take away
 my life. I was driven (father) to that the doors against him, and to save my self from his furious
 rage, within the defence of the walls thereof. When he had thus possessed his father with fear
 and

A and attended them together: Nay (quod he) I will prove all plainly before your face, when you shall know it to be such that I say, if your grace can be content to give me audience. Audience? (quod he) yes many will I and that with patience: and immediately he commanded *Demetrius* so he called before him. And whilst he sat for two of his old friends to assist him, and to take their advice to wit, *Epistaphius* and *Chimastus*, who with nothing of the quarrel and variance between the two brethren, for that they had been strangers a long time at the court. In the mean while, he walked up and down alone, attending their coming, coming and departing many matters in his head, and his son *Perseus* stood still aloof. After words were brought that the parties were come, he retired aside with these two friends, and as many of his guard into an inner room, and permitted his sons to bring with them into the place, three friends a piece unarmed. And when he was set, thus began he to speak.

B Here sit I a most wretched father, to be a judge between my two sons, the one plaintiff, the other defendant in the case of parricides: and to find among those of mine own house and blood, the foul stain of that felonious crime, either falsely forged, or indeed committed. Certainly, long ago I feared such a storm and tempest toward, and I saw it rising afar off, when I perceived your unbrotherly looks one toward another, when I over-heard some unhappy words to pass between you. Yet other whiles I was in good hope that the heat of your anger might evaporate and flake, and the suspicions and jealousies be cleared and pass away: considering that even professed and mortal enemies, have laid down arms, concluded peace, and become friends at last; yet, and great quarrels and enmities between private persons have had their end. I hoped that one

C time or other ye would remember how ye were natural brethren, that ye would call to mind, how ye were little children together, and had conversed with all simplicity & singleness of heart familiarly in your infancy: and finally, that ye would think upon my good lessons and precepts unto you which now I fear me much, that I have sounded to your deaf ears in vain. How often have I blamed and detested in your presence and hearing the examples of brethren at discord and variance, recounting unto you the stories of the fearful sequel and horrible issue thereof; namely, how they have thereby undone themselves and their race, overthrown their own houses, yea, & utterly subverted whole Kingdoms? On the other side, I laid before you better patterns and precedents to follow, and namely of the concord, agreement, and unity between the Lacedaemonians & the Spartans, that reigned two by two together to their own good and the publick weal of their country for many hundred years: but the same City fell soon to decay and ruin, when the fashion once

D was taken up, to usurp the tyranny and sovereign rule every man for himself alone. Moreover, I set before your eyes these two brethren hereby, *Enneus* and *Attalus*, who at the first began with so little that they were in manner abashed and ashamed to take upon them the title and style of Kings: and at this day are equal in grandeur of dominion to my self to *Attalus*, and to any Kings of this age living: and that by no other means in the world, more than by brotherly love and mutual concord. Nay, I said not so but discoursed unto you and recited sundry examples of certain Romans, which either I had learned by hear-say, or observed by mine own eye-sight and experience: and namely, the two *Quintii*, T. and L. who warred both against me. The *Scipios* likewise, P. and L. who vanquished and subdued *Antiochus*: their fathers also and uncles, who were brethren, and whose concord and unity all their life long was such, as it was not disjoyned in their very death. But neither the wickedness of those first recited, and a semblable end correspondent to their ungracious life, was able to scare you from outrageous discord: nor yet the good heart & meaning of the later sort together with their happy fortune draw & induce you to be wise. During my natural life, whilst my breath is within my body, both twain of you, seduced by foolish hope & disordinate desire, are ready to take possession of my Kingdom over my head. And so long only would ye have me to live, until that I surviving the one of you, might presently by my death put all out of question, and make the other (as sole heir apparent) undoubted King. Sick ye are I see well of father and brother, ye can abide neither the one nor the other.

E There is no goodness in you at all: nothing is there that ye hold dear, nothing that you count holy and inviolable: but in lieue and stead of all, there is crept and entered into you an unsatiable desire to reign, and that hath wholly possessed your hearts. Come on therefore now, grieve and wound your fathers ears with your ungracious tales and wicked words; debate and dispute the matter with reciprocal accusations, you that shortly will decide and determine it by dint of sword: say on and spare not; speak out all that either you can alledge truly, or list to devise & invent falsely. Mine ears are now wide open, but shall hereafter for ever be close shut, against all secret slanders that ye shall whisper and report one against the other. When he had breathed out these words with great indignation, the assistants there began all to weep much and shed tears, and for a good time there was sad cheer and not a word: until at length *Perseus* began and said: "I should belike

F have opened the dore in the night that I should, and received into my house armed guests to banquet with me: yea, and held out my throat unto them for to be cut: since that nothing is believed, unless the deed had been done and dispatched: since that the same is said unto me (who have been toraid and whose life hath been sought) which were more becoming to speak unto a wood-kern and robber by the high-way side: It is not for nought I see well that these here, give out abroad and say, That you have no more son, but *Demetrius*, and call me a bastard and a supposed son of yours, as begotten of a concubine. For if you held and avowed me legitimate, if you vouchsafed me the place, the degree and love of a son, you would never fare and storm a-

G Dddd 1 "gainst

The speech of Philip to his two sons.

Plura sapes / ad / dila pietas.

The secretary Oration of Perseus against his brother Demetrius.

I thought me so as you do, for discovering the ambush I set for me, and complaining thereof to him
 (Sedibus) him rather than laid in wait to surprise me: neither would you let forth out of the
 small account of my life, as to be moved neither for the danger past wherein I was, nor at the
 peril to come, if such wait-layers may escape unpunished. Now if there be no remedy but that
 I must die and say nothing, let us hold our tongues and be mute: let us only pray to the God he-
 fore that this intended mischief begin in me, may also take an end in me alone, and that you be
 none the worse, who is to be wounded and pierced through my body. But in case (like as by the very in-
 stinct and suggestion of nature, they that are assailed and set upon in a desert wilderness, be
 thought to implore and call for others help and succour, although they neither saw nor knew of
 any before) in case (I say) it be lawful for me likewise to open my mouth and speak, when I see
 the naked sword drawn upon me: then I beseech you for your own love, even for the love of
 your good self, and the name of a father (which whether of us two in have more esteemed and
 regarded, you have full well known long ago) to give me audience, and to hear me as if you had
 been awakened at my cry and pitiful lamentation in the last night's riot, and came in the way
 show here I was forced to call, Help, Help: and as if you had taken Demetrius in the manner with-
 in my gate, in the very entry of my dore, accompanied with armed men, at an undecent and un-
 fitting hour of this night past. Those plaints and moans which then I would have uttered by way
 of disorders and confused cries, in that sudden affright of mine upon the deed doing the same
 I now make the morrow after. Ah brother, we have lived now a good while, not (I wot) as
 brethren should banquet and make merry one with another. It is the crown that you look
 for, that is certain and past peradventure: but your hope to attain unto it, is crossed divers
 ways. My birthright and mine elderhip is a block in your way, between you and it; the law of
 nations is against it: the ancient custome of the Macedonians checketh it: and finally, the will,
 pleasure, and judgment of our father is opposite unto it. Mount you cannot possibly so high, but
 by the effusion of my heart blood. You go to work, you assay all means, you leave no stone un-
 rolled, and nothing unattempted to effect that: but to this day, either mine own wary diligence
 or happy fortune hath guarded me and withstood your wicked parricide. Even yesterday, du-
 ring the time of the solemn review and purging of the army, during the time of running at tilt
 and jousting in time of the shew and pastime resembling a skirmish, you missed very little of ma-
 king a bloody harvest of it and a deadly conflict indeed: and nothing else saved me from death,
 but this, that I suffered my self and my men to go by the worse and be overcome. From this mar-
 tial combat, as if it had been no more but a game and sport among brethren, you would needs
 have drawn me to a supper. Why think you father, that I should have snipped a-
 mong those guests unarmed, who came in arms to banquet with me? Do you believe, that I should
 have been in no danger of their naked swords of steel at night: who in the day time and within
 your sight, laid on such load with wooden swords and battons, that they had like to have kil-
 led me? To what end else came you brother, at that time of the night? why came you as an ene-
 my considering I was in choler and my blood was up, wherefore came you accompanied with
 tall fellows, privily armed and with short swords under their garments? I durst not venture to sit
 at supper with you: should I have received you then, coming as you did with armed men to ban-
 quet with me? Had the dore had been opened; whereas you hear me now to make my com-
 plaints, you should have been by this time busied about my winding-sheet, herse, and funerals:
 I lay not forth and urge matters in slanderous manner, after the fashion of these accusers at the
 bar: neither collect I bare conjectural presumptions to enforce & conclude any doubtful points:
 for what need I so to do? Denieth he that he approached my dore with a troop of men? or that
 he had in his train a company, such as wore weapons covertly under their apparel? Do but send
 for them whom I shall name. But in faith, what will not they dare to do, that cando this? and
 yet I trow, they will never be so hardy and shameless as to deny it. If I had taken them in the
 manner with their weapons about them within mine entry, and so brought them before you,
 then you would say it were a plain case and out of all doubt. If then, they confess as much with
 their mouth, hold them as culpable as if they had been surprised in the act doing. Now curse
 (and spare not) the greedy appetite and thirst after a Kingdom; now fall to raise and call up the
 furies out of hell to set brethren together by the ears: but good father, let not your curses and
 execrations thus flie at blind random: make some distinction yet and difference, between him
 that lieth in await, and the party who is forelaid. Let him be holden guilty, that fought to kill
 his brother, let him feel withal the gods of his father to be his enemies and angry against him.
 But as for him who was in danger to lose his life through his brothers mischievous practise, let
 him have his refuge and recourse to the mercy and justice of his father. For alas, whither else
 should I flie for succour? seeing that neither the solemn review and purging of your army, nor the
 running and jousting of the men at arms, neither mine own house, nor my table, nor yet the very
 night season (which nature hath given to mankind for covert & repose) affordeth me safety and
 security? If I go to my brother (being bidden to supper) die I shall: if I receive my brother with-
 in my dores (coming to banquet) die I must: So that whether I go or stay, all is one: I cannot a-
 void but fall into trains and ambushes, laid for to take away my life. To what place shall I retire
 and betake myself? None have I regarded, nothing have I relied upon, but the gods & your good
 self, father. As for the Romans, I stand in no such terms with them of grace and favour as to trust
 upon their succour: nay, they all wish me hanged, because I take the wrongs done unto you by
 them,

* Sudibus, or
 Rudibus. The
 same I sup-
 pose, that
 μαχάριος
 Ευδαίμων, Po-
 lybion Like as
 in the end of
 the 26 book,
 where, Προ-
 λυτὸς μισθὸς
 jaculari, I take
 to be all one
 with ἡσυχασ-
 τῆς
 γέροντος ἀ-
 νορίας, in
 Polybius, when
 either some
 round ball of
 wood is fast-
 ned to the end
 of the dart or
 javelin, after
 the manner of
 foils: or else it
 is turned
 round in the
 head like a
 bird-bolt. For
 so Xenophon
 meaneth in his
 book of Hor-
 manship,
 ἡσυχαστῆς
 ταχύνει
 ἀνορίας: of
 ἀπείρους, even
 as Προπύλας, of
 P. la, a ball.

A I shew, to the heart because I shew my self discontented and touched with the indignity that so many Cities, so many nations are plucked from you and namely, that of late they have despoiled and betrayed you of all the maritime parts, and in coasts of *Iberia*: and so long as either you or I live, they never look to enjoy *Academy*. But it by the mischievous practise of my brother, I might once be rid out of the way: and wish if old age had made an end of you, yea, and peradventure before that day came, (which they would never lay so long for) then, they know well, and make full account, that both the King and Kingdom of *Macedonia*, will be theirs: yea, enough. Indeed if the Romans had spared any piece at all without *Macedonia*, I should have thought, and made reckoning, that it had been a place of retreat and refuge left for me. But what need that, so long as I have strength enough among the very Macedonians. You saw your self yesterday how violently the souldiers charged upon me: what wanted they but the sharp sword and edged weapon well, that which they failed and missed of in the daytime my brothers banquetters met with in the night. For what should I speak of the greater part of the nobility they have grounded and built all their hopes of dignity, promotion, and advancement, in the Romans, and namely, in him who now do all in all with them, and is of greatest reputation. And surely, to speak a truth, him they prefer not only before me his elder brother, but also they go within a very little to set him before your self, his liege King and natural father. For this is he, for whose love and in favour of whom, the Senat hath remitted and pardoned you that penalty which you had incurred: This is he, who now protecteth you from the force of Roman armies: who deemeth it meet and reason that your old age should be obliged and beholden to his youth. For him stand all the Romans with him take part, all those Cities which are delivered and free from your subjection: of him hold the Macedonians that wish for peace with the Romans, and take contentment therein. Now for me, father, what hope or help can I have elsewhere, but in you alone? Whence to think you send those letters of *Quintus* sent lately unto you, wherein he writeth: That you did passing well for your own estate, in sending *Demetrius* to Rome: and exhorteth you with all, to send him again the second time, accompanied with more Embassadors, and those the very principal and best of all the Macedonians? This *Titus Quintus* (if you will needs know the reason) is the man, who leadeth, induceth, and directeth him at this present in all things: he is his counsellor, and his choise master. And *Demetrius* hath rejected and cast you off his own father, so hath purged him in your stead: Where it is, where all these privy plots have heretofore been first contrived and set on harthing: and at this present in willing you to send more in embassy, and choose the chiefest personages of the Macedonians with him, he seeketh bought selves but helpers and assistants to put his designs in execution. As many as go from hence to Rome, be they never so good and virtuous, at their setting out, be they loyal subjects and acknowledging no other but *Philip* for their King, turn from thence tainted and infected with the alluring enticements of the Romans. *Demetrius* sheweth all together in their books. They are all for him, and pass for none else. Hence they call their King, during the life of his own father. Now, if I seem to be touched, offended, and grievous here, wishfully and by circumstance to have it charged reproachfully on both sides of him, namely, directly from others, but also from your mouth, father, that I aspire and seek to be King. For mine own part, I would both they and you knew, that if the diadem and crown were mine, far be it from me that I would not refuse. For who is he, that I should meddle to undertake & suppose, for to step into his place and succeed? None there is at all but my father before me, and I long may he so be, pray God, and I will so survive him no other wise, but if I be worthy and deserve that he should likewise desire the same. If my father will make me his heir and inheritor of the Kingdom, I will accept thereof. He indeed covereth to be a King, yea, and ungraciously doth therein, with all his ready will, pure forward, and to stand before the countenance of nature, the order of things, the custom of the Macedonians, and the law of nations. But what imagineth *Demetrius*, that supposed mine elder brother (thinks he) stands in my way between me and honor: to him I appeal, in that he Kingdom by right and by my fathers will: Let us rich him out of the World. What I am, and the first he thought to be a King by the death of a brother. As for my father, he is aged, he is doleful, he is bereaved of a son: he will have more care to look to his own person, than to mind or revenge the death of his son. The Romans, they will rejoyce, they will approve, and maintain on my side. They be disposed, and these be foolish and doubtful hopes, but believe me, father, I hope as yet, altogether without doubt. For time stands the case, and this is the sum of it. All that you may preserve me from danger, now whilst I am alive, by inflicting punishment upon those who have wronged me, in his death: but let this enterprise speed once, and take effect, if you shall need be able to perfect them, to the purpose and revenge my death. And when *Perseus* had made an end of his speech, they that were present in place cast their eyes with upon *Demetrius*, as if he would have made answer immediately, and so were all silent a long time, and said now word, so long, that it was suddenly that he could not for weeping open his mouth: but in the end he was moved by his father to speak, and then after that necessity had surmounted his grief, he began: My father, all the means of help which were ever wont to serve the defence of the good head, I am prevented and disappointed of, by the plaint of my accuser. By those false and foolish words of his, having thus he shed to work the ruin and undoing of another, he hath made my true ears suspect, which passing out of mine eyes, proceed from a melting & wounded heart within. And whereas I might have not ceased (ever since that I returned from Rome) to pursue *Perseus*, who his confederate and complice both night and day to lay wait for my life,

The Oration
of *Demetrius*
in his own defence, before
his father.

"now he begins first with me, and will needs put upon me the visor, and have the world believe
 "that I play the part not only of a secret and cunning wait-laiier, but of an open thief and a noto-
 "rious murderer and cut-throat. He seemeth to fright you with his own danger, that he might
 "make even you the very means and instrument to hasten forward the death of his innocent bro-
 "ther. He saith that he hath no place of refuge in the whole world: to the end that I might have
 "no parcel at all of hope left, so much as in you. Thus circumvented as I am, left alone, forlorn, de-
 "stitute and void of all succour, he chargeth me with being in favour and grace with forraign stran-
 "gers: a thing I wis, that doth me more harm than good. Moreover, see how he proceedeth like a
 "practised and cunning barrister, in that he interteth and mingleth the last nights work together
 "with the blame of my former life: to the end that he might make more suspitions by the course
 "of mine other years passed, this criminous matter also (the simple truth whereof you shall know I
 "anon) and withal confirm and maintain this vain surmise and slander, of my hopes, my will, and
 "intended designs, by this subtile invention of his, by the fained & forged fable I say of that which
 "was pretended the night that was. He hath not failed moreover to make you believe that this
 "acculation of his was not premeditat and studied upon beforehand, but framed *ex tempore*; and
 "occasioned only upon the suddain fright and trouble overnight. But in good faith, *Person*, if I
 "had been a traitor to the King my father & the realm, if I had complotted with the Romans and
 "other of my fathers enemies, me thinks you should not have waited for this nights devised fable,
 "but you ought to have accused me before this time, of treason. And if that imputation were vain
 "and frivolous without this surmise, and served to discover and bewray your envy & spight which
 "you bear against me, more than it detecteth any crime which is in me: yet you should have let
 "me alone and forborn this day, or put it off until another time: that it might have been clearly
 "seen whether of us twain laid wait for the other, you or I, upon a strange & extraordinary man-
 "ner of hatred. As for me (so far forth as I possible can, in this suddain trouble of my spirits) I will
 "endeavour to speak severally of each point, which you have heaped up together so disorderly,
 "and reveal I will the ambushes and trains of this night, yours or mine, fall out as it shall. He
 "would have it thought that I practised to kill him, for this intent forsooth, that when mine elder
 "brother were once made away, unto whom the inheritance of the crown appertained by the law
 "of nations, by the custom of the Macedonians, and also, as he saith, by your judgment: I the yon-
 "ger might step into his place, and succeed him whom I had killed. What meaneth then, and
 "whence serveth that other part of his Oration, wherein he saith, that I have been so respective to
 "the Romans, and that upon the assurance that I have in them, I hoped to be King? For if I were
 "perswaded thus of the Romans, that they could set up whom they pleased to be King of *Mace-*
 "*donia*, & if withal I presumed so much of their good grace and favor to me, what need had
 "I then to commit a parricide? Was it because I had a mind to wear a diadem embroiled with my
 "brothers blood by me murdered? and was I desirous to make my self odious & execrable among
 "them, with whom either for mine honesty indeed, or at least waies for a counterfeit shew ther-
 "of I have won some credit, such as it is, if haply it be any at all? Unless perhaps, you think that
 "T. Quintius (by whose vertue and counsel, you reproach me that I am ruled) advised me to kill
 "my brother, Quintius, I say, who is so kind unto his own brother, and liveth with him so loving-
 "ly. This plaintiff & accuser of mine hath collected not only the affection of the Romans which
 "they bear unto me, but also the opinion which the Macedonians have of me, yea, and in manner
 "the consent of all Gods and men in my behalf: in which regards all, he took himself not able to
 "match me in this quarrel and difference about the Kingdom: and yet see, how the same man
 "laith to my charge, that as if I were in all other respects, inferior unto him, I was faine to have
 "recourse to this last shift of practising mischief and wickedness. Will you have this to be the case?
 "Will you be content to join issue in this point? That whether of us twain feared the other to be
 "reputed worthies of the Kingdom, he should be judged & condemned to have sought and con-
 "trived the death of his brother? But let us discuss and examine in some sort or other, the order
 "and manner of this pretended and devised crime. He hath burdened me, that I have laid for him
 "many and sundry waies; yet hath he knit up all these means and conditid them together in one
 "daies work. I purposed to kill him (saith he) in the open day-light, after the solemn review and
 "assailing of the army, even when we joisted together, and seemed to charge one another in bat-
 "tel-wis: yea, upon the very day (God he knoweth) of the said solemnity, I intended I wis (be-
 "lieve him if you will) when I invited him to supper, to make him away with a cup of poison. I
 "would have stabbed him (what else?) or run him through with my sword, when I came to ban-
 "ket with him & was accompanied with some of my train armed and having weapon about them.
 "You see, father, what proper and choice opportunities I had picked out to commit this preten-
 "ded murder; namely the very day of disports, the time of supper, of banquet and collation. As for
 "the day, let us examine it and the manner thereof: was it any other than this, wherein the army
 "was reviewed and solemnly purged? when between a sacrifice, cut in twain, the royal coats of all
 "the arms of Macedonian Kings that ever had been, were carried aloft in a stately shew; and we
 "alone your two sons (father) marched on either side of you before the rest, and the whole Ma-
 "cedonian army followed after. When I was thus cleaved and purified by this expiatory sacrifice
 "(if haply I had committed any sin before that deserved expiation) and especially at the very
 "same instant when I beheld before mine eyes (on either side of the way) the parcels of the beast
 "sacrificed: entertained I then in my thoughts the practise of poison, & the handling of sword pre-
 "pared

- A "pared aforehand against the banquet, to perform a parricide that afterwards I might with some
"other sacrifice expiate and cleanse my conscience thus stained & defiled with all kind of wicked-
"ness: A likely matter surely. But a spirit corrupt & blinded with the humour of flandering ano-
"ther, upon a desire to gather matter and make all suspicious, careth not to huddle one thing upon
"another confusedly. For if I meant to have poisoned you at supper, what was there more unfit
"to set forward that designment, than to provoke you to anger, by running so eagerly upon you &
"fighting with you so roughly, that thereby you might take good and just occasion to refuse be-
"ing requested, for to come to supper? And when in your choler you had once denied to sup with
"me, was it not the next way for me then, to endeavour how to appease you, and seek some other
"opportunity, since I had prepared the poison for that present only? But I must leap from that de-
"signment to another, even to the killing of you by the sword, and that upon the very same day,
"under a pretence of banquetting with you? If I thought that for fear of death you forbore my ta-
"ble at supper time, how comes it that I imagined not seemably, that for the said tear you would
"avoid my company at banquet after supper? There is no cause why I should be ashamed, Father,
"if upon such a festival day as it was I drank wine liberally, and took perhaps a cup too much a-
"mong my companions. Nay, I would it might please your majesty to enquire with what mirth,
"and merriment I feasted yesterday at home in my house, and this joy set us the farther out, be-
"cause in that warlike pastime of lusty youths, our side went not by the worse. But this misery &
"unhappy fear upon that our mirth, hath well delayed and cooled the wine: spent it hath the
"strength thereof fuming up into our heads, which if it had not come between, we as great laiers
"C "await as we were had to this hour lien sound asleep in our beds. Well, if I had minded to assail
"and force your house, and that done to murder you the master thereof, would I not think you,
"have for born for my part one day to bib and quaff wine so freely? and likewise kept my souldiers
"from drinking drunk? But because I should not alone plead my simplicity and make my excuse
"thereby, this my good brother also, who God wor is none of these naughty and suspicious crea-
"tures, comes in with his vie and faith, I know nothing, I charge nobody, neither wor I what to
"say else, but that they came armed to banquet with me. If I might be so bold as to ask how you
"came to that knowledge, you cannot chuse but confess that either my house was full of your
"spies, or those armed men of my train took their weapons so openly, that every one saw them.
"And because he would have you believe, that neither himself made any enquiry before, nor at
"D "this time pursueth the matter with any accusatory spirit, he willed you to demand of them whom
"he named, whether they had not their swords about them? to the end that after you had sought
"into it as a matter doubtful, and found them to confess it, they might thereby be held convicted.
"But why rather will you not, that examination should be taken in this manner: whether they
"took their swords with them to kill you or no? And whether they did so by my warrant, directi-
"on, and privy? For this is it that you (brother) would make the world believe, this is it which
"you would have to appear, and not that which my men confess. But the case is plain, yea, & they
"will be known no other, than that they were armed in their own defence. Whether it were well
"or ill done, they are of age to make account and render a reason of their doings. Do not you
"minge my cause with that action of theirs, which interesteth it nothing at all. But rather de-
"E "clare, whether we meant to assail you openly or secretly? If openly, why were we not all armed?
"why was there none of us besides those persons that did beat your spie? If secretly, what was the
"traid and order of the execution of that design? After the banquet ended, and I the setter of the
"banquet retired from thence, should those four have staid behind to fall upon you when you
"were asleep? How could they have carried it so close as not to be spied, for that a little before, they
"had been seen in a brawl? And say, they had killed you; by what means could they escape them-
"selves? Was it possible that your house should be forced and kept with four swords? Fie; fie
"F "Perseus speak no more for shame of this night, but come again to that rather which galleth you
"at the heart, which kindleth your envy, and setteth you on fire. How cometh it to pass, O Deme-
"trius, that men speak abroad that you shall be King? why should you be deemed of some more
"worthy than myself, to succeed the royal estate of my father? How is it that I am in doubt of my
"hope, which but for you, were sure & certain? These are the fether thoughts of *Perseus*, although
"he saith nothing, these make him of a brother to become an enemy: these cause him to be mine
"accuser, these concern they be that fill your palace, your court and your realm, with surmises, slan-
"ders, and suspicions. But for mine own part, father, like as I ought neither to hope for your roial
"crown, nor at any time peradventure, to make words and dispute about it; because I am the
"younger, and because it is your will and pleasure, that I should give place unto mine elder bro-
"ther: so it became me not heretofore, neither doth it become me yet, to demean my self so in any
"action, that I should seem unworthy to have you for my father, but to be capable of all dignities
"whatsoever. The one point I should strain unto by indirect courses and wicked vices, in not
"G "yielding unto him as right and reason would; but the other, by my good carriage and sober be-
"haviour. You reproach me with the Romans, brothers, and those things which in right ought to
"turn to my praise and glory, you blame and reprove me for. It was no seeking of mine, that I was
"delivered to the Romans as an hostage, or sent to Rome as Ambassador: but when I was ap-
"pointed by you, father, I refused not to go. At both times, such was my demeanor, that I had an
"eye still and good regard, not to discredit either your highness, or your Kingdom, or the Mac-
"donian nation. And therefore you were the cause, father, of that friendship which I have with the
"Romans.

“Romans. As long as you and they are at peace, I shall be well affected to them: begin war once: that was an hostage and Ambassador among them, and (though I say it) not unprofitable for you my father, even I, will become a most spiteful and mortal enemy unto them. Neither do I at this day require, that the favour I have among the Romans might stead me any way: only I beseech you that it may not prejudice and harm me. It began not by occasion of war, neither is it reserved for the time of war. For assurance of peace, I was a pledge and hostage: for maintenance of peace, I was employed in embassy. Content will I be, by the one and the other, in case I neither purchase fame nor incur blame. If I have committed any impiety against you father, if I have done or designed any wicked part against my brother, I refuse no punishment, I crave no pardon or favor. If I be innocent, I desire only and humbly beseech your grace, that I be not overweighed with the heavy load of envy and ill will, since I can be overthrown by no crime justly. I objected unto me. This is not the first day, that my brother hath accused me: but this is the first day, that he is seen to be my accuser: and full little have I deserved it at his hands. If my father had been displeased and angry with me, I would have thought that you of all others, being the elder brother, should have been a mediator and intercessor for me (the younger) to my father, and a means to purchase a pardon for my folly and the error of tender youth: but see! where my succour and refuge should have been, there contrary-wise is my ruin and overthrow. From my feasting and banquetting, from my mirth and good cheer, by his means have I been haled hither nor halt waked, but with mine eyes full of sleep, to answer in the case of parricide: and forced I am to plead mine own cause without my counsel, without my proctor or advocate. If I had been to speak in the defence of another, I would have taken time to study, premeditate and frame an oration. And yet, what was I to hazard there, but the reputation of wit and learning. Instead thereof I not knowing for what cause I was sent for, heard your Majesty first (wroth and angry as you were) to command us to plead our causes: and then my brother, who hath stood up to accuse me. As for him, he hath pronounced an Oration studied for, and devised long before hand: but I was allowed no longer time (than whiles I heard my self accused) to be think me what to plead, or to examine and take knowledge of the matter that he hath laid forth against me. In that present moment of time, could I, think you (so suddenly taken as I was) either give ear to my accuser, or consider and think duly of mine own plea? Stonied so I was, with that sudden trouble and unexpected occurrent, that much ado I had, to understand what I was charged with: so far was I from devising what to speak in mine own defence. What hope should I have now? and in what case were I, if I had not my father for my judge? at whose hands (albeit I am not so well beloved as mine elder brother is, yet since I am the party defendant, I ought at leastwise to find as much pity and compassion. For I beseech you (O father) to save me, in regard of my self and you: but he requireth you to take away my life, only for his own assurance and better security. And what will he do against me think you, after you have made over the crown and scepter into his hands: who now already thinketh it meet and reason, to dispose of my blood at his good pleasure? In uttering of these words, the tears gushed forth so abundantly, that they stopped his mouth so, that he could neither speak or draw his breath. Then *Philip* after he had commanded them to go apart, and communed a while with his friends, spake and said, That he would not decide their cause upon these words of theirs, nor upon one hours debating, but by enquiry into both their lives, and observing their behaviour in deed and word, as well in great matters as in small. Hereby they all saw well enough, that the accusation of the precedent nights act, was sufficiently refuted and evicted & the only thing in *Demetrius* to be suspected, was the over-great favour that the Romans bare toward him. This was the very seed of the Macedonian war, sowed as one would say, during the life of *Philip*, but the war was after to be waged most of all against *Persians*.

“The two Consuls took their journey into *Liguria*, the sole consular Province of them both: and because they had achieved their exploits fortunately there, ordained there was a solemn procession on one day. It fortuned that there came two thousand *Ligurians* or thereabout to the utmost frontier of the Province of *Gaul*, where *Marcellus* lay in leaguer, requesting to be received under his protection. *Marcellus* after he had commanded the said *Ligurians* to give attendance upon him in the same place, required by his letters the advice of the Senat. The Senat gave order to *M. Ogulnus* the Lord chief justice of the City, to write back again unto *Marcellus* to this effect. That it was more meet that the Consuls, unto whom that government appertained, should give order and determine (as touching the *Ligurians* who yielded and submitted) what was expedient for the common-weal in that behalf, than the Senat. As for them, if they were to give their opinion, they thought it not good to accept of the *Ligurians* surrender: and being once received then to be disarmed: but they were of this mind and advice, that it was requisite they should be sent and referred over to the Consuls.

“The Pretors at the same time arrived in their Provinces, to wit *P. Manlius* in bale *Spain*, where he had been Governor before during his former Pretorship; and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* to the higher: where he received the army of *Terentius*: for that other side of *Spain* beyond *Iberus*, had been left without a Lord Deputy by occasion of the death of *P. Sempronius* the Pro-pretor. Whiles *Fulvius Flaccus* assaulted a Town in *Spain* named *Ubicula*, the *Colibierians* made head and came upon him: where many and bloody hot skirmishes passed, and wherein many Roman soldiers were both hurt and slain. Howbeit *Fulvius* held still his resolution, and by no forcible

A nible means whatsoever could be brought to levy the siege. The Celtiberians roiled out of heart with divers combats, retired and departed. The City then seeing their succours dislodged and gone, within few daies was forced and ransacked; and the Pretor gave the pillage thereof to his soldiers. Thus Fulvius after he had gained this Town, and P. Maelius, when he had retired and rallied his forces into one place, which had been dispersed, without any other memor. ble act performed, brought their armies within the wintering harbours. And these were the exploits in Spain, during that summer season. Terentius who was departed out of that Province before, entered the City of Rome with a petty triumph, by way of ovation. He carried before him in the eight thousand three hundred and twenty pound weight of silver, and four score of gold; besides two golden coronets weighing 67 pound.

B The same year the Romans were chosen Arbitrators between the people of Carthage and King Masinissa touching their territories: and came personally to see the place in controversy. And thus stood the case: Gala the father of this Masinissa, had won the ground in question from the Carthaginians. Syphax afterward disleized Gala thereof: and consequently to gratify Masinissa, his wive's father, freely gave the same to the Carthaginians, and set them in possession again. Now last of all, even this very year, Masinissa had dispossessed the Carthaginians of the same. This matter was debated by the parties of both sides in the presence of the Romans, with no less courage and fervency of spirit, than at other times when they tried the issue by dint of sword in open field. The Carthaginians laid claim and put in their plea. For that first it appertained to their ancestors in right of inheritance, and afterwards was conveyed to them by their free gift and donation of Syphax. Masinissa counterpleaded again and alleged, that he had both recovered the said territory, as parcel of his fathers realm, and also held it by the law of nations: and that the case was, deep on his side, in regard as well of the just title as also of the present possession where in he was: saying, that in his cause he doubted nothing else but that the modesty of the Romans should prejudice him, for fear lest they might be thought to be partial in the cause and respectivo to him: King their ally and good friend, and in favour of him to give up their award against the common enemies both to him and them. The Commissioners and arbitrators would not infringe and alienate the right of possession, but left all as they found it, and referred the entire decision of the matter to the Senat of Rome.

C Nothing was there done after this in Liguria: for first the enemies were retired for safety into their wilds and forests out of the way and afterwards they called their army and slept away every man to their own villages and castles. The Consuls likewise were willing to break up and dismiss their forces, and thereupon sent to the L. of the Senat to know their pleasure in that point, who advised the one of them to discharge his own regiments, and repair to Rome for the election of Magistrate the next year: and the other, with his legions, to winter at Pisa. A rumour there ran, that the Transalpine French put their youth and serviceable men in arms: but it was not known what quarter of Italy this multitude thus levied would invade. But the Consuls thus agreed together, that M. Baebius should be present at the general assembly at Rome, for the election already, because M. Baebius his brother sued to be Consul. Then was the assembly holden for the creation of Consuls, and elected there were, P. Cornelius Lentulus, and M. Baebius Tamphilus. This done,

E the Pretors also were chosen, namely, the two Quintus Fabii, the one Maximus, and the other Bepet. T. Claudius Nero, Q. Petilius Spurius, M. Pinarius Polca and L. Durranius. When these were entered into their magistracy the Provinces were by lot after this manner disposed. The Ligurians fell to the Consuls: as for the Pretors, Q. Petilius was Lord chief Justice for the citizens pleas, and Q. Fabius Maximus for the strangers: Q. Fabius Buto had the government of Gaul, T. Claudius Nero of Sicilia, M. Pinarius of Sardinia, L. Durranius of Apulia together with the Istrians: for that the Tarentins and Brundisins had given intelligence, that the sea-coasts were much troubled and annoied by the robberies of pirates and men of war from beyond Sea: and the like complaints were made by the Messilians, of the Ligurian navy. For these causes order was given, and warrants went out for to levy armies: that the Consuls should have four legions between them, contain-

F ing in every one 5200 Roman footmen and 300 horse: also to enrol 15000 footmen and 800 horsemen of Latine allies. In the Provinces of Spain (both the one and the other) the old Pretors continued still in their government, with the charge of those armies which they had already: and for a supplement to reeeforce and make up their broken companies, there were appointed 3000 foot and 700 horse of Roman citizens together with 6000 of the one and 300 of the other, from out of the Latine nation. All this while they forgot not their navy at Sea. And the Consuls had in charge to ehuse for that purpose, two wardens called Duumvirs, who after they had out of the Arsenal shoo into the Sea twenty ships, and set them afloat, should furnish them with mariners, and shoo Roman citizens, such as had been slaves and were enfranchised: and that natural Romans, free-born should only be Captains and have the conduct of the said vessels. These two Duumvirs so parted and ordered betwix them the defence of the maritime coasts, with ten ships apiece: that the Cape of Minerva should be as it were the middle point and mark between them: so as the one should guard that part on the right hand as far as to Massilia; and the other the left

G side, even to Bonnum. This year were seen at Rome and reported from forraign parts many uncount and strange prodigies: In the Church-yards belonging to Vulcan and Concordia, it rained sheer blood: and the Bishops made relation, that the Spears [of Mars] shook and moved of their own accord.

Also at *L. Junium* the image of *Juno Sospita* stood near. Moreover, the plague seized to how in the country villages market Towns farms and places of frequent resort, yea, and within the City of *Rome*, that they were not able to furnish the funerals accordingly and bury the dead. The *LL.* of the Senate, being in great agonish and trouble, in regard of those fearful plagues and deaths of their people, obtained, That as well the Consul should kill greater beasts for sacrifice unto what God they thought good, as also the Decemviri should visit and peruse the propheticall books of *Sibylla*. And by vertue of their decree there was publick supplication proclaimed in *Rome* for one whole day, at all the altars and shrines of the gods and goddesses. By their counsel also and direction, both the Senate advised and the Consuls also published throughout all *Italy* for three daies space, solemn litanies and devout holy-daies. The rage of this pestilence was to great, that whereas there passed an act by the Senate to enrol 3000 footmen and three hundred horse from out of the Latins (in regard that thelanders of *Corfica* were revoked and the Iolians up in arms within *Sardinia*) with which power *M. Pincius* the Pretor was to sail over into *Sardinia*: the Consuls made report again unto them, that such numbers of people were dead already, and so many lay in, that it was not possible to levy that proportion of fighting men. So the Pretor had commission to furnish out that defect of souldiers, with a supply which he was to receive of *C. Babius* the Pro-consul, who then wintered at *Pisa*; and from them directly to take the same and pass over into *Sardinia*.

* *Lex de amb.*
* *Lex de amb.*

L. Demetrius the Pretor (unto whom the Province of *Apulia* was allotted) had a commission besides to make inquisition for the Bacchanals, for there remained yet some seeds of the former enormities, which began already the former year to sprout and bud forth. But *L. Pappus* the Pretor last before had entered into the enquiry and search of the matter, rather than effected ought and brought it to a final end: and therefore the *LL.* gave order to this new Pretor to cancel this mischief in the spring and breeding thereof, before it gat more head a second time, and upon growth spread farther. Moreover, the Consuls by the advice and authority of the Senat, prefetred certain laws unto the people, as touching the inordinat suit and ambitious seeking after offices of government. After all this, they brought into the Senat the forrein embassages; and gave audience first to them that came from the *KK.* to wit, *Eumenes*, *Attius* the Cappadocian, and *Pharnaces* of *Parthia*. But no other dispatch and answer they had than this. That they would send certain Delegates and commissioners, to hear, decide, and determine their controversies. After them the Ambassadors of the Lacedemonian ealles, and of the Achaeans, were admitted into the Senat house. The banished persons aforesaid were put in some good hope, that the Senat would write their letters to the Achaeans for their restoration. The Achaeans declared as touching the recovery of *Messina* and the pacification of all troubles there, with the great contentment of the *LL.* of the Senat. There arrived moreover two Embassadors from *Philip* King of the Macedonians, namely *Philoteles* and *Apelles*, about no suit that they had to the Senat, but sent rather as spies to understand and to learn somewhat as touching those points that *Perseus* had charged *Demetrius* with, and namely of certain speeches that he should have with the Romans, and especially with *T. Quinctius*, against his brother, about succession in the Kingdom. These twain were chosen by the King as indifferent persons, and nothing affectionat either to the one brother or the other: howbeit they were the ministers, consorts, and complices of *Perseus*, in his intended mischievous plot against his brother. *Demetrius* (as one ignorant of all designments against him, but only of the live wicked prank of *Perseus* which last brake out) at the first, was neither in great hope, nor yet in utter despair, to be reconciled unto his father. But afterwards, he had less confidence every day than other in the good affection of his father toward him, seeing his brother continually to buzz into his ears many matters, and possess his head with tales against him. And therefore he looked circumspectly about him that he trode not awry, and namely, that he let no words fall, or did any thing that might be offensive and breed more jealousy; and above all, he wholly forbore conference and commerce with the Romans; in such sort, that he would not have them so much as to write any letters unto him: knowing full well, that his fathers heart would be enflamed against him by such importations and informations especially.

* *catena mundi*,
or, *M. me ar-*
* *gonato*.
* *M. me. meior*.
* *Danubius, Do-*
* *gaw*.

Philip because he would provide that his souldiers and men of action should not degenerate and wax worie through idleness and disuse of arms and that under one he might avert from himself all suspicion that he intended any war against the Romans, appointed the City *Strabi* for the Rendezvous of his army, and marched into the quarters of *Madock*. A great desire he had to mount up the crest & top of the hill * *Ennus* because there was an opinion commonly received & which he had given credit unto, that from thence a man might discover within one prospect, the * *Portick* and *Adriatick* seas, the river * *Iffra* also and the *Aspritor* thus he thought, that the view of these places would stand him in no small stead in projecting & plotting the war against the Romans. When after diligent inquiry of them that knew those quarters well, as touching the aspect of that mountain, he had learned and found it cleer and certain, that there was no way at all for to conduct an army thither and that a few men & those nimble and lightly appointed should find enough to do and exceeding much difficulty to passe he taketh his younger son apart, whom he was resolved next to have with him in that expedition; and because he would seem to duple and multiply his discontented mind with some familiar and private speech first he demanded of him considering so great difficulties of the journey presented unto them, whether he were better to hold on the way still and follow his design, or give over? But if I should go forward (qd. he) I cannot forget that which

" *desel*

HA besell so *Antigonus* in the like case, who being upon a time much tossed at Sea in a boisterous tempest, and having with him in the same ship all those that were of his blood, is reported to have given this good advertisement and lesson to his children, that they should always remember, and also give their posterity warning never to venture all their goods in one bottom, nor to engage themselves together with their whole race and posterity in any peril and danger. Remembering therefore (said he) this good precept and counsel of his, I will not hazard both my sons at once in this present jeopardy which I see before mine eyes: but for as much as I propose to take mine elder son with me, I will lead my younger back into *Macedony*, for to uphold and maintain the hope of my posterity, and for the defence of my Kingdom in the meanwhile. *Demetrius* joined him (straight, and wist well enough that he was sent away for no other intent but that he should not be present in counsel, when upon the view of those places abovesaid, he was to devise and confide in what coast lay the needest and shortest way to the Adriatick Sea and to *Italy*, and what course they should plot for the management of the war. But there was no remedy he must not only then obey his father, but also soothe him up and seem to approve and like well of that which he said, for fear lest it might be thought, that it were against his stomach to yeeld obedience unto him, and so be held in more jealousy and suspicion than before. Howbeit, to the end that he might pass into *Macedony* with safety, *Didas* one of the Kings Deputies and L. Governor under him of *Paeonia*, was commanded to accompany and conduct him with a mean guard and convoy. Now was this *Didas* one of those conspirators that had sworn the death of *Demetrius*, whom *Perseus* had made sure to his private as he had many other of his fathers friends, even since that men began to make no doubt, unto whom *Philip* in affection was inclined, and whom he meant to make the heir apparent of the crown. And at this very instant *Perseus* had charged him and given him instructions, by all obsequious services to ingrate and wind himself into most familiar talk, and to come so neer within him, that he might draw from him all his secrets, & discover the very inward and hidden thoughts of his heart. Thus departed *Demetrius* attended with a train about him more dangerous to his person, than if he had travelled alone without any company. *Philip* first passed through *Medea*, and then forward over the desarts lying between *Medea* and *Amant*, and at the seventh daies march was come as far as to the foot of the mountain. Where after he had rested and staid one day, to make choite of those whom he minded to take up with him the morrow after he set forth & put himself in his way. At the first, the labour was not great, nor the pains much to overcome the pethermost hills; but the farther they went and the higher that they advanced the more wild and woody still they found every place; yea, and they met with many that had no passage at all. At length they were mounted to a pass or way so shadowed and dark, that for the trees standing so thick together, and their boughs plaited and interlaced one within another, scarcely or hardly could a man see the sky through them. But when they approached once the pitch and crest of the mountain, behold (nothing not lightly seen in other parts) they light upon so gross and thick a mist, which overspread and covered all that they had as much ado to march forward, as if they had travelled in the dark & mid-night. At last by the third daies end, they gaiped the very top of the mountain. Now when they were come down from thence again, they made no less report thereof than the common opinion was that went of it, which I believe truly they did of purpose, because they would not be mocked and scorned for this their foolish and vain voyage, rather than for that they could indeed within the same prospect and from one place view less mountains, and rivers, seas, and distant so far asunder. Much moiled they were all, and sore toiled in this onward way; but the King above the rest, by reason that he was far steeper in age, and unwieldy of body. Well after he had done sacrifice there upon two altars consecrated to *Jupiter* and the Sun, he descended in two daies, whereas he had made three of it in ascending; and that which he feared most, was the cold nights, which then in the beginning of the dog daies were like to those of midwinter in other places. Many difficulties he wrestled and strove withal during those daies, and being returned into his camp, he found no better. Nothing was there but extreme want & penury, as being pitched in a place compassed about on every side with desarts and wilderness. And therefore when he had staid there but one only day to rest and repose his men, whom he had taken with him in that journey, he hastned away, and in a running march, as if he had fled in rout, entered the country of the *Dacæthæ*. These *Dacæthæ* were his own confederate allies, but the *Macedonians* (such was their need and necessity) pillied and spoiled their confines, no less than if they had been professed enemies. For first they waited & destroyed their herds, granges, and farm houses, afterwards certain villages and villages also, robbing and sacking as they went, to the great dishonour of the King, who could not chuse but hear the piteous complaints & moans of his associates crying to the Gods, *Phylons* of alliance, and calling upon his name for help, but could have no redress and remedy. When he was purveyed of corn from thence, and returned into the country *Medea*, he began to assail a City which they call *Parrus*. Himself in person lay encamped in the avenue and ready way upon the plains, but he sent his son *Perseus* with a small company to fetch a compass and give the assault from the higher places that surrounded the Town. The Townsmen that hard bested with terror on every side for the present yeilded upon composition, and gave hostages; but after the army was retired, they forgetting their pledges, abandoned the City and fled to refuge into certain forts, houses, places and high mountains. *Philip* having weakened his soldiers with all manner of travel to no effect, and which continued more jealous and suspicion of his son *Demetrius*, by the long absence and late suggestions of *Didas* (the Governor

of *Pamphylus* returned into *Macellum*. This *Didas* (as hath been said before) sent to conduct *Demetrius* home, abused the simplicity of the young Gentleman, who was nothing suspicious and wary. But being discontented and complained to him (as good cause he had) of those that were deceitful in nature and blood unto him: he, *Phay*, by flattery, by soothing him up, and hearing what he to be offended and grieved for his part at such hard usage, laid snares and grins, and in respect for him; and in conclusion, by his double diligence, and offering his voluntary service to do him pleasure, promising also to be true and fast unto him, yea, and to keep his counsel, fetched out of him the very secrets of his heart. Now had *Demetrius* a purpose with himself to flee to *Rome*, and to effectuate this designment of his, he was persuaded, that of a special grace and favour the Gods had sent and offered unto him this *Didas* the Pretor of *Pamphylus* to be his helper and assistant: for through his Province he conceived some hope to pass and escape with security. This intent and plot of his was both immediately disclosed to his brother *Perseus*, and also by him declared to his father. And first were letters hereof brought unto him, while he lay at the siege of *Perrus*. Afterwards *Herodorus* (the principal friend that *Demetrius* had) was committed to ward, and withal, order was taken to watch and observe *Demetrius* that he flattered not aside; but all underhand and close, without semblance of any such matter. These occurrences above all others, caused the King to have a dolorous and heavy return into *Macellum*. These new accusations thus presented, troubled him much: howbeit he thought good to expect the return of those whom he had sent to *Rome* as spies to hear all and find out the truth. In the anguish and agony of these cares and perplexities, when the King had continued certain months, in the end those Embassadors came home: who at first ere they set foot out of *Macellum*, had devised and framed before hand what reports they would make from *Rome*. These messengers, to make up the full measure of all their wicked and devilish practices, delivered also into the Kings hand a false and forged letter, sealed with a counterfeit signet of *T. Quintus*. The said letter was indited to this tenor and effect, That *Quintus* should seem for his own excuse to say, that albeit young *Demetrius*, carried away with an insatiable desire to be King, had slipped a little, and treated with him about some such matter, yet would he do nothing to prejudice any one about *K. Philip*; neither would he be thought or found a man to give any ungodly and unmerciful counsel. These letters struck it dead fore, and made the King believe, that all the former imputations fastned upon *Demetrius* were true and past all peradventure. Whereupon *Herodorus* presently was put to the rack and examined, but as yet he had endured insupportable pains a long time, and confessed nothing he did in the end under the tormentors hand. *Perseus* accused *Demetrius* again before his father, for that he intended and provided to take his flight through *Pamphylus*. And there came forth certain to testify against him, saying, that he had corrupted, inveigled and induced them to accompany him in that journey. But that which made most of all against him, was that false devised letter of *T. Quintus*. Howbeit there was no grievous sentence pronounced openly against him to the end, that rather by some covert and crafty means left some open punishment executed upon him, might reveal and discover his secret designment, of making war upon the Romans.

Philip himself taking his journey from *Thessalonica* to come to *Demetrius*, sent *Demetrius* his son to *Aethrum*, a City in *Pamphylus*, and the same *Didas* likewise accompany him: but *Perseus* he addressed to *Amphipolis*, for to receive the hostages of the Thracians. Now it is reported, that when *Didas* took his leave of him and departed, the King gave him in charge to kill his son *Demetrius*. *Didas* then, either purposing indeed or making semblance to sacrifice, invited *Demetrius* to the celebration and feast thereof; whereupon he came from *Aethrum* to *Amphipolis*. And (as men say) at this supper he met with a cup of poison. He had no sooner drunk it, but immediately he felt that he was sped: for within a while it began to work extremely, and for very dolor and pain, he was forced to rise from the Table and retire into his bed-chamber: where he piteously complained of the hard heart and cruelty of his father, of the murderous mind of the parricide his brother, and of the treacherous villainy of *Didas*: and all this while endured deadly wrings and torments in his belly. But afterwards there were sent into the chamber, one *Thyrsus* a Sabinian, and *Alexander* of *Beribae*, who wrapped his head and throat with the bed-cloths, and counterpoises of cupidity, and held them so hard, that they choked and smothered him and in the end stopped his breath that he died. Thus was this poor innocent young man presently made away: while enemies one single kind of death, could not consent and satisfy, baronely they must kill and murder them twice.

While these things hapned in *Macedony*, *L. Emilius Paulus*, who continued still in government after his Consulship expired, marched with his army against the Ligurians Inimicus in the beginning of the spring. So soon as he was entered into the confines of his enemies country, and there encamped; there came Embassadors unto him under colour of seeking peace, but indeed only to elude and spite. *Paulus* made them answer, That he could contract no accord with them, unless they yielded first: which they seemed not so much to refuse; but said, That they needed some time to persuade their nation unto it, being a rude and unskillful kind of people. And when they had ten daies more allowed to effect this, they requested more over that the Roman soldiers might not pass over the next hills adjoining either for feller or forage, forasmuch as those lands were the only tilled and well cultivated grounds of their apparement and territory. When they had obtained so much, they assembled all their forces on that side of the hills, from whence they had

Demetrius
murdered.

A had averted the enemies, and suddenly with a mighty multitude charged upon the Roman camp, and assaulted all the avenues and gates thereof at once. With all forcible means they continued the assault in such sort, as the Romans had not so much as either time enough to set forth and display their ensigns, or room sufficient to put their army in order of battle; but were compelled to defend their camp more by standing thick thronged together against the enemies in the very gates than otherwise by hardy fighting. But about the going down of the sun, when the enemies were retired, *Paulus* dispatched two light horsemen with letters to *M. Babius* the Consul, as far as *Pisa*, that he should come away with all speed to succour him, being in time of true besieged. But *Babius* had delivered up his army before to *M. Pinarus*, the Pretor, as he went into *Sardinia*. Howbeit he both certified the Senat by his letters, that *L. Emilius* was invested by the Ligurians, and he wrote also to *M. Cl. Marcellus*, whose province was next adjoining, to bring over his forces (if he thought so good) out of *Gaul* in to *Liguria*, and deliver *L. Emilius* from siege. But alas, these succours should have come all too late; for the Ligurians the very next day returned and advanced against the camp. *Emilius*, albeit he not only knew that they would come, but also might have brought his power forth into the field and ranged them in array, yet he kept himself to close within the strength of his rampart, minding to hold off and not to fight, not till *Babius* might with his army come from *Pisa*. Now the letters of *Babius* caused great fear at *Rome*; and to muce the more, for that *Marcellus* being returned to the City, some few daies after he had made over his army unto *Fabius*, put them out of all hope, that the army which was in *France* could not possibly passe into *Liguria*, by reason of the war with the Ilirians, who impeached the planting of the colony at *Aquilia*; against whom *Fabius* was gone, and might not possibly retire from thence, now that the war was once begun. The only hope they had therefore of aiding *Emilius* was this, (and yet the same seemed to be with the least, considering the urgent necessity of the time) in case the Consuls made halt to go into their provinces: which to do all the L.L. of the Senat called aloud and earnestly unto them. But the Consuls denied flatly to stir one foot before the levy of souldiers was fully finished; alledging that it was not their slackness, but the violence of the plague, which caused it to be so late ere it were performed. Yet for all this, such was the general accord and consent of the Senat, that they could neither will nor chuse but go forth of the City in their rich coats of arms, and by proclamation to assigne a certain day, upon which all the souldiers whom they had enrolled should shew at *Pisa*: and commission they had to take up souldiers, all the country over as they went, to presse them forth presently and have them away. Moreover, the Pretors, *Q. Postumus* and *Q. Fabius* were both of them commanded, the one, namely, *Postumus*, to enrol in half two tumultuary legions of Roman citizens, and tender the military oath to all that were not above fiftie years old: and *Fabius*, to levy of the Latine allies fifteen thousand foot, and eight hundred horsemen. The two Duumvirs or Wardens for the navy and the ports were created, namely, *C. Maturnus* and *C. Lucretius*, who were soon provided of ships ready rigged, trimmed and furnished to their hands. And *Maturnus*, who had the charge of the coasts upon the gulf of *Gaul*, was commanded to bring his fleet with all speed possible along, to the tract of the Ligurians, if haply he might any way head *L. Emilius* and his army. *Emilius* after he perceived that no aid appeared from any place, supposing verily that the two horse men above said, were intercepted and staid by the way, thought good to put off no longer, but along with his own forces to trie the fortune of a fight. And thereupon before the enemies came (who now already began more coldly and heavily to assault them then before) he put his men in battell array at the four gates of the camp, to the end that upon the signal given, they should at once from all parts fall forth. To the four extraordinary cohorts, he adjoined two other, under the conduct of *M. Valerius* a Lieutenant, and commanded them to break forth at the false postern gate called *Extranearia*: within the gate *Principalis* on the right hand, he embattelled the Hastati or Travellers of the first legion, and the principes of the same legion in the rearward to second them, commanded both by *M. Servilius* and *L. Salpinx*, Kn. marshals, or Tribunes military. The third legion he marshalled full against the other gate *Principalis* on the left hand. This change only was here, for that the Principes were set in the front, and the Hastati behind in the tail of them. *Sex. Julius Caesar* and *L. Aurelius Cotta*, two military Tribunes had the leading of this legion. *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* a Lieutenant, having the conduct of the right wing, was placed at the gate *Quartana*. Two cohorts and the Tenth of two legions had commandment to stay behind for the defence of the camp. The General himself in person rode all about from gate to gate, exhorting and encouraging his men: using all the forcible means he possibly could devise, to provoke and whet the stomachs of his souldiers, and to give a point of edge to their courage and choler: one while reproaching his enemies for their falshood and treachery, who having craved peace and obtained truce: during the time of the said truce, against all law of nations were come to assault the camp: another while showing and declaring unto them what shame and indignity it was for the Roman army to be besieged by the Ligurians, who more truly may be accounted thieves and robbers, then good warlike enemies. (quoth he) you should escape from hence, not by your own vertues and valour, but through the help and succour of others, with what face shall any of you be able to meet, May, not such souldiers who have vanquished *Ambrax*, defeated *Philip*, and subdued *Antiochus*, the mightiest King, and greatest commanders of our age: but even them who many a time have turned and chased the very same Ligurians like brute beasts, over the wilds and forrests as they fled, and hewed them in peeces in the end.

That which the Spaniards, that which the Gauls, that which the Macedonians and Carthaginians had not enterprised, namely, to approach and enter upon the temple of the Roman camp, shall a Ligurian enemy adventure to do? Shall he of his own accord presume to besiege and assault our camp, whom heretofore when we beat all the blind bushes, by woods and thickets, to start him out, we had much ado to find, he lay so close and lurked so covertly? At these words the soldiers set up a conlonant cry in token of applause, and answered him with a general shout, saying, there was no fault on their part, seeing that no man had given them the signal to issue forth and make a sally. For let him but once say the word to sound the trumpet, he should see and find, that both Romans and Ligurians were the same still as before-time. Now the Ligurians kept two camps on the neer side of the mountains affront the Roman leaguer, from whence (for the first daies so soon as the sun was up) they used to advance their ensigns, and march forward well armed, and ranked in battell array; but then they put no armor upon their backs, nor took weapon in hand, before they had filled their bellies well with meat and their heads with wine: they came forth (I say) dispersed and out of order; as who hoped and trusted assuredly, that the enemies would not march under their ensigns without their rampier. Against them (coming thus in disorder) the Romans issued forth at once, out of all the gates in one instant with a mighty shout, which not only they who were within the camp set up, but also the lackies, scallions, landers, and other drudges that follow the camp redoubled. This was such an unlooked for occurrent to the Ligurians, that they were set in as great an affright therewith, as if they had been surprized & beset all about with suddain ambushments. For a smal while there was some shew of a conflict, such as it was; but anon they took their heels and fled for life; but as they fled, they left their lives K behind them in every place. Then the men of arms had the signal given to mount on horseback, to pursue them & not suffer one to escape alive; & so in this fearful rout they were driven to take their camp for safety; but in the end were diseized and turned out of it also. That day were slain of the Ligurians not so few as fifteen thousand, and 2500 taken prisoners. Within three daies after, the whole nation of the Ligurian Ingaunes, yeelded absolutely, and put in their bodages. A search was made for all the pilots and mariners, who had exercised piracy on the sea, and they were all laid up fast in prison. Specially C. Marius one of the Duumvirs or wardens of the navy, met with two and thirty ships of that sort, belonging to men of war upon the coast of Liguria, and boarded them. To carry these news to Rome, and letters to the Senat, L. Anulius Costa, and C. Sulpicius Costa were sent to Rome; who also were to require that L. Anulius (when his time was expired) might depart out of his province, and bring his soldiers from thence with him, and so discharge them of service. Both these demands were granted by the Senat, and a solemn procession besides was ordeined in all churches and chappels, and every shrine and altar for three daies space. The Pretors also were commanded, *Pesulus*, to call and dismiss the legions of the City, and *Fabius*, to remit the Latine allies the levying and mustering of their soldiers. Also there was order given to the Pretor of the City, for to writ unto the Coss, and give them to understand, that the Senat thought it meet and reason, that the sabbatory soldiers (who were enrolled in host for the suddain tumult and alarm) should with all speed be licensed to depart.

The same year the colony of *Grassus* was planted in the territory of *Tuscan*, which in times past was conquered from the Tarquinians, and five acres of land was let out to every man. The Triumvirs who had the charge thereof to distribute these lands, were C. Calpurnius Piso, P. Claudius Pulcher, and C. Terentius Varro. A year it was of note, in regard of the drought that hapned, and the dearth of corn and all other fruits of the earth. For recorded it is, that in six month space it never rained one drop.

The same year it fortun'd, that a certain plow-men and labourers plowed and digged some what deep within the ground, in the lands of L. Petilius a secretary, (which lands lay under the hill *Capitulum*) there were found two coffers of stone, each of them about eight foot long and four foot broad, the lids and covers whereof were bound and lodered with lead. Both these chests had a superscription upon them in Greek and Latine letters to this effect, That in the one of them lay buried *Numa Pompilius* the son of *Pompey*, sometime King of Rome; and in the other, were belovved the books of the said *Numa*. The owner of this ground opened these coffers by the advice and counsel of his friends; and that which carried the title and inscription of the Kings sepulture, was found empty, without any shew or token of the reliques of a mans body, or any thing else, by reason the bones and all were rotten and consumed, in continuance of time, after so many years past. In the other were found two fardels, wrapped within wax candles (or ear-cloths) containing either of them seven books; which were not only whole and sound, but also seemed very fresh and new. One even of them were written in Latine, as touching the Pontificall law; the other seven in Greek, entitled, *The discipline or doctrine of Philosophy*, in such thole daies might afford *Kalerius Arca* (saith moreover, That they were the books of *Pythagoras*, according to the common received opinion of *Numa*, that he was the disciple of *Pythagoras*; herein giving credit to a probable lie, resembling a truth. These books were first read by thole friends of his who were present when the chests were opened; but afterwards as they came into more mens hands to be read, it chanced that Q. Petilius the lord chief justice of the City, desirous to peruse these books, borrowed them of L. Petilius, with whom he was familiarly acquainted by reason that the above-said *Quintus Petilius* had chosen the fore-said *Livius* into the decury of the Scribes and secretaries. When after he had read the titles with the summaries and

A and contents of every chapter, and finding the most part thereof, tending directly to shew the state of the religion then established, said unto *L. Furius*, that he purposed to sing those books into the fire; before he did so, he would permit him to use what means he thought, by order of law, or otherwise would serve his turn to recover the said books out of his hands, for good leave he should have to take that course without his displeasure, or any breach of friendship between them. The Scribe or notary aforesaid goeth to the Tribunes for their assistance, the Tribunes put the matter over to the Senat, before whom the Pretor said plainly, that he was ready to take his corporall oath, if it were to put to it, that those books ought neither to be read nor kept. Whereupon the Senat judged, that for such a matter the offer only of the Pretors oath was sufficient, and that the books should be burned with all speed possible in the open place of assemblies called *Comitia*; but they awarded withall, that they should be paid unto *Q. Furius*, the right owner as much money for the books, as the Pretor and the more part of the Tribunes of the Commons esteemed them worth. The Scribe would touch none of money; but his books were burnt in the foresaid place before all the people in a light fire, made by the ordinary servitors attending upon the sacrifices.

The same summer there arose suddenly a great war in the higher Spain. The Celtiberians had gathered a power of five & thirty thousand men, a number more then lightly at any time before they had levied. Now was *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* lord Deputy of that province. He for his part, because he was advertised that the Celtiberians put their youth in arms, had raised and assembled as great side of the confederates, as he could, but nothing came neer to the enemy in numbers of soldiers. In the beginning of the Spring he led his army into *Carpentania*, and encamped before the town *Ebura*, after he had planted a mean garrison within it. A few daies after the Celtiberians pitched their tents within two miles from thence, under a little hill. When the Roman Pretor perceived they were come, he sent his brother *Marcius Fulvius* with two companies of the horsemen of allies in espial, to view the enemies camp, willing him to approach as neer to the trench and rampier as he could, and to see what compass the camp took, but to forbear skirmish, and in any hand to retire, in case he perceived the Cavalry of their enemies made out against him. According to this direction, he did in every respect. And so for certain daies together, there was nothing done, but only these two companies of horsemen shewing first and afterwards retiring back so soon as the Cavalry of the enemies issued out of their camp. At length the Celtiberians also came forth and advanced forward withall their power, as well horse as foot, and having let them in ordinance of battell, staid as it were in the midst between. The whole ground was a smooth and even plain, fit to join a battell in. There stood the Spaniards (I say) expecting their enemies: But the Roman Pretor kept his men within the rampier four daies together; and they likewise of the other side held the same place still in battell array. The Romans all that while skired not a foot. The Celtiberians then seeing the enemies refused fight, held themselves quiet also within their camp: only the horsemen rid forth, and they kept *accorde guard*, to be in readiness if peradventure the enemies should be bauld and come abroad. Both of the one side and other, they went out of the back side of their camp to purvey forage and fuel, and impeached not one another. The Roman Pretor, supposing now that after so many daies rest, the enemies were born in hand and hoped fully, that he would never begin fight, commanded *L. Atilius* to take with him the left wing of the Cavalry, and six thousand of the provincial auxiliaries, and to search a compass about the hill which stood behind the enemies, and from thence so soon as they heard a Cry, to run down again and charge upon their camp. And because they might not be discovered, in the night time they departed. *Flaccus* the next morning by peep of day, sent out *C. Scribonium* (a colonel of the allies) against the enemies camp, with the extraordinary horsemen of the left wing: whom when the Celtiberians beheld both approaching neer toward them & also more in number then usually they had been, they put forth all their Cavalry at once out of the gates: & withall gave the signal to the Infantry also to come abroad. *Scribonius*, according to the direction given, so soon as ever he heard the first noise and shout of the horsemen, turned the head of his horse and reared back full upon the camp: there with the enemies followed more freely & first the horsemen, and within a while the footmen also, making full account to be masters of the Roman legions that day, and verily now were they put past half a mile. When *Flaccus* supposed that they were trained far enough from their camp, for succouring it, he issued forth at once in three places, with his army arranged before in order of battell within, and caused them to let up a mighty cry, not only to animate the soldiers to the combat, but also that their fellows behind the hill might hear it. Who made no stay, but presently ran down and let upon the enemies camp as they had in charge, where there were left in guard not above five hundred armed men. By reason therefore, that they within were so few, the enemies without so many, and the enterprise so sudden and unlooked for, they were mightily terrified, and so in manner without any skirmish and resistance at all, their hold was forced and won. *Atilius* set on fire that part of the wall, which might easily be seen of them that were fighting in the plain. Now the Celtiberians, who were behind in the rearguard, were the first that discovered the flame, but afterwards it was noised and went current through the main battell, that their camp were set on fire, and all on a light fire. The enemies were greatly amazed, but the Romans much more animated. For now they might hear the shout of their fellows, having the upper hand, now might they see the fear of their enemies burning with bright flames. The Celtiberians for a while stood in idleness,

doubtfull what to do : but afterwards, perceiving they had no piece of safe retreat, upon their H
 discomfiture they should fall to running away, they saw no other hope but in fighting again, and
 so they began to renew the skirmish afresh, with more resolution then before. First, as they were
 encountered and charged in the midst of their battel by the fifth legion : but against the left flank and
 wing, where they saw the soldiers of their own nation ranged (who came to aid the Romans)
 they made head, and advanced their ensignes with more boldnesse and confidence. And seeing
 that left wing of the Romans was at the point to have retreated, but that the seventh legion se-
 counded and succoured them : and withall they that were left within *Ebura* in garrison, came from
 the town in the very midst and hottest of the conflict ; and *Acilius* from another part played
 on their backs. Down went the Celtiberians along time, and were cut in peeces betwix. As
 many as remained, made shift to flee and escape on all hands into every quarter. The Cavalry was
 sent out after them two waies in severall bands : who also committed a great slaughter and execu-
 tion. That day were slain of the enemies about 23000 4800 taken prisoners, with five hundred
 horse and above ; besides 88 military ensignes gotten from them and carried away. A great victory
 this was, but not without bloodshed of the Romans part : for of two legions there died somewhat
 more then two hundred, but of Latine allies 830, of forreign aids, much about 2400 lost their lives
 in the field. The Pretor then retired with his victorious army into his own camp. *Acilius* was
 commanded to abide still in that of their enemies, which he had forced and won. The next mor-
 row they fell to gather up the spoils of their enemies : and those who had born themselves valiant-
 ly in that service among the rest, were rewarded with gifts in a full and frequent assembly of the
 whole army. After this, when the hurt and maimed were brought back into the town *Ebura*, the
 legions were led through the countrey *Carpentania*, towards *Contrebia*. This City when it was
 once besieged sent to the Celtiberians for succour : but they came not in time : not for any slack-
 nesses of their part, but because after they were departed from home, & had entred on their jour-
 ney, the foul waies hindred and staid them, which they were not able to pass for the continuall rain
 that fell : over and besides, the waters were out and the rivers swelled so high, that possibly they
 could not come forward : whereupon the besieged inhabitants being in despair of help, from their
 friends, rendred the town. *Flaccus* likewise was forced by the storm and tempestuous weather
 to put his army into the same City. Now the Celtiberians, who were on foot in their journey,
 and not aware that their friends had surrendered, at length having passed over the rivers (when
 the rain gave over and the weather took up) came to *Contrebia* ; but seeing no camp without the
 walls, and supposing that it was either removed to the other side, or the enemies dislodged and
 gone, they approached the town, and marched loosely and carelessly forward in disarray. The
 Romans sallied out upon them at two gates, fell upon them (disbanded as they were) and put
 them to the rout. But see what hapned : that thing which hindred them that they could not make
 head, resist, and settle themselves to begin fight (namely, because they came not together in one
 entire band, nor yet by great companies about their colours) the same stood them in good stead
 to save many of their lives that fled. For they ran so scattering, and were so spread all over the
 plaines, that in no place could the enemy meet with them in any number thick together, to com-
 pass them about on every side. Howbeit 12000 of them were killed, & above 3000 taken prisoners,
 besides 400 horse, 62 ensignes of war won from them. Those who after their struggling fight re-
 tired homeward, met with another troop of Celtiberians coming forward, unto whom they re-
 counted the yeelding up of *Contrebia* and their own misfortune : by which means they caused
 them to turn and goe back againe, who immediately slipped away in their villages and forts.
 Then *Flaccus* departed from *Contrebia*, and conducted his legions through *Celtiberia* wa-
 sting and spoiling as he went : where he forced many castles until the greater part of that coun-
 trey was reduced under his obedience. These affairs passed in high *Spain* that year. As for
 the lower province, *Manlius* the Pretor fought fortunately in certain battells against the *Portu-
 gals*.

The same year a Colony of Latins was planted in *Aquileia*, within the territory of the Gauls,
 and thither were conducted three thousand footmen, and every one of them were endowed N
 with fifty acres of land. The Centurions besides had a hundred, and the horsemen a hundred and
 forty acres speece given unto them. And the Commissioners for this conduct and distribution
 were *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica*, *C. Flaminius*, and *L. Manlius Acidinus*. In which year also
 two Temples were dedicated, the one to *Venus Erycina* near the gate *Collina* (which *L. Porcius
 Licinius* the son of *Lucius* dedicated, being a *Duumvir* deputed for that purpose, and had been
 vowed before by *L. Porcius* the Consul in the Liguian war) the other to the goddess *Pur*, in the
 herb market : and of this chappell *M. Acilius Glabrio* the other *Duumvir*, had the dedication ;
 where, he erected and set up in the honor of his father *Glabrio*, a gulf statue, which was the first
 gilded image that ever was made in *Italy*. This *Glabrio* the father was he, who had vowed to
 edifie the said Temple that very day on which he fought the battell against *K. Antiochus* at *Ther-
 mopyla*, and by warrant from the *Senat*, had bargained for the building thereof at a price. And those
 dates wherein these holy houses were consecrated, *L. Emilius Paulus* the Proconsul, triumphed
 over the Liguian Ligurians. He had born before him in shew five and twenty golden Coronets,
 and besides them there was no gold or silver else carried in that triumph. But many principal Li-
 gurians, men of mark, whom he took captive, were led before his chair. He death among his
 soldiers, 300 Asles speece. The name of this triumph of his, was such were received by
 the

At this occasion, that the Ligurian Embassadors craved to have a perpetual peace with the Romans, saying, That their whole nation were resolved, never to take arms again, but by commandment and licence of the people of Rome. *Q. Fabius* the Pretor, returned this answer unto them by the advice of the Senat. That it was no newes to hear this language from the Ligurians; but it stood them upon and was becoming rather, to carry a new mind, and the mind agreeable to their speech: and therefore they should go to the Consuls, and to by them which they were enjoined; forasmuch as the Senat would believe none but the word only of the Consuls in the behalf of the Ligurians, as touching their true and sincere meaning to oblique peace. Thus was peace concluded with the Ligurians; but there was a battle fought in *Corfica* with the Islanders there, in which *M. Finarius* the Pretor slew 2000 of them in the field: which defeat compelled them to give hostages, and besides 100000 pound weight of wax. From thence the army was conducted into *Sardinia*, where passed some fortunate battles against the Nians, a nation at this day not fully quiered & appeased. In this very year also were the hundred hostages rendered back again to the Carthaginians; with whom the people of Rome made and maintained peace, as well for their own part, as in the behalf of *K. Masinissa*, who at that time with an armed garison, held the possession of that territory which had been in question. The Consuls in their province sat still and had nothing to do. *M. Balbus* was sent for to Rome, against the general assembly for the election of magistrates: who created Consuls, *A. Posthumius Albinus* *Lucius* and *C. Calpurnius Piso*. After this, were elected Pretors *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, *A. Posthumius Albinus*, *P. Cornelius Mancinus*, *T. Minucius Mollitibus*, *A. Hostilius Mancinus*, and *C. Manius*; and they all entered into their magistracy upon the 15 day of March.

In the beginning of that year wherein *A. Posthumius Albinus*, and *C. Calpurnius Piso* were Consuls: *A. Posthumius* the Consul brought into the Senat those persons who were come from *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* out of the hisher province of *Spain*: to wit, *L. Minutius* his Lieutenant general, and the two colonels, *T. Manius* and *L. Massilius*. These men after they had made report of two fields fortunately fought against the Celtiberians, of their countrey yielded and brought under their subjection; and that the term of government in that province was expired, and no more left to be done there: so as there was no need either of the ordinary mony which was wont to be sent for souldiers pay, or of corn to be caried unto the army for that year. requested of the Senat first, to regard of their happy successe, to yeeld honor and praise to the immortal gods: and then, that *Q. Fulvius* might depart and come his waies out of the province, and bring with him that army of his from thence, whose vall in service, both himself and also many Pretors before him had used: which (say they) was not only meet and convenient, but also requisite and needfull in a manner to be done: forasmuch as the souldiers were so stiffnecked and obstinate, that it seemed unpensible to hold them any longer in that province, but that they would be gone and depart without licence, if they were not dismissed: or else break out into some dangerous fire of a mutiny, if a man should go about to keep and hold them back by strong hands. The Senat gave order that *Liguria* should be the province for both Consuls: which done, the Pretors also cast lots for theirs. To *A. Hostilius* fell the civill jurisdiction over the citizens: and to *Minutius* over the forrainers. *P. Cornelius* had the government of *Sicily*: *C. Manius* of *Sardinia*. Unto *A. Posthumius* was allotted the farther part of *Spain*, and to *Tib. Sempronius* the nether. This *Sempronius* (because he was to succeed *Q. Fulvius*) fearing his province should be left naked and disurnished of the old souldiers, I demand (qd. he) of you, *O L. Minutius*, since you bring word that there is no more trouble behind of that province, whether you think that the Celtiberians will continue fast in their allegiance for ever, so as, that province may be protected and held in obedience without any army at all? And if you cannot undertake to assure us of the faith and loyalty of these Barbarians & do advise us in any hand to maintain an army in those parts, whether you will give counsell to the Senat, for to send a supply into *Spain*, that they only should be called and discharged, who have served out their full years required by law, and so that new and raw souldiers be mingled with the rest of the old? or that the old legions should full and whole be removed out of the province, and new legions enrolled, and sent thither in their stead? considering that the small account that usually is made of such fresh and untrained souldiers, were enough to induce and move even the more quiet and peaceable sort of Barbarians to rebel and make war again? Soon said it is, but not so easily done, to have made an end of all troubles in such a province, especially where the people are naturally inclined to war, and prone ever and anon to make insurrections. Some few Cities, as far as I can hear, and namely, those which being near unto the souldiers lying in winter garison, were by them held in awe and kept down, have yeilded and are become subject: but they that were farther off, be in arms still and have weapon in hand. Which being so, I tell you (my LL) even now before hand, that I will perform my service to the Commonwealth, with the help of that army which is there already at this present: but in case *Flaccus* bring away those legions with him, I will chuse those quarters which are in peace, to winter in, and not hazard my yong and new souldiers among them, to be presented to the devotion and mercy of most fierce and warlike enemies. The Lieutenant answered to these demands in this manner, That neither himself nor any man else was able for his life, to divine and foredeem what was in the heart of the Celtiberians now, and what they would mind and intend to do hereafter: and therefore he could not deny, but the better policy it was to send an army among those Barbarians, peaceable though they seemed to be at this present) be-

cause as yet they are inured to government, and cannot well skill of being subjects. But whether H
 it be more expedient to employ new forces, as the one, it is for him to speak and set down, who A
 upon his knowledge can say, how loyally the Celtiberians will carry themselves in time of peace,
 and is withall assured, that the souldiers will hold them content and quiet, if they be detained
 any longer in the province. But if a man may conjecture, and give a guess what they think in
 their heart, either by their grumbling words secretly one to another; or their speeches uttered
 in the presence and hearing of their General, when he maketh orations to them in publick audi-
 ence; I tell you truly they have cryed out with open mouth, that either they will keep their Ge-
 nerrall with them in the province, or home they will with him into Italy. This debate between
 the Pretor and the Lieutenant, was interrupted and broken off, by a new matter propounded be-
 fore the Senat by the Consuls, who thought it meet and reasonable, that order should be taken for I
 their own fortitude and setting forth with men, money, and munition to their provinces, before
 any thing were spoken or treat of, as touching the Pretor his army. So, ordained it was, that the
 Cons. should have their entire army of new souldiers, to wit, each of them two legions of Rom.
 citizens with their cavalry, together with the usual and accustomed number at all other times
 of Latine allies, namely, 15000 foot and 800 horse. And with this power they had in charge to
 make war against the Ligurian Apuans. As for P. Cornelius and M. Baebius, they continued still
 in place of command: and were willed to hold their provinces, untill the Consuls were thither
 come. Then they were commanded to discharge the army which they had, and so to return to
 Rome. After this, speech there was concerning the army of Tib. Sempronius; and the Consuls had
 warrant to enroll one new legion, consisting of five thousand and two hundred foot and 400 K
 horse: over and besides, 1000 footmen, and 50 horse of Roman citizens. Likewise the Latine na-
 tion was charged with a levy of 7000 foot and 300 horse. With which army it was thought good,
 that Tib. Sempronius should go into the higher province of Spain. As for Q. Fulvius, he was per-
 mitted to bring back with him (if he thought well thereof) all those souldiers, as well Romans as
 allies, which had been transported over into Spain, before the Consulship of Sp. Posthumus and
 Q. Marcius: and more then that (after a new supply was come) the surpluse in two legions a-
 bove 1400 foot, and 600 horse, and the over-plus of 12000 footmen of Latins, and six hundred
 horsemen: and namely, those whose valourous service C. Fulvius had tried and found in two bat-
 tles against the Celtiberians. Moreover, solemn processions and thanksgiving were by authority
 ordained for his happy managing of the affairs of the Common-weal; & then the rest of the Pre- L
 tors were sent into their provinces, Q. Fabius Buteo had his commission renewed to govern Gallia
 still. Thus it was agreed in the Senat-house, that there should be eight legions maintained and kept
 in pay that year, over and above the old army in Liguria, which was in good hope shortly to be
 dismissed. Howbeit even these forces (being no greater then they were) hardly could be made
 full and complete by reason of the pestilence which now three years had rained, and dispeopled
 the City of Rome, and all Italy. During which plague the Pretor T. Minutius, and not long after
 him, the Consul C. Calpurnius died: with many other brave and famous persons of each degree
 and quality. So, as at length these men began to hold this depopulation and calamity for a prodigi-
 ous token and strange wonder. Whereupon C. Servilius the Arch-bishop was charged, to search
 out means for to appeale the wrath and anger of the gods; and the Decemvirs likewise to peruse M
 the books of Sibylla: the Cos. to vow certain presents and oblations, to Dan Apollo, Esculapius
 and Lady Salus, and to set up their images garnished with gold: which he vowed and erected
 accordingly. The Decemvirs proclaimed supplications & prayers two daies together for the health
 of the people, throughout the City, and in all market towns and places of frequent resort and as-
 sembly. Above twelve years of age, wore chaplets & garlands of flours upon their heads, & bare
 branches of lawre in their hands, whiles they were at their prayers & devotion. Moreover, there
 was crept into mens heads a suspicion that some devilish and wicked hand might be the cause of
 all this. Whereupon by an act of the Senat, a commission was granted out unto C. Claudius the Pre-
 tor (who was substituted and chosen in the room of T. Minutius) to make search and diligent in-
 quiry after all confections of poison, & the practisers thereof, within the City, & for the compass N
 of ten miles about it every way: In like maner, to C. Manius, for to sit in the enquiry thereof (be-
 fore he crossed over-sea into his province of Sardinia) in all the mart-towns and places of assem-
 bly which were more then ten miles off, from Rome. Of all others, the Consul his death was most
 suspected. For given out it was, that Quarta Hostilia his wife, had murdered him: but when he
 was seen once, that her own son Q. Fulvius Flaccus, was declared Consul in place of his father in
 law and mothers husband, the death of Piso the Consul began to be more infamous and suspicious
 a great deal then before. And witneses there came forth ready to depose, that after Albinus and
 Piso were pronounced Consuls (in which election the said Flaccus was rejected and suffered a re-
 pulle) his mother reproached him therewith, and laid it in his dish, that this was the third time
 that he sued for the Consulship and gone without: adding moreover, and willing him to be re-
 dy to stand for it again, for that she would work and bring it about, that within two months he
 should be Consul. Among other testimonies and depositions making for the cause and tending to
 the same, that speech of hers also, taking effect too truly and so just within the time, was thought
 sufficient to condemn Hostilia.

In the beginning of this spring, whiles the levy of souldiers staid the new Consul at Rome,
 whiles the death of the one and the choosing of the other into their place, caused all thing there

A to go more slowly forward, in the mean time *Cornelius* and *Babinus* who had done nothing worthy of the remembrance during the Consulship, led their armies against the Ligurian Apuani. These Ligurians, who before the coming of the Consul into the province looked for no way were surprized at unawares, and to the number of 15000 obstinately yielded: whom *Cornelius* and *Babinus* resolved (upon advice had first with the Senat by letters) to transport from the mountains into plains and champion country from their own home; to the end they should have no more hope to return; for otherwise they supposed the Ligurian war would never have an end. Now there was in the Samnitis country a certain territory belonging in common to the people of *Rome*, which sometimes had been in the tenure and possession of the Taurisines. In which place they being desirous to plant the Ligurian Apuani, published an edict, That they should descend down the mountains *Apidi*, together with their wives and children, and bring away with them all that ever they had. But the Ligurians sent their Ambassadors oftentimes to intreat that they might not be forced to abandon their domestical goods, the place of their nativity, and the sepulchres of their ancestors; and therewith promised to deliver up their armor, and to put in hostages. However, seeing they could not prevail, and having not strength and power enough to wage war again, they obeyed the edict and proclamation. So there was translated from thence to the publick charges of the City, to the number of four thousand persons free-born, together with their women and children: and unto them was allowance made of 30000 Sesterces, toward the building of new houses. And for to distribute and divide land among them, the same men (to wit, *Cornelius* and *Babinus*) had commission; who also removed them into those parts. However at the request of these twain, there were Quinquaginta or five commissioners assigned granted unto them by the Senat, by whose advice they might manage all. These affairs being finished, after they had brought with them to *Rome* their old army, they obtained of the Senat a grant to triumph. And these were the first that ever triumphed & made no war before. Only the enemies were led in show before their chariot; for nothing had they gained and won for to be carried or led in pomp, neither was there ought to be seen in their triumphs, which might be dealt and given among the soldiers.

The same year *Fulvius Flaccus* the Pretor in *Spain*, by occasion that his successor stayed long ere he came into the province, brought forth his army into the field out of his wintering camp, and began to waite and spoil the farther parts and territories of *Celtiberia*: from whence the inhabitants came not in to submit and do their homage and fealty. By which deed of his, he rather provoked and angered the barbarous people, then terrified them: for when they had secretly gathered together certain forces and companies, they beset and barred the passage *Maunianum*, by which they were assured that the Roman army would pass. As *L. Posthumius Albinus* was upon his journey into the nether province of *Spain*, *Gracchus* his colleague charged him to advertise *Quintus Fabius* for to bring his army to *Tarracoe*, for that he proposed there to discharge his old soldiers, to distribute the supply which he brought, & to range in order all his army by companies. Notice also was given to *Flaccus* of the very day (which was near at hand) upon which his successor would come. This new occurrent caused *Flaccus* to lay aside those enterprizes which he intended, and in all hast to withdraw his forces out of *Celtiberia*. The barbarous people knowing not the cause hereof, but supposing that he had some inkling of their revolt, and how they had in secret taken arms, and that thereupon he was sore afraid, guarded and stopped the passage so much more streightly. Now so soon as the Roman army was entered into the passe one morning betimes at the break of day, the enemies arose suddenly: & once out of two parts, and charged the Romans: which when *Flaccus* perceived, he gave commandment by the ministry of the Cetrurions, that every man should keep his place and stand his ground, to have his arms and weapons in readiness; by which means he appeased the tumult and affright in his host. Then after he had brought all his labouring beasts with the baggage, unto one place, he embattelled and put in array all his bands and companies, partly by himself in person, and partly by his Lieutenants and colonels, according as the ground and the time required, shewing no sign at all of fear, but putting his men in mind of the enemies, in these terms: "Ye have (quoth he) to do with those that twice already yielded have yielded unto us, who are inured and practised still in wickedness & perjury, not deterred in vertue and courage: those (I say) who are like to make our return home honorable and glorious, which otherwise would have been obscure and nothing memorable: so as we shall carry to *Rome* for a triumph, our swords all bloody and newly bathed in the green wounds and fresh massacre of our enemies; and beare away the spoils of their bodies, all embued and still dropping with their blood. Time would not permit him to say any more, for now the enemies advanced forward, and the charge was already given in the utmost skirts of the army, and anon the main battels encountered and joyned conflict. The fight was bet and cruell alike in all parts, but the fortune divers: for the Roman legions in the main battell fought valiantly, and the two wings of either hand did their devoir bravely. The auxiliary strangers had to deal with enemies armed in deed at all points like to themselves, but better soldiers by odds then they were, in such sort, as they were over-charged by them, and could not make good their ground. The *Celtiberians* perceiving they were not able to match the legions in ranged battell and close hand-fight, cast their companies into a pointed and coin-formed battailon, for to pierce perforce and enter upon their enemies in which manner of fight they are so strong, that it is not possible to withstand them, wherefore they gave their violent charge. And then the legions also were put in disarray,

and

and the whole main battell after a lost, was disbanded and broken. Which disorder and fear-H
 full trouble when *Florentius* perceived, he rode a gallop to the legionary men of arms: What? (quod)
 hegan to them) Is there no help at all in you? and shall this army here be thus defeated quietly and
 come to nought? Wherein they stood on all hands to him to give direction and speak only the
 word what he would have done, as he should see how they would belie themselves in the execu-
 tion of his command. Many (quoth he) double your spurs, you that are the horsemen of two
 legions, and run your horses with full carrier against that wedge-formed battailon of the ene-
 mies, wherewith they presse upon our men; and this shall you perform with the more violence
 of your horses, if you disbridle them and let them have full head, and so let spurs and rush in a-
 mong them: which we have read in stories that the Romans many a time have practised to
 their great praise and honour. No sooner said, but done it was, pluckt were the bridles over
 their horse heads: twice they ran through the mids of them to and fro from one side to another,
 brake all their lances upon the enemies, overthrew them, and made foul work and slaughter a-
 mong them. When this pointed battailon of the Celtiberians was once broken, (even the whole
 and only hope they had,) then they began to fear and tremble, then were they at the point to
 quit the fight, and to look about them which way to take their flight. The extraordinary Caval-
 ry in the out wings (seeing so brave a service performed by the Roman horsemen) were enkindled
 and incensed by their valorous example, and of their own accord without attendance of any mans
 commandments, charged upon their enemies, thus disordered and in disarray already. Then the
 Celtiberians ran away and fled on all hands. The Roman General seeing them once turn back
 and shew their hin-parts, vowed to build a chappell to *Fortuna equitum*, and to exhibit games
 in the honor of *Imp. Opt. Max.* The Celtiberians, thus disbanded and scattered in the rout
 all over the length of the streight passage, were killed and cut in peeces. It is recorded that there
 died that day seventeen thousand enemies, and were taken prisoners alive more then three thou-
 sand, together with 27 field ensigns, and well neer eleven hundred horses. For that day, the victo-
 rious army lodged within no camp stall: yet was not this victory so cleer, but it cost them the
 losse of some souldiers: for of the Romans were slain four hundred seventy and two; of allies (and
 namely of Latins) 1019; and together with them, aid souldiers three thousand. Thus the army
 having by this good hand recovered their ancient honor and glory, was conducted to *Tarraco-*
ne, *Sempronius* the Pretor, (who was arrived two daies before) went out to meet *Fulvius* in
 the way as he came, and shewed how he rejoiced on his behalf, for this good managing and
 happy achieving the affairs of the commonwealth, which done, they agreed together with great
 accord as touching the souldiers, namely, whom to cull and send away, and whom to retain
 still in service. Then *Fulvius* having shipped the souldiers that were discharged, took his journey to
Rome; and *Sempronius* conducted the legions into *Celtiberia*.

Both the Consuls led their forces into *Liguria*, and entred the countrey in two divers quarters.
Posthumius with the first legion and the third, beset and invested the two mountains *Salis* and
Sufiventium, and so streightly he kept the narrow passes of those parts with his garrisons, that
 he cut them off from all victuals, and tamed them with extreme scarcity and want of all things.
Fulvius with the second legion and the fourth, after he had assailed the Apuan *Ligurians* from the
 coast of *Pisa*, received submission and homage of as many of them as inhabited about the river
Adura, and when he had embarked upon seven thousand of them, besent them over to *Naples*,
 coasting along the Tuscan sea. From whence they were brought into the Samnits countrey, and a
 certain territory assigned them to inhabit amongst the rest of thir countrymen. As for *A. Posthu-*
nius, he cut down the vineyards, and burnt the corn of the *Ligurian* mountainers, so long untill
 they were driven by all manner of calamities following war, to come in and submit, yea, and to
 deliver up their armor and weapons. From thence *Posthumius* departed and took the sea, be-
 cause he would visit the coasts of the *Ligurian* Ingaunes and *Intemelians*. Now, before that these
 Consuls came to the army which was appointed to meet at *Pisa*, it chanced *A. Posthumius* & *M.*
Fulvius Nobilior, the brother of *Q. Fulvius*, were the commanders, and had the conduct thereof.
 This *Fulvius* was a Colonell of the second legion, who during the time of those months, wherein
 by turn he had the command and charge thereof, dismissed that legion, having bound the Centu-
 rions by an oath, that they should make payment back of their wage-mony well and truly to the
 Questors in the chamber and treasury of *Rome*. Notice hereof being given to *A. Posthumius* at
Placentia, (for thither it hapned that he was gone) he rode after those called souldiers, and pur-
 sued them with a company of light horsemen. As many of them as he could overtake, after he
 had checked and rebuked them for their fault, he brought to *Pisa*; of the rest he gave information
 to the Consul. Who put the matter to question, and after it had been debated in council, an act of
 the Senat passed against the said *M. Fulvius*, that he should be confined and sent into *Spain* beyond
 new *Carthage*. And letters he had given him to carry from the Consul to *P. Manlius* into the far-
 ther province of *Spain*. As for the souldiers, they were commanded to return again to their colours,
 and for an ignominious disgrace of this legion, ordained it was, that for a full years pay they
 should be content and take up with six months wages. And loek what souldiers repaired not to
 the army accordingly, the Consul had warrant and commission to make sale of him and all that
 he had.

The same year *L. Durenius*, who was returned with ten ships to *Brundisium* from out of *Illy-*
ria (where he sat as Pretor the former year) leaving his ships there in the rode, came to *Rome*
 where

A where, in discoursing of the acts by him done, he laid the whole fault of all the recovery and piracy at sea upon *Gentius* the King of the Illyrians, saying, that all the ships which had lien upon the coast of the Adriatick sea, came out of his realm. For which he had sent Embassadors to complain, but they could never find means to speak with the King about it. Now they were Embassadors arrived at *Rome* from *Gentius*, who avouched, that when the Romans came for to parle with the King, he hapned to be sick in the most remote parts of his kingdom: and therefore *Gentius* their King and master requested the Senat, not to give credit to those false accusations and forged slanders which his enemies had raised and informed against him. But *Duros* alleged moreover, that divers and sundry persons, as well citizens of *Rome* as Latine allies within his dominion, had received many wrongs: yea, and by report certain Roman citizens were staid and detained at *Corcyra*. Whereupon it was in counsell thought good that they should be brought to *Rome*, and that *C. Claudius* the Pretor should have the hearing of the matter, before such time no answer would be given unto King *Gentius* or his Embassadors.

B Among many others that the plague this year consumed, certain priests and prelates also died, and namely, *L. Valerius Flaccus*, a bishop, in whose room was chosen *Q. Fabius Labeo*. Also *P. Manlius* one of three Triumvirs for the celebration of the holy feasts. In whose stead *Q. Fulvius* the son of *Marcus* was elected Triumvir. He was at that time very young, and not out of his em- *Prætextatus*, brodered *Prætexta*. But as touching the King of sacrificers, who was to be chosen in place of *Cornelius Dolabella*, there was debate between *C. Servilius* the Archbishop, and *Cornelius Dolabella* one of the Duumvirs for the navy. For when the bishop would have had him to resign that office, that he might consecrate and inaugurate him the King sacrificer, he refused so to do. For which cause the bishop set a round fine on the Duumvir his head. Then *Dolabella* appealed to the people; and before them it was to be tried, whether the said fine should be taken off or paid? Now when most of the tribes called into the rails for to give their voices, advised the Duumvir to obey the bishop, and awarded the fine to be pardoned and remitted, in case he would give over that office which he had, behold it lightened at the very instant from heaven, which is the only ominous sign that interrupteth the assemblies of the people. Whereupon the Colledge of the bishops made temple of conscience to inaugurate *Dolabella*, but they consecrated *P. Clodius Siculus*, who had been sacred in the second place. In the end of the year *C. Servilius Geminus* likewise the Archbishop himself departed this world, who also was one of the ten Decemvirs deputed for the holy ceremonies. And *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, was by the colledge of the bishops, elected bishop in his room. But *M. Aemilius Lepidus* was created the sovereign Pontifee, notwithstanding many notable persons made suit therefore. Likewise *Q. Marcius Philippus* a Decemvir for the holy mysteries, who chosen in his place. Moreover, there deceased *Sp. Posthumus* an Augur, in whose stead *P. Scipio* the son of *Africanns* was elected by the Augurs. The same year granted it was to the inhabitants of *Cumes*, at their own request and petition, that they might commonly speak Latine: as also to the publick criers, to make portsale of goods in the Latine tongue. The Senat gave thanks to the Pisans for the offer they made of lands, wherein to plant a Colony of Latins. And three Triumvirs or Commissioners for that business were created, namely, *Q. Fabius Buteo*, *Marcus* and *Publius*, both named *Popilius*, and both surnamed *Lanus*. Letters were brought from *M. Manlius* the Pretor (who having the government allotted unto him of *Sardinia*, had commission also to enquire after the practise of poisoning in all places, not within ten miles of the City of *Rome*) importing thus much, that he had condemned already 3000 persons, and that the informations and presentments multiplied daily, by reason of new matters discovered still, and therefore either he was to give over that inquisition, or to resign up his province *Sardinia*.

C D *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* returned out of *Spain* to *Rome* with great honour for his acts there achieved. Who remaining yet without the City, because of his triumph, was created Consul with *L. Manlius Acidinus*, and within few daies after, rode triumphant into *Rome*, accompanied with his soldiers, whom he had brought home with him. He carried in triumph 120 golden coronets. Moreover in gold 32 pound weight, besides 173200 peeces of coin in Olean silver. He dealt to his soldiers fifty Denarii peeces out of the booty and pillage which he had gotten. To every Centurion he gave it double, and to the gentlemen of *Rome* that served on horseback, triple. The like he did by the Latine allies, and to all in general he paid double wages. This year was the law first proposed by *L. Iulius* a Trib. of the Com. as touching the year of the age requisite and meet for to sue for any publick office, or to exercise the same. And hereupon it came, that the whole race of that family was surnamed *Annales*. Many years after there were created four Pretors according to the law *Babin*, which provided that there should be each other year four chosen. And these were they who were first elected, namely, *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, *L. Valerius Lavinius*, *Q. Fabius* and *M. Manlius*, both named *Manlius*, and both surnamed *Sevola*.

Q Unto the Consuls *Q. Fulvius* and *L. Manlius* the government of the same provinces was ordained, which to those of the former years, with like numbers of horse and foot, as well citizens as allies. In both provinces of *Spain*, *Tib. Sempronius* and *L. Posthumus* continued still to have the command and conduct of the same armies which they had. And for to furnish them out, the Consuls were enjoined to enroll three thousand footmen, and three hundred horsemen of Romans, likewise five thousand foot of Latine allies and four hundred horse. *P. Manlius Sevola* by law had the civil jurisdiction within the City of *Rome*, and commission, to enquire into the devilish art of self poisoning both within the City, and within the compass of ten miles. *Cn. Cornelius Scipio* was lord chief justice in forrain pleas and causes, *Q. Manlius Sevola* was lord deputy of *Sicily* and

Prætextatus, that he was under 17 years of age, and so Livy useth this word in the end of the 22 book: for *Prætextatus* was *Puerilis habitus* Tacitus 12. lib. and upon this it should seem *Lex Julia* annalis, or *annalis* for the redresse of that disorder.

Which were sent unto him from princes and Cities, to set his triumph these were called *corona triumphales*, & hereof cometh the gold *coronarium*. The law is called *Lex Julia* annalis or *Annalis*.

and C. Fulvius in *Sardinia*. Q. Fulvius the Consul, before that he went in hand with any affairs of State, laid he would both discharge himself and also the City of the duty to Godward, in performing the vowes which he had made. He declared that on that very day wherein he fought his last battell with the Celtiberians, he had made a vow to exhibit games to the honour of that most mighty and gracious god *Jupiter*, and likewise to build a temple to *Fortuna* *Augusta*; and how thereto the Spaniards had contributed certain sums of money. So a decree passed, that those plaies should be set forth: and two *Dumvirs* chosen, to give order and bargain for the edification of the same temple. Likewise there was set down a certain sum of money to be disbursed for the defraying of the charges: to wit, not exceeding that sum in the solemnity of the plaies, which was allowed unto *Fulvius Nobilior*, when he exhibited the like sports after the end of the *Atolion* war. Item, that for these games he should not seek or send for, gather and raise, receive or do any thing, contrary to the Act of the Senat, which in the time of L. *Emilius* and Cn. *Babius* Consuls was made as touching such pastimes. This decree the Senat ordered, by occasion of the superfluous and excessive expenses employed about the plaies of T. *Sempronius* the *Aedile*; which were very chargeable not only to *Italy* and the Latine allies, but also to foreign provinces. The winter this year was very sharp, by reason of snow, and all manner of tempestuous weather. The trees that were tender and subject to frost and cold, were all blasted and killed: besides the winter season continued much longer then ordinary in other years. And thereupon the festivall solemnity of the Latine holidays were to troubled and disordered by a suddain and insupportable storm and tempest upon the hill [*Alba*] that by an ordinance of the Bishops, it was celebrated again the second time. The same tempest cast down certain images in the Capitol, and disfigured very many places with thunderbolts and flashes of lightning. It overthrew the temple of *Jupiter* in *Tarracina*, the white temple at *Capua*: Item, the gate there called *Romanus* and the battlements of the wals in divers places. Among these wondrous prodigies it was reported also from *Reate*, that a mule was foaled with three feet. For this cause the *Decemvirs* were commanded to go to the books of *Sibylla*: and out of that learning, they shewed to what gods sacrifices should be made, & what number of beasts was to be killed. And because many places were with lightning defaced, they ordained that a solemn supplication should be holden one whole day in the temple of *Jupiter*. This done, the foresaid games and plaies which Q. *Fulvius* the Consul had vowed, were with great magnificence exhibited for ten daies together. After this followed the election of the Censors, wherein M. *Emilius Lepidus* the Arch-bishop, and M. *Fulvius Nobilior*, who had triumphed over the *Atolians*, were created. Now between these two men, there had been notorious enmity, oftentimes testified and shewed in many sharp and bitter debates, both the Senat, and also before the people. When this election was ended, the two Censors according to the ancient use and custome, sat upon their ivory chairs of estate in *Mars* field, near the altar of *Mars*. To whom there soon repaired thither, the principal Senators, accompanied with a troop besides of citizens: and among the rest, Q. *Cassius Metellus* made a speech to this effect.

"My masters, you that are Censors, we have not forgotten that you are while we are chosen by the universal body of the people of *Rome*, to be superintendents and wardens over us for our manners and behavior: and that it becometh us to be taught, admonished, & directed by you, and not you by us. Howbeit we ought to tell and declare what there is in you, that either is offensive to all good men, or at leastwise which they wish were amended. When we behold and consider you severally part, either you, O M. *Emilius*, or you M. *Fulvius*, we have not this day in the City of *Rome* any men, whom if we were called to a new scrutiny for to passe our voices again, we would prefer before you to this office and place of dignity. But when we reason both together, we cannot chuse but much doubt and fear that ye are very badly matched and coupled as companions in government: & that the common-weal shall not receive so much good by this. That ye please and like us all so well, as sustain harm in this, That you dislike and dislike one another. These many years together, there hath been great heart-burning and much malice between you and the same must needs be grievous and hurtfull unto your selves: but now it is to be feared that from this day forward, that rancor will be more prejudicial to us & the common-weal, then unto you. Upon what motives and cause we are thus fearful, much we could say, but that peradventure your irreconcilable anger is such, as hath snared and possessed wholly your spirits and minds already. Their quarrels, jars, and grudges of yours, we all in general would request you heartily to end this day, and in this very temple wherein we are assembled: and since the people of *Rome* by their voices have conjoynd you in one office, suffer your selves by us to be linked & reconciled in perfect atonement. With one mind and accord, with one heart, so counsel chuse the Senat; review the Cavalry and Knight-hood of *Rome*; number the citizens; assesse their goods; purge and cleanse the City: & finally consummate the solemnity of the census with a sacrifice. And whereas in all your prayers well meet, ye shall make this ordinary form of words, *That this thing, or that, may fall out in the end well and happily, to my self and to my people*. See that you wish the same truly, sincerely and from the very heart, that whatsoever ye shall pray unto the gods for, we men may beleieve and all the world see, that you desire the same to be effected indeed. T. *Tullius* & *Romulus* in this very City reigned together with great unity & concord, in the midst whereof even in the very market place, they had encountered and joind battell together as mortal enemies with their cruell armies. What? now enemies only have an end, but wars also. And many a time most venomous and spitefull foes become faithful allies;

The Oration
of Metellus, to
the Censors.

- A yes, and other wiles over neighbours and fellow citizens. The Albans after their subversion and utter ruin of their City, were brought over to inhabit Rome. The Latins & Sabines both, were endenizen'd Romans. An old saying it is, and not so old as true, and for the truth, become a common proverb, that enemies ought to be transitory and soon die, whereas friendship should continue & live for ever. At these words, there arose a confused bruit, among them there assembled, in token of their consent and approbation: and anon were heard the distinct voices of them all in general, crying and requesting of the Censors the same; which making one entire sound, brake off the speech of *Mucius*. Then *Emilius* among other matters complained that *M. Falerius* had twice put him, besides the Consulship, which other wise he was sure of. And *Falerius* on the other side found himself grieved, that he evermore by *Emilius* had been provoked, and that he
- B had waged law by stipulation against him to his dishonor and disgrace. Yet both of them made fair and shewed, that if the one were as willing as the other, they would relent and be over-ruled by so many honorable personages of the City. So, at the instant request of all them that were present, they shook hands and thereby assured one another to forgive and forget all matters past, and truly to make an end of malice, and be perfect friends again: whereupon they were much commend-ed by the whole assembly, and conducted by them into the Capitol. Where the Senat approved and highly praised, as well the careful industry of the principal citizens, in effecting this so weighty a matter, as also the good nature and flexibility of the two Censors. Who afterwards when they required to have a certain sum of pecuniy assigned unto them for to employ in the publick edifices and other works of the City, were allowed by their decree, the full rent and revenues of one whole year.
- C The same year *L. Posthumus* and *Tib. Sempronius* the Pro-Pretors in Spain agreed together that *Albinus* should make an expedition against the *Vaccii* through *Lusitania*, and so return from thence into *Celsiberia*. But *Gracchus* went as far as the utmost quarter of *Celsiberia*, for that in those parts there was the greater war. And first he forced the City *Munda*, which he surprised suddenly in the night at unawares. Then, after he had received hostages, and put a garriſon there, he went forward assaulting forts and burning the villages, untill he came to another City of exceeding strength, which the *Celsiberians* call *Corduba*: where, as he was about to approach the walls with his engines of battery, there came unto him orators out of the City, who like good plain men of the old world, made a speech unto him, nothing dissembling but that they would war and be revenged, if their strength and forces were sufficient. For they requested leave to pass
- D to the *Celsiberian* camp, there to receive aid and succour; but if they could not speed, then they would consult apart by themselves what to do. Good leave they had of *Gracchus*; and some few daies after, they brought with them ten Orators more. About noone-tide it was of the day, and the first thing that they craved at the Pretor his hand was this, That he would make them to drink before they parted. When they had once quaffed and caroused round, they called again for more: whereat, all that were present and stood about them, laughed heartily, to see them so rude and uncivil, and altogether without good manners. But afterwards, the eldest man of the company began in this wise: We are sent (quoth he) unto you from our nation, to know what added means hath need you to levy war against us? To this demand *Gracchus* answered, That he came with the confidence that he had in a brave and valiant army; which (if they were so delirious) he would do them the favour to see, that they might be able to make more certain report to their countrymen upon their own knowledge. And with that, he commanded the colonels and knight marshals, to put in arms and embattell all the bands and companies, as well foot as horse; and then armed as they were to charge one upon another in manner of a battel. These Embassadors after they had overseen this sight, were sent away: who went directly to the *Celsiberians* their neighbors, and frighted them for sending any succour to the City besieged. The rowmen witho having in vain let fire-lights in the night time aloft upon their towers, which was the signal agreed upon between them) and seeing themselves destitute of the only hope they had of aid, yielded by composition. So they were enjoined to make payment of four and twenty hundred thousand Sesterces; and to deliver forty of their noblest gentlemen and best men of arms; not by way
- F of hostages (for commanded they were to serve in the wars); and yet in truth, they stood for a pawn of assurance for their safety. From thence anon he marched to the City *Alba*, where the *Celsiberians* lay encamped, and from whom of late the Embassadors afore said came: whom, for certain daies he provoked to fight, making small skirmishes, by sending out against their camp a guard of light-armed vanquiers, to the end that scuffling together every day more then other he might train them all forth of their camp at length. And when he perceived once that his design had taken effect, he commanded the captains of the auxiliary souldiers, that after some short skirmish, they should make semblant as if they were overcharged with numbers, and so at once turn their backs, and flie as fast as they could to their own camp: himself in the mean while put his men in battell array within the rampier at every gate. Long it was not, but he might see his own bands and companies retiring back on set purpose, and running away, and after them the barbarous enemies following as hard as they could in chase. Now had he his army embattel- led for the purpose, and ready to receive them: and therefore he made no longer stay then only to suffer his friends and allies to enter at liberty into the camp, but he let up a loud cry, and at one instant issued forth at all the gates. The enemies were not able to endure this unexpected violent charges: and so they that were come to assail the camp of others, could not so much as de- fend

send their own: for presently they were discomfited and put to flight; and within a while driven for very fear into their hold, and in the end turned out of it also. That day good number of men left their carriages in the field, 320 were taken prisoners, together with 125 horse: & 4000 Romans. Of the Roman army, there died not above 100. Presently after this battel, *Gracchus* marched with his legions to wait and spoil the country of *Celtiberia*: and as he made his march all places as he went, with driving booties, & with harrying & carrying all that ever he could come by, the Cities and States of the country, some submitted willingly of their own accord: others for constraint & fear received the yoke of subjection: so as in few daies space he became master of an 103 towns that yielded unto him. A mighty rich pillage he gat in this expedition. After this he marched back again towards the City *Aler* from whence he came, and began to besiege and assail the town. The inhabitants endured the first assault of the enemies, but afterwards seeing their town not only assailed by force of arms, but also shaken with engines and instruments of battery, distrusting the strength of the City, they retired all within their fortresse: from whence to the end, (having sent their Orators before-hand) they & all that ever they had, were at the devotion of the Romans. A great booty there was gotten, and many noble gentlemen taken prisoners amongst whom were two sons and one daughter of *Thurris*. This *Thurris* was a prince and great lord of those parts, and simply the mightiest potentat of all the Spaniards by many degrees, who being advertised of the hard hap and calamity fallen upon his children, sent unto *Gracchus* into the camp for a safe-conduct, and thither he came himself in person. And first he demanded, Whether he could grant unto him and his their lives? The Pretor answered, That they should live. Then he demanded again, If he might bear arms and serve under the Romans? and when *Gracchus* permitted that also; Then will I follow you (quoth he) against mine old friends and allies, since they disdain to respect and regard me. From this time forward he took part with the Romans: and in many journeyes he bare himself loyally and valiantly in their wars, and much advanced the Roman State. After this, *Ergavica* (a noble, rich and mighty City) affrighted at the calamities of other neighbor towns and States about them, set the gates open for to receive the Romans. Some Authors have written, that these towns and Cities yielded not *bona fide* and in sincerity of heart: but that so soon as he had withdrawn the legions out of any quarter, suddenly from that part they revolted: also, that afterwards, he fought a cruell battel near the mountain *Cantus* with the Celtiberians, from the break of day until noon: in which conflict there were many slain both of the one side and the other: neither did the Romans any other great deed (as they make boast) at *Ergavica* that day to testifie their victory, but kept the field, and challenged them out of their camp to fight. Moreover, that the next morrow all the day long, they gathered up the spoils of the dead: & on the third day strook a second battel, which was greater than the other: & then at length, the Celtiberians without all doubt lost the field cleer, inasmuch as their camp was ravished. Furthermore, that there died of the enemies that day 2200, and not so few as 300 taken prisoners, and wel-near as many horse, besides the winning of 72 military ensignes: and so the war came to a finall end, the Celtiberians made peace indeed, continued fast and firm therein with all loyalty, and were got so sickle & unconstant as before. They write moreover, that the same summer *L. Postumius* fought a brave battell with the *Paces* in the latter province of *Spain*, where he put to the sword 35000 enemies, & forced their camp. But it soundeth more like a truth, that he came not timely enough into that province, for to perform any such exploits during that summer season.

The Censors made a review and new choice of Senators in good concord and faithful unity: for the president of the Senat was chosen, *M. Aemilius Lepidus* the Censor himself, who also was the high priest or Arch-bishop. Three Senators were called and deprived their places: one *Lepidus* held some in, whom the colleague over-passed and left out. Of that portion of money which out of the main allowance was divided between them, they caused their works following to be made. *Lepidus* for his part raised the great causey or wharf at *Tarracina*, which was a peece of work nothing acceptable to the people, for that he had himself lands and possessions there of his own, and seemed to sale his privat expenses, under colour of doing a publick work with the Citizens money. He built a Theatre, a fore-stage or a vane-scaffold near the temple of *Apollon*. He bargained with the Publicans or Undertakers for the polishing, blanching and whitening of the temple of *Jupiter* in the Capitol, and likewise of the pillars about it. From these pillars he removed the Images and Statues, which seemed to have been unhandsomely set one against another, and out of all order. Likewise he took from thence, the targets and field-ensignes of all sorts, that were there set up and fastned. But *M. Fulvius* put forth to making more works in number, and more of better and greater use. To wit, a peer, and certain main piles within the river *Tyberis*, upon which piles, certain years after *P. Scipio Africanus* and *L. Mummius* being Censors, took order for arches to be founded and erected. *Item*, a stately hall or palace behind the new shops of the bankers, *Item* A fish market, with others shops round about him, which he sold to particular persons. *Item*, a market place, and a porch or gallery without the gate *Torgemina*, and another behind the arsenal, and near the temple of *Hercules*. *Item*, near *Tyber*, and behind the church of the god *Neptun*, he caused to be built the chappell of *Apollon* the Physitian. Now they had besides another flock of money in common, which they employed in taking order for water to be conveyed into the City, and certain vaults to be made. But this work was impeached by *M. Licinius Crassus*, who would not suffer the water to passe through his ground. Over and besides these same Censors, instituted certain rents for portage, & pondage, & divers other imposts. Many chappells & publick

in the tenure and occupation of private persons; they took order to be reduced to the use of the people in common, and to be common for all common. They changed the order of giving voices, and caused to enroll the tribes according to sundry quarters and divisions; having regard withall of the degrees of men, of their studies, mysteries and occupations. Also the one of the Censors *M. Aemilius* lived unto the Senate; this allowance should be made unto him of money for the games and plaies at the dedication of the Temple of *Queen Juno* and *Diana*, which in the *Ligurian* war he had rowed eight years before; and although there was unto him twenty thousand *Aſes*, so he dedicated both those Temples within the circuit of the place of *Plaminius*. Also he exhibited Stage plaies three daies together after the dedication of the Temple of *Juno*, and two daies after the other of *Diana*; and every of those daies within the circuit *Plaminius*.

The same Censor dedicated in *Asia* fields a Chappell to the sea gods; vowed by *L. Aemilius Regillus* eleven years before, in a navall battell at sea, against the Captains of *K. Antiochus*. Over the gates of which Chappell there was fixed a table with this title: *For the appeasing and composing of a great war between two Kings, the head of the sea gods, as far to make peace.* The consuls when *L. Aemilius Regillus* the Prator, the son of *M.* Under the charge, command, and government, happy fortune, and conduct of him between *Ephesus*, *Sardos*, and *Chios*, the fleet of King *Antiochus* the eleventh daies before the Kalends of February was vanquished, discomfited, taken, destroyed, and put to flight; and there upon the same day two and forty Gallies were taken, with all the mariners and prisoners within them. After which fight King *Antiochus* and his Realm, for consideration hereof, vowed a Temple to the Sea gods, assisting unto him in achieving the navall victory. Another table likewise

Antiochus and Enmenes.
This place is defective in the Latine.

with the very same inscription, was set up and fastned over the gates of the Temple of *Jupiter* in the Capitol. Within two daies after that the Censors had chosen a new Senat; *Q. Fulvius* the Consul made an expedition against the *Ligurians*; and after he had passed with his army over wilds and mountains, where no tracks led them, through straights and passes of so forest, he fought a pitched battell with the enemies, and not only won the field, but also in one and the self same day forced their camp. Whereupon three thousand and two hundred of the enemies, and all that quarter of *Liguria* yielded unto him. Then the Consul placed there that had surrendered, in the plains and champion country, and planted garisons upon the mountains. Letters hereof with great speed came to *Rome*: whereupon there were ordained processions for three daies. During which time of procession, the Prator celebrated sacrifices, and killed forty greater beasts. But the other Consul

A. Atilius did no exploit worth remembrance in *Liguria*. Three thousand *Transalpine* Frenchmen passed over the Alps into *Italy*, in peaceable manner marching without any hostility or harm doing, and requested of the Consul and the Senat a territory to inhabit, where they might remain quietly under the feignory of the Romans. But the Senat commanded them to avoid out of *Italy*, and gave the Consul *Q. Fulvius* in charge to make search and enquiry into this matter, yea, and to proceed against them who had been the captains and counsellors to perswade them to pass over the Alps.

This very year died *Philip* King of the *Macedonians*, worn away to nothing, partly for age, and partly with grief of heart after the death of his son *Demetrius*. It is reported that he kept his winter in *Demetrius*, tormented with anguish of mind for the loss and miss of his son, disquieted with remorse and repentance for his cruelty against him, which stung and pricked his guilty conscience. Besides, he saw his other son (who now was the undoubted heir apparent of the Crown, as well in his own opinion as in the conceit of others) how all men turned their eyes and courted to him. He considered withall how his old age was despised and forlorn; while some expected his death, others did not so much as look for it; which was the greatest grief and trouble of all other. And together with him, there was *Antigonus* the son of *Echecrates*, bearing the name of his uncle *Antigonus* by the fathers side, who had been guardian to *Philip*. This *Antigonus* the elder had been a man of princely port and regal majesty, renowned also for a brave conflict and noble battell against *Seleucus* the *Lacedemonian*. And him the Greeks for distinction sake from other *KK*, of that name, surnamed *Tutor*. His nephew or brothers son (I say) *Antigonus*, of all the honourable friends that *Philip* had, was the only man that continued fast and firm unto him without all corruption. But this his loyalty and fidelity, and truth caused *Perseus* to be no friend of his; but rather the most mortal enemy that he had in the world. This said *Antigonus* forecasting in his spirit, in what dangerous straits he should stand, when the inheritance of the kingdom were devolved upon *Perseus*, waiting his first time and opportunity; when he perceived that the Kings mind was troubled, and that now and then he looked deep sigh for sorrow that his son was dead; one while would give ear only to the Kings words, when he also would find some talk and minister occasion to speak of it he set forth his and unadvisedly committed. Oftentimes he followed and seconded him in his thoughts and complaints, and would be thought to lament with him for company. And (as *Tutor* much swifter to give many signs and tokens of her self coming to light) he would enforce and help forth and enlarge small things what he could, to the end that all might the sooner be discovered and break forth. The chief ministers and instruments of this villanous fact, were *Appellus* and *Philinus*, who were the Embassadors sent to *Rome*, and had brought those pernicious letters, under the name of *Flaminius*, which wrought the death of *Demetrius*. For commonly it was given out through the Kings Court, that those were falsified letters, forged by his Secretary and sealed with a counterfeit signet. But the thing being rather deeply suspected, than apparently detected, it advanced that *Antigonus* upon a time met with *Xychar*, and laying hold upon him,

* Guardian or Protector.

arrested

* This seemeth to be the Secretary.

arrested his body, and brought him into the Kings house; and when he had lett him in the safe custody of certain persons, he went himself directly to Philip. "It should seem to me, & if it please your grace (quoth he) by many words which I have observed, that you would spend a great deal to know the whole truth as touching your two sons, and be resolved whether of them it was that laid wait to take away the life of the other. Now the only man of all other that can undo the knot and clear this doubt, is in your hands forth coming, and that is Xychar. Herewith he advised the King to call before him the said party, since that (as it fell out) he was already brought into the Court. Sent for he was and presented before the King; and being asked the question he denied every thing at the first, but with such inconstancy, as it appeared evidently, that upon some little fear of torture offered unto him, he would be ready to bewray all: for at the very sight of the tormentor and the scourges, he relented. Then he disclosed and shewed in order the whole proceeding and manner of this wicked practice and villany, how it was wrought as well as by the ambassadors as also by his own self their minister. Immediately there were some of purpose sent to apprehend the said ambassadors. And Philocles who was present in the way, they surprised and took of a sudden: as for Apelles (who had been sent to pursue one Chareas) being advertised how that Xychar had bewraied & told all, sailed over into Italy. As concerning Philocles, there is no certainty known. Some report, that at the beginning he denied the matter stoutly: but after that Xychar was brought to his face and confronted him, he stood no longer in it. Others say again that being put to torture he endured the pains, and continued still in the denial. Philip sorrow and grief was by this means renewed and redoubled, repuring himself more unhappy in his sons, and his misery the greater, in that one of them was now dead and gone. Perseus being certified that all was discovered, took himself for a greater and mightier person, than to fear and think it needfull for him to flie upon it. And therefore he thought only to keep far enough out of the way, purposing to stand upon his guard all the while that his father lived, and avoid the flaming fire (as it were) of his burning choler. Philip seeing that he could not possibly come by his person, nor to execute justice, thought upon that which only remained to be done, and studied how Perseus besides impunity, should not be recompensed and rewarded also for that his wickedness. He called therefore Antigonus before him, unto whom he was bounden and beholden already, for bringing to light the unnatural murder committed upon Demetrius his son; and of whom he conceived this opinion, in regard of the fresh and late glory of his uncle Antigonus, that the Macedonians should have no cause to be ashamed or repent, if they had had him for to be their King. And in this wise he brake with him: "Since my unhappy fortune is such (quoth he) O Antigonus, that I ought (contrary to all other fathers) to wish my self childless, I have a mind and purpose to make over unto you that kingdom, which I received at the hands of your uncle, which he preserved and kept yea, and augmented for my behoof during the time of my nonage; & wherein (whiles I was under his guardianship) he bare himself not only valiant, but also true and faithfull unto me. No man I have but you, whom I can esteem worthy to wear the Crown; and if I knew of none at all, yet had I rather that both he and the Realm perished and were extinct, for ever than Perseus should enjoy it as the guerdon of his ungracious & devilish fact. I shall imagine yet that Demetrius is risen from death to life, I shall think that I have the fruition of him again if I leave you in this place, you, I say, the only man of all others that wept for the death of the poor innocent young man, and lamented for my unhappy error and unfortunate trespass. After this speech with Antigonus, he never ceased to entertain and grace him in the face of the world with all kind of honour that he could devise. For seeing that Perseus was in Thrace, Philip went in progress to every City of Macedony, and recommended Antigonus to all the Princes and States thereof. And without all doubt, if God had given him longer life but a little, he would have enstalled him in full possession of the kingdom. Well, to return again unto Demetrius; where he wintered (as before is said) he departed from thence, and so journeyed a long time in Thessalonica. From thence after he was come to Amphipolis, he was surprised with a grievous malady. Howbeit, certain it was and very apparant, that he was more sick in mind than body; and that ever and anon the remembrance and object, the apparition and ghost of his son, whom he caused (innocent as he was) to be put to death, followed and haunted him so continually with care and grief, that he was out of all sleep, and could not lay his eyes together: yea, it drave him into raving, cursing, and execration of Perseus his other son; and so he ended his daies. But although Philip died somewhat with the soonest for Antigonus, yet he would have gone very near to have slept into his thron, if either the Kings death had immediately been divulged abroad, or that Antigonus had then been about the Court that he might have had intelligence thereof. For Calligenes the Kings Physician, who had the cure of him, staid not untill the breath was fully out of the Kings body; but so soon as he perceived that his state was desperat, upon the first deadly signs that he observed, sent messengers post to Perseus, who were set of purpose in places convenient, according as it was complotted between them twain: but he concealed the Kings death from all them that were not of the household untill he was come. By which means Perseus surprised them all before they looked for him, or knew abroad that the King was departed, and thus he took the Crown upon him by policy, which he had purchased with mischief.

The death of Philip fell out very well to give some delay and respite, and to gather more forces for the waging of war: for the nation of the Bactaria having been a long time solicited thereto, departed out of their own country, and with a great power as well of foot as horse, came on this

side

Dunbim.

Donau.

Ante quar-
tum Idus Mar-
tii. i.e. the 11
of March.

the river. Now there were advised before to advise the King hereof, but they were
 and this was a nobleman among the Bastarnians. And having been full against his will
 bound in embassage & sent with *Enus* to raise the Bastarnians. Now first, for fear from *Philip*
 they met with news (but very uncertain) of the Kings death which occasioned troubled the whole
 count of their designs. For thus it was concluded that *Philip* should give the Bastarnians safe pas-
 sage through *Thrace* and find them victuals: to the effecting and performing whereof, he had
 entertained the peers and principal States of those quarters with presents, and assured them up-
 on his fidelity, that the Bastarnians should pass through their country peaceably without any
 harm doing. Now his intent and full purpose was, to extinguish utterly the nation of the Darda-
 nians, and to plant the Bastarnians in their country. Hereby he aimed at a twofold commodity:
 the one was this; that the Dardanians (a people most malicious ever to the Macedonians, and
 who always in time of the troubles and adversities of the KK. took their vantage to annoy them)
 might be rooted out: the other, that the said *Philip* leaving their wives and children in Darda-
 nia, might be sent to waste and spoil *Italy*. Now were they to pass to the Adriatick sea and so to
Rome by the way of the *Scordiscians* (for other way there was none to lead an army) and soon
 would they thought he grant passage unto the Bastarnians: for they differed not at all, either in
 language, or manners & fashions: and more than that, they were like enough to joyn with them
 in the expedition, seeing they went to the conquest and pillage of a most rich and wealthy nation.
 These designments were accommodated and fitted to what events soever should happen. For in
 case the Bastarnians should happen to be defeated by the Romans and put all to the sword: yet
 this would be a comfort again; that the Dardanians were consumed from the face of the earth,
 that he should meet with a booty of that which the Bastarnians left behind them: and finally,
 have the possession free and entire to himself of all *Dardania*. But in case their fortune were so
 have the upper hand, then whiles the Romans were averted from him, and amused upon the war
 with the Bastarnians, he should be able to recover whatsoever he had lost in *Greece*. This had
 been the design projected by *K. Philip*. So they entered peaceably, and marched without hostility,
 under the word and promise of *Cotta* & *Antigonus*. But shortly after that news came of the death
 of *Philip*, neither were the Thracians so tractable and easie to be dealt withall in commerce and
 traffick: nor the Bastarnians could be content with that which they bought with their money,
 or be kept in order as they marched, but that they would break their ranks & run out of the di-
 rect way. Hereupon they began to do wrong & injury on both sides one unto another which en-
 creasing daily more & more to outrages, kindled the fire of an open war. In the end, the Thracians
 unable to endure the violence & multitudes of these enemies, leaving their villages in the plains
 beneath, retired to an exceeding high mountain, called *Danua*. To which place, when the Bastar-
 nians would have gone: behold now withstanding they approached to the tops and ridge of the
 hill, they were surprised with a storm, much like to that wherewith the Gauls (as it is reported)
 perished at what time as they were a spoiling and pilling the Temple at *Delphi*. For they were not
 only drenched first with showers of rain pouring upon them, pelted afterwards with thick storms
 of hailstones, stricken with great cracks of thunder, and blasted with gleams of lightning that daz-
 led their eye-sight: but also the lightning flashed so upon them on every side, that it seemed they
 were charged and shot directly against their bodies: so as not only the common soldiers, but al-
 so the principal leaders and captains themselves were smitten down therewith and overthrown.
 Whereupon when they were scattered & would have fled down the hill, from the exceeding steep
 rocks they tumbled down they knew not how with their heads forward. And albeit the Thraci-
 ans pursued them thus scared and affrighted, yet they had nothing in their mouth, but that the
 gods forced them to run away, and that the sky fell upon them. Being thus disparted with this
 tempestuous storm, and returned as it were out of shipwrack into the camp from whence they
 set forth, as most of them but half armed, they began to debate in council what to do. Hereupon
 arose some dissension among them: whiles part were of opinion to return back into their own
 country, and part advised to follow the way still and pierce forward into *Dardania*. About 20000
 persons went through under the conduct of *Glydicius*: the rest of the multitude returned the same
 way they came into the parts beyond *Danubim*. *Perseus* being possessed of the kingdom, now
 commanded *Antigonus* to be put to death: and whiles he was setting the States in order, and establi-
 shing himself in his own seat, he sent embassadors to *Rome*, to renew the amity that his fa-
 ther had with the Romans, as also to request that he might be stiled with the name of King by
 the Senate of *Rome*. And these were the affairs in *Macedonia* that year.
Q. Fulvius the other Consul triumphed over the Ligurians: and known it was for certain, that
 this triumph was granted unto him more for favour, than for any great exploit of his that might
 deserve such honour. He carried in show a mighty dead of the enemies arm'd but little or no ma-
 ny at all. Howbeit he dealt among his soldiers thirty Asces apiece: to every Centurion he gave
 twice as much, and to each Gentleman serving on horseback, the same threelfold. There was no-
 thing in this triumph more memorable and worthy the noting, than this, that as it fell out, he
 triumphed now the very same day that he had the year before upon his *Basarothip*. After his
 triumph, he published the general assembly for the election of Magistrates, which were created
 Consul *M. Junius Brutus*, and *M. Atilius*. This done, when there had been three of the Pri-
 vate elected a sudden tempest brake up and dissolved the assembly. The morrow after which was
 now done full before the Ides of *March*, the other three were chosen, namely, *M. Aulus*, *Titus*, and
Chiron.

Curvus, T. Claudius Nero, and T. Pomponius Capuo. The Roman games were exhibited again the second time, by the two Aediles of the Chair, *Cn. Servilius Capio, and Ap. Claudius Cens.* by occasion of certain prodigies that hapned: for there was an earthquake; and in the publick pavilions and tabernacles, where the sacred beds of the gods were solemnly spread, the heads of the gods which were laid in those beds, turned away of their own accord, and the wooll together with the other coverlets which were laid before *Jupiter* fell down. It was taken also for a prodigious wonder, that the mice and rats had gnawn and tasted before of the olives upon the table [of *Jupiter*]; for the satisfaction and expiation of which prodigies, nothing else was done, but the solemnizing of those games and plaies again, as is aforesaid.

The one and fortieth Book Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the one and fortieth Book.

The fire in the Temple of Vesta went out. *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus* the Pro-Consul, vanquished the Celtiberians, and received their submission, and for a memoriall of the worthy deeds by him achieved, he built a town in Spain called *Gracchuris*. *Posthumius Albinus* the Pro-Consul, subdued the *Vaccæans* and *Lusitans*: and both of them triumphed. *Antiochus*, the son of King *Antiochus*, whom his father had given in hostage to the Romans, after the death of his brother *Seleucus*, who succeeded his father late deceased, was sent from Rome into the Realm of Syria. The Censors held a review and numbering of the Citizens, and solemnly purged the City. There were enrolled in their books, of Roman Citizens 273344. *Q. Voconius Saxa*, a Tribune of the Commons, published a Law, That no man should make a woman to be his full heir. *M. Cato* was the man that perswaded and spoke for this Law; and his Oration is extant. Moreover, this book containeth the wars and exploits of many Captains against the *Ligurians*, *Istrians*, *Sardinians*, and *Celtiberians*: also the occasions and causes of the *Macedonian* war, which *Perseus* the son of *Philip* began: for he had sent an embassage to the *Carthaginians*, which they gave audience unto in the night season. Other States also and Cities of Greece he solicited. This *Perseus*, setting religion aside (for many stately and magnificent Temples he built in divers places, and namely, at Athens, to *Jupiter Olympius*; and at *Antiochia*, to *Jup. Capitolinus*) was otherwise a King of most base demeanour and carriage.

The one and fortieth Book of T. Livius.

The beginning of this book, and the greater part thereof immediately ensuing is lost. *Im-
premis*, As touching the disposition of the Provinces by lot, as well of Consuls as Prators; and namely, how the government of *Gaul* fell to *A. Manlius*, and of *Liguria* to *M. Junius*; and how of the Prators, *M. Titinius* was assigned to the hither Province of Spain, and *T. Pontius* to the farther; *Nero* to *Etruria*, *T. Eburus* to *Sardinia*. *Item*, as concerning the fire of Vesta, the exploits of *T. Gracchus* and *L. Albinus* in *Biscay* and *Portugal*; the survey and raising of women, mentioned in *Cicero*, in *S. Augustine de Civitate Dei*; and others: finally, of the acts achieved by *M. Junius* about *Genoway*. And thus it sheweth a pretence and broken front as ye see, To have armed the same, which in peace he had received of his father: and for that cause it is said, That he was passing well beloved of the youth and lusty gallants, who desired nothing more than to spoil and raise booties.

Now when the Consul was in deliberation with his councill, as touching war in *Istria*, some were of opinion, to proceed thereunto incontinently: before that the enemies could assemble their forces; others advised, to consult first with the Senate: but their counsel importeth, who were for speedy expedition. So the Consul dislodged from *Aquileia*, and encamped near the Lake *Tima-*
on, which lieth hard by the sea. Thither came *Caius Furius* (one of the navall Duumvirs) with ten ships: for two such Duumvirs or wardens had been chosen; to make head against the *Ilyrian* fleet: who with twenty ships in all, keeping the upper sea, were to guard the sea-coasts, so as they had *Ancona* (as it were) the middle center between: for *L. Cornelius* took the charge of all that lay on the right hand thereof, as far as to *Tarentum*; and *C. Furius* of the left, unto *Aquileia*. These ten vessels (I say) were sent to the near port, against the marches of *Istria*, with other ships of burden fraughted with store of victuals and provision. The Consul followed after with his legions, and pitched his camp five miles from the sea. And within a short time there was a good and frequent market kept in the port, from whence there was conveyed all manner of provision into the camp. And to the end that this might hold in more security, good guards were set about the camp

Celtiberia.
Lusitania.

Sclavonia.

*Timone, of
Laricia.*

*By that gate
was the market
served, and it
led directly to
it.*

A on every side. Toward *Istria* there was one standing frontier garrison, consisting of a cohort of Placentins, levied on a sudden, opposed and lodged between the sea and the camp. And to the end the same might serve for a guard to defend *Adria*, that watched it the river. *M. Eburius* (a Colonel of the two legions) was commanded to lead two squadrons of soldiers out of the second legion, *T. and C.* both *Eburii* (Colonels likewise) had led the third legion, by the way that goeth to *Aquileia*, which should guard the forragers and fellows. From which quarter about a mile distant was the camp of the French. And a certain petty King there was among them, one *Carnilius*, having the conduct of three thousand armed soldiers, or somewhat more. So soon as the Romans were approached, the lake *Timone* with their camp, the Istrians let them down secretly in a close place behind a little hill; and from thence followed the Roman army as it marched.

B By crooks and crooked waies, espying and lying for all advantages that might be presented: for intelligence they had of all that was done either at sea or by land. And when they perceived upon a time the corps de guard before the camp feeble and weak, and that there was a great number of unarmed Merchants between the camp and the sea, without any defence at all either from land or water, they ran at once upon the foresaid guards, to wit, the Placentine cohort, and also the squadrons of the second legion. Now their enterprise at the beginning was covered and hidden by occasion of a morning mist, which at the first warmth of the sun brake and scattered away, and then began somewhat to appear through it: but the light was not yet clear and come to the full; by reason whereof every thing (as commonly in such a case) shewed far bigger than it was. And this at that time mightily deceived the Romans, causing the army of the enemies to seem the greater by many degrees. At which sight, the soldiers of the one guard as well as the other being affrighted, fled into the camp with a great tumult and alarm, and there caused far more fear than they brought with them: for neither were they able to tell why they fled thus as they did, nor give a ready answer to those that asked them the question. Over and besides, a great noise they heard from the camp gates, as where there was no sufficient guard to sustain the first assault. Besides, their running thus in a throng together in the dark, while one tumbled upon another, made such a confusion, that they knew not whether the enemy was within the rampier or no. No other cry was heard but this: To sea. To sea. For by occasion that one soldier at adventure began to set up that note, all the camp presently rung again therewith, from one end to the other. Whereupon at first, (as if they had been commanded so to do) to the sea they ran, some few armed, but the most part without any armour or weapons: afterwards more, and consequently at last in manner all; yea, and the Consul himself, seeing that he laboured in vain to reclaim them back he fled, and could prevail neither by command nor authority, nor yet with orders in the end, only *M. Licinius Scabro* (a Tribune or Colonel of the third legion, abandoned of his own legion) remained behind with three ensigns and no more. The Istrians finding him alone, (for no man else was seen in arms to make resistance) entred joyntly into the camp ran upon him (as he was embattelling his soldiers and encouraging them in the quarter about the Prator his lodging) surprised, and with numbers over-charged him. The skirmish and fight was more cruell, than for proportion of so few defendants: and not ended, before that the Tribune himself and those about him, were slain every man. The Generall his pavilion and all about it, was overthrowen: which

C when the enemy had ransacked and rifled of all that was there, they went as far as the treasurers lodgings, the market place, and to the gate *Quimana*: where they found abundance of all things set out ready for their hands, and within the treasurers pavilion the tables spread and covered with good wines and meat upon them. Then their chief Lord & Leader (the petty King aforesaid) made no more ado but sat him down, fell to his victuals and made good cheer; and anon all the rest following his example, did so likewise, and never once thought of arms, or of enemies, and like to those who were not wont to fare so well and feed liberally, they greedily overcharged their bellies with wine and viands: but the Romans all the while stood in far other terms. They trembled, they were trustily to their business both on land and sea. Down went the shipsmen and sailors with their sails and booths; and look what provision of victuals or other things were set forth also upon the strand and shore, they harried and hurried a shipboard: the soldiers all affrighted ran amaine to the sea-side, for to be embarked. The mariners fearing lest their vessels should be overcharged, some put back the press and withstood them for coming in, others shove off from the wharf, and lanced into the deep. Hereupon began a brail and broil, and from that they fell together by the ears, soldiers and mariners, one with another: some went away with knocks and wounds, and others left their lives behind them: untill at length by the Consul his commandment the fleet was retired far from the land. Which done, he began to sort the armed and unarmed apart. And hardly were there (of so great a multitude) twelve hundred found with armor about them, and very few horsemen that had brought their horses with them. All the rest were a confused and disordered company, resembling the rascall sort of camp-followers, hurriers, squallers, fencers, fustions, and lackies: who had been a ready booty to have preyed upon, in case the enemies could have thought upon any sort of arms. Then at last came a messenger to recall the third legion, and to surprise the guard of the Gauls: and with that, from all parts they began to return again toward their own camp, for to recover it, and wipe away and blot out the shamefull stain and dishonour which they had received. The Colonels of the third legion commanded the soldiers to throw down upon the ground their forrage and fewell, they charged the Centurions to set the elder and unwieldy soldiers two and two upon the horses and

labouring beasts which they had discharged of their load: and willed the horsemen to take up behind them every one a young infantryman: shewing what an honour it would be to the third legion, for to regain by their valour the camp, which had been lost by the cowardice and fear of those in the second: and easily (say they) may it be won again, if the Barbarians, while they are encumbered with the pillage, might be surprised at their wares, and be taken themselves like as they overtook others before. This exhortation was received with great alacrity and contentment of the souldiers. Alost were the ensignes borne and advanced apace, neither staid the post-ensignes one whit for the souldiers. Howbeit the Col. and those companies which were brought from the sea, came first to the rampier. *L. Atius* a principall Centurion of the second legion, not only encouraged the souldiers, but made remonstrance unto them, That if the Istrians these victories, had ever meant to guard and keep the camp with the same force of arms by which they had won it, they would at the first have pursued the enemies to the sea, so soon as they had turned them out of their tents: and afterwards have set a good corps de guard, at leastwise before the rampier and the avenues thereof: but like enough it is (saith he) that with guzzling wine they were dead asleepe like beasts. And herewith he commanded *As Baculonium* his own ensign-bearer, a man of approved valour and singular prowles, to advance his banner forward. Mary, that I shall (quoth he) full soon, if you will follow me alone that the thing may be done more quickly. With that he forced his whole strength, and having flung the ensign over the trench into the camp, he was the first himself that entred at the camp gate. On another part likewise *T. and C.* both *Ælii*, and Colonels of the third legion, were come with their Cavalry: then presently followed those also whom they had horsed two by two upon the labouring jades and wagons of carriage, and after them the Col. with his whole army. But of the Istrians some few there were (such as were not stark drunk) whose wits and memory served them to run away: the rest were dead asleepe indeed, and never awoke again. So the Romans recovered all their goods, save only the wine and victuals which was devoured and consumed. The Roman souldiers who were crazy and sick and had been left in the camp, after they perceived their own fellows within the rampier, found their hands again, caught up weapons, and made a great slaughter and execution. But above all others *C. Popilius*, intitled *Sabellus*, a Gentleman and Cavalier of *Rome*, bare himself most bravely that day, who being left in the camp (because he was hurt and maimed in one of his feet) slew the greatest number of the enemies by far. Eight thousand Istrians fell upon the edge of the sword, and not one taken prisoner alive: for the choler and despitous indignation of the souldiers was such, as they had no mind at all of prizes and booties. Howbeit the King of the Istrians, drunk as he was, had good fortune as to be taken from the very boord where he sat, and hastily mounted on horseback by his men, and so fled a way and escaped. Of the winners there perished in all two hundred thirty seven souldiers: and of them, more died in their morning flight than in the recovery of their camp. Now it chanced so, that *C.* and *L.* both named *Gavilii*, new Coloners and inhabitants of *Aquileia* as they came with victuals, had like to have stumbled ignorantly upon the camp, when it was taken & possessed by the Istrians. They being retired back in great haste to *Aquileia*, leaving their carriage behind them, let all on a fright & uproar, not only at *Aquileia* but also at *Rome* within few daies after: for thither was the rumour run, That not only the camp was forced by the enemies, and (which was true indeed) the Romans put to flight, but that all was lost, and the army utterly defeated. Whereupon, as the manner was in all sudden tumults and alarms, wits went forth for musters and levies of souldiers, extraordinarily, not in the City only, but also throughout all *Italy*. Two legions of Roman Citizens were enrolled, and the Latine allies were commanded to set out 10000 foot with 200 horse. *M. Junius* the Col. had commandment to pass over into *Gallia*, and to levy of the Cities and States of that Province, as many as they were able to make and furnish. It was ordained withall, that *T. Claudius* the Prator should make proclamation, that the souldiers of the fourth legion, and of the Latine allies five thousand foot and two hundred and fifty horse, should meet together at *Pisa*, and that in the absence of the Col. he should defend that Province: also that *M. Titinius* the Prator should appoint the *Quintus* as *Arminius*: that the first legion and the like number of allies, as well foot as horse, should there assemble. Then *Nero* took his journey, clad in his rich coat of arms, toward *Pisa* his Province. And *Titinius* having to *Arminius* *Caius Cassius* a Colonel, to take the conduct of the legion there, took musters at *Rome*. *M. Junius* the Col. passed out of *Liguria* into *Gaul* and arrived at *Aquileia*, having levied aid souldiers as he went, of all the Cities of *Gaul* and the Colonies, to be in readinesse of hand. There he was certified that the army was safe and sound: whereupon he dispatched his letter to *Rome* to advertise them that they should not trouble themselves any more in this false alarm, and himself after he had discharged the Gauls of those aids which he had imposed upon them, went roundly companion in government. Great was the joy at *Rome*, coming thus as it did unlooked for. The musters were laid aside, the souldiers discharged who were enrolled and had taken their military oath, and the army visited with the plague at *Arminius* was dismissed and sent home. The Istrians albeit they were encamped with a great strength of armed men, not far from the Col. his camp, after they heard once that the Consul was come with a new army, disbanded and slip every man away on all sides to their severall Cities, and the Consuls retired with their legions to *Aquileia* there to winter.

When these troubles of *Istria* were thus at length appeased, there went forth a bill of the Senat, That the Col. should agree between themselves, whether of them twain was to return to *Rome*.

for

for to hold the assembly for election of Magistrates. At what time as *M. Licinius Nerva*, and *C. Papirius Turdus*, two Tribunes of the Commons, in all their Orations to the people, inveighed bitterly against *M. Junius* in his absence, and promulged a Law to this effect, That after the Ides of *March* (for the Coll. had their governments already prolonged for one whole year) he should continue no longer in place, so the end that so soon as he was out of his office, he might presently be called to his answer judicially. *Quintus Fabius*, one of their Collegues, withstood this bill by them proposed, and after much debate and contention prevailed so much, that it passed not.

About the same time *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, and *L. Posthumus Albinus*, being returned out of *Spain* to *Rome*, had audience given them by the Prator *M. Titinius* in the Temple of *Bellona*, there to discourse of the wars by them achieved, to demand their deserved honours, to the end that praise and thanksgiving also should be rendered to the immortall gods. Moreover, at the very same time intelligence was given by letters from *T. Eburnus* the Prator, which his son brought and shewed to the Senat, of great troubles in *Sardinia*. Namely, that the *Ilians*, joyning unto them the strength of the *Balari*, had invaded the province standing in peaceable terms: neither was he able to make head against them, but in so feeble an army as he had, the same wasted and consumed much with the pestilence. The same news related the Embassadors likewise of the *Sardinians*, making humble suit to the Senat, to relieve and succour their Cities at least wise, for that their villages and country towns were already past help. This embassage, with all other matters concerning *Sardinia*, put over to the new Magistrates; as also an embassage also was presented unto them from the *Lycians*, who complained grievously of the *Rhodians*, unto whom they had been annexed and made subjects by *L. Cornelius Scipio*. Indeed (say they) we lived sometime under the seignory of *K. Antiochus*, but that servitude of ours under the *K.* compared to this present state and condition wherein we now are, seemed unto us an excellent liberty: for not only are we now yoked, and kept under publike authority in general, by taxes, levies and impositions, but every one in particular endureth meer bondage and slavery. Our selves are abused, yea, and our wives and children suffer villanies before our eyes: upon our bodies, our backs and chests they work upon, and discharge their humour of cruelty: in our good name (an indignity unsupportable) we are distressed, depraved, and defamed: yea openly in the face of the world, they cease not to commit outrages against us, even to usurp and extend their authority over us, and to try matters upon us with extremity: to the end that we *Lycians* might be put of all doubt, that there is no difference between us and slaves bought and sold for silver in open market. The Senat moved with these remonstrances by the *Lycians*, addressed their letters to the *Rhodians* to this effect, that it was no part of their meaning and intent, that the *Lycians* should be slaves to the *Rhodians*: or that any other born free, should be enthrall'd by any person: but their will was, that the *Lycians* should in such terms live under the government and protection of the *Rhodians*, that both States, the one as well as the other, might range and frame themselves like good associates under the Dominion and Empire of *Rome*.

After this followed two triumphs over *Spain*, one immediately upon another: first, *Sempronius Gracchus* over the *Celtiberians*: and the morrow after *L. Posthumus Albinus* over the *Lusitanians* and other *Spaniards* of those parts. *Tib. Gracchus* carried in shew 4000 pound weight of silver, and *Albinus* twenty thousand. Both of them divided among their souldiers twenty five Denarii apiece, to each Centurion the same double, and treble to every horseman. Thus did they also by allies as well as by Romans.

It forthwith about that time, that *M. Junius* the Consul, came out of *Istria* to *Rome*, by occasion of the election which was to be holden: and when the two Tribunes of the Commons, *Papirius* and *Licinius*, had in the presence of the Senat barked and wearied him with interrogatories, as touching the affairs passed in *Istria*, they brought him forth also before the body of the people. To which questions after that the Consul had answered, how he had not been above 11 daies in the Province, and as for the things that happened in his absence, he knew no otherwise than they did, only by the common bruit and report: then they went on urging him still, and asking

how it came to pass, that *M. Junius* rather came not to *Rome*, to give account unto the State, why he pulled one of *Gaul* which was his allotted Province into *Istria*? and to shew, when it was that either the Senat decreed, or the people of *Rome* granted by their voices to enterprise that war. But happily it may be said (so he) that albeit the war was undertaken only upon his own head, whom yet no doubt, executed it was right worthily with policy and valour. Nay, I was but for to answer, and hard it is to say, whether it were begun more lewdly, than managed inconsiderately. Two entire *cohortes* were on a sudden at unawares surprized by the *Istrians*, the Roman camp was forced to be taken with all the strength of horse and foot that was therein: the rest scattered without arms, and the Consul himself was the foremost man that ran away to the sea-side, where the ships: and finally he should render an account of all these matters, when he is a private person again, since that he should not do it being Consul. This storm past, the general assembly for the Magistrates election was holden: wherein were created Coll. *C. Claudius Pulcher*, and *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*. The next day following were the Praetors chosen to wit, *P. Aelius Tiberius* the second time, *C. Quintus Plaminus*, *C. Numisus*, *C. Mummius*, *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, and *C. Pulcherus* *Domitius*. The civil jurisdiction of the City fell to *Tiberius*, the forrains to *Quintus*. The government of *Sicily* was allotted to *Numisus*, of *Sardinia* to *Mummius*. Howbeit, this Province by reason of the great war therein became the charge of the Col. And by lot it fell to *Gracchus*.

but

but *Istria* to *Claudius* his Colleague. *Gaul* was divided into two Provinces: whereof *Sulp* by lot obtained one, and *Levinus* the other.

Upon the Ides of *March*, on which day *Sempronius* and *Claudius* entered their Consulship, moved it was only in the Senat, as touching *Sardinia* and *Istria*, and the enemies to both those Provinces, who there had levied war. But the morrow after, the Embassadors of the *Sardinians* being referred over to the new Magistrate, and *L. Minutius Thermus* who had been Lieutenant to the Consul *Manlius* in *Istria*, entered into the Senat-house. By them the Senat was informed how dangerous the wars were in those Provinces. Moved likewise were the Senators by the embassies of the Latine allies, who in the end were admitted into the Senat, after they had importuned the Censors and Consuls of the former year: the sum of their complaint was this, That their own Citizens being once enrolled at *Rome*, were most of them departed and removed thither to dwell: which if it might be suffered, within few reviews and cessings it would come to pass, that their Cities should be dispeopled and desolat, their villages and fields desart and waste, and able to set out no souldiers for the wars. Semblably the *Samnites* and *Pelignians* complained, that four thousand households were gone from them, and retired to *Fregella*: and yet neither the one nation or the other, were set at a less proportion of souldiers in all their levies. Two cautelous means and devices there were brought up, whereby men changed thus their Cities at pleasure. The Law granted this indulgence to the allies of the Latine nation, as many as left issue of their race behind them in their house, That they should be reputed Citizens of *Rome*. By abusing this Law, some did injury to their allies, other wronged the people of *Rome*: for, both they that were to leave such issue at home, gave their children, as it were, in villenage to some Roman Citizen or other whom they liked of; with condition to manumise and make them free, that they might be Tribes or enfranchised Citizens. And they also who wanted issue to leave behind them, were held as Citizens of *Rome*. But in process of time without any of these colourable pretences of right, without regard of law and respect of issue, they crept in and had the benefit of the Burgesie and freedom of *Rome* by their transmigration thither to inhabit, by enrolment in the reviews. To meet with these practises, the embassadors craved a remedy for the time to come: as also that they would peremptorily command all their allies to repair again to their own Cities: with an expresse inhibition, that no man should receive any other to be his vassall and villain, and so to alienate him, with intention by that means to change the City wherein he lived: and that who soever became Citizens of *Rome* after that manner, should not be counted for a Citizen. These propositions were granted by the Senat. Then were decrees passed for those provinces of *Istria* and *Sardinia* which were in arms, to wit, for the enrolling of two legions into *Sardinia*, having either of them five thousand and two hundred foot, and three hundred horse, besides twelve thousand footmen, and 600 horsemen of the Latine allies; and ten quinquiremes or galleaces, with five banks of oars, in case the Generall would warp them out of the arsenal. The like number as well of the Infantry as Cavalry, was assigned for *Istria*. The Consuls also were enjoined to send to *M. Titinius* in *Spain* one legion with three hundred horse, besides 5000 footmen of allies, and 250 horsemen.

Before that the Consuls cast lots for their Provinces, certain prodigies were reported. Namely, that in the territory of *Crustumium*, there fell from heaven a stone in the lake of *Mars*: That in the territory of *Rome*, there was an infant born like a very stump, without head, feet, or hands: and a snake or serpent seen four-footed. That in the market-place of *Capua*, many houses were smitten with thunderbolts and lightning. Also at *Patrol* two ships were set on fire by lightning, and burnt. Whiles these prodigious wonders were by others related, there was seen a wolf also in the day time at *Rome*, which having entred at the gate *Collina*, after much courting and hunting, with much ado and noise of them that followed the chace, escaped away from them all, and passed through the *Esquiline* gate. In regard of these strange tokens, the Cons. killed greater beasts for sacrifice: and for one whole day, a solemn supplication and prayers were made at all the shrines and altars of the gods. These sacrifices done and past, accordingly as it appertained, the Cons. cast lots for their provinces: and to *Claudius*, befell *Istria*, to *Sempronius*, *Sardinia*.

After this, *C. Claudius* published a Law by virtue of an ordinance of the Senat, in favour of allies: and proclaimed, That those allies, and namely, of the Latine nation, who either themselves or their ancestors, had been enrolled among the Latine allies, during the Censorship of *Marcus Claudius*, and *Titus Quintius*, or any time afterwards, should make return every man into his own City, before the first day of *November* next ensuing. And *Lucius Mummius* the Praetor had in commission to enquire and search for those that returned not accordingly. To this Law and Edict above said of the Consul, an act also of the Senat was adjoynd, That the Dictator, Consul, Interregent, Censor, and Lord chief Justice in the Common Pleas for the time being, should endeavour and take order, that who soever were manumised and made free, should take an oath, That he who manumised or enfranchised him, did it not with an intent, for to exchange the City wherein he was: and look who would not thus swear, him they thought not worthy to be manumised. But his charge and jurisdiction was afterwards committed to *C. Claudius* the Consul.

Whiles these affairs passed at *Rome*, *M. Junius* and *A. Manlius*, who had been Consuls the year before, having wintered in *Ardea*, in the beginning of the Spring entered with an army into the frontiers of *Istria*. Where as they made waste and spoil far and near as they went, the

Istrians

A Istrians entred into a commotion and took arms, rather upon grief of heart and indignation to see their goods thus pilld and ransacked, than for any assured hope they had of their insufficiency to make head against two armies. Having therefore raised a multitude of their able youth from all their Cities and States, they assembled in haste a sudden and tumultuary army, which at the first gave battell, and fought more in heat of courage, than with persistance of resolution. In conflict there were slain of them to the number of four thousand; the rest abandoned all war, and fled here and there into their Cities. From thence they sent ambassadors first into the Roman camp to crave peace, and then the hostages which were demanded. After intelligence given at Rome of these news by the letters of the Pro-Consuls, C. Claudius the Consul fearing lest this occurrence might put him by the government of his Province and the conduct of the army, without solemn prayers and vows made, without his Lictors clad in their coats of arms, departed suddenly in great haste (all of the head) by night towards his Province, and made no man privy thereto, but only his Collegue. His voyage thither was not so rash and inconsiderate, but his carriage there was more foolish and undiscereet: for being thither come, he assembled a generall audience, where, after he had very unreasonably reproached *Manlius* for his running away out of the camp, (to the great discontentment of the souldiers, who were the first that fled;) and with opprobrious terms shaken up *M. Junius* also for taking part in this dishonour with his companion: in the end he commanded them both to avoid out of the Province. Whereupon the souldiers made answer again, and said, That they would then obey the Consuls commandment, when (according to the ancient custome of their fore-fathers) he had made his solemn vows within the Capitoll.

C and then taken his leave and departed out of the City, accompanied with his Lictors in their rich coats of arms, warlike. Hereat he was so far enraged with anger, that he called upon the treasures deputy belonging to *Manlius*, for chains and gyves, and menaced to send *Junius* and *Manlius* both bound to Rome. But the deputy likewise made as little reckoning of the Consuls commandment: and the more animated he was to disobey the Consul, by reason that he was backed by the whole host round about him; who as they supported the cause of their Captains and Leaders, so they hated the Consul at the heart. In conclusion, the Consul being loaden and wearied with the contumelious and railing behaviour of every one in particular, and with the frumps and taunts of the multitude in generall (for they stuck not over and besides to mock him and make a laughing stock of him) he went his waies again to *Aquileia*, in the same ship wherein he came.

D From thence he wrote unto his Collegue by an Edict, to charge those new souldiers who were enrolled for *Istria*, to meet at *Aquileia*: to the end, that no business should keep him at Rome, but that with all speed he might depart from the City in his coat of arms, and after he had conceived and pronounced his vows accordingly. His companion in office was well content, and did all these things requirit full willingly: and a short day was assigned for the assembling of the souldiers at the Rendezvous abovenamed. But *Claudius* was at Rome well-near as soon as his letters; where, at his first coming, he made an Oration in the publike audience of the people, as touching the demeanor of *Manlius* and *Junius*: and having staid no longer than three daies at Rome, he set out with his Lictors formally in their coat-armour, when he had made his vows solemnly in the Capitoll, and so departed into his Province again with as much celerity and haste (if not more) as he came from thence.

E Some few daies before, *Junius* and *Manlius* began to assault by all forcible means the town *Nesatium*, into which the principall persons of the Istrians, and *Epulo* their King, were retired. *Claudius*, with his two new legions, presented himself before the town; and after he had discharged the old armies and their commanders, laid siege unto it, and intended to force it with mantlets and engins of battery. The course also of the river which ran along beside the walls, and not only impeached the assailants but yielded water unto the besieged, he diverted into another new channell, and bestowed many daies work thereabout. This mightily affrighted the barbarous people, to see how they were cut off from water. Howbeit, they never thought of peace for all this, but fell in hand to kill their wives and children: and when they had so done (because they would present to the view of their enemies, so horrible a sight and fearfull spectacle) they massacred them upon the walls openly in their sight, and then threw them headlong down. While the silly women and poor infants (amidst their pitious and lamentable cries) were thus cruelly murdered, the Roman souldiers mounted over their walls and entred into the City. Their King when he once perceived (by the fearfull outcries of those who fled) that the town was lost: for fear he should be taken alive, stabbed himself with his dagger to the heart. All the rest were either taken prisoners or killed. After this, two other towns, *Murina* and *Esperia*, were won by assault and rased. The pillage was greater than a man would have looked for in so poor a nation: which was bestowed every whit upon the souldiers. Five thousand six hundred and two and thirty persons were sold out right in port-sale under the gairland. The Captains of this war were first scourged with rods and then beheaded. Thus *Istria*, by the ruin of three towns and the death of their King, was appeased: and all the Cities and States thereof from every quarter, came in with their hostages, made submission and did fealty and homage to the Romans.

G The Istrians war was no sooner ended, but the Ligurians began to complot for to take arms and enter into rebellion. *T. Claudius* the Pro-Cos. (who the former year had been Praetor) was governor and commander at that time of *Pisa* with a garrison of one legion. The Senat being advertised thereof by his letters, thought good to send the very same letters to *C. Claudius* (for the other Consul

Consul was already passed over into *Sardinia*: and withall, a decree was granted unto this effect. That considering he had performed his commission in *Istria*, so as there remained no more for him to do there, he should (if he thought so good) transport his army into *Liguria*. Moreover upon the Consul his letters, wherein he wrote what exploits he had achieved in *Istria*, there was ordained a solemn procession for two daies together. Semblably, the other Consul *Tib. Sempronius*, managed his affairs as happily in *Sardinia*: he entred with an army into the country of the Sardinian Ilians. Great aide were come from the Balarans to relieve and succour those Ilians: with both these nations he fought a battell in pitched field. The enemies were discomfited and put to flight, turned out of their camp, and 12000 armed men slain. The morrow after, the Consul commanded all their armor and weapons to be gathered together and laid on an heap: and this he burned as a sacrifice to the honour of *Vulcan*. Which done, he retired with his victorious army into the affociat Cities, there to pass the winter.

C. Claudius likewise, upon receipt of the letters of *T. Claudius*, and the commission directed from the Senat, marched with his legions out of *Istria* into *Liguria*: where, the enemies were come down into the plains, and lay encamped near the river *Scutenna*. In which place there was a battell fought: 15000 of them were put to the sword, and not so few as 700 taken prisoners, either in the conflict, or within the Camp: for that also was forced and won: besides, 51 ensignes they left. The *Ligurians*, as many as escaped the execution, fled on all sides to the mountains for refuge: and notwithstanding that the Consul spoiled and wasted their champaign country, there was not one man made shew of arms. Thus *Claudius* having in one year vanquished and subdued two nations, and in one Consulship (a rare felicity in any other man) reduced other two Provinces into quietness and peace, returned to *Rome*.

Certain prodigious and monstrous sights were that year reported, to wit, in the territory of *Crustumium*, a certain soul, called *Sangualis*, with her bill pierced into a sacred stone. In *Campania* a Breef spake: at *Syracusa* a bull that strayed out of the fields from the herd, leapt the brazen cow, there in the City, and did his kind. In the territory of *Crustumium*, there was a supplication and procession holden one day long in the very place of the foresaid prodigious sign. In *Campania*, the heifer or cow aforesaid, was put out to be kept and fed at the charges of the City. Last of all the prodigy of *Syracusa*, was expiat by a purgatory sacrifice, by direction from the soothsayers to what gods, supplications & sacrifice should be made. That year died *M. Claudius Marcellus* the Bishop, who had been Cos, and Censor. In his stead *M. Marcellus* his son was consecrated Bishop. Likewise in the same year, there was a Colony of 2000 Citizens of *Rome* planted at *Luca*. The *Triumvirs* of the Commissioners who had the conduct and placing of them, were *P. Elius*, *L. Egilius*, and *Ca. Sicinius*: one and fifty acres of land and an half was set out for them apiece to occupy out of the territory late conquered from the *Ligurians*, and which had been sometime the possession of the *Tuscan*s, before it was holden by the *Ligurians*.

Then came the Consul *C. Claudius* to the City of *Rome*, where after he had discoursed before the Senat, as touching the prosperous execution of his affairs, as well in *Istria* as *Liguria*. & there upon demanded a triumph, he soon obtained that honour: and during his Magistracy triumphed at once over these two nations. In which solemnity of his triumph, he carried in shew 307000 Deniers, and 85702 Victoriats. He gave to every common [Roman] souldier fifteen Denarii a peece, a double proportion to the Centuriens, and thrice as much to every horseman. But upon the allies he bestowed less by the one moiety than to natural Citizens: and therefore, as they followed his chariot, they were silent and said never a word: a man that had seen them would have said they were discontent.

During the time of this triumph, the *Ligurians* perceiving that not only the Consul his army was brought home to *Rome*, but the legion also at *Pisa* discharged by *T. Claudius*: thinking now all fear past and overblown, secretly levied a power: and having passed over the cross frontiers, by travelling the waies through the mountains, descended into the downs, and wasted the demains of *Modena*, and by sudden assault surprised the very Colony. The news hereof was so soon arrived at *Rome*, but the Senat commanded *C. Claudius* the Consul to hold the high Court for the solemn election, with all convenient speed: that so soon as new annual Magistrates were created, he might return into his Province, and perforce recover this Colony out of their hands. So according to the advice and ordinance of the Senat the said assembly was holden: wherein were elected Consuls *Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispanus*, and *Q. Publilius Philinus*. Then were the Prators afterwards chosen, to wit, *M. Popilius Lenax*, *P. Licinius Crassus*, *M. Cornelius Scipio*, *L. Pappus Musa*, *M. Alburnus*, and *L. Aquilius Gallus*. The Consul *C. Claudius* had his Patent sealed again for one year longer, to continue in command of the army, and government of the Province *Gallia*. And for fear lest the *Hispanians* likewise should follow the example of the *Ligurians*, he had commission to lend those allies of the *Latine* nation, whom he had brought out of his Province for to solemnize his triumph,

Upon that very day, on which the Consuls, *Cn. Cornelius* and *Quintus Publilius* entered their Magistracy, and sacrificed each of them an ox as the manner was, in the honour of *Jupiter*. In that beast which *Q. Publilius* caused to be slain, the liver was found headless. When he had reported this accident unto the Senat, he was enjoyned to sacrifice another beest for to appeale the wrath of the gods. Moved then it was in the Senat house as concerning the Provinces, and a decree passed, that both Consuls should be sent to *Pisa*, and against the *Ligurians*: but order was given, that

* *Vilfortius*, the same that *Quintarius*, i. e. half Denarius. It had the Image of *Vulcan* stamped upon it.

A that whether of them had the charge of *Pisa* allotted unto him, he should (when the time came) repair to *Rome* against the election of yearly Magistrates. Moreover, there was another branch of this decree, that either of them should enroll two new legions, and three hundred horsemen and levy of the Latine allies ten thousand foot souldiers, and six hundred horse. And *T. Claudius* continued still in full command, until such time as the Consul was arrived in his Province. While these matters were thus debated, and passed in the Councill-House, *Cn. Cornelius* was called forth by a bailiff or usher. And within a while after he was gone out of the Temple, he returned thither again with an heavy and dismaied countenance, and declared unto the LL. of the Senat, that the liver of that ox which he also had killed for sacrifice, a beast of six years old and well liking, was consumed and come to nothing; and when he hardly beleaved the Minister attending upon the

B sacrifice, who told him hereof, that himself caused the water to be poured forth of the pot where in the tripes and inward parts were sodden, where he saw the rest of the tripes and entrails full and whole, but all the liver wasted away, after a wonderful and miraculous manner, not to be spoken. The LL. were much terrified and amazed at this prodigious object, and the more perplexed were they, for that the other Consul likewise related unto them, how in regard that in his sacrifice the liver wanted an head, he had killed three oxen more, one after another, and yet could not procure the favour and grace of the gods. Hereupon the Senat commanded him still to sacrifice these greater beasts, until such time as he had his desire, and the gods were pleased again. Now it is said, that all the other gods were well enough contented, and their ire mitigated and appeased, only the goddesses *Saturnus*, *Petalus* could not be reconciled unto, for all that ever he might do. Then

* H. alth.

C the Cons. and Prators committed the disposition of their Provinces to the arbitrement of the lots. *Pisa* fell to *Cornelius*, and *Liguria* to *Petalus*. As for the Prators, *L. Papyrius Mafso* was Lord chief Justice by lot appointed, within the City of all Citizens pleas, and *M. Aburius* had the jurisdiction over strangers. *M. Cornelius Scipio M. Liginensis* had the charge to govern the lower Spain, and *Lucius Aquilius Gallus*, Sicily. The two Prators behind, requested earnestly that they might not be sent into their Provinces, and namely, *M. Popilius* into *Sardinia*: alledging, that *Gracchus* was able to quiet that island; and the rather, for that *T. Ebutius* the Prator was by the Senat adjoined to him for assistance: neither was it good to interrupt courses begun, the continuity whereof is the most effectual means to exploit any great important affairs. For what with delivering up the sword by the old L. Deputy, and receiving it by the new successor (whom it were

* Vol. 1. p. 107.

D more meet first to be trained up in knowledge of the State, than to be put to the managing of State matters) oftentimes the good opportunities of achieving brave enterprises pass by and are lost. This excuse of *Popilius* was held for good, and so approved. Then comes *P. Licinius Crassus*, and he for his part made allegations why he might not go into his Province: namely, by occasion of the solemn sacrifices, that he was to give his attendance upon. Now the higher part of Spain was allotted unto him. But commanded was he either to go into his Province, or else to take oath in a frequent and full assembly of the people, that the solemn sacrifice (as he pretended) was the thing that hindered him, and nothing else. This order being set down and thus passed in the behalf of *P. Licinius*, then steps me up *M. Cornelius*, and required them to take an oath of him likewise, that he might not go into the nether Province of Spain. So both these Prators were

E sworn according to one and the same form of oath. Whereupon *M. Titinius* and *T. Fonteius* were commanded to remain in quality and place of Pro-Consuls within Spain, and retain still the same authority and power of command: and order was granted, that for to supply their forces, there should be sent unto them three thousand Citizens of *Rome* with two hundred horse, and also five thousand Latine allies, and three hundred horsemen.

* 5. of May.

F The solemnity of the Latine holydaies began the third day before the Nones of May: where in, because at the sacrificing of one beast the Magistrate of *Lanuvium* in his prayer left out these words [*Republi Romani Quirinum*] and prayed not for the good estate of the people of *Rome*, and the Quirits, in bred a scruple. The matter was moved in the Senat, and the Senat referred it over to the Colledge of the Bishops and Prelats of the Church. And they pronounced this award, That forasmuch as those Latine feasts were not solemnized as they ought, they should begin again anew: and that the Citizens of *Lanuvium*, by whose default they were thus to be renewed, should be at the charges of all the beasts for sacrifice. Moreover, to breed more fearfull scrupulosity in mens minds, it fortuned that *Cneus Cornelius* the Consul as he returned from that solemnity out of the Alban mountain fell down in a fit of Apoplexy: which turned into an *Hemiplegia* or dead palse all the one side of his body, and so he was conveyed to the bath and hot waters at *Cumes*: where by occasion that his disease grew upon him still, he departed this life: from whence he was brought to *Rome*, and there carried forth in all magnificence of funerall obsequies, and right honourably interred. He had been Bishop also as well as Consul. *Q. Petilius* the other Consul, being commanded to hold an assembly for the surrogation of a Colleague unto him, (so soon as possibly he might be warranted by the auspices and approbation of the sacred birds) and withall, to proclaim and publish the Latine feasts and holydaies aforesaid: summoned the election against the third day before the Nones of *Sexstilis*: and the Latine solemnity, the third day likewise before the Ides of the same month.

* 3. of August.
11 of August.

While mens minds were much possessed already with religion, and set upon their devotions, word was brought moreover of certain fearfull prodigies: to wit, that at *Tusculum* there was seen a burning flame in the sky: that at *Gabers*, the Temple of *Apollo*, and many private mens houses;

houses: likewise at *Graviscæ* the town wall and one of the gates were shitten with thunder-bolts. For the procuration whereof, the LL. of the Senat ordained that the Bishops should give order according to their discretion.

Whiles the Consuls were thus staid, first both by their own temples holiness, then one of them by the death of the other; and afterwards by occasion of the new elections and the celebrating of the Latine festivall solemnity: *C. Claudius* in the mean time approached with his army to *Modena*, which the Ligurians the year before had won. He did not continued the siege full three daies, but he forced the Colony: and having thus recovered it from the enemies, he restored it again to the former inhabitants. Eight thousand Ligurians died there within the walls upon the sword: and immediately he dispatched his letters to *Rome*, wherein he not only declared the simple news, but glorified him and made his boast, That through his fortitude and fortune, both the Romans had not an enemy that durst shew his head on this side the *Apennines*; and that he had conquered so much land as might serve for to be divided by the people among many thousands. *Tib. Sempronius* likewise at the same time, fought many fortunate battles in *Sardinia*, and exactly tamed and subdued the Islanders: 15000 enemies he there slew in all. The Statutes of that nation which had revolted, were reduced to obedience under the people of *Rome*; the old tributaries had an imposition and exaction laid upon them of a double tribute, which they surely paid: the rest were put to a contribution of corn. After he had set the Province in quietness, and received out of the whole Island two hundred and thirty hostages, he sent certain Lieutenants as messengers to make report at *Rome* of all his proceedings: who also in his behalf should make suit unto the Senat, That in regard of the happy success in those exploits, under the charge, conduct, and fortune of *Tib. Sempronius*, first, due honour, praise, and thanksgiving might be redred to the immortal gods; and then, that himself might be allowed at his departure out of the Province, to bring away his army with him. The Senat gave audience to the messengers aforesaid within the Temple of *Apollo*: and upon their relation ordained a generall procession for two daies: commanding the Coll. to sacrifice 40 head of greater beasts: and withall, enjoyed *Tib. Sempronius* the Pro-Consul to continue that year with his army in that Province. Then the election which had been published against the third day before the Nones of *Septimber* for the substitution of one of the Coll. was the same day accomplished. And *Q. Petilius* the Cos. created for his Colleague, *M. Valerius Lequinus*, for to enter immediately into his Magistracy. This *Levinus* had been a long time desirous to be employed in some Province or other: and fitly it fell out for this longing desire, that letters came, importing how the Ligurians rebelled and were gone out again in arms. So after he had heard the contents of these letters, he made no longer stay, but upon the very Nones of *Septimber* (all goodly to be seen in his warriors coat of arms, he commanded the third legion (by occasion of this alarm) to go into *France*, to *C. Claudius* the Pro-Consul: also the Duntivirs of two wardens for the ports and navy to go to sea, and with a fleet to make sail for *Pisa*: & from thence to coast about all *Liguria*, and thus by hovering upon the seas, to terrifie the enemies that way also. *Q. Petilius* likewise the Cos. had appointed a day for his army to meet in the same place. Moreover, *C. Claudius* the Pro-Consul, advertised of the Ligurians revolt, over and besides those forces which he had about him at *Parma*, levied in haste a strength of more souldiers; and so with his compleat army approached the borders of the Ligurians. The enemies upon the arrivall of *C. Claudius*, by whole conduct they well remembered how late they had been discomfited and put to flight near the river *Scutenna*, minding to seek for defence rather by the strength of advantageous places than force of arms, against that power of his which to their cost they had before tried, seized the two hills, * *Letus* and *Balissa*, about which they raised a mure also for their better safety. But such as lagged behind and quit the champain plaines and lower grounds with the latest, were surprised and cut short, to the number of fifteen hundred. The rest kept within the mountains: who albeit they were in fear and danger of their own parts, yet forgot not their fibred cruelty: but ran upon the booties and prizes which they had taken at *Modena*, their poor prisoners whom they held captive, they pitiouly mangled, and killed most villanously: as for the beasts in the Temples every where, they rather hacked, hewed, and cut in peeces butcher-like, than sacrificed in decent, seemly, and religious manner. Thus being satisfied with the blond and massacre of living creatures, they took all their breathless things they had, and reared and stuck them upon the wals: and namely, implements of all sorts, made rather for use and necessity than ornament and shew. *Q. Petilius* the Consul, for fear lest the war would be ended in his absence, dispatched his letters to *M. Claudius*, to haste away with his army into *France*, for he would attend his coming upon the plains called *Maeri*; Upon the receipt of which letters, *Claudius* dislodged out of *Liguria*, and delivered unto the Consul his army at the said plains called *Maeri*. Few daies after came *Cainus Valerius* the other Consul thither also. There they divided their forces, and before they departed one from the other, they both together made a survey and review of their severall armies. This done, they cast lots into what quarters they should either of them go, for that they held it not good policy to charge the enemy both of them joyntly in one part. Now certain it is, that *Valerius* received his lot according to the auspices, in that he was within the precinct of the Temple or prospect by the Augur assigned. But *Petilius* herein made default (as the Augurs pronounced afterwards) and namely, the error was herein, because he being himself without the compass aforesaid, had put the lot into the casket, which was carried afterwards within the circuit of the said Temple. This done, they went into divers quarters: *Petilius* encamped off from the bank

* The third of August.

* 5. of August.

* L'Alpi del Pelagium.

August 1.
August 10.

1200d

A bank and rising of the hill between *Bellona* and *Lavinia*, which by a continual ridge uniteth and joineth the one mountain to the other. There, as he was uttering his counsel in an open audience, he let fall (by report) an ominous word prefiging his own death, never thinking of the ambiguity and double construction of the saying, that he would that very day *capere Latium*. In two several places at once he began to mount up the hill. That moment wherein he was himself advanced forward contagiously: but the other was repelled and beaten back by the enemies: whereupon the Consul rode full gallop to help that side which went down, and in very truth reclaim his men he did from running away; but whilst without good regard of his own person he kept before the enigma in the forefront, he chanced to be shot through with a dart, and so fell down dead in the place. The enemies were not aware of the Generals death: but some few of his own men who saw him fall, made halt (as knowing well that in it consisted now the main victory) to cover his body. So the rest of the multitude, as well cavalry as infantry, captainless as they were, dispersed the enemies and were masters of the mountains. Of Ligurians there were slain 3000: of the Roman army not above two and fifty. Now besides this evident issue and event, which fell out upon so heavy and deadly a preface by the *Omen* aforesaid, the pullerier also was heard to say, that all was not well in the auspices of the birds: neither was the Consul himself ignorant thereof.

But *Omen* of his (which I commonly interpret [Omen] *presidium vasis jactum*; When a man casteth forth a word at a venture, and peradventure truly than he is aware. For want of a proper term to express the Latine [*Omen*] all translators hitherto, French, Italian, and English, have been put to their shifts, and help themselves with [Presage.] Which in mine opinion is not appropriate to the thing, but common: in comprising other tokens; of birds, whether they be *auguria* or *auspicia*; of beasts inwards, of lightning and the rest (or rather implying *divination*), the first denoting by those signs, yes, and extendeth to the fore-giving of the mind. Wherein that other word [Omen] is very significant, and in analogie equivalent to [*Omen*]. I marvel much therefore, why it is thought either strange and new (seeing it is English, used no doubt commonly in times past, and at this day current in the North parts, where the people heere are more observant of such presages) rather than many other forrain words, brought into our language, and ranged with the English: or why it should be condemned as abstruse and not pleasing to the ear, more than *tem* in Greek, which commonly betokeneth (a voice) and more properly in Plato (as *Eudemus* hath well observed) is taken for [*Omen*] like as *tem* for *ominari*, & *tem* for [*tem*] as *Eusebius* noteth upon *Homer*, *Iliad*, 2. From whence, who seeth not that [*Omen* and *Ooming* both] are derived? The word then being not basely born, but descended from the mother of all learning, the Greek tongue, and enfranchised in this Island time out of mind (howsoever it hath been confused into the North) would not be exiled clean, but rather reduced and received for a free denizen, *quasi possimio*.

C. *Valerius* having heard [The great clerks and deep divines; those also were profoundly seen in the common law, gave it forth. That seeing the two ordinary Consuls (Cn. *Cornelius Scipio Hispanus*, and Q. *Terentius Spathinus*) of that year, were both dead, the one by sickness, the other by the sword, it was not lawful for the other Consul (C. *Valerius Maximus*) subrogated in the place of the deceased, to hold the assembly general for the election of new Magistrates.]

conducted. On this side the Apennine were the *Garuli*, *Lapins*, and *Hercatani*: beyond the Apennine were the *Brinians*. Against them that had pillaged and ransacked *Pisa* and *Lunus*, Q. *Mutius* made war within the compass of the River *Audena*: and when he had brought them in subjection, he took from them their arms. For which exploits achieved in *France* and *Liguria* under the conduct and happy fortune of the two Consuls, the Senate ordained that there should be publick procession for three daies, and commanded to sacrifice forty greater beasts. And thus verily the tumultuous wars of the French and the Ligurians, which arose in the beginning of the year, were in short time and without any great mastery dashed and appeased.

But now in lieu thereof great care was taken for the Macedonian war, by occasion that *Perseus* sowed the seeds of debate and quarrel between the *Dardanians* and the *Bastarnians*. Besides, the Roman Embassadors who were sent into *Macedonia*, to see in what terms things there stood, were now returned to *Rome*, and had brought word, That in *Dardania* they were up in arms. With them there came also from King *Perseus* certain Orators to make excuse in his behalf, and to clear him in the action, namely, that the *Bastarnians* neither were by him sent for nor entred into any execution by his motive. The Senat would neither acquit the King as unguilty, nor yet directly accuse him as culpable in that point. Only they required, that he should be advertised and admonished, to be very well advised and careful to keep that league and accord inviolable, which he would seem to entertain with the Romans.

The *Dardanians* seeing that the *Bastarnians* were so far off from departing out of their country (as they well hoped they would) that they endangered them still every day more than other, as bearing themselves bold upon the succours of the *Thracians* neer neighbours, and the *Scordisci*; thought it their best course in policy, to adventure upon some hardy enterprise, although it were rash and inconsiderate: whereupon they assembled all in arms, and from every quarter of their country shewed and advanced before the next Town, to the camp of the *Bastarnians*. Winter time it was, a season of the year which they made choice of, that the *Thracians* and the *Scordisci* might be retired home into their own countries: which when they were advertised of, and that there remained none but the *Bastarnians* alone, they divided their forces in two parts: with the one, to march directly forward and openly to make head against them a front; with the other, to fetch a compass through by-wales and blind forreits, and so to charge upon their back. But before they could wheel about the enemies camp, the battail was begun: wherein the *Dardanians* had the overthrow, and were driven to put themselves within their City, which was almost twelve miles distant from the camp of the *Bastarnians*. The conquerors followed the train of victory,

* *Capere Latium* thus written with a capital L. signifieth, To gain the hill *Latium*: but with the little l. (which the ear cannot distinguish) importeth, To take his death. * *Valerius Maximus* reporting the same story, calleth

This within these marks [] the Latine copies have not, but is partly supplied out of *Priscian* in his 17 book.

" of them, the hearts of some among us might be solicited and tempted to novelty and alteration. **M**
 " on: we now are content to hear the King, although absent in person, preaching in our sort to
 " us, yea, and more than that (God send us good luck) approve and applaud his Oration. And
 " whereas the very wild beasts refuse (for the most part) the meat which is laid for a bait to de-
 " ceive and hurt them, yea, and have the wit to shun and avoid the same; we, blind beetles that we
 " are, suffer our selves to be caught and led with the vain appearance and colorable shew of a little
 " kindness, and for hope to recover some poor slaves (a matter of small worth & reckoning) suffer
 " our own freedom to be undermined, and in danger of subversion. For who fees not, that the
 " overture is made, and the way laid open for entrance into confederacy with the King, only to
 " violate and break on association with the Romans, wherein standeth all our weal and welfare?
 " Unless some man peradventure will make a question, whether the Romans must levy war against
 " *Perseus*; nor doubt thereof now after *Philip* is dead, which in his life time was expelled; and by
 " his death only interrupted? Two sons, ye know full well, *K. Philip* had, *Demetrius* and *Perseus*.
 " For nobleness of parentage by the mothers side, for verities, for wit, for the love and affection of
 " the Macedonians, *Demetrius* far surpassed his brother. But for that the father intended even
 " meant, that whether of his two sons hated the Romans, he should have the crown later him for
 " recompence, he caused *Demetrius* to be murdered: for no other crime in the world that could he
 " laid to his charge, save only that he was entred into amity with the Romans: but *Perseus* he
 " made the King, whom he knew that the people of *Rome* judged more worthy to suffer unjusti-
 " fication than to inherit a Kingdom. And this *Perseus*, what other thing hath he done else after his
 " fathers decease, but made preparation for war: First and foremost, he procured the *Bastarnians* to
 " the terror of all the world, for to invade *Dardania*; who if they had settled there, *Greeks* should
 " have had more troublesome neighbors of them than *Asia* hath of the *Galatians*. And albeit he
 " was disappointed of this hope, yet he gave not over to design and plot for war: nay, if we will
 " speak a truth, he hath already begun the war. *Dolops* he hath subdued by force of arms: & could
 " not abide to hear that the determination of certain provinces which were debatable and lit-
 " gious, should be referred to the award of the people of *Rome*. From thence having passed over
 " the mountain *Oeta*, that all upon a sudden he might shew himself in the very heart of *Greece*,
 " he ascended up to *Pelops*. And to what end; think ye, hath he taken this diswonted yage and
 " unaccustomed expedition? After this he made his progress all over *Thessaly*: And what did he
 " do, but to terrify and awe all of them, whom he hated in his heart? I fear me so much the more this
 " manner of dealing, and that it is a bait to catch them withal. Then, forsooth, he sendeth his letters
 " unto us, with a goodly shew of a bon present, and willet us to think upon how to prevent
 " from henceforth, that we never had need again of the like bounty of his. What is that, but to
 " amul and repeal that edict of ours, wherein the Macedonians are debarred from sitting forth with-
 " in *Peloponnesus*? and to bring about, that we may have again the Kings Embassadors to come
 " unto us, that we may entertain mutual hospitality between their Princes and ours: and upon
 " after see the Macedonian armies, yea, and the King also in person to cross from *Daphn* (for a small
 " arm of the Sea lieth between) straight over into *Peloponnesus*; and finally, that we bind and com-
 " bine with the Macedonians, when they shall take arms against the Romans? As for me, this is
 " mine advice, to make no new ordinance, but to let all alone in their entire order, as they now
 " stand, until such time as we are come to some certain terms. Whether we have cause to be afraid,
 " or fear only our own shadows? If the league shall continue firm and sure between the Romans &
 " the Macedonians, then may we have intercourse of friendship, of commerce and traffick with
 " them. But for this present to think & consider hereof, in my simple judgment is a nice and tick-
 " lish point, & besides, out of season, untimely, and somewhat with the soonest. When he had thus
 " said, *Arco* brother to *Xenarchus* the Pretor discoursed in this manner following: " *Callistratus*
 " (qd. he) hath caused both me and all of us besides, who are of contrary opinion to him, for to find
 " the more difficulty in speaking our minds to the cause in question. For whilst in maintenance
 " of the association which we have with the Romans, he saith that it is disturbed and troubled,
 " (albeit there be no man about either to disturb or trouble it), he hath wrought cunningly and
 " contrived, that whosoever seemeth to gain say him, may be thought to oppose and set himself
 " against the Romans. In the first place, as if he had been a man, not conversing here among us, but
 " one come from the Senat of *Rome*, or some inward secretary and of the privy counsel to the Kk.
 " he knoweth forsooth, and uttereth all that in great secrecy hath been done. Nay, he foretelleth
 " like a wise man, what would have ensued, in case *Philip* had lived longer: & namely, how it came
 " about, that *Perseus* thus inherited the crown: what the Macedonian designs are; and what the
 " Romans intend to do. But we, who know neither for what cause, nor in what manner *Demetrius*
 " came by his death, nor yet what *Philip* meant to have done if he had lived still, must accommo-
 " dat & frame our counsel to those occurrences which have openly passed in the view of the world.
 " We take knowledge, that *Perseus*, after he was invested in his throne and crowned King, re-
 " ed to the Roman Embassadors; and we know likewise that he was initiated by the people of
 " *Rome* with the style of (King *Perseus*). We hear besides, that Roman Embassadors came to the
 " King, and were by him well received and graciously entertained. If I have any judgment, these
 " be all signs of peace and not of war, neither can the Romans take offence, if, as we followed them
 " when they bare arms, so we follow them now likewise, as the authors of peace. And verily I see
 " no reason why we alone of all other Greeks, should make so mortal and irreparable war against
 " the

" *Servius*, as
 some think.

" *Morea*.

The Oration
 of *Archo*.

The Oration of
Archo.

1 The veins of *Perseus*. What is it become? We are to beer into the Macedonians, and by this
 2 vicinity expecteth all dangers from thence? or that we are the weaker of all the nations? No
 3 the Dolopians, whom *Perseus* of late hath subdued? Nay, Two, it is far otherwise and I fear one
 4 trusty, Sure enough we are for my parts they shall do us in regard either of our own forces (Which
 5 the Gods of their good will have vouchsafed us) or of the distance of places far remove. But
 6 for a case we be as much subject as the Thessalians and Erolians: Say we are of no more credit and
 7 authority among the Romans (albeit we have been always their allies and friends) than the
 8 Erolians be, who were their open enemies till the other day: Then, what right, what privilege
 9 and comarage the Erolians, the Thessalians, the Epivots, and in one word, all Greece herself
 10 have and use with the Macedonians, we also may have and hold the same. How is it then, that we
 11 some like cursed and damned creatures, should thus practise to abandon the common law of
 12 men, and (as it were) renounce all human society. Be it that *Philip* (when time was) did some
 13 what, and gave us just cause, armed as he was and ever warring upon us, to pass this decree and
 14 edict against him: what hath *Perseus* deserved? *Perseus* (I say) the new King, a harmless Prince that
 15 never did us injury; nay, who is willing and seeketh by counterfeits and good things to cancel and
 16 raze out all former quarrels and enmities of his father? why are we the only enemies that he
 17 hath in the world? And yet I might tell well & truly say, that from the former Kings of Mac-
 18 dony we have received so great favors and benefits, that in regard thereof, we should put up and for-
 19 get the wrongs of *Philip* alone (if haply he have done us any) at least will now after he is dead
 20 and his head laid, indeed, at what time as the Roman fleet rid in the harbor of *Cenchrea*, and the
 21 Consul lay encamped with his army before *Elania*, we sat in counsel three daies together, deba-
 22 ting and devising, Whether we should band with the Romans or side with *Philip*. And albeit the
 23 present fear of the Romans before our eyes, might have made us in our opinions to incline
 24 somewhat and lean toward them: yet there was something in it doubtless, that it was so long ere
 25 we could resolve: and to say a truth, it was the ancient acquaintance and amity that we had with
 26 the Macedonians, and the great benefits which in old time we had received from their Kings.
 27 Why then, me thinks, those self same regards should be of some force and efficacy to move us. If
 28 not to be their special and best friends, yet at least will not to be their principal and greatest ene-
 29 mies. Let us not, *Callicrates*, make semblance and shew of that which we are not in hand with-
 30 all, and is no point of this present question. There is no motive made of a new society: there is
 31 no person about to draw any capitulations of a new alliance. Wherein we should rashly enwrap
 32 and encangle our selves, and be tied to any inconvenience. Only let there be a mutual commerce
 33 between us, and an alternative intercourse of yielding and demanding right to and fro, as ap-
 34 pertaineth: let us not by interdicting and forbidding them to enter and tarry within our coun-
 35 try, debar our selves likewise from all negotiation and dealing with them in their Kingdom: that
 36 by this means our selves may have no place of retreat and refuge to flee unto. And what pre-
 37 judice is this to the Roman confederacy? Wherefore make we this of a small thing and evident, so
 38 great a matter and suspicious? Wherefore raise we such troubles of nothing? Wherefore seek we to
 39 draw others into jealousy and hatred with the Romans, and all this to find means of courting &
 40 flattering them? If there will be war, *Perseus* (ye may be sure) maketh no doubt but that we also
 41 together will follow the Romans: yet so long as the peace holdeth, let us ease and suspend wa in some
 42 sort our malice and hatred for the while; if ended for ever it may not be. When the same men
 43 who had consented to the Kings letters before, gave their accord now also to this proposal, the
 44 chief and principal persons among them took great indignation and disdain that *Perseus* should
 45 seem to demand and obtain that by a few lines in writing, which he deemed was not worth the
 46 sending an embassage. Whereupon the time was deferred and no decree passed at this Session. Af-
 47 terwards were Embassadors addressed unto them from the King, at what time as a Diet was hold-
 48 den in *Megalopolis*: but the side which was for the Romans, and feared to give them occasion of
 49 displeasure and offence, did what they could to debar them of access and entrance into the Coun-
 50 cel. And much about this time, by reason of these jars the Erolians grew enraged among them-
 51 selves, and by discharging their mutual fury in killing one another, had like to have brought the
 52 state to a final ruin and desolation. But being weary thereof, they in the end as well of the one side
 53 as the other, sent their Embassadors to Rome, and also laboured at home to have the quarrel taken
 54 up, and to be made friends and reconciled together. Howbeit this was rolled by a new mischief
 55 that came between, which also rubbed the former galls and fretted the old sores. For whereas cer-
 56 tain Hypocrites, exiled persons, and being of the nation of *Proetus* were promised liberty to re-
 57 turn home again into their country, with safe conduct also granted by *Emilius*: one of the chief &
 58 principal men of the City (so it was, that somecore of them, men of mark and quality whom to
 59 meet upon the way as they returned, *Emilius* himself went out with the multitude) after they
 60 had been friendly received with courteous greetings, salutations, and shaking of hands, had no
 61 sooner entered within the gate of the City, but they were massacred notwithstanding they pleaded
 62 the former promise of protection, and called the Gods to witness, but all in vain. By this occasion
 63 the civil war between them waxed much hotter than before, and turned in the end to a light fire.
 64 Now discharged *C. Valerius Laevinus*, *Publius Pulcher*, *L. Mummius*, *M. Popilius*, and *L. Cani-*
 65 *nius* sent from the Senate of Rome, before these commissioners the Embassadors from both fac-
 66 tions appeared at *Delphi*, and debated the matter with great earnestness and vehemency where *Per-*
 67 *seus* seemed to have the better hand as well in sight of the cause, as through his eloquent tongue.

Proculus (I say) who within few daies after drank a cup of poison of his wives compulsion, whereof he died: & she condemned therefore departed into exile. The like madness haunted the *Caudians* also & distracted them with intestine dissension. But upon the coming of *Q. Marcius* the Lieutenant General, who was sent accompanied with a fleet of ten sail, to appease their debates, they fell to some terms of peace and attonement. There had been a truce also before of six months but afterwards the war flamed out much more terrible. The *Lyicians* likewise at the same time were infected & plagued with war by the *Rhodians*. But my meaning is not, neither is it any part of my purpose, to describe the wars of forain nations, nor to discourse of the circumstances how to proceed for enough I have to do, & more than I can wel discharge, to write the acts only of the people of *Rome*.

The *Celtiberians* in *Spain*, who being tamed by force of arms, had submitted to *I. Gracchus*, remained quiet all the time that *M. Titinius* the Pretor continued there in government. But immediately upon the arrival of *Ap. Claudius* they revolted and began to shew themselves in open action of rebellion, by giving a suddain assault upon the Roman camp. It was about the break of day, when the sentinels upon the rampier and *Corps de guard* about the gates, might discover enemies coming a far off and so they gave the alarm. *Ap. Claudius* having put out the signal of battail & in few words exhorted his souldiers to fight and play the men, led them forth at three gates at once. The *Celtiberians* made head and opposed their forces as they issued forth. At the first the skirmish was equal on both parts: for that by reason of the streights of the passage, all the Romans could not fight: but after that one had put forward another, and followed still apace, they were all at length gotten without the trench, so as they were able now to display their battailions: & to confront their enemies from one point of their battail to the other, wherewith before they were environed: and then they made so forcible a fall upon them, that the *Celtiberians* were not able to endure their violence. For before the second hour of the day, they were discomfited and 5000 of them either died in the place, or yielded their bodies prisoners: 34 military ensignes they lost and were turned out of the camp the same day and here is an end of that war. For as many as escaped the conflict gar them home to their own towns & quietly afterwards bare the yoke of subjection.

That year were created Censors, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* & *A. Posthumius Albinus*: who made a review of Senators and chose new. For President of the Senat they elected *M. Aemilius Lepidus* the Archbishop. Nine they put out of the Senat-house. The principal persons noted and disgraced, were these, *M. Corn. Maluginensis*, who two years before had been Pretor in *Spain*; *L. Corn. Scipio*, Pretor for the time being, and *L. chief Justice* of the common pleas, as well among citizens as aliens; and *L. Fulvius*, who was whole brother to the Censor himself, & as *P. Antius* reporteth, equal in degree of calling, and his fellow every way. The Consuls also after they had made their vows within the Capitol, went forth to their Provinces. The one of them, (to wit, *M. Aemilius*) had in charge given him by the Senat to appease the sedition of the *Padoans* in *Venice*, who as their Embassadors made report, by factious siding and part-taking, were all on a fire with civil war.

The Embassadors who were gone into *Asolia* for to pacify the like troubles, brought word back, That it was not possible to bridle and refrain the furious rage of that nation. But the coming of the Consul made all whole among the *Padoans* and cured the malady: who having nothing else to do in the province, returned to *Rome*.

These Censors were the first that caused the streets of *Rome* to be paved with hard flint and pebble stone within the City: and the high waies and canseys without to be raised with gravel & the sides therof to be wel banked and kept in reparations: also bridges to be made in divers places: a scaffold besides for the *Ediles* and Pretors to behold the games & p aies. Moreover the barriers in the race, from whence the horses begin to run, and the *Ouales* to mark and score up the number of courses. * * * Over and besides the goles beyond * * * the iron gates and cages * * * and at the feasts in the mount *Albane* for the Consuls. They took order besides all this for the paving with flint of the cliff or descent from the Capitol and from the gallery or porch before the temple of *Saturn* looking toward the Capitol, unto the place called *Senaculum*, and the court *Hofilia* above it. Also the merchants Hall or burse without the gate *Tergemina* they paved with stone, and fenced it about with strong stakes and posts of wood. The gallery also *Aemilia* they caused to be repaired: and made an ascent by stairs from the *Tyber* to the burse, or merchants Hall aforesaid. Without the same gate also, they paved with pebble stone the gallery or walking place into the *Aventine* * * * from the Temple of *Venus*. The same Censors bargained for the making of walls about *Calatia* and *Oxyrum*: and having made sale of some publick edifices there, they employed the mony raised therof, in making of shops & stalls round about both the market places. The one of them, that is to say, *M. Fulvius*, (for *Posthumius* said plainly, that unless it were by venue either of an act of the Senat, or grant of the people of *Rome*, he would put forth no works to be made with dispenfe of their money) agreed upon a price for the building of a Temple to *Jupiter* at *Pisaurum* & at *Fundis*: also make a conduit, for water to be conveighed to *Rossantia*, and at *Pisaurum* for a way to be paved, and *Sinuessæ* * * * In these colonies he caused also a sink or vault to be made about them, to carry away all filthiness into the river: also the market place to be enclosed with porches, galleries, and shops; and three stately halls called *Iani*, with quarrefours or four thoroughfares, and as many fronts. For these works, one of the Consuls disbursed the money, and bargained with the Publicans and undertakers. In which regard, the inhabitants of those colonies above named, gave him great thanks. These Censors were likewise severe and precise in exercising their office for the redressing and reformation of mens manners: for many Gentlemen had their houses of service taken from them, which were allowed them by the City.

A little before the years end, there was a solemn procession holden one whole day for the happy achievement of the affairs in Spain, under the conduct and good fortune of *Appius Claudius* the Pro-consul: and twenty head of great beasts were killed in sacrifice. And the morrow after they went in another procession with supplications, at the Temples of *Ceres*, *Liber*, and *Libera*: for that there was reported from the *Sabines* country, a mighty earthquake, which over-turned many houses.

After that, *App. Claudius* was returned out of Spain to Rome, the Senat ordained, that he should enter the City with the pomp of an Ovation. And now approached the time for the election of new Consuls. Much ado there was and hard hold at this assembly, by reason of the multitude of competitors: but in the end, *L. Posthumius Albinus* and *M. Popilius Lanus* were elected Consuls. At which done, the Pretors also were created, to wit, *Cn. Fabius Buteo*, *M. Marienus*, *C. Cicereius*, *M. Fur. Crassipes*, *A. Attilius Serranus*, & *C. Cluvius Saxula*, these three last rehearied, the second time.

This business and solemnity finished, *App. Claudius* came entering with Ovant pomp into the City for his victory of the *Celtiberians*, brought into the common treasury 10000 pound weight of silver, and 5000 of gold. *Cn. Cornelius* was consecrated the Flamin of *Jupiter*.

The same year there was set up a painted Table in the Temple of the goddess *Minerva* with this inscription, Under the conduct and happy government of *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, Consul, the legions and army of the people of Rome, subdued *Sardinia*. In which Province, there were slain and taken prisoners 80000 enemies, which *Gracchus* (after he had managed the affairs of state most fortunately, delivered many captives out of bondage, and recovered the tributes and customs to the Common-wealth) brought home with him his army safe and sound, charged with an exceeding rich booty, and reentered the City of Rome, in a second triumph. In memorial of which exploit, he caused this table to be set up as a present in the honour of *Jupiter*.

Now this table contained the portraiture of the Iland *Sardinia*, and the picture also and resemblance of sundry battails. Moreover, in this year were represented to the people certain pastimes and shews of sword-players, whereof some were small and of no account: but one above the rest, exhibited by *T. Flaminius*, surpassed. And this he did in honour of his father deceased: with a dole of flesh among the people, a great publick feast besides, and stage-plays for four dayes together. But the principal matter in this festival solemnity, was this, That in three daies space there fought at utterance with unprepared swords, threescore and fourteen champions,

The two and fortieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the two and fortieth Book.

Fulvius Flaccus the Censor uncovered the roof of the Church of *Juno Lacinia*, which was set on fire with matter, and all to cover a Temple which he had dedicated. But by an act of the Senat he was forced to bestow the seat there again. *Eumenes* the King of Asia complained in the Senat, of *Perseus* King of Macedonia. His injuries done to the people of Rome are here reported: for the which, defiance was sent, and war proclaimed against him. *P. Licinius Crassus* the Consul, unto whom the Province of Macedonia was assigned, passed over thither, and in certain light expeditions, fought sundry battails with *Perseus* in Thessaly, all by horse-service: but with bad success. The Senat appointed a day of bearing between *Macedonia* and the *Carthaginians*, touching the territory in question. Ambassadors were sent to the affected Cities and States, and to the confederate Kings, to request them to continue loyal and fast in friendship, by reason that the *Rhodians* stood in doubtful terms. The Censors took a review and numbered the citizens of Rome, wherein were enrolled in the subsidy book 257231. Moreover, that book contained the famous exploits against the Islanders of *Corfica* and the *Ligurians*.

The two and fortieth Book of T. Livius.

After that *L. Posthumius Albinus* and *M. Popilius Lanus* the Consuls had before all other things proposed unto the Senat as touching the government of the Provinces & conduct of the armies, ordained it was, that *Liguria* should be the charge as well of the one, of them as the other. Also that both of them should levy new legions, (and two a peece they were allowed to have) therewith to defend the said province and keep it in obedience, besides 1000 footmen and 200 horse of *Lanine* allies. Moreover, to enrol 3000 foot, and 200 horse of Romans for a supply in Spain. Last of all, commanded they were to press 1500 footmen and 200 horse of Roman citizens: with which strength, that Pretor, unto whom *Sardinia* fell, should pishover into *Corfica*, there to war, and *M. Anilius* the old Pretor, in mean time to see unto the government of *Sardinia*. This done, the Pretors went to cast lots for their provinces. *A. Anilius* had the place of Lord chief justice, within the City, and *C. Cluvius Saxula* the jurisdiction between

Before that these Magistrates took their journey, the Senat was advised that D. Brutus the Consul should go into *Campania*, for to hunt out the City-lanes apart from the grounds of private persons: for that it was seen and known, that particular men setting out their houses and encroaching by little and little upon the Commons, in process of time held a great part of it in their own possession. This Col. was angry and offended with the Praetors for that upon a time when he went thither amongst them (in quality then of a private person) he often acceded in the temple of *Fortuna*, they did him no honor neither in publicke nor private. Whereupon, before he departed from *Rome*, he addressed his letters before him to *Franciscus*, that the chief Magistrate should come and meet him upon the way, provide him a lodging at their Cities charges, and at his departure from thence, to see that there were sumpter horses and beasts of carriage ready for him. Now before this mans Consulship, the Magistrates of *Rome* had never been chargeable to their allies, nor put them to cost for any thing whatsoever: and therefore allowed they were from the City their mules: let out they were with tents and pavilions, and all other furniture and provision for the wars, to the end that they should not lay upon the allies any such burden. Private lodging they had in friends houses, which they entertained courteously & liberally with reciprocal hospitality. For as *Rome* likewise their houses were open to receive those hosts of theirs, with whom they were wont before to have kind usage, and who had bidden them welcome. In like manner Embassadours (if they were sent by chance to any place of a suddain) imposed upon the towns & cities through which they were to pass, one sumpter horse only to farther expence were no allies put for any Roman Magistrates. This revenge of the Consul for a discourtesy offered, due & just though it were, yet not to have been exercised during his magistracy) and the silence of the Praetors (proceeding either of too much modesty or over-great fear) gave occasion to the magistrates ever since to take it for a privilege and custome to do the semblable, yea, and to charge their allies with more grievous impositions every day than other in the same kind, as if the precedent example had been approved.

In the beginning of this year, the Embassadors who had been sent into *Etolia* and *Macedonia*, made report, That they might not come to the speech of *K. Perseus*, for that some said he was absent: others, that he was sick: and the one as false, as the other was untrue: howbeit, they might evidently perceive and see, that preparation was made for war, and that he would delay no longer, but enter into arms. In like sort they related, that in *Etolia* the civil disention and sedition grew daily more and more, neither could the rapraids of these furious disorders be repressed and held in awe by their countenance and authority.

As the Consul *Romulus* was troubled upon the continual vexation of the *Macedonian* war, before any enterprise thereof begun, thought good it was and requisite, that order first should be taken for the expiation of prodigies and the pacification of the Gods, by way of humbly prayers, such as were represented and delivered unto them out of the fatal books of *Sibylla*. For at *Lanuvium* were seen, as the common voice went, certain shews and resemblances of a mighty great navy. Item, At *Priverum* there grew black wooll out of the earth. Also in the *Veientian* territory, peera *Fontaine* called *Remensis* it rained stones. Moreover, all the countrey *Romprimum* was so small, with clouds of Locusts, and within the Land of *Gallia*, there were seen certain fishes to leap from under the plow of earth, that were turned with the plow as it took stich and made furrow. For these strange and fearful sights, the foresaid books were looked into and perused, and out of them the Decemvirs declared and pronounced both unto what Gods sacrifice should be offered, and what beasts were to be slain: moreover, that the one supplication should be holden, as propitiatory for those prodigious tokens, as also the other, which the year before had been vowed for the health of the people, should now be performed, and holidays kept therefore. So the sacrifices were accomplished according to the order and form set down in writing by the Decemvirs.

The very same year was the Church of *Juno Lavinia* dedicated, upon this occasion: *Q. Fulvius Placens* the Censor was building of a temple to *Fortuna* *aquefusa*, which he had vowed during the war against the *Celtiberians*, when he was Lord Praetor in *Spain*. His desire and earnest endeavor was to restrain himself, that there might not be in *Rome* a temple of more state and magnificence than this. And supposing that it would be a great beauty and ornament unto it, in case the roof were covered with tiles of marble: he went into the *Brutians* countrey, & there he was so bold with the Church above said of *Juno Lavinia*, as to untile the one half thereof, making full account, that so much would serve for to cover that temple which he was a building. But *Santi* *Roges* he had ready for to receive and carry away the said tiles or slates, without being impeached or troubled for this fact, edgy by the allies, whom he held in awe and frightened by his Censorship authority. Now after the Censor was returned to *Rome*, those marble slates were disbacked out of the foresaid vessels, and conveyed to the temple. And albeit no words were made from whence any name, yet conceived it could not be, who he upon so le much mattering in the Senat, and from all parts thereof they called hard upon the Censors to have the matter put to question and debated of. The Censor was sent for, who was no sooner entered into the Senat, but both in general, & also every one in particular had a sting at him, and much more sharply reproached him to his face in those terms, That he could not be content to abuse or violate the most holy and sacred Church in those parts, which neither *Purbs* nor *Sanctus* ever offered violence unto: but he should have been in

fool

A soul shot, and in manner laid to ruins: The bottom thereof was taken away and gone, the roof left bare and naked, exposed, and open to rain and foul weather, and thereby subject to rot: that he being chosen Consul, for to reform the manners of others, to whom it appertained by his office to see that the Temples were cloth and covered, to call upon, that all publick places be kept wind-tight and water-tight, and in sufficient repair, that he (I say) of all others should range over the Cities of allies & confederat States pulling down their Temples, as he goeth & uncovering the roofs of the sacred edifices, and by demolishing the Churches of the immortal Gods, commit that, which if he did but practise upon the private houses of allies, might seem an unworthy act and a great indignity: and finally, by raising one Temple with the ruin of another, oblige the people of Rome with the very guilt of his own crimes: as if (I will) the immortal Gods were not the same in all places, but that we might borrow and adorn some of them with the spoil of others. Now as it was apparent (before the matter was put to the censure of the Senate) which way the LL. inclined in opinion, it immediately upon the proposing thereof, they all opined and gave one sentence, That order should be taken with the publick works of the City, for the carrying back again of the same sculps to the former Temple, and that certain propitiatory sacrifices should be offered for the pacification of Jove. As for all ceremonies requisite toward the divine service aforesaid, they were with all compliments performed accordingly: but the farmers who had undertaken at a price to carry so many those tiles, brought word that they had landed them in the churchyard, and there left them, because they might not meet with any workman, who could devise with all the skill and cunning he had, how to bestow them as they were laid and couched before.

Ed Of those Praetors who were gone into their Provinces, *M. Fabius* as he was in his journey toward high Spain, died at *Malaga*: by the way, and therefore upon intelligence given thereof by the Malitian Embassadors, the Senat ordained that *P. Furius* and *Cn. Servilius*, whom so succeed others were to be sent, should cast lots between themselves, whether of them should continue still in government, and have the charge of high Spain. And the lot fell out very well and fit, that the said *Furius* who had ruled the said province before, should there remain.

The same year, by occasion that a good part of the Ligurians and Gauls territory won by conquest lay void and was not as yet in the tenure and occupation of any man, there passed an Act of the Senat, that it should be divided by the poll. So, *A. Atilius* the L. chief justice of the City of Rome, by leave of a decree granted out of the Senat, created ten Deputies or commissioners for that purpose, to wit, *M. Caelius Lepidus*, *C. Cassius*, *T. Egnatius*, *P. Lartius*, *C. Firmianus*, *P. Cornilius Gracchus*, *Q.* and *L.* both named *Apulius*, *M. Caelius*, *C. Sulpicius*, and *C. Manilius*. To every Roman citizen they for ever gave a piece, and to the Latino allies three.

About the same time that these affairs passed at Rome, there arrived thither Embassadors out of *Asia* about their own civil discords and seditions. Likewise there came others from *Thessaly*, reporting what was doing in *Macedonia*. For *Perseus* (casting now in his mind how to compass that war which during his fathers life he deviled and thought upon) endeavoured to draw and win unto him not only all the nations but the cities of *Greece*, by sending his embassages among them, & promising liberally more than he performed. Howbeit the hearts of the most part were inclined to him and favoured his designs, yea, and much more affectionate than to *K. Eumenes*, not without

reason, but all the States of *Greece*, and most of the principal personages were obliged unto *Eumenes*, and in legs it were with him, in regard of many courtesies and gracious favours received at his hands, & that he carried himself so in his own realm, that the cities which were subject unto him, were not willing to change their condition with any of the free States whatsoever. Whereas contrarywise the bruis went that *Perseus* after his fathers decease, killed his wife with his own hands, and likewise cruelly murdered *Apelles*, whose ministry and service in former time he had used in taking away the life of his brother *Demetrius*; for which cause he lived in exile, because *Philip* made search after him for to have him punished accordingly: him (I say) he murdered after he had sent for him upon his fathers death, and procured him to come unto him, with great promises to recompence him highly for the execution of the foresaid fact. Yet as infamous as he was with these

domesticall murders, and for no good part and worthy desert otherwise commendable; he was commonly better regarded of the States of the country than *King Eumenes*, a Prince so kind and good to his himself, so just and righteous to his subjects, so bounteous and respective to all men; whether it were that they possessed aforesaid with the same and majesty of the Macedonian Kings, despised the rising of this new Kingdom; or that they were desirous of novelties and alterations; or, lastly, that they wished and had a desire that he should make head against the Romans.

Now were not the *Thessalians* only together by the ears among themselves by reason they were dived so deep in debt, but the *Thessalians* also: and this pestilent malady as it were by catching and infection, was spread as far as *Perthabian*. But after that the Senat was advertised that the *Thessalians* had taken arms, they sent *App. Claudius* as Embassador to see and appease those troubles: who having rebuked and chastised the Captains of both sides, eased and stricken off a great part of the debt, which grew burdensome and grievous by excessive usury, and that with consent of the most of the creditors, who had thus overcharged their debtors, he parted the payment of the due debt and principal by even portions for certain years. The trouble of state of *Perthabian* likewise was reduced into good terms of quietnes by the self-same *Appius*, and after the same order: And at the very same instant *Marcellus* visited the *Thessalians* & took knowledge at *Dolphi* of their troubles and commotions which proceeded from very hostile hearts & minds, enemy-like, & were pursued with

which it was: And when he saw that they intended and were about to make a treaty with the Gauls, he would by his counsel have changed the face of the treaty more than the other: but he rejected them in his own words, saying that he would make an end of discord and difference, and bury all that war in perpetual oblivion: whereupon they were reconciled: and this their intemperance was ended with the assistance of mutual interchangeably given: and accorded it was, they should intercalate in the treaty the hostages. From *Daphni* and that general diet of *Ardea*, now the seat of the late *Perseus*, where he had appointed and published a solemn assembly and council of state, he went. Wherein he highly praised and commended the whole nation, for observing so faithfully their promise, whereby they debarred and excluded the Macedonian King out of their confines, he declared evidently and presented to the view of all the world, what mind and heart he had bare to *Perseus*. And that it might break out the sooner into open war, King *Evander* wrote to *Rome*, and brought with him a note or abstract of all the preparation for the war, which with diligent search and enquiry into particulars, he had gathered. Much about the same time, the five Embassadors sent unto *Rome* for to see into the affairs of *Macedony*, were commanded to take a voyage as far as *Ardea*, to renew the old amity with King *Perseus*. The names of them were these, *Q. Fabius*, *Q. Lutatius*, *C. C. C. C. C.*, *S. S. S. S. S.*, *M. Cornilius Mammula*, and *M. Caelius Dentatus*. And even then of not much time, there came Embassadors from King *Antiochus*: and the chief and principal person among them, one *Apollonius*, was admitted to come into the Senate, where he excused the King his master for many good and just reasons, in that he had not sent his tribute, & made painfully sooth as he ought by the day appointed: but now (he said) that he had brought it all, to the end that the King should be to them beholden for nothing but the respite of time only. And besides, that they were come with a present of certain plate of gold, weighing 50 pound. That the King his petition was, That the society and friendship which had been contracted between his father and them, might be renewed also with him: promising, that if the people of *Rome* would impose any thing upon him to be done, which were meet to be laid upon a good and faithful ally, he would not fail in his devoir to perform all offices whatsoever. For why, the Senate had so well deserved of him, as when time as he sojournd in *Rome*, and such courtesy he found among the house of the Roman young Gentlemen: that of all degrees and sorts of men, he was reputed and used more like a King indeed, than an hostage for the time. These Embassadors received a gracious answer, and withal, that the Prior of the City was enjoined to renew the league with *Antiochus*, which had been concluded with his father. As for the tribute, the treasures of the City received it: and the Censors took all the golden vessels aforesaid, who had the charge to bestow the same in what Temples they thought good. Unto the chief Embassador was sent a present in money, amounting to the sum of one hundred Asseis: who also was allowed as house to lodge in, at his pleasure of free cost: and all his charges were defrayed by the City, during the time that he made abode in *Rome*. The Embassadors, who had been in *Syria*, gave this report of him, That he was a man in great favour and highly honoured with the King: and besides, singularly well affected to the people of *Rome*. Now concerning the affairs of the provinces for that year, thus much as followeth.

C. C. C. C. C. the Prior fought in ranged battail with the enemies in *Corfica*, wherein 7000 of the *Blunders* were slain: and 1700 and better taken prisoners. In that conflict the Prior had vowed to build the Chappel of *Juno Moneta*. After this, was peace granted to the *Corfians* at their own suit and seeking, but they were compelled to pay to hundred thousand weight of wax. *Cicero* having thus subdued *Corfica*, passed from thence over into *Sardinia*. A field battle was fought in *Liguria*, within the territory of the *Statellars*, near the Town *Cynipia*, for thither assembled a great army of the *Ligurians*. At first upon the arrival of *M. Popilius* the Consul they kept close within the walls: but afterwards, seeing the Romans at the point to give assault and to lay battery to the walls, they issued forth of the gates and embattailed themselves. The Consul for his part followed nor to come to hand-fight, the only thing he sought for in threatening to give assault. The conflict continued above 3 hours, and the hope of victory hung in equal balance: N which when the Consul perceived, namely, how the *Ligurian* ensignes removed not and gave no ground, he commanded his Cavalry to mount on horseback, and to charge with all their force and violence upon their enemies in three several places: many of these horsemen pierced quite through the midst of the battail, and passed so far, that they charged the enemies upon the back as they fought. Whereupon the *Ligurians* were much terrified, and began to flee from all parts: very few retired back into the City, by reason that the horsemen made head against them that way most: besides, many of the *Ligurians* were left dead in the place: such was their resolute persistence in fight, killed also they were every where as they fled. Ten thousand (by report) fell upon the edge of the sword, above seven hundred taken prisoners in one place or other, and 82 military ensignes were carried away. And yet was not this victory without effusion of Roman blood: for there died of them not so few as three thousand soldiers, by reason that the foremost of both sides fought so manfully in the forefront, and while they would nor give ground one to the other, were stricken down and slain without mercy. After this battail, the *Ligurians* rallied themselves into one place, out of all parts where they were scattered in the rout, and seeing that more of their men were lost than left behind (for in all they were not above ten thousand) they yielded simply without any composition, in which good hope they were, that the Consul

A Consul would not deal with by their hands in more rigorous manner than other Generals before him. But he dismissed them all, raised their Towns, sold their bodies & all that they had, and sent letters to the Senat of their exploits of his. Which when *M. Minucius* the Pretor had read in the Senat, for the other Consul *Posthumius* was absent, by occasion that he was employed in the survey and visiting of the Lands in *Campania*, they thought it a very hard and cruel course, that the Scatellats, who only of all the Ligurians had not borne arms against the Romans, who were then assailed first, when as they began not of their own accord to make war, who also put themselves into the protection of the Romans, should be thus rigorously treated, thus torn, dismembred and consumed in most cruel manner: that so many thousands of frisk condition, innocent persons, and imploring the mercy of the Romans, should be thus sold out-right, (a most dangerous example, that never hereafter any one will venture to submit himself again;) and finally, that they should be distracted and carried away into all parts, to live in slavery under them, who having been sometimes professed enemies of the Romans, now enjoy peace and repose. In regard hereof, there passed an act or act of the Senat, that *M. Popilius* the Consul should pay back the price unto the buyers, and restore the Ligurians to their former liberty: to take order also that their goods (as much as possibly might be recovered) should be rendered unto them: also that armour should be made in that nation with all speed possible, and that the Consul so soon as he had reestablished the Ligurians (upon their submission) in their former estate, should depart out of the Province: forasmuch as the honour of victory consisted not in exercising cruelty upon the poor and afflicted, but in vanquishing the obstinate. But the Consul as he bare himself proud and cruel against the Ligurians, so he shewed as great forwardness and disobedience to the Senat. And having sent away the legions to winter in *Pisa*, he returned to *Rome*, carrying a full and angry stomach against the LL, and as spiteful and malicious a mind to the Pretor: where immediately he assembled the Senat in the Temple of *Bellona*, and rattled up the Pretor in broad and gross terms. For that he, whose part it had been to have moved the Senat for thanksgiving to the immortal Gods, in regard of the happy achievement of the wars, instead thereof passed an act of the Senat against him and in favor of the enemies, for to put him by his victory and to give it away from him to the Ligurians; and finally, being no better than a Pretor, would have had the Consul yielded in manner up into their hands. Whereupon he said that he would be so bold as set a fine on his head: and withal, he required the LL of the Senat to command and ordain, That the arell devised against him might be reversed; and to give order, that the processions which in his absence they ought to have decreed (upon his letters sent of his good success) might now be holden; in consideration first of the honour due to the immortal Gods, and then respectively in some measure for his own desert. But after he was checked by some of the Senators to his face, and that in no milder terms than he had been rebuked in his absence, he went his waies into his Province again, and obtained neither the one nor the other.

The other Consul *Posthumius* having spent the whole summer in surveying the Lands only, and never so much as seen his own Province, returned to *Rome* against the general assembly for election, and created Consuls *C. Popilius Lenax*. Consequently were Pretors elected, to wit, *C. Licinius Crassus*, *M. Junius Pennus*, *Sp. Læretius*, *Sp. Cluvius*, *Cn. Scipius*, and *C. Memmius*, the second time. In that year was holden a review of the City and the number taken of citizens, (when as *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* and *L. Posthumius Albinus* were Censors;) wherein were found and enrolled of Roman citizens 209015. The number was somewhat the less, by reason that *L. Posthumius* the Consul had proclaimed in a publick audience, That no person of those Latine allies, who were to return into their own Cities (by vertue of an edict made when *C. Claudius* was Consul) should be enrolled into the subsidy book at *Rome*, but every man in his several City. This Censorship was administered with concord and unity, yea and to the good and profit of the common-weal. What Senators (never they) deposed from their place and dignity; and so many Gentlemen of *Rome* as they took their Horses from, they made them all no better than contributaries to pay all for and for, yea, and displaced them out of their tribes. And look whomsoever the one of them moved with disgrace and ignominy, he was not relieved nor allowed again by the other. This *Fulvius* dedicated the Temple of *Fortuna equestris*, now six years after he had vowed the same in a battle which he fought with the Celtiberians, at what time as he was Pro-consul in *Spain*: likewise he exhibited the *Agon* plates for four daies together, and one day in the cirque or shew-place, *Corn. Lentulus* (a Decemvir for the holy rites and sacrifices) that year died: in whose room was substituted *M. Posthumius Albinus*. There were such mighty drifts and clouds as it were of locusts, brought suddenly at once by a wind from the Sea into *Apulia*; that with their swarms they overspread all the fields far and near. For the hindrance of which some vermine consuming the fruits of the earth, *Cn. Scipio*, Pretor elect, was sent with his full commission of command into *Apulia*, who assembled a mighty number of people for to gather them up, and employed much time thereabout.

In the beginning of the year ensuing, wherein *C. Popilius* and *M. Albinus* were Consuls, the remnant of the debates which arose the year before was set on foot again. The LL of the Senat would have had the matter proposed & debated again touching the Ligurians, and the ordinance of the Senat in that behalf renewed. But, as *Albinus* the one Consul put up a bilt heretofore, so *Popilius* the other was an earnest suiter, & besought both his colleague & also the Senat in the behalf of his brother: may he proceeded so far, that he gave the house to understand, in case they went about any such decrees

* The fortune of horse-fight.

decree prejudicial unto him, he would crosse and repoke the same by which countenance of his he H
 affrighted his colleague: but the LL. were offended so much the more and formed against both the
 Consuls, yea, and persisted still in their enterprise. And therefore when it was debated in council
 as concerning the Provinces, albeit the Consuls made means to be sent into *Maedary* (the same one
 war of *Perseus* was so neer at hand) yet *Liguria* was assigned to both of them: for the LL. promised
 and said, That they would not pass a decree for the government of *Maedary*, unless the case of *Papilius*
 were p^oounded, and an act thereof entered. Afterwards when they demanded a warrant to
 enrol new armies, or at least-wise to levy a supply for making up the old, both the one motion
 and the other was denied. The Pretors also, who required to have a supplement with them into
 Spain, had a nay: and namely, *M. Junius* into the higher province, and *P. Lucretius* into the latter.
 As for *C. Licinius Crassus*, to him there fell by lot the jurisdiction within the City over citizens, and I
 to *Cn. Sicinius* that other over foreigners. *C. Mammius* was allotted to *Sicily*, and *Sp. Clavius* to
Sardinia. The Consuls for these causes being highly offended and angry with the Senate, caused the
 Latine feasts and holydaies to be published against the very first day that possibly they might, with
 an intimation that they would go straight into their province, and not attend the managing of
 any affairs touching the State, but only that which directly pertained to their government.

The Oration
 of Eumenes.

Valerius Antias writeth, that in these Consuls year, *Attalus* the brother of *K. Eumenes* came in
 embassage to *Rome*, to inform crimmons matter against *Perseus*, and to give the particulars of the
 preparation that he made for war. But the Annals of many other writers (more worthy of credit
 than he) deliver unto us, that *K. Eumenes* presented himself in proper person: where he was re-
 ceived with such honor, as the people of *Rome* thought not only meet & agreeable for his defense, K
 but also fit and surable to their own favours and benefites, which they had in ample manner confer-
 red and in great number heaped upon him. And then he had audience given him in the Senate,
 where he shewed the cause of his coming to *Rome* what it was: namely, " (besides a fervent de-
 " fire that he had to see those gods and men by whose grace favour he enjoyed so good estate, as
 " better he durst not wish) because he gladly would advertise the Senat by word of mouth, to
 " prevent and withstand the designs of *Perseus*. And beginning his speech with the platforms and
 " enterprises of *Philip*, he recounted withal, how it cost his son *Demetrius* his life, for that he
 " stood against the war with the Romans: moreover, how he had caused the whole nation of the
 " *Bastarnians* to quit their own countrey where they were born and bred, to the end, that by their
 " aid he might pass over into *Italy*: but whiles (qd. he) these matters be projected and cast in his I
 " head, his time was come, and arrested he was by death: but he left his Kingdom to him, whom
 " he knew to be the most spiteful enemy that the Romans had. And therefore *Perseus* having re-
 " ceived this war (as a man would say) by way of inheritance left him by his father even toge-
 " ther with the crown and scepter, from the very first day of his reign, doth nought else but enter-
 " tain, foster, and promote the same by all the means and devices that possibly he can. Mighty and
 " puissant he is besides in number of young, lusty, and able men for service, who during the time of
 " long peace have sprung up and multiplied exceedingly. In wealth and riches a great potentat he
 " is, and besides in his flourishing years and the best time of his age, which as it is accompanied
 " with the very strength and vigor of his body, so his spirit and mind is inured and hardned with
 " skillfull experience and long practise of martial feats. For from his very infancy nuzzled hath he M
 " been in the field and camp, conversing ordinarily within the royal tent and pavillion of his fa-
 " ther, acquainted with the wars, not only waged against neighbour nations, but also against the
 " Romans: and that which more is, employed by his father in many and sundry expeditions and
 " executions of service. But since that himself entered upon the Kingdom, and swaied the regal scep-
 " ter in his own hand, he hath exploited & accomplished many things with marvellous felicity and
 " success, which his father *Philip* before him could never compass and effect, notwithstanding he
 " tried and assaied all means, as well of open force as secret fraud. To augment this greatness of his,
 " he hath purchased already that authority and reputation in the world, which others hardly in
 " continuance of long time, and by many favours and ample benefites attain unto: and namely,
 " throughout the States of *Greece* and *Asia*, all men reverence his majesty. For what good turns, N
 " for what pleasures done, for what bounty of his they should thus do and honour him so much,
 " neither see I, neither can I say for certainty: whether it happen by a special gift and fortune that
 " he hath of his own, or that (which I am my self afraid to speak) it be the deep malice and hatred
 " which he hath conceived against the Romans, which is the cause that he is of that countenance
 " and so gracious among them. Nay, with the very Kings and Princes of other nations he is high-
 " ly esteemed and of passing authority. The daughter of *Solemus* he hath taken to wife, without
 " any suit of his own but being earnestly wooed and requested thereunto. And to *Prusias* he hath
 " given his own sister in marriage, after much seeking and instant intreaty. These two weddings
 " were solemnized with the exceeding joy and innumerable presents of infinite embassages: and
 " who should be present to celebrat the Auspices and complements, yea and give those spouses in O
 " marriage, but the noblest and most renowned States that were? The *Bzotian* nation had been
 " much solicited by *Philip*, yet could never be induced to draw or pen any covenants of accord
 " and amity with him: but now there is to be seen a league engrossed, yea, and engraven in three
 " several conspicuous places, the one in *Thebes*, a second at *Sidennus*, within a most holy sacred and
 " renowned Temple, and the third at *Delphi*. What should I speak of the general Council of the
 " *Achaens*? wherein, had not the design been dashed by some there in place, who intimated and
 " alledged

A "alleged to be the signet and stamp of the Roman, & would have gone very hard, but that he
 "should have been first written down. But contrary will I assure you my due and deserved
 "honours (unto whom it is due to say, who of them be more bounden and obliged for private
 "pleasures or publick benefits) are either forgotte through forgetfull disale and negligence or alle
 "slandered and abolished of wilfull malice, and hostile hatred. As for the Aetolians, who knoweth
 "not, that in his civil broiles, and seditions they sought to *Perseus* for to relieve and succour, and
 "not to the Romans? Being thus upheld with societies and amities, he hath provided such store
 "of arms, and made that preparation for war at home, as he needs none from abroad. Of
 "himself he is thirty thousand strong in foot & 4000 in horse. For ten years he is stored with corn
 "and victuals, so as for that kind of providence he may spare his own territories, and also forbear
 "his enemies. As for money in ready coin, he hath such abundance, that over and above the forges
 "of all the Macedonians, he waget 40000 mercenary soldiers, and hath wherewith to make
 "pay for many years besides the yearly culomes & profits that arise out of their Kings mines.
 "Now for armour, he hath gathered together into his arsenals and armories, sufficient to furnish
 "three hundred armies. What should I speak of the youth and serviceable men of war? Set the case
 "that *Antiochus* failed him and were not able to find enough; all *Thrace* is subject unto him, from
 "whence he may serve his turn as out of his ever running fountain and living spring. The rest of
 "his speech he knit up with a exhortation in this manner. "I relate not these things (qd. he) my
 "Liege Lord, as blown abroad and vented by headlesse heartsay and doubtfull rumors; neither
 "have I been so ready to believe them, as a man desirous that such criminous imputations
 "should be verified upon my enemy; but as undoubted and certain reports upon my own know-
 "ledge, which I have seen by you of special purpose to be a spie: and declared that and no more;
 "C which I had seen with mine eyes and not other wise. Neither would I have left mine own realm
 "wherein (by your meares and goodness) in glorious and magnificent State I sit warm enough,
 "for to sail over so large a sea as I have done and to carry vain tales and untruths to you, thereby to
 "crack my credit with you for ever hereafter. But I tell you these eies of mine have seen the most
 "renowned and noblest Cities of *Asia* and *Greece* discovering more and more from day to day,
 "what they intend and what their meaning is: who if they be let alone and permitted to run on as
 "they begin, would be engaged so far, as they might not possibly return again & save themselves
 "by any escape: and behold I have *Perseus* (I say) how he containeth not within the realm of
 "Macedony, but one while seizeth upon this by force of arms, another while gaineth and getteth
 "that by favour and good will, which with violence he could never have conquered. I perceived
 "D and considered well how unquall the match and condition is, whiles he upon you prepareth
 "war, and you again performe to him security of peace. Although in my conceit, and to far as I
 "could see into it, he made no more any preparation thereof, but was already upon action and
 "execution. For he chased *Abruptus*, a confederat prince and friend of yours, forth of his King-
 "dom. And *Artemus*, the Illyrian, another of your associates and allies, he killed outright, be-
 "cause he found that he had written some letters unto you. As for *Everus* & *Callistratus*, both The-
 "banes, & two principal States of that City, for no other reason, but because in a Parliament of the
 "Bacians, they had spoken their mind against him too frankly, and avowed that they would re-
 "peat unto you what things had passed, he caused to be murdered. The Bizantines he suc-
 "E courred against the order taken in the accord: upon *Dalopia* he levied war: *Thessaly* and *Doris*
 "both he invaded and overran with his army, to the end, that in some intestine and civil war, by
 "the help of most parts he might assist and plague the better. He shuffled all together, and made
 "a very confusion of the state in *Thessaly* and *Perrebia*, upon the hope and cancelling all bonds
 "and crossing out all debt books; that thus by a power and multitude of bankrupts, such as were
 "over-debly engaged, and whom he had obliged and bound to himself, he might depreste and
 "oppreste the great men and principall personages. Having wrought these practices uncontrolled,
 "whiles you sit still looking on and suffering all, he seeing you to let him do with *Greece* what he
 "list, making full account, that no man will put him on arms and make head against him, before he
 "be passed over into *Italy*. How safe this may be to you, nay, how this can stand with credit, (see you
 "F to that and be advised. For my self, I assure you, I thought it meer shame and very villany, that
 "*Perseus* your enemy should enter into *Italy* to make war upon you, before that I your friend and
 "ally, came to give your warning for to take heed and stand upon your guard. Now since I have
 "in this matter performed my devoir, done that office which I was bound upon necessity, and in
 "some measure acquit my self and discharged my bounden duty and obligation of fidelity; what re-
 "maineth bound for me to do, but to be your headsmen to all the gods & goddesses, to vouchsafe
 "you that grace, that you may provide for your own Commonweal, and also for us your friends and
 "allies, who depend wholly upon you? In this last speech he came next unto the LL. of the Senat.
 "But for the present no man might know any thing, but only that the K. had been in the Senat, so fi-
 "G tely were they all, to kepe the counsel house close that with secrecy. But after the war was brought
 "to an end, then came abroad, both what the K. spoke, and what answer was returned to him again.
 "Some few daies after, the Senat set to give audience unto the Embassadors of King *Perseus*:
 "but having done mind and ears both, pointed storehead by King *Eumenes*, all the defence that
 "the *Antiochians* made, and all the contrary they used, was rejected. Besides, the stoutness used
 "by *Perseus* (the principal person of the embassie) moved their patience and exasperated their sto-
 "macks. For he said, that indeed the KK. desire & endeavour was, to be credited and believed in his

Apology and defence, that he neither had said nor done any thing sounding to hostility: many H
 in tale he perceived and saw, that they came upon him thus, and sought goods, pick-quarrels, and
 give occasion of war, he would stand upon his guard, and defend himself with a stout and ex-
 tant courage. For the hazard of the field was common, and the issue of war uncertain. Now,
 all the Cities of Greece and Asia both, would rather than their lives have known what the Em-
 bassadors of *Perseus*, and what *Enmenes* had done in the Senate: for in regard of his contempt
 of the states (supposing verily that he would stir coales and make some work) had sent their Em-
 bassadors to Rome, pretending colourably other matters in semblance; but indeed to listen the
 news: and among the rest, was the Embassage of the Rhodians; and the chief thereof was one
Satyrus, who made no question nor doubt, but that *Enmenes* had done their errand, and put their
 City and *Perseus* together in all their criminall matters laid to his charge. And therefore he made I
 all the means that possibly he could by the mediation of patrons, friends, and acquaintances, to de-
 bate the matter with King *Enmenes* before the body of the Senate: which when he had obtained,
 his tongue walked at large, and overbold he was, and too round with the King, in broad invectives
 and intemperate termes; namely, that he had solicited and stirred up the nation of the Lycians a-
 gainst the Rhodians, and was an heavier friend unto *Asiathen* *Antiochus* had been. Which speech
 of his, as it was plausible enough and pleasing to the States of Asia (for they likewise by this time
 inclined to affect and favour *Perseus*) so it was unsavoury altogether, and odious to the Senate; and
 nothing profitable to themselves and their City. But contrariwise, this banding and conspiracy
 against *Enmenes*, won him the more grace and favour among the Romans, so as they did him all
 they honour they could, gave him most rich and costly presents, and endowed him with a curule
 chair of estate, and a staffe or scepter, both of ivory.

After these embassages had their dispatch and were dismissed, *Harpalus* returned into Macedonia
 in all speed and hast possible, relating unto the King, how he had left the Romans not preparing
 as yet for war; but so far out with him and so highly offended, that it appeared evidently it would
 not be long ere they began. And *Perseus* again for his part, besides that he looked for no other,
 was well enough pleased therewith, presuming upon the stout and strength of his forces. But above
 all other he maliced *Enmenes* most: with whose blood he laid the first foundation of the war: for
 he suborned one *Evander* a Candiot and captain under him of certain auxiliary souldiers, and
 three Macedonians besides (whose service and ministry he had used in the like sort) to
 murder the King. He gave them letters addressed to one *Phaxos* an hostesse of his, a folly dame in I
Delphi, and of greatest credit and wealth among them. For assured he was, that *Enmenes* minded
 to go up to *Delphi*, there to sacrifice unto *Apollon*. These traitors together with *Evander* set for-
 ward; and to execute this their designed enterprise, they looked all about and sought for nothing
 but the opportunity of some place or other. Now, as men ascend from *Cartha* to the temple,
 before they come to any place much peopled and frequented with houses, there stood a mound
 or mud wall on the left hand of the path or way, rising some what higher than the foundations and
 ground-work; along which wall there was passage for one by one and no more; for on the right
 hand the earth was broken down and fallen, and breach made of some a good depth. Behind this
 mound aforesaid, these traitors had hidden themselves, and raised some steps like stairs; to the end
 that from above, as from the top of a wal, they might discharge their shot upon *Enmenes* as he M
 passed by. Before him there marched from the sea, at the first a sort of his friends and followers,
 together with his guard intermingled one with another; but afterwards as the way grew more
 streight and narrow, the train waxed thinner. But when they were come to the place where
 they could not go but by one at once, *Pantaleon* one of the States and princes of *Asia*, with
 whom the King had begun some communication, entered first into the narrow path aforesaid:
 with that the knaves that lay in wait behind, role up and rolled down two huge stones, wherof
 the one smote the King upon the head, the other astonished his shoulder. And verily all the rest of
 his friends and followers, seeing him fall with the blow, fled some one way, some another: only
Pantaleon staid behind all, fearlessse, to protect and guard the King. The murderous villaines might
 have fetcht a short compas about the wall, and soon run to the King to make sure work and dis- N
 patch him quites; but they supposing they had done the deed already, fled to the pitch of the mount
Parnassus, and made such halt, that when one of the companie hindred and staid their running,
 because he dragged behind and could not keep pace and follow them hard at heels through those
 steep and blind waies, they made no more ado but killed him out-right, for fear lest if he were ta-
 ken, he should bewray and disclose the whole treason. The body of the King lay along on the
 ground: and first his friends came running about him, then his guard and household servants. When
 they reared him up, they found him stoned with the stroke and altogether senseless in a trance:
 howbeit, by some heat remaining, and the beating of his heart, they perceived there was some
 life, but little or no hope they had that he could escape and live. Some there were of his guard and
 pensioners about him, that made pursuit after these murderers by their tracks: and when they had O
 held on their chase as far as unto the crest of *Parnassus*, wearying themselves to no purpose,
 they gave over and returned as wile as they went. The Macedonians as they had begun an auda-
 cious enterprise inconsiderately, so they left it undone as fearfully and without advice. Now by
 this time was the King come again to himself. And the morrow after, his friends conveyed him
 to his ship: from thence to *Corinth*; & from *Corinth* along the streights *Isthmus* they brought their
 vessels, & croised over to *Egina*: where his cure was carried so close & secret, without admitting

A person to come unto him, that the rumor ran into *Alex* how he was dead. And *Alexander* his brother (by your leave) gave good ear thereto. He believed the news sooner then was becoming brotherly love and unity. For he came unto such talk both with his brothers wife, and also with the captain of the castle, as if he had been the undoubted heir and assured inheritor of the crown. All this *Eumenes* knew full well afterwards: who albeit he purposed to discomble the matter, and to put it up at last with silence, at their first encounter and meeting together, he could not hold, but reproved and reproached his brother, for being so forward and over-hasty to court and wooe his wife. The bruit also was blown to *Rome*, and a report there was of the death of *K. Eumenes*.

About the same time *C. Valerius* was returned out of *Greece*, who had been sent thither as Embassador to look into the state of the country, to mark also and observe the plots and proceedings of *Perseus*. He reported all things futable and agreeable to the intelligences given by King *Eumenes*, and withall, brought with him from *Dilphi* dame *Prote*, in whose house those villainous traitors were lodged and harboured: also one *L. Raminus* a Brundisian, who informed moreover and gave evidence as followeth. This *Raminus* was one of the principall citizens of *Brundisium*, and used to lodge and entertain in his house, not only of the Roman captains when they came to town, but also the Embassadors of forreign nations, such as were of greatest mark, and principally those that were sent from any King. By this meanes, acquainted he grew with *Perseus*, albeit they never had seen one another face. And being invited by the King his letters, wherein he was promised great hope of some neer and inward friendship above others, and consequently of great preferments thereby, he made a journey unto him. Within a short time he was wound into very familiar acquaintance with the King, and drawn into privat conference and discourse of secrets, farther, I wis, then himself was willing or liked of. For the King dealt with him, yea, and importuned him with infinite praises and large behests of rich rewards, that forasmuch as the Roman captains and Embassadors used to take his house for their Inne, he would cause as many of them as he wist for, to be poisoned. Now for that he knew it was a right difficult and dangerous matter to come by such a poison and compass this project, especially if many were party and privy to him: and besides, the event uncertein, either in the effect of the drug it self to be strong, quick and forcible enough to do the feat: or in the secret working thereof, lest it should be found and spied; he would therefore put into his hands such a poison, as neither in the giving, nor after it was given, might be known by any sign whatsoever. *Raminus* fearing lest if he refused & denied, he should be the first man to make assay and make experiment of the poison, promised so

to do, & then departed. But return to *Brundisium* he would not before he had spoken with *C. Valerius* the Embassador, who then sojourned (as he heard say) about *Chalcis*. First unto him he revealed this plot, and by his commandment came along with him to *Rome*: where being brought into the Senat, after audience given, he laid abroad in every point all that had passed. This new matter, over and besides those which *Eumenes* had reported, was the cause that *Perseus* was the sooner taken, for an enemy, and so declared: the rather because they saw him not only about to make open war, war of a princely and royall mind, but also to practise and execute privily all kind of mischief, by way of covert brigandage, theevish stealth, and secret poison. The managing of this war was put off and referred to the new Consuls: howbeit for the present ordained it was, that *C. Cicerinus* the Pretor who had the jurisdiction between citizens and strangers, should levy and enroll souldiers who being conducted to *Brundisium*, should with all convenient speed commit to sea, and sail over to *Apollonia* in *Epirus*, for to seiz upon the maritime Cities: to the end that the Consul unto whom the Province of *Macedonia* should be allotted, might arrive there with his vessels in safety, and let his forces on land with ease.

Eumenes, after he had been kept a long while at *Egina*, during the time of his hard and dangerous cure, so soon as ever he might go safely abroad, went to *Pergamus*: where, over and besides the old hatred fed in his breast, being pricked also with this fresh and bleeding villany practised by *Perseus*, he prepared war with all his power to the uttermost: and thither repaired unto him Embassadors from *Rome*, to testifie their joy for his evasion and escape out of so neer and great a danger.

When the Macedonian war was delayed and put off for one year, and the rest of the Pretors gone already into their provinces, *M. Junius* and *Sp. Lucretius* (unto whom befell the government of *Spain*) after that they had importuned and worried the Senat, in being so long for one thing, obtained at the length a commission for a supply of souldiers to make up the army: by vertue whereof they enrolled 3000 foot, and 150 horse for the legions; and levied 9000 foot and three hundred horse for the army of the allies. These forces were transported into *Spain* with the new Pretors.

The same year, after that a great part of the *Campain* territory, which privat persons here and there held in occupation without regard of lawfull title & tenure, was (upon diligent survey made by *Postumius* the Consul) recovered again for the publick use of the City of *Rome*; *M. Lucretius* a Tribune of the Com. preferred a law, that the Censors should let out to farm the *Campain* lands to tenants for yearly rent. A thing that had not been done for many years after the winning of *Capua*, namely, that particular men should be so greedy as to encroach thus beyond their bound upon the common wall.

The Macedonian war being now concluded, but not as yet published and proclaimed, whiles the Senat was in doubtful expectation what *K.K.* would friend them, & who would side with *Perseus*.

there came to Rome Embassadors from *Thrace*, bringing with them the King's son, a very H child. The speech they made was to this purpose, That the King their master had made his son to *Rome*, thereto have his education; so the said King's son was brought up, might from his infancy be acquainted with their manners, and converse with the Romans. His first request to them was, that they would teach him not only the ordinary entertainment and education that private persons afford to their sons, but also to take the charge of public teaching, and as it were the guardianship of him. This request of the King's son was well taken of the Senate; and they pleased them highly. Whereupon they ordered that *C. Decimus* the Pretor should let out a mansion house with all the furniture, wherein he young Prince and his train might keep their school. The *Thracian* Embassadors likewise presented themselves before the Senate, to debate their own controversies in their hearing, and withal desired their friendship and aid. They obtained their suit, and besides there was sent unto them by way of present the sum of *seven* Asces. After a peace *Glad* were the LL. of the Senate that these States were received into their society; by reason *Thrace* lyeth hard on the back side of *Macedonia*; but to the end that they might have perfect intelligence and notice how all things went in *Asia* and the Islands, they sent thither *C. C. C.* *Nero*, and *M. Decimus* in embassy; whom they commanded also to visit *Cyrene* and *Rhodes*; and withall, both to renew the amity, and also to see and observe whether the hearts of those allies had been solicited and tempted by *K. Perses*.

As the City was thus in doubtfull suspense and expectation of the event of this new war, behold in a twinkling that rose in the night, a certain column or pillar garnished and set out with the beak heads of war ships (which had been erected in the Capitol during the first publick war by *K. M. Annius* the Consul, who did for his companion in government *Serv. Fulvius*) was by a clap of thunder and lightning rent and cloven from the very base to the chapter. This was taken for a prodigious token, and report thereof was made to the Senate. The LL. gave order, that the *Aruspices* should be conferred with about it, and their advice taken: likewise they commanded the *Decemvirs* to look into their books of *Sibylla*. The *Decemvirs* for their part declared, that the City should be purged and hallowed, publick supplications and prayers made to the gods; and greater heaits killed for sacrifice, as well at *Rome* in the Capitol, as in *Campania* near the promontory of *Minerva*. Also that with all convenient speed, there should be plaies solemnly exhibited for *rendies* together, in the honour of most gracious *Jupiter*. All this was done with diligence accordingly: but the *Aruspices* afore said, made answer out of their learning, that this prodigy portended good and signified the advancement of their own territories; together with the destruction of their enemies; for that those beak heads which the storm overthrew, had been the spoils of ships won from the enemies. There happened other occurrences besides to encrease the scrupulous religion & devotion of men: for reported it was, how at *Saturnia* within the town it rained blood three daies together. Item, at *Calatia* an ass was foled with three feet; and a bull together with five kine were stricken stark dead with one thunderbolt and flash of lightning. Last of all at *Ostium* there was a shower of very earth and nothing else. In regard of these wonders also, sacrifices were celebrated, supplications made, and one day kept holiday and all shop windows shut.

Yet were not the Consuls departed into their provinces, because they neither would obey and condescend unto the Senate in proposing the matter as touching *Popilius* at the comestable; and the LL. were as resolute for their parts to let no decree passe, before that were done. The spite and heart-burning they bare against *M. Popilius*, grew the more by occasion of his own letters, wherein he wrote and gave them to understand, that being *Proconsul*, he had now a second time fought with the Statellars in *Liguria*, and put ten thousand of them to the sword by reason of which hard courses and extremities of war, the other nations likewise of the *Ligurians* were carried into arms. At which news not only *Popilius* was blamed behind his back of making war against all law and equity upon them that had yielded, and thereby provoking those who before were quiet, to go out and put themselves in action of rebellion; but the Consuls also were checked to their faces in the Senate, because they let not forward to their charge and government. *M. Marius Serrus* and *Quintus Marcius Scylla*, two Tribunes of the Commons, seeing the LL. of the Senate thus drawing all in a line, took heart unto them, and both menaced the Consuls to fine them, unless they made more hast unto their province; and also recited in the Senate a law which they had drawn and framed, and were upon the point to promulge, as touching the forsaide *Ligurians* who had submitted. The tenor whereof ran in this form, That what person should of Statellars had yielded himself and was not restored to Liberty and freedom before the calends of *Septilis* now ensuing, the Senate upon their oath should ordaine some speciall Commissioner to make inquisition by whose fraud, covin, and notice he was in villenage and punish the party accordingly. Then by authority and approbation of the Senate they published this for a law. Now before that the Consuls took their journey, The Senate assembled in the Temple of *Bellona*, in regard and favour of *C. C.* the Pretor of the former year. Where audience was given him; and after he had declared what exploits he had performed in *Cyrene*, thereupon demanded triumph: which when he could not obtain, he made no more ado, but rode triumphant in the *Alpine hill*; for now it was taken up and grown for a custome to go, and aske the authority and the State to leave.

The forsaide law propoled by the *Mari* the commons with a general consent by their voices granted.

*1 of August.

A question in the Senat, Whom they would have sit upon their Inquisition, according to the form of the said law. And the LL. ordered himself to be the inquisitor. The Senat long and not afore, the Consuls put themselves in their way toward their promise, and received the charge of the sitting from *M. Popilius*. This *Popilius* durst not yet return to *Rome*, for fear he should be called in question and put to his answer before that *Proculus* and *Supremus* judge, who had required the advice of the Senat as touching that charge framed and drawn of purpose against him: knowing full well how the Senat was not well affected to him; and the people much more maliciously bent and set against him. But the Tribunes of the Commons thought they would prevent and meet with his flinching of him and absencing himself, by imitation of another act and law provided in that behalf, namely, that if he entered not into the City of *Rome* before the *Ides of November*, he should daily following, it should be lawful for *C. Licinius* to proceed in judgement, and give sentence against him in his absence. This cord towed and held him to *Rome* with a winch: and when he was returned and entered into the Senat, they were upon his top, and gave him (as a welcome thither), as testified their displeasure and hard conceit of him. After he had been well baited and shaken up among them, an act of Senat was entered in this wise, that many of the *Ligurians* as had not been enemies, after the time that *Q. Fulvius* and *L. Marcius* were Consuls, and that *Pretors*, *C. Licinius* and *Cn. Sicinius*, should restore and establish in their former state of freedom, and that the Consul *C. Popilius* should let them out of land to occupy and possess beyond the *Po*. By virtue of this arrest, many a *Po* were let free and enfranchised, who being transported over the river *Po*, had land assigned unto them accordingly. Now *M. Popilius* upon the law *Marcia* (promulged by the two *Marcii* Tribunes of the Com.) answered for himself judicially twice before *C. Licinius*. At the third time, the *Pretor* overcame with a respective grace and favour, as he Col. a bleat, and the earnest prayers of the whole name and house of the *Popilii* adjured the defendant to make appearance into the court upon the *Ides of March* on which day the new magistrates were to enter into their offices: and this he did, because himself by that time should be a private person again & therefore not to sit upon the bench as judge to hear pleas and to determine. Thus the foresaid act as touching the *Ligurians*, finely shifted and cunningly avoided, came to just nothing.

At that time the Carthaginian Embassadors were at *Rome*, with *Gulussa* the son of *Masaniassa*, between whom hard hold and much debating there was in the Senat. The Carthaginians complained, that over and besides the lands (about which there had been sent commissioners both *Rome* before time, to view the place and to enquire into the cause) *Masaniassa* within the last two years and by force and arms possessed himself of more then three score and ten towers and castles within the Carthaginian dominion and territory, and an easie matter was it for him to do so, who made reckoning of nothing, nor had regard of any person; whereas the Carthaginians were so tied and obliged by their capitulations to the good abearing; that they held their peace for, inhibited they were to bear arms without their own country. And albeit they knew assuredly, that they should war within their own confines, if they dispiece the Numidians of those peeces, yet feared they that one express article of the accord, where they were debated in plain terms to wage against the associates of the people of *Rome*. Howbeit the Carthaginians could no longer endure this pride, cruelty, and avarice. Sent therefore they were unto the Senat as humble orators, that it might please them to grant one of these three requests: to wit, That either they might debate with a different audience before them (being allies to both alike) as touching the right of the one and the other; or that they would permit the Carthaginians to defend themselves by just and lawful arms, against unjust and ungodly force; or else finally (if partiall favour stayed more with them then the truth of the cause) to let down at once what their pleasure was should be given away out of their own, to *Masaniassa*. For they yet, would have some gage of their hand, and know what they gave; whereas he himself had no stay, nor would ever let to make an end; so unsatiable was his lust and appetite. But in case they might obtain none of these points, and that there could be found any fault or trespass of theirs, committed since the peace granted unto them by *Scipio*; then, that they rather then any other would chastise them. For rather they had to live in servitude under the signory of Romans with safety, then enjoy such a liberty as should be exposed to the injuries of *Masaniassa*. And better it were for them to perish and die once for all, then to live and languish under the yoke of a most cruel and bloody butcher. At which words the tears trickled down their cheeks, and down they fell at their feet. Lying thus prostrate upon the ground, as they moved pity and compulsion to themselves, so they procured despite and malice against the King. Then thought good it was to demand of *Gulussa* what he had to answer as touching these matters? or else (if he had so rather himself) to declare before, for what cause and upon what occasion he was come to *Rome*. *Gulussa* made answer, that either it was easy for him to deal in those points, whereof he had no commission from his father, nor for his father, to give him any such charge, considering that the Carthaginians, shewed not unto him of what business they would treat, nor yet made him so much as privy of their coming to *Rome*. This only was known, that there was a close counsel holden for certain nights, by the principal Seates of *Carthage* within the Temple of *Esculapion*, from whence Embassadors were dispatched to *Rome*, with hidden messages. And this was the cause that his father had sent him to *Rome*, to beseech the Senat not to give credit to the slanderous accusations, that should be preferred against him by those that were common enemies as well to him as his: who hated him for no other cause but

for that he had continued so constant in his fealty and allegiance to the people of Rome. The Senate, not thus having heard what they would say of both sides, let in council as touching the demands of the Carthaginians: and at length commended this answer to be returned, how their advice and pleasure was; that *Galea* should presently depart and go into *Numidia* and give his father to understand from them, that with all speed he send his Embassadors to the Senat, as concerning those complaints which the Carthaginians had made of him: also to give instruction and knowledge unto the Carthaginians, that they repair likewise thither to debate their controversies & differences between them. And if it lay in their power to effect ought for the honor of *Magonia*, they would be as willing to do it hereafter, as they had been ready heretofore. Mary, to minister justice for favour and affection; that they would not do it in any wise. Willing they were, that every man should know and hold his own, and keep him within compasse; neither minded they to set out new limits, but to observe the old bounds. Indeed they had granted to the Carthaginians, after they were conquered, both towns to inhabit; and territories to possess, not to this end, that in time of peace they should pluck that away by wrong and outrage, which during the wars they could not take from them by martial law and force of arms. Thus was the young prince, together with the Carthaginians, dismissed. Pretents were given both to the one and the other, according to the order; and other courtesies of hospitality were friendly offered.

Much about the same time *Cn. Servilius Cæpio*, *App. Claudius Cæcia*, and *T. Annius Lælius*, Embassadors sent into *Macedony*, for to demand amends and restitution, and withall to disclaim and renounce the Kings amity, returned to Rome. Who having related in order what they had seen and heard, inflamed the Senat more against *Perseus*, who were already of themselves enkindled enough. They made report, "That through all the cities of *Macedony* they saw preparation for war in all forcible manner; that when they came to the court, for many daies they could find no means of access to the speech of the King; and in the end, after they were departed from thence homeward (as being past all hope of parley with him) then and not afore, they were called back again out of their way, and so brought unto his presence: that the sum of their embassy and speech unto him was this, namely, to put him in mind of the league first contracted with *Philip*, & afterwards renned with himself since the death of his father; wherein by express words he was inhibited to bear arms without his own frontiers, and likewise debared to levy war upon any confederat allies of the people of Rome: after this, that they had recounted and laid abroad from point to point those specialties, which they themselves had lately heard King *Perseus* to declare and discourse, which were all apparent truths, upon his own assured knowledge. Moreover, that the King held a secret council for many daies together, with the Embassadors of the Cities of *Asia*: in regard of which injuries, that the Senat thought it reason and equity that he should make satisfaction, yea, and restore back both to them and also to their associates, whatsoever he held contrary to right, contained in the accord. That the King hereupon at the first fell into a fit of choler and indignation and gave them hard terms, reproaching at every other word the Romans for their covetousness and insolency. And as for their Embassadors that came unto him one after another, he said they were but spies, to listen and see what he did or said; & no marvel, for they thought it meet that he should conform and frame himself in all his words and deeds, according to their beck and commandment. At the last, when he had in this wise discharged his choler with high words & broad speeches for a long time, that he commanded them to repair again unto him the next morrow, for that he would give them their answer in writing: and then he delivered unto them a script to this effect as followeth. First, as touching the accord & covenant concluded with my father, that is nothing to me at all. If I suffer it to be renewed, it was not for any liking or approbation thereof, but because I being new come to the crown, and lately possessed of the Kingdom, I was to bear and endure all things whatsoever. But in case they will enter into a new league with me, requisite it is that a treaty and agreement passe first of the conditions. And if they could be content that a covenant were drawn with equall and indifferent capitulations, yet I will sleep upon it and be well advised what to do for the best, as I doubt not but they likewise will have a good regard to the profit of the commonweal. And herewith, that he suddenly flung away from them, and we all began to avoid out of the palace. Whereupon we proceeded according to our commission to abandon and disavow his amity and society. At which word of ours, he stayed in great wrath and fury, and with a loud and shrill voice, warned us upon our own perill and hazard, to be gone out of the matches of his realm within three daies: finally, in this manner we departed and put our selves in our journey, and found neither friendly welcome at our first coming, nor any courteous entertainment while we were there, nor yet a kind farewell at our departure. When they had once done, the Thessalian and Ætolian Embassadors had audience.

The Senat, to the end that they might know out of hand, what captains and commanders the commonweal was to employ, thought good to write unto the Consuls, that the one or other of them (who first might) should repair to Rome for the creation of new magistrats. And no great matter to speak of, as concerning the state; was that year done by the Consuls. But more expedient it was thought for the commonweal, to suppress and appease the Ligurians, whose blood was up and chafed against them, considering that the Macedonian war was in daily expectation.

Moreover, the Embassadors of *Asia* gave occasion, that *Senatus* also King of *Illyria* was in jealousie: who at one time both complained of him, that now twice he had waited to their

A their country: and also made report, how the Macedonian and Illyrian Kings were all ones, and so great together, that with some conflict and common consent they prepared to war upon the Romans: finally, that the Illyrians were now at Rome in great and comfortable embassage, but in dead and very truth, no better than spies, addressed on purpose by the motion and advice of *Asinus*, so hearken and learn, whereabout they went at Rome. These Illyrians were sent for into the Senat house, and when they had said, that they were employed in embassage from King *Orestes*, up and wex unto those accusations which it might be the means framed against him: it was again demanded of them, how it happened that they went not directly nor shewed themselves in such sort to the magistrat, that according to the manner and customs, they might have had their lodging provided and presents given them, with the ordinary allowance of the City, than for their coming during their abode, that thereby knowledge might have been taken as well of their coming, as also of their business and errand? But being taken tripping and failing in their answer, they were commanded to void out of the Council-chamber. For thought it was not meet, to give them their dispatch as Embassadors, since they made no means to present themselves unto the Senat: but rather they were of advice, to dispatch Embassadors of their own to the King, to signify unto him, what of his associates had complained unto the Senat, how he had burnt their villages within their territories: yes, and to tell you it plainly, that it was not well done of him, that he could not forbear but do wrong to his own allies. In this embassie were sent, *M. Terentius Varro*, *C. Platorius*, and *C. Cretarius*.

Likewise those Embassadors, whose commission was visit the associate Kings, returned out of *Asia*, and reported that in the said *Asia* they had communication with *Eumenes* in *Syria* with *Antiochus*, and in *Alexandria* with *Ptolemaeus* who all of them had been solicited by sundry embassies of *Perseus*, howbeit they persisted firm and fast in their professed fealty, and promised to perform whatsoever the people of Rome would command them. Also that they went to the confederat States, whom they found true and loiall enough, excepting the Rhodians only, whom they perceived to be flouting & wavering, as altogether infected & poisoned with the counsel of *Perseus*.

Now were the Rhodian Embassadors come to answer those things which they knew were commonly bruited abroad touching their City: howbeit the Senat was not of mind to give them audience, before the new Consuls entered into their office. But they were all of advice to delay no longer the preparation for war. *C. Licinius* the Pretor had in charge, out of the old *Quinquagremes* which were laid up in the docks and harbors, to repair as many as might serve at sea: to rig also and prepare a fleet of 30 sail. But if he could not come to make up that full number, then

D to write unto his colleague *C. Memmius* in *Sicily*, for to repair, calk and trim those ships which were in *Sicily*, that with all speed possible they might be sent to *Brundisium*. The said Pretor *C. Licinius* was commanded to enroll of Roman citizens (and those, *Libertines*, such as of bondmen born, had been enfranchised) for mariners and sailors, as many as might serve 25 ships: and *C. Licinius* had commission to levy as many of Latine allies for the like number of ships: also the Pretor was enjoined to charge the Latine allies with 8000 foot, and 400 horse. *A. Atilius Serranus*, who had been Pretor the year before, was choosen to receive these forces at *Brundisium*, and to conduct them over into *Macedony*: and *C. Silius* the Pretor was appointed to have the army in readiness for to be transported. As for *C. Licinius* the Pretor, he by authority

E from the Senat, wrote to *C. Popilius* the Consul that he should command the second legion, which had been longest employed in *Liguria*, and consisted of the most experienced soldiers, together with four thousand footmen and two hundred horse of the Latine allies, to be ready at *Brundisium* upon the 1st Ides of *February*. With this fleet of ships and forces of souldiers, *C. Silius*

was commanded to keep *Macedony*, until one were appointed to succeed him: and for this purpose his charge of command was continued for a year longer. All these directions of the Senat were put in execution with great diligence and expedition. Eight and forty *Quinquagremes* were set afloat out of their docks: and *L. Porcius Licinius* was ordained to conduct them to *Brundisium*: the other 12 were sent out of *Sicily*. Three Embassadors were dispatched into *Apulia* and *Calabria*, to wit, *Sex. Digintus*, *T. Inventinus*, and *M. Caelius*, for to buy corn to serve the fleet and the army. Now when all things were provided and in readiness, *C. Silius* the Pretor departed from the City in his warlike coat of arms, and arrived at *Brundisium*. About the end of the year *C. Popilius* the Consul returned to Rome, somewhat latter then the Senat had ordained; who was commanded to take the first time, and withall speed to create new magistrats, considering that to great a war approached to neer. And therefore when the Consuls discoursed in the temple of *Bellona* as touching his exploits in *Liguria*, the LL. of the Senat were nothing well pleased to hear him: but in stead thereof, they muttered every where, and asked him oftentimes, Why he had not restored to liberty those *Ligurians*, who were oppressed through the wicked proceedings of his father? The election of the Consuls was holden upon the twelfth day before the Calends of *March*

F according to the writs that went out: wherein were created Consuls, *Pub. Licinius Crassus* and *Caius Cassius Longinus*. The morrow following, the Pretors were elected, to wit, *Caius Sulpicius Galba*, *L. Porcius Philus*, *L. Cassius Dives*, *C. Lucretius Gellus*, *C. Cinnus Rebinus*, and *L. Valerius Anulius*. To these Pretors the provinces were assigned in this manner: that two of them should sit as LL. chief justices in Rome for civil jurisdiction: three other to have the government of *Spain*, *Sicily*, and *Sardinia*: to as the first only should remain not allotted to any place, for to be employed wheresoever the Senat would think good and provide. The Consuls elect

were

were commanded by the Senate, upon the solemn day, when they were to enter into their magistracy, after they had sacrificed golden bulls, as it was appointed, to pray in this form, that the gods would vouchsafe the war which the people of Rome intended now to enter upon, to speed well, and come to happy issue. The same day the Senate decreed, that *C. Popilius*, the Consul, should for one pluries for candidates together in the honor of *Jug. Ops. Mars*, and the offerings should be made at all the shrines and altars, it to be commonwealth continued for ten years, in the same good estate as now it stood. And as the Senate ordained, the Consul vowed into the Capitol, that the said pluries should be exhibited, Crostings were presented of as great value as it pleased them to let down. This vow was pronounced by the Consul in the presence of no fewer then *Y. o* Senators, and according to that form of words which *Lipidus* the high-priest, or sovereign Bishop indited. That year died certain Prelates of State, to wit, *Luc. Emilius Papus*, one of the Decemvirs or superintendents over the holy rites, and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* a Bishop, who the year before had been Consul. This man had a ill and ill-fortuned that news came unto him of his two sons, who then served in the wars of *Thyrium*, how the one was departed out of this life, and the other lay sick of a grievous and dangerous malady. The sorrow for the one, and the fear for the other, happening to just at one time, broke his heart and oppressed his spirits, in such as the next morning, when his servants entered betimes into his bed-chamber, they found him hanged by a cord, and strangled. It was thought abroad, that he had never been his own man, since he was Consul, and commonly it was spoken, that *Juno Lucina* in wrathfull displeasure against him for spoiling her temple, bereft him of his right wits. In the room of *Emilius M. Valerius Messala* was substituted *Decemvirs*, and in stead of *Fulvius* there was elected Archbishop, *Cneus Domitius* *Arbiter*, who to say the truth was very young to be made a priest.

In the year wherein *P. Licinius* and *Q. Cassius* were Consuls, not only the City of Rome, and the whole land of Italy, but all the Princes and States of Europe & Asia, were amused respectively upon the war between the Macedonians and Romans. *Enneus* (King of Asia) not only carried an old rankred malice against Philip, but also was pricked forward with new despite and anger upon a fresh occasion, in that by the wicked practise of *Perseus*, he had like to have been sacrificed at Delphi. *Perseus* King of Bithynia, was resolved not to enter into arms, but attend the issue of the war. For he thought it not reason and seemly for him to take arms in the defence of the Romans against his wives brother; and this account was made, that if *Perseus* happened to have the better, he might soon obtain pardon at his hands by the mediation of his sister, *Arrianus* King of the Cappadocians, over and besides that he had promised aid to the Romans in his own name, ever since that he had linked in affinity to *Enneus*, drew the same way which he went, and joyined with him in all his counsels both of war and peace. As for *Antiochus* [King of Syria] he teeth watered verily at the Kingdom of Egypt, as he, who despised as well the childhood of the young King in his oblige, as the weakness and negligence of his guardians; and considering there was some controversie about the title of *Celestria*, he supposed that he should have good occasion to levy war, to manage also and exploit the same without apprehension, while the Romans were busied in the Macedonian war; howbeit as well by his own Embassadors sent unto the Senat, as also unto theirs addrest unto him, he promised stoutly to be for them. *Ptolemy* [the young King of Egypt] being yet under age, was at the disposition of others; his tutors and protectors, as they prepared to wage war against *Antiochus* for the recovery of *Celestria*, so they promised the Romans withall to do their devoir in the Macedonian war. *Masaniassa* [King of the Numidians] was altogether for the Romans; he furnished them with coin, and intended to send his son *Masagrus* with aids both of men and elephants in that service. Howbeit he disposed of his designs as might serve his turn which way soever the world went; for if the victory fell to the Romans, he ordered that his affairs should remain still in the same state; and better he was not to look for, because the Romans would not suffer any violence to be offered unto the Carthaginians; but in case the Romans went down and had the overthrow (who then protected the Carthaginians) then he made full reckoning of *Asato* to be his own. *Gentius* [King of Illyria] had so demeaned himself, that he was suspected of the Romans; yet was he not fully resolved which side to take unto; and it seemed he would join to one or the other, more upon a fit as it took him in the head, than with any discretion or advice. *Corys* the Thracian, King of the Odrisians, took part evidently with the Macedonians. In these terms (I say) stood the KK. as touching this present war. As for the free Cities and States besides, the common people every where (as alwaies lightly it is seen) inclined to the worse part, and ran with the K. & the Macedonians; but the principal persons and men of quality, a man might perceive affected diversly. Some went with the Romans all upon the head, in such as they greatly impaired their authority in excessive favour to them; few of them were induced by the just and upright government of the Romans, but the most part were carried away with the strong conceit, that the more they employed themselves for them, the greater men they should be at home in their own Cities. Another sort there were of the Kings flattering favorites, who being deeply drenched in debt, and desirous of bettering their fortune (if the present state held still) abandoned and gave themselves over to entertain all changes and innovations. And some there were besides, possessed with a vain humor of their own, because *Perseus* seemed to have more favour of the common people. A third sort there were (and those of the best and wisest of all other) who if it had been in their hands to de-

termine

A they would have to be contented with the lesser lot, under the Romans rather than the Kings. Mary if they might have had their liberty, so as they might freely dispose of their fortune, by their good will they would not have had the one part advanced by the rebellion and subversion of the other: but that the forces and soldiers which were remaining were and unspoiled, and they by might be entertained, and to be well taken care of, and of the Cities should continue the war, when as the one part might have proved the weaker side from the injuries of the mightier. And this that stood affected them, that they might not be so; but being determined to stand, the behaviour and disposition of the soldiers were the more and fiercer of their lot.

The Consuls that day, wherein they entered their government, when they sat down according to the ordinance of the Senate, with greater beauty in all their temples and churches, wherein the most part of the year the several gods and chambers for the gods were prepared, and thereby had presented by good tokens, that their prayers were acceptable to the immortal gods, made report unto the Senate, that their sacrifices were as they ought to be, as also their prayers, which they conceived touching the war. The Bureau-prince likewise by their praying declared, what it they went about any new enterprise, they should make speed, yea, for why? Alas! prognosticome of glory, triumph, and enlargement of their territory. Whereupon the Elders of the Senate commanded the Consuls to propose to the people the first day of the general assembly of the Centuries in this manner: *In the name of God, and to the welfare and happiness of the Commonwealth: whereas Pompey the son of Philip K. of Macedonia, (against who stand and imminent tumults with his father's self, and after his death, and with him) has desired to be upon the allies of the people of Rome, to sell their territories, seeking their Cities, temples, and houses to be torn down, and the people of Rome, and to that end hath provided twenty thousand men, and in short, to make satisfaction, please it you that war be enterprise and waged against him.* This bill passed by all the suffrages of the people. Then was there an act of the Senate likewise entered, that the Consuls should either agree together, or else cast lots for the provinces of *Italy* and *Macedonia*; and look whose lot fell to *Macedonia*, he should perfect it with fire and sword. *K. Perseus* and strict sect and faction which took his part, unless they made amends to the people of *Rome*. It was concluded also, that four legions should be newly enrolled, for either Consul to wait: with this preeminence and advantage to the province of *Macedonia*, that whereas to the legions of the other Consul (according to the ancient custom) there went but five thousand foot and two hundred horse speece, there should be enrolled for *Macedonia* six thousand foot and three hundred horse equally to a legion. Also for the one of the Consuls in the army of the allies, the number was augmented; so as besides those six hundred horsemen which *Cn. Sittius* had conducted already, he should of those allies transport over into *Macedonia*, sixteen thousand footmen and eight hundred horse. As for *Italy*, twelve thousand footmen of allies and six hundred horse were thought sufficient. Moreover this prerogative had the Province of *Macedonia*, that for Centurions and soldiers the Consul might enroll of the elder sort whom he thought good as many as were not above fifty years of age. In choosing of Tribunes military and colonels, the old manner was this year changed; in regard of the Macedonian war; to wit, that the Consuls (by advice and authority of the Senate) should move unto the people, that the said Tribunes might not that year be elected by voices of the people, but that their elections should be referred to the judgment and discretion of the Consuls and Pretors. The charge of command was thus divided among the Pretors as followeth: That Pretor whose lot fell to go whither it pleased the Senate to send, was assigned to take his journey to the fleet at *Brundisium*, and there to survey and revise the less-torvirs, and look how many he thought not meet for service, them to discharge, & to make up the number with chosen Libertines; and in any wise to order it so, that two third parts consisted of Roman naturall citizens, and the other third of allies. Item, That provision of victuals for the navy and the army, should be brought out of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. And the Pretors of those two provinces had in charge to exact a double tenth of the Sicilians and Sardinians, and this grain to be conveyed into *Macedonia* for the army. Now *Sicily* fell to *C. Caninius Rebasus*; *Sardinia* to *L. Furius Philus*; and *Spain* to *L. Cincleius*. *C. Sulpicius Galba* was chief tustice for the citizens of *Rome*, and *L. Junius Annius* for the strangers; but *C. Lucretius Gallus* his lot was to go where the Senate would employ him. Between the two Consuls there was some jar and wrangling, rather then any great debate about their province. *Cassius* for his part said, That he was by the right to war in *Macedonia* without any cisting of lots for the matter, forasmuch as his colleague might not enter into lot with him, and save his oath. For he being Pretor, had (worn solemnly in a fre quent assembly of the people) because he would shift off and not go into his province, that he had occasion to select his sacrifices in a certain place and upon set daies, which could not be performed (as they ought) if he were absent. And the same as I take it cannot be well done during his absence now, that he is Consul no more then whiles he was Pretor. Howbeit if the Senate be of opinion and judge, that more consideration is to be had to intitle *Caius Licinius* his will now in the Consulship, then regard of this oath he took before in the Pretorship, yea will I notwithstanding acknowledge myself to the pleasure of the Senate. The Elders were consulted with hereunto, who judging that it were a proud part to deny him the government of a province, unto whom the people of *Rome* had granted the dignity of a Consulship, commanded the Consuls to cast lots. This *Macedonia* fell to *P. Licinius*, and *Italy* to *C. Cassius*. Then they put to lottery also the conduct

and employment of the legions: whereby the first and third were to be transported into *Macedony*, the second and fourth to remain in *Italy*. In the morning, and choice of soldiers, the Consul went more neatly and straightly to work by far, then customably they used at other times. As for *Centurions*, he enrolled the elder sort also, as well for soldiers as centurions: and many there were who voluntarily entered their names, because they saw how those thrived well and grew rich, who had served either in the former *Macedonian* war, against *Antiochus* in *Asia*. Now when as the martial Colonel called forth the centurions by name one after another, and the principal first, there happened to be three and twenty centuries

* The Centurions in the service over the *Triarii* who are called also *Pilani*. For so besides many of the, witnesseth *Ovid*. 3^d *lib*. in these verses, *Inde parva centurum decus crevit in orbem*. *Romulus*, *Habitos instituitque decem*: *Et totidem Principes*. *totidem Pilanus habebat Corpora legitimo quisque merebat equo*. And that it was the chiefest place of Centurions in the legion, appeareth by *Ligustinus* in his oration following.

men (quoth he) have accomplished their full time of service required by law: they carry about them bodies as well spent and crasse for age, as broken by continual travels: howbeit refuse they will nothing, but are ready to do their devoir unto the Commonweal. This only they humbly crave and request, that they may not be assigned to baser places of command, then wherein they have been employed already when they bare arms. Then *P. Livius*, the Consul, commanded, the act of the Senat to be openly read: wherein it was ordained first to levy war upon *Perseus*; the next to enroll as many as they could of the old experienced Centurions for that war; and last of all exempt none from soldiery, but such only as were above fifty years of age. After this he earnestly besought them in this new war to need to *Italy*, and against a Prince so puissant, neither to hinder the Colonels in levying soldiers, nor forbid the Consul that he might appoint to each man what place and degree was thought to stand most for the good of the Commonweal. And in case there arose any doubt and difficulty in this business, to submit the decision thereof to the Senat. After that the Consul had delivered his mind, *Sp. Ligustinus* one of them who had appealed to the Tribunes of the Commons, requested both the Consul and the Tribunes to give him leave, for to speak a few words unto the people: who having liberty granted with all their good will, made a speech unto them in this wise. "My masters, you *Quintus*, *Spurinus Ligustinus* of the tribe *Crispina*, am descended from the *Sabine*. My father left me an acre of land and a little cottage to it, wherein I was born, bred and brought up, and whereupon at this day I dwell. So soon as I was come to mans estate, my father gave me to wife my cousin german, his neece by the brother, who brought nothing with her former marriage-good, but freedom of birth, honesty of life, and therewith fruitfulness of womb, as much (I may say to you) as a rich man of some wealthy house may well maintain. Six sons God hath sent between us, and two daughters to them, both maidens marriageable. Four of our sons are men grown, and have put on their mans robe; two are boies still in their *Proteida*, under seventeen years old. I my self was preft to the wars, the year when *P. Sulpicius* and *C. Aurelius* were Consuls. In that army which passed over sea into *Macedony*, I served in quality of a common souldier for the space of two years against King *Philip*. In the third year *T. Quintius Flaminius*, in regard of my forwardnesse assigned me the tenth place of leading among the *Hastati* in the vanguard. After that *Philip* and the *Macedonians* were vanquished, and we brought over again into *Italy* and discharged, I went immediately as a voluntary servitor into *Spain* with *M. Porcius* the Consul. And there is not a commander alive at this day, who saw farther into a souldier, and could judge better of vertue and valour then he: as they know full well, who by long warfare have had experience both of him and also of other leaders. He being my captain reputed me worthy to have the first place, and leading of the formost century of the *Hastati*. A third time I became a voluntary again in the expedition against the *Atolians* and *K. Antiochus*; and *M. Calpurnius* advanced me to the Captainship of the Principes, in the very first place of the foremost century. When King *Antiochus* was chased, and the *Atolians* subdued, we were brought back again into *Italy*, and two years together I was in pay of the legions that received yearly wages and allowance. Twice after this, I bare arms and served in *Spain*, once under *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, a second time under *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the Pretor. By *Flaccus* I was brought home among others, whom for their valour and prowess he thought good to have in train for the honour of his triumph: and at the request and entrety of *T. Gracchus* I accompanied him into the Province. Where within few years space I had the leading of the first company of the *Pilani* or *Triarii* in the rereguard. Four and thirty times have I been rewarded with presents at my General hands, in token of vertue and prowess. Six civick coronets have I received: two and thirty years full have I followed the wars & more then fifty years old I am. Now if neither I had served out all the years required by law,

The oration of
Sp. Ligustinus.

A "law, nor might plead exemption and immunity by mine age, yet seeing I am able to shew four
 "soldiers for one, my four sons [I say for my self alone] I think it were reason, O *P. Licinius*,
 "that I were now freed and discharged. And all this I pray you take, as spoken for the be-
 "hoof of my cause. Now as touching my person thus much. So long as any man who hath author-
 "ity to enroll soldiers, shall judge me sufficient and able to bear arms, I will not go about to ex-
 "cuse and thrust off. And look what place the Colonels and Marshalls shall suppose me worthy
 "of, it lyeth in his good will and pleasure to assigne me unto it: but to performe that no one per-
 "son in the whole army turne out me in valor, that shall be my own endeavor, like as not only
 "my captains, but those also who have served with me are able to testifie. That I never had so car-
 "ried my self and performed as much. And you likewise my fellow soldiers, albeit you practise
 B "and keep in use the priviledge and benefit of appealing to the Tribunes, yet meet and reason it is,
 "since in your youthfull daies ye never did ought in any place against the authority of the Senat
 "and the Consuls; ye now also in your declining age be at the disposition of the Senat and the
 "Consuls; yea, and to esteem all places worshipfull, wherein you shall defend and maintain the
 "Common weal. When he had thus said, the Consuls highly commended him, and from before
 "the people brought him into the Senat. And there also by the advice and authority of that hono-
 "rable house, thanked he was, and the Marshal-Generall, in regard of his vertue, appointed him
 "to be the principall Centurion of the Pilani in the first legion. So the rest of the Centurions re-
 "nouncing their appeal to the Tribunes, yielded obedience in the muster and levy above said.

To the end that the Magistrats and great commanders might go more timely into their govern-
 "ments, the Latine feasts and holydaies were published to be holden upon the Calends of *June*.
 C Which solemnity being finished, *C. Lucretius* the Pretor took his journey to *Brundisium*, having
 "sent before all necessary furniture and provision for the fleet. Besides, those armies which the
 "Consuls levied, a commission was directed out to *C. Sulpicius* *Gala* the Pretor, to enroll four
 "legions of Roman citizens, with the ordinary full proportion of infanterie and cavalerie, and to chuse
 "out of the body of the Senat four Colonels to command them. Also to levy Latin allies 15000
 "foot, and 1200 horse, and to take order that his army should be ready to go whithersoever the Se-
 "nat thought good. *P. Licinius* the Col. at his own instant request (that over and above the armies
 "of citizens and allies, he might have an addition of auxiliaries) obtained of Ligurians 2000 of Can-
 "didiot archers an uncertain number, namely, as many as the Candidiots upon request would lead. More-
 "over, certain Numidian horsemen and elephants: for which purpose *L. Posthumius Albinus*, *Q.*
 D *Terentius Culles* and *C. Aburnius* were sent in embassage to *Masaniassa* and the Carthaginians. Simi-
 "lably it was thought good to send three Embassadors into *Greece*, to wit, *A. Posthumius Albinus*,
 "C. *Decimius*, and *A. Licinius Nerva*.

At the very same time there arrived Embassadors from King *Perseus*. But suffered they were not
 "to enter into the City, considering that both the Senat had ordained, and the people assented al-
 "ready to make war upon their King and the Macedonians. So, admitted they were into the Temple
 "of *Bellona* before the Senat, where they delivered their message in this manner: That King *Per-*
 "seus marvelled why there were armies transported over into *Macedony*? And if the Senat might
 "be intreated so much, as to recall them home, the King would make satisfaction for the wrongs
 "done unto their allies, in such sort as the Senat in their discretion would appoint. Now there was
 "in the Senat-house at that time *Sp. Carvilius*, sent back for that very purpose out of *Greece* from
 E *Cn. Sicilius*. He made report and remonstrance, how *Perseus* was forced by arms, and certain
 "Cities of *Thessaly* won: with other exploits that King *Perseus* had either performed, or else was in-
 "hind to enterprise. To which challenges the Embassadors were commanded to make answer. But
 "after they were once to falter in their speech, saying they had no farther commission then that
 "they had delivered already; they were willed to relate unto the King their master, that *P. Licinius*
 "the Consul would shortly be in *Macedony* with an army, unto whom the King might address
 "his Embassadors, if he minded to do as he said and to make amends. As for sending any more to
 "Rome, there was no need nor cause, forasmuch as they would not suffer any of them to pass through
 F *Italy*. When they were dismissed with this short dispatch, *P. Licinius* the Consul had in charge, to
 "command them to go out of *Italy* within 11 daies, and to send *Spirius Carvilius* for to guard them
 "all the way to the sea-side until they were shipped. These occurrences passed in Rome before the
 "Consuls were gone into their provinces.

Now by this time *Cn. Sicilius* (who ere that he left his magistracy, was sent before as far as
 "to *Brundisium* to the fleet and the army) having put over into *Epirus* 5000 foot and 300 horse,
 "was encamped before *Nymphæum* in the territory of the Apolloniats. From thence he sent certain
 "colonels with 2000 soldiers, to seize the forts and castles of the Dacariats and Illyrians, by oc-
 "casion that they of their own accord made treaties and sent for garrisons, to the end they might be
 "better guarded & secured from the violence and invasion of the Macedonians bordering upon their
 G confines.

Some few daies after, *Q. Martius*, *A. Anilius*, *P.* and *Ser.* both *Cornelius* and *Lentulus*, together
 "with *L. Decimius*, who all had been sent in embassage into *Greece*, brought them to *Coryra* one
 "thousand footmen: where they both parted between themselves their severall quarters whither
 "they would go, and also their soldiers. *Decimius* was sent to *Gentius* King of the *Illyrians*, with
 "commandment, if he saw him any waies coming on and inclined to entertaine amity with the Ro-
 "mans, to sound him and give the assay, yea, and to draw him into the association of this war.

The

These two *Lemuli* were sent into *Thessalia*, from thence to traverse and cross over into *Perseus*, and before winter to search about and compass the coast of the *Wells*, *Marinus*, & *Antiochus* were assigned to visit *Epirus*, *Acidia* and *Thessalia*. From thence they were enjoined to have an eye into *Scythia* and *Bithynia* and to sail into *Poloponissus*, where they appointed meet with the *Lemuli*. But before that they departed from *Gyrrus*, letters were brought from *Perseus*, wherein he demanded what reason the Romans had either to transport any forces into *Thessalia*, or to set upon the *Cities*; though good it was to return him no answer by writing, but only by word of mouth thus much to say unto the messenger that brought the letters, That the Romans did it for the defence and safeguard of the said to wit, *The Lemuli* as they rode their circuit visiting the *Cities* and towns of *Poloponissus*, exhorting the *Scots* and commonalities thereof and specially one as well as another, To aid the Romans at this protest against *Perseus*, with semblable courage and like fidelity as they had stood with them first in the war against *Philip*, and afterwards in that with *Antiochus*; might here in their publick assemblies much animating and grumbling thereof. The *Acheans* (who from the very beginning of the *Macedonian* war had been together for the Romans, and during the war against *Philip*, came to the *Macedonians*) took it in disdain that they were reputed in the same rank with the *Messians* and *Eleans*, and no better then they who had born arms against the people of *Rome*, for *Antiochus* their enemies and who but the other day, being enrolled into the commonality and counsell of the *Acheans*, complained that they were delivered unto the victorious *Acheans*, as the recompence and guerdon of their conquest. *Martinus* and *Attalus* as they went up to *Gyrrus* a town of *Epirus*, ten miles from the sea, to a general Council holden there of all the *Epirians*, had audience with great contentment of them; all Four Hundred of their young and able lusty men they sent into the *Ossians* country to lie in garrison for defence of those *Macedonians* who by them were set at liberty. From thence, they held on their progress into *Etolia*; and after they had sojourned there some few daies (whiles a new *Priest* was elected in the room of him that was deceased, and *Lysimachus* appointed the governor, a man known for certain to favour the Romans) they passed over into *Thessaly*. Thither repaired the *Embassadors* of the *Acarnanians* and the banished persons of *Etolia*. The *Acarnanians* were enjoined to utter and declare before them what they had committed and done against the people of *Rome*, being inveigled and deceived by the promises of the two Kings *Philip* and *Antiochus* during the wars against the one and the other; since occasion was now presented unto them, for to make amends and lay all that was amiss. For if upon their ill demerits towards the people of *Rome*, they had made triall and tasted of their clemency, they might now by good deserts prove their boundy another while. As for the *Boetians*, they were reprov'd and upbraided for entering into association with *Perseus*; and when they seemed to lay the whole fault upon *Ismaeus* a captain of one of the two factions, and certain *Cities* and *States* which being of a different opinion were drawn to the side; Say ye so? (quoth *Martinus* again) and that shall soon appear, for we all permit every commonalty and *City* to answer apart and severally for themselves the best they can.

Now was the *Diet* of the *Thessalians* holden at *Larissa*; where, as the *Thessalians* took good occasion and found ample matter of thanksgiving the Romans, for the liberty which by their goodness they had obtained: so as the *Roman* legats had as copious an argument to render them thanks, for that first in the war with *Philip*, and afterwards of *Antiochus*, they had been so mightily aided by the *Thessalian* nation. Thus by this mutuall rehearsal of pleasures and good turns given and taken, the hearts of the multitude were enkindled with a fervent zeal to decree and ordain whatsoever it pleased the Romans to desire. After this council was dissolved, there came *Embassadors* from *K. Perseus* unto *Martinus*, upon a speciall assistance of the private friendship and hospitality which had passed between his father King *Philip*, and the said *Martinus* and his father. These *Embassadors* began the speech with a commemoration of the said familiar and inward acquaintance, requesting him to permit the *K.* for to have access unto him, and to converse together. *Martinus* answered, that he also had heard his father speak of the amity and mutuall hospitality between him and *K. Philip*; in regard and remembrance of which near bond of familiarity he was the more willing to take upon him the charge of that embassy and commission. As to the party, he would not have deferred it at all, if he might commodiously have wrought it: & now for this present he promised (so soon as he possibly could) to send his counties before to advertise the King, that they might come to the river *Peneus*, whereas the passage lieth from *Omolium* over to *Dium*. And verily at that time, *Perseus* was retired from *Dium* into the inland quarters of his realm, and had gathered some pretty gale of hope; in that *Martinus* had given out, how for love of him he had undertaken this embassy. After some few daies they repaired to the place appointed. This King accompanied with a great train as well of his friends, as his courtiers and pensioners which guarded his person. The legats likewise were attended upon with no lesse a troop, by reason as well of many that followed them from *Larissa*, as also of diverse embassages from the *States* which assembled at *Larissa*, and were desirous to carry home with them certain news of the sequel, which they should hear. Every man had an inward desire tesled in his heart to see the manner of the meeting of this noble *K.* & these high commissioners from the *Sovereign* state and mightiest people of the whole world. Being come to the interview one of another, they stood still on either side of the river, which only parted them at under. For a while there passed coterpoursiers between, whiles they made it strange on both parts, who should pass the river first, for the *Macedonians* stood somewhat upon the toll majesty of a King; & the *Romans* were so respective.

A respect to the reputation of the people of *Rome*, considering withall, that *Perseus* sought the means & made first motion for this parley. Whereupon, to end this controversy, *Marius* cast out a merry word. What needs all this (qd. he) let the younger come to the elder without more ado, and the son to the father: this he spake, for that himself also was turnamed *Philipp*. The K. soon condescended thereunto. But then arose another doubt and difference, namely, with what number he should pass over. The K. thought it meet & convenient to come with his whole train: but the legats would have had him either to bring over with him three persons, and no more: or else if he were minded to pass with so great a company, to put in hostages for assurance, that during the time of the parley no outrage should be committed. So *Perseus* sent as pledges, *Hippias* & *Panmachus*, the principal and most especial friends that were about him, whom also he had employed

B in the embassage. Now were these hostages required, not so much for a gage & pawn of security, as that it might appear unto the allies there present, that the K. in meeting and communing with the Roman Commissioners, should not keep state comparable with him, but abate somewhat of the port and majesty which they carried. Their mutual greeting and salutation was nothing strange, as between enemies: but kind and amiable, as among familiar friends. Which done, they sat them down upon their chairs set ready for them. After they had thus sate a while in silence and said nothing, *Marius* began in this manner: "You expect (I suppose qd. he) that we should

The Oration
of *Martin Philippi*
to King
Perseus.

"answer to your letters which you sent to *Coryra*, wherein you demand, Why we are come in embassage and commission after this manner with armed soldiers, and plant garrisons as we do in every City? To which question of yours not to answer at all, I fear me you would take it to

C be pride in me: and again, to answer a truth, I doubt it will be too harsh and unpleasant to your ears. But seeing that he who breaketh a covenant must be chastised either by word or sword, (like as I had rather that any other but my self should have commission to make war upon you:) So I will be so bold (however it fall out) to speak rough and tart unto you as to my friend: and herein will I follow the manner of Physicians, who for the health of their patients, otherwhiles minister bitter medicins and apply stinking corrosives. Since time that you first attained unto the crown, the Senat thinketh you have done but one only thing of all that you ought to have done, namely, that you sent your ambassadors to *Rome* for to renew the league; and yet they judge you had done better in not renewing it, than after it was renewed, to violate the same. Chased you have out of the Realm * *Abrapolis*, a confederat and friend of the people of

* The King of
the Saptens.
σάπην τοῦ
βασιλῆ αὐτοῦ
πολιῦ.
Pausanias in
Achaicis.

D *Rome*. The murderers of *Artaxarus* you have received and entertained, yea, and given the world thereby to understand, that you were well pleased (to say no worse) with his death: and killed they have a Prince most fast and faithfull to the Romans, of all others in *Illyrium*. Thorough *Thessaly* and the territory of *Malis*, you have marched with an army against the tenor of the league, as far as to *Delphi*: and more than that, contrary unto the said accord, sent you have aid and succour to the Byzantins. With our allies the Boetians, you have entered into a secret association and bound the same with an oath, which by right you ought not to have done. Who it was that murdered the Theban ambassadors *Eversia* and *Callierius* who came directly from us, I had rather enquire than charge any man and declare. The civil wars in *Aetolia* the massacres of their Princes & States, unto whom may they be imputed in any likelihood, but to your people? As for the Dolopians, wisteth they were by your self in person and by no other. It grieveth

E me and goeth to my heart, to speak who it is that K. *Eumenes* challengeth and burdeneth with this, That in his return from *Rome* into his own kingdom, he was like to have been killed as a beast for sacrifice & that at *Delphi*, in a sacred and hallowed place, even before the altars. As for the secret practices which your host of *Brundisium* hath disclosed and set abroad, I know right well, that not only you have received letters thereof from *Rome*, but your own ambassadors also have told you all by word of mouth. You might have soon avoided all this, and heard nothing thereof from me, if you would have forbore only to ask & demand. Wherefore our forces were transported over into *Macedony*, & why we sent garrisons into our confederat Cities? But since you would needs put out such a question, more pride it had been in us to have held our peace, than to utter the plain truth as we have done. Verily, for mine own part, in regard of the hospital and friendly cures that have passed between your father and us, I favour you, and will gladly make the best of your cause: and would to God I had some good occasion ministered from your self, to solicit and further your suit before the Senat.

F To these challenges and imputations, the K. framed his answer in this wise: "Content I am so plead my cause before you, the parties appellants and judges both, which would be found (I doubt not) good, if it were debated and handled in the presence of indifferent and equall arbitrators. And first, as touching those matters which are objected against me, they are such as in part, I wot not well, whether I may not glory in them, or at least will not blush in the confessing and avowing thereof. As for the rest, as they are charged upon me in bare words, so plain words may serve flatly and simply to deny them. For say, that this day I were subject unto your laws, and by them to have my trial, what can either that promoter of *Brundisium*, or K. *Eumenes* inform against me, but it will appear, that they accuse me not so much with matter of truth, as exhibit only slanderous and reproachfull terms? A like matter, I wis it is, that neither *Eumenes* had had any other enemy but me, (he, I say, who hath done such wrong and injury to so many both in common and also in particular:) nor I could find a fitter person to serve my turn in the execution of my projects but this *Rammius*, a fellow that I never had seen before, nor was ever like

The answer of
King *Perseus*.

"to see again hereafter, I must (forsooth) give account for the Thebans, who as it is well known, H
 "perished by shipwrack: as also for the murder of *Arctas*; and yet therein I am no deeper
 "charged than thus, that the murderers of him fled in exile & were shadowed within my realm.
 "Now surely, this hard conclusion and unreasonable condition I will not refuse to undergo, in case
 "you also will be content to take upon you and avow all those crimes and facts, for which they
 "stand condemned, who as banished persons have fled either to *Rome* or into *Italy*: but in case
 "both you and all other nations will disavow that, I also will be one among the rest. And in good
 "faith, to speak uprightly, to what end should any man be banished from one country, if he may
 "not find a place in another, and be permitted there to live in exile? And yet (so soon as ever I
 "found by advertisement from you that they were within *Macedony*) I for my part made diligent
 "search untill I had them, and then I commanded them to depart out of my kingdom, yea and ex-
 "pressly forbad them for ever setting foot again within my dominions. And thus much verily
 "concerning the criminal matters objected unto me as a defendant pleading at the bar. Now let
 "us argue and debate the rest, enforced and laid against me in quality of a King, namely, which
 "concern and touch the accord contracted between me and you. For if the words run in this sort
 "and are thus written in the foresaid covenants of accord, That I may not be suffered to defend
 "my self and my realm, no, not if any enemy of mine levy war against me; then I must confess
 "indeed, that the league I have broken, in that I stood upon my guard and defence by force of
 "arms against *Abrupolis*, an associat of the people of *Rome*. But if it were lawful for me to do
 "by warrant of the accord and allowed also by the law of nations, by force to repel force; what
 "should I else say, what could I else have done I pray you? When *Abrupolis* had laid waste the
 "frontiers of my kingdom even as far as to *Amphipolis*, led into captivity many persons (reco-
 "born, carried away a mighty number of slaves, and driven before him many thousand head of
 "cattell; should I have sitten still and suffered him untill he had come armed to *Pella*, even unto
 "my royall palace? But some man may haply say, You did well indeed and justly, in making head
 "and pursuing him by force of arms, may vanquished he should not have been, neither ought he
 "to have suffered those calamities which follow men vanquished. Why if I have endured the for-
 "tune therof, provoked as I was to war, how can he justly complain of taking the like, being him-
 "self the cause and first motive of all? I will not use the same manner of defence. O *Romans*, to
 "this, that by force of arms I have repressed the *Dolopians*: for if I have not done by them accord-
 "ing to their demerits, yet I am sure I have dealt by the verue of the right I have over them be-
 "ing as they are of mine own kingdom, under my obeysance, and made subjects to my father even
 "by a decree of your own drawing. And yet, were I to render a reason of my proceedings against
 "them, I say, not unto you nor unto my allies, but even to those who like not of any cruel com-
 "mand so much as over bondslaves; can I be thought to have exercised more rigor against them,
 "than equity and reason would bear? For *Enphranor*, whom I deputed governor over them, they
 "killed in such sort, that death is too good for them, and the least punishment of all others that
 "they have deserved. And as I marched forward in my progress from thence to visit the Cities of
 "*Larissa*, *Antron*, & *Pylleon*, I ascended up to *Delphi*, there for to sacrifice, to the end that I might
 "discharge my conscience & pay those vows which I had of long time owed. Now to aggravate
 "matter in this also against me, it is said moreover, that I was there with my army, and intended
 "(no doubt) for to seiz Cities into my hands, and put garrisons into fortresses; for which at this
 "present I complain of you. Call the *States* and Cities of *Greece* together to a generall assembly,
 "through which I passed. Let any one man come forth & make complaint of the least harm done
 "by any of my souldiers; then will I not refuse to be reputed for one who under pretence of di-
 "vine sacrifice, went about another thing. We sent indeed garrisons to the *Etolians* and *Bizan-
 "tins*, yea, and with the *Breotians* we contracted amity. But these things, in what sort & for what
 "purpose they were done, my ambassadors have not only declared, but also executed oftentimes
 "before your Senat: where I found some Umpires to hear and decide my cause, although not so
 "indifferent and favourable to me, ward, as your self are. O *Marius*, my fathers old friend and fa-
 "miliar, For as yet *Eumenes* my accuser was not come to *Rome*, who by false suggestions, wresting N
 "at his pleasure every thing to the worst, to make all suspicions and odious unto you, went about
 "to make you beleve that *Greece* could not possibly be restored to freedom, & enjoy the fruit of
 "your gracious benefit, so long as the kingdom of *Macedony* stood entire and upright. Well, the
 "world you shall see, will turn about; and anon one or other will be here, to make remonstrance
 "and prove, That to no purpose *Antiochus* is removed and confined beyond the mountains of
 "*Taurus*; that *Eumenes* is become much more grievous and unportable to all *Asiathan* *Antiochus*
 "ever was: and that your allies cannot be at rest nor live in quiet, so long as he keepeth
 "his royal court in *Pergamus*, a Cittadel (as it were) overlooking and commanding all the neigh-
 "bour Cities bordering thereupon. Right well I know, O *Q. Marius*, and you *A. Atilius*, that
 "whatsoever either you have objected against me, or I answered for my defence & purgation, is O
 "such as the ears and affections are of the hearers: neither what I have done, nor what mind and
 "intention I have carried in mine actions will be so much regarded, as how you take every thing
 "either done or intended. Mine own conscience beareth me witness, that willingly I have not
 "faulted; now, if for want of knowledge and foresight I have been overseen and done somewhat
 "amiss it may be corrected and amended by this present chastisement. This I am sure, my trespass
 "is not incurable, neither have I committed ought that you should deem worthy to be punished
 "by

by war & force of arms. And if ye desire to live in a free state, that then goeth this name a-
 broad throughout all Nations of your Country, and greatly both that I say for so light occasions
 which hardly are worth the conquest and the making of arms, you be ready to enter into arms
 and levy war upon your Country. *Perseus* for that time acceded to his speech, and
 moved him to attend on himself to some kind of advice and opinion himself to try all means
 to the very last point, and to still working whereof some hope of good might arise. It remained
 only to be debated in Council, how counsel might pass in safety. And to this purpose, when
 it was necessary for the King to request a further aid of arms, *Marcus* himself was willing and desirous
 from thenceforth for that his duty was to nothing else by all this conference and parley, yet he seemed
 to make a hard matter and difficulty of it, not to do a special favour and pleasure unto *Perseus* in
 granting his petition. The truth was, the Romans yet were not ready nor thoroughly appointed at
 this point for the war; they had neither army sufficient enough, nor captains sufficient; where-
 as *Perseus* (but that he was blinded in all his councils with a vain hope of peace) had all things
 prepared and in readiness, and might then have begun to wage war, as in the best and most op-
 portune season for himself, so the worst and unprofitable of all other times for his enemies.

After this parley and the continuance of war assured faithfully on both parts, the Roman Com-
 missioners were appointed and resolved to go into *Bœotia*, where there was begun already some
 trouble and commotion, by reason that certain States of the Bœotians were departed from the
 society of the common Council, ever since it was reported back, how the Roman Legats made
 answer that it should appear and be seen, what Cities they were indeed which took no pleasure
 to have any association with the King. And first the ambassadors from *Cherronia* afterwards from
Thebes encountered them upon the way, who assured them that they were not present in that Di-
 et and Council, where this association was concluded. To these embassages no answer for this
 time was made, but willed they were only to give their attendance and follow them to *Chalcedon*.

At *Thebes* great variance there was, which arose by occasion of another strife and debate. In
 their solemn assembly for the election of the Prætor of the Bœotians that year which had the re-
 public in revenge of that injury and disgrace, assembled the multitude and made a decree at *Thebes*,
 That the Bœotarches should not be received within their Cities: in such sort, as like banished
 men they needed to *Thebes*: from whence for received there they were incontinently without
 any stay being called again to *Thebes* upon better advisement and change of mind, they made
 an ordinance, That if to the number of twelve private persons held any conventicle or publicke
 meeting together, they should be condemned to die. After this *Ismerus* the new Prætor, a no-
 ble personage and of great valiance, by virtue of a decree adjudged them in their absence for to
 lose their lives. To *Chalcedon* they were fled, and from thence to the Romans at *Larissa* they went;
 where they declared that *Ismerus* was the cause of their association with King *Perseus*. Upon that
 forbiddance, they grew to hot contention, yet ambassadors from both parts came to the
 Romans, as well the banished persons and accusers of *Ismerus*, as also *Ismerus* himself. But so
 soon as the Roman Legats were come to *Chalcedon*, the States and heads of other Cities (whoever
 by special desire of their own had renounced association with King *Perseus*) joyntly
 with the Romans; whereas they took exceeding great contentment and joy. *Ismerus* thought
 himself and reason that the Bœotian nation should be committed to the protection of the Ro-
 mans. Whereupon arose a tumultuous fray, & that that he fled into the Tribunal of the Legats to
 save himself: he had escaped narrowly from being killed by the said exiled persons, with the help
 of their supporters and favours.

Also the City of *Thebes*, which is the capital place of State within *Bœotia*, was in great trouble
 and uproar; whilst some came to the King, and others to the Romans. Besides there was a mul-
 titude of Citizens and Strangers gathered together to maintain the ordinance and decree as
 touching the association with the King. But such was the resolute persistence of the principal and
 chief men, who moved by the late calamities of *Philip* and *Amacinus*, how great the forces, and
 how happy the fortune was of the Roman Empire, that the same multitude repented, and being
 overcome, passed a new decree to revoke and cancel the former confederacy with the King; sent
 those that were the movers and persuaders of contracting that amity to *Chalcedon* for to satisfy
 and content the Roman Legats, yet also to conclude were of advice to recommend the City to the
 faithful protection of the said Commissioners. *Marcus* & *Antius* took great pleasure to hear that
 Thebans had thus now they persuaded with them severally apart, and gave them counsel to send
 ambassadors to Rome for the renewing of that amity: but before all things they took order for the
 restoring of the banished persons: as for the authors of the confederacy contracted with the King,
 they by their own votes condemned. Having thus by this means rejoined and made frustrate the
 Diet of the Bœotians (the thing which above all they most desired) they took their journey to
Pharsalus, together with *Ant. Caracilius*, whom they had sent for to *Chalcedon*. For their sakes a
 Council was holden at *Aegæa*, where they demanded nothing else of the Achaean nation, but on-
 ly to furnish them with 1000 soldiers. This garrison was sent to the defence of *Chalcedon*, until
 the Roman ships were transported into Greece. *Marcus* and *Antius* having thus dispatched all
 the affairs of Greece, did return to Greece in the beginning of winter returned to Rome.

Then will I write how these things were done in Rome, to wit, *T. Claudius*, *P. Posthumus*, and
M. Junius. They in their circuit and visitation exhorted all their allies to take arms against *Perseus*.

for the Romans. And the mightier and more wealthy any City was the more earnestly travelled they there: because the intention was to have the more ample and authority of the people. For of all others the knowledge of their report and consequence every way for that they were not only to have a great countenance, but also and in addition with their forces this way, and by the advantage of which they had got together a fleet of forty sail. Thus they were their resolution, (whom they call *Perseus*) had by many reasons the tales with the knowledge to abandon the hope they had by entertaining their King, which they had found by their experience how vain it was, and to hold themselves to the society and alliance of the Romans, the third hold in all others at that time in the world, as well for the reason of force as of authority and honour. There is intended war by them too he against *Perseus*, and no doubt the Romans will receive of us the same provision and assistance of ships and soldiers, which they have received lately against *Antiochus*, and before that against *King Philip*, and then you will be to see and forced in great haste to provide a fleet, which if were more time it should be far more plentiful, forth, unless ye begin betimes to repair and fit your ships, unless I see you fit in haste to furnish the same with sailors and mariners. And with so much more endeavour ought ye thus to do, that by your deed and effectual employment you may refute and disprove the false insinuations wherewith *Enimetus* hath charged you, by these reasons, that they were no more as at the arrival of the Roman Legats afore said they were able to draw unto them an armada of 40 ships ready rigged and well appointed, that they might know and see they looked not to be ashamed thereunto. And this embassage was of great moment and importance, also to gain the hearts of the States in *Asia*. Only *Decimus* returned to *Rome* without any effect of his errand and commission, nay, he ran into an ill name and obloquy, upon suspicion that he had received certain bribes of the Princes in *Thyrrhenia*.

Perseus upon the conference and communication had with the Romans, retired into *Macedonia* and sent his Embassadors to *Rome*, to treat about the conditions of peace begun already with *Marius*: to other Embassadors also of his he gave his letters to carry to *Byzantium* and *Nicomedia*, the tenor of which letters was one and the same directed to them all, namely, that he had communed with the Roman Legats, but he had to place and couched as well what he heard as what he spoke, that it might seem he gave not one look unto them, but gained the better part of dispute & debating with them. These Embassadors added moreover and said unto the *Knobians*, That they hoped assuredly there would be a peace, for that they by the mission and service of *Marius* and *Arillus* were addressed in embassy to *Rome*. Now if the Romans have accepted the covenants of accord proceeded to levy war against the *Knobians*, were to create the with all the credit and power they have, to punish the breach again, but with all their power and treaty they might not prevail, then they were to look about and consider this one point, that the might and puissance of the whole world were not devolved into the hands of that one people. And as this imported and concerned all the rest, so the *Knobians* especially, who were amongst other States in dignity and wealth, both which might be obnoxious and dangerous, if there were regard and respect made of none but the Romans. The letters of the Kings and of the Embassadors, were entertained with friendly silence, other else they took care to change their settled minds: for now the authority of the better part began also to carry the matter with all their hearts: but if it should come to war, their King and Master was well able to resist, not only to exact any thing at their hands, to destroy the ancient army which they had with the Romans, and which they had acquired by many and great desires, it well was to be kept. In their return from *Rhodus*, they went to the *Chief of Rhodes*, and thence to *Halicarnassus*, from whom it seemed a thing expected, that they would have been welcomed and welcomed from the King & thence to the Romans. But the good news and welcome was somewhat they were somewhat discontented with the Romans, both for condoning the crime and principal Citizens, and also for restoring the banished persons. But the *Corinthians* and *Thians* upon an invited and taken by hand of the King, sent Embassadors into *Rome* requesting a pardon for their desert, and the excessive pride of the *Thebans* to their embassy the King thus answered, That a pardon he might not lend by reason of the crime committed by the Romans: howbeit, he advertised them to maintain and guard themselves against the injuries of the *Thebans* all that ever they could, but yet so, as they have the Romans to stand to be their heavy friends, and so to proceed to fight against them.

Marius and *Arillus* being come to *Rome*, made report of their embassy unto the *Capitulum* in such manner, as in nothing they gloried more, than in deluding the decreeing the King by means of a cessation from arms, and a pretended hope of peace. For to well appointed was he and furnished with all provision for war, and they could not while he was provided every way, that he might easily have possessed himself of all places of opportunity and advantage, before that their army could pass over into *Greece*. But now having this reprieve and time by the truce, as the King would come nothing better provided, so the Romans might begin the war more fully furnished with all things convenient. Moreover, they related how they by their coming distressed the King at the general Council of the *Romans*, so as by no means any more hereafter they could be rejoined to the *Macedonians* by contract and accord. The greater part of the *Senat* approved the service of

would deliver *Greece*, and establish it in freedom: but now in open and plain terms they should
 at *Macedonia*, intending to bring it into servitude: so the end thereof might be seen. *Scipio* then
 abhorred the Roman feignery: nor any nation renowned for martial prowess, permitted to bear
 arms and have weapons in hand. For their things and weapons, which should be so parts of their
 deliver up these proud L.L. together with King and kingdom, in case ye sue for ease wars, and so do
 whatsoever they will command you. All the while that he delivered this speech, there might be
 heard fierce exclamations oftentimes, sufficiently testifying the general assent of them all: but
 these last words they lift up their voices and cried out aloud with anger & indignation, men-
 cing the enemy, part for courage and resolution, exhorting the King to be of good cheer, and the
 good heart: inasmuch as he was constrained to give over and make an end of his Oration: only
 he commanded them to be ready for the remove, & to put themselves in the journey against the
 enemy: for by this time advertised he was that the Romans were dislodged from *Nymphæum*. After
 this assembly was dismissed, he gave audience to the ambassadors from the States of *Macedonia*:
 for come they were to make promise and offer both of money & grain to maintain this war every
 one according to their ability. Thanked they were each one and released of all that charge with
 this answer, that the Kings provision was sufficient. Only he commanded them to find wains and
 carts for carriages of the pieces of ordnance, the engines of battery, the darts, quarrels and other
 shot, whereof a mighty deal he had provided: and in sum, all the instruments & furniture of war.
 Then he set forward with his whole army marching toward *Erzede*, and near unto the lake which
 they call *Begaviter*, he encamped. The next morrow he advanced to *Elmus*, upon the river *Helios*.
 After this, having passed over the mountains named *Camburi* through a straight and narrow
 passage, he descended to those that inhabit *Aurum*, *Pythoni*, and *Deliche*, which quarter is called
Tripolis. These three towns staid some while in suspense, by reason that they had given their ho-
 stages to the Larissians: but in the end, overcome with the fear presented before their eyes, were
 content to yield themselves into his hands. Perceiving gracious words to this people making this
 surrender at his first arrival without any doubt or stay at all made by the inhabitants within. As
 for the town *Cyrena*, he assaied to batter it, and the first day he was repulled in a sharp skirmish at
 the very gates made by the townsmen that put on arms, drew up on a head, and made resistance. But
 the morrow after, when he had assailed the City with all his forces, they submitted all to his
 mercy before night. The inhabitants of the next town to it, *Myla*, presuming upon their fortifica-
 tions, and standing upon this, That their City was impregnable, were so proud and lusty, that they
 could not be contented to shut the gates only against the King, but most rudely and maliciously
 spared not to cast out reproachfull taunts, and give terms against his own person and the *Mace-*
donians. Which manner of dealing, much offended the people, and edged them the rather to en-
 force and follow the assault, so it kindled them as the more (upon despair of all pardon or mer-
 cy) to maintain and make good their place, & stand more resolutely in their own defence. When
 upon for this gates together the town was assailed by both parts, and defended by the other with
 mighty courage right valiantly. The *Macedonians* were so many in number, that by turns they re-
 lieved the assault without any difficulty, and entered one in the place of another. But the townsmen
 who ever more day and night guarded the gate without any change, new supply were not only
 over-charged with many wounds, but also wearied and cumbered with continual travail and want
 of sleep. The fourth day, when at one instant the *Macedonians* were heard against the wall in-
 venged quarter, and the gate failed with greater force and violence, than before the inhabitants be-
 ing driven from the curtain and battlements, so all to ward the gate, and made a sudden fall up-
 on the enemies: which proceeding more upon misconceit and rashness, than any reason and al-
 lured confidence of their own strength, caused them (few in number and unarmed) to be sur-
 rounded & put to flight by the enemies fresh and in heart, who entered the town, and made the
 gate standing wide open. Thus was this City taken and sacked. The bodies of the three
 born persons as many as remained after the bloody execution, were cast into a river. After
 he had sacked, rained, and burnt a great part of the town, dislodged and departed from thence to
Phalanna, and the next day following went onward and marched to *Gyrene*. But being adverti-
 sed that *T. Minutius Rufus* and *Flavius* the Pretor of *Thebes* were entered thither with a strong
 he passed besides the the town, and he made offer of any assault. But he refused to assault
Gyrene, by reason that the townsmen were stricken with exceeding fear upon his sudden assault.
 These two towns are situate upon the very straight which leadeth to *Lybia*, but *Gyrene* is the
 And therefore he left it guarded with a strong garrison both of foot and horse, as also fortified
 with a trebble trench and rampier. He left in person went onward to *Syracusa*, where there
 so attend the coming of the enemy. And withal he commanded his army to follow the survey
 corn every way all over the territory of the enemies, that under him, for he was minded upon
 the hanging of an hill toward the very foot of the mountain *Orus*, lying upon the south side of the
 plain champion of *Thebes*, under it, but behind on the back *Macedonia* and *Lybia*, over and
 above these commodities, the place is very fruitful and storehouse of all good things, watered
 also with many quick and running springs round about.

The Roman Consul having his army on foot about that time, marched toward *Thebes*, as
 the first found good way and ready passage through *Lybia*: but afterwards, when he was passed
 over once into *Asiamania*, he met with a rough country & rugged, and in many places im-
 passable.

A breaking their ranks after that they were joyned with the aide of *Eumenes*, they both sought the opportunity to their place who were disbanded in the rout, to retire in safety within their ranks and also saving their own baggage. When the enemies pursued not so thick in troop, they adventured to put themselves forward beyond, and so flaid many of thosenear allies whom they encountered and received in their fight. Neither durst the King's men being now also disarrayed and dispersed here and there in following the chase, come to hand-fight and joyn battell with a host continuing so well in order as they did, and marching firm and strong together: whereas the matter had been disordered and thus was brought to a small end, in case the King who won the better in horse-fight had never to him come in with help and succour. For as he encouraged his soldiers to fight there was in place very busy and in passing good time the *Phalaris* which *Alpion* and *Lemnos* people they would not be behind-hand in this hardy enterprise) brought of their own accord in great haste to loon after they heard of the winning hand of the Cavalry. And whilce the King was red in doubt of successe between hope and fear of this so great an adventure, *Eumenes* the Cretan whose service *Persus* had used in the awair aid for *K. Eumenes* and *Dido* considering that main battell marching heavily armed under their ensignes ran unto the King and earnestly advertised him to take heed, lest that presuming too much and hearing himself over-confident of his good speed of his he brought not unadvisedly the main chance of all his state into a needles and unecessary hazard. For it (quoth he) you can be content with the happy fortune of this day, and so rest, rather you shall have the means to make an honourable peace, or else (if you had rather prosecute the war) to win exceeding many allies to bear arms with you in the field: who, no doubt, will follow the train of your good fortune. So this way good the Kings mind ever and chither he loon inclined. Therefore having commended *Eumenes* for his good advice, he commanded the ensignes to retire, and the footmen to return into the camp: likewise to found the retreat unto the Guidons of the men of arms. In this battell 200 Roman footmen that day lost their lives, and no fewer than 2000 footmen, and near upon 200 of the Cavalry were taken prisoners. Of the Kings side there died not past 200 horsemen and forty of the other.

A strong
battailon of
footmen.

After that the victorious enemies were upon their return into the camp all were jocond & glad in general, but above the rest the Thracians shewed themselves in joy for this their victory over-injunct: for they returned singing full merrily, and carried the heads of their enemies fixed upon their spear-points. But the Romans were not only sad and heavy for this unfortunate journey but fearfull also lest the enemy should forthwith assail their camp. *Eumenes* gave counsell to dislodge and remove to the other side of the river *Pemus*, that it might serve them instead of a defence and bulwark, until such time as the amazed souldiers had recovered their spirits and taken heart again. The Col was ashamed and abashed to bewray his fear: howbeit over-ruled with reason, he let his army over the river in the dead time of the night, and encamped on the further bank. *K. Persus* the morrow after advanced forward to bid the enemies battell, but perceiving they were lodged in safety beyond the river, he confessed that he had faulted indeed for that he had not followed his victory the day before; but more overcame a good deal he was in lying still and taking repose that night for without troubling any else of his own men he might have sent out the light-armed souldiers only to let upon the enemies as they passed over the river in haste and fright, and so defeated a great part of their forces. Now the Romans shook off their fear for the present considering they were encamped in a sure place: but among other damages, the blot especially of their honour and name grieved and troubled them. And as they sate in Council before the Consul, every man for his part laid all the blame upon the *Etolians*, who first began to be afraid and run away; and whose example of fear the other allies of the Cities of *Greece* followed for it was said, that five principall men of mark among the *Etolians*, were seen and noted first of all other to have turned their backs. But the *Thessalians* were praised in a full assembly of the whole army and their Captains for their vertue and valorous service were honoured with presents. The spoils of the enemies were brought before King *Persus*: out of which he bestowed freely upon some, brave and gorgeous armours: upon others goodly great horses; and finally, certain were rewarded with the prize of good prisoners. Targets there were above a thousand and five hundred, cuirasses and corselets not so few as a thousand; besides a far greater proportion of murrions, swords, and shot of all sorts. Great matters these were, considered in themselves; but much more amplified and set out by the King himself with a speech that he made in a frequent audience of his army assembled together, after this or the like manner. "You see already by this (quoth he) what you may judge before-hand of the small issue of this war: discomfited ye have the better part of your enemies, to wit, the Roman Cavalry, wherein they took themselves to be invincible. For their horsemen are the very gallants and braves of their youth; their Gentlemen of arms (I say) are the seminary and nuptial garden of their Senat. From them they chuse their Nobles and Peers to make Consuls of yea, and Generals of the field another day. And the spoils of these we have ere while divided among us. Neither is the victory less which ye have gained of the Infantry and legions, who although by night they made an escape from you, yet in hastening to pass over the river, they resembled a sort that had suffered shipwrack at sea, and in fearful haste for their lives have swom & overspread the river every where with their bodies. Sooner shall we & with greater ease I grow get over *Pemus*, to chase them thus already overcome, than they did making such haste for fear: and being once set on the other side, we shall out of hand

had assail their camp, which we might have feared and now this day, but that they took them
 to their heels and fled. But if they wait come to a field and try the quiver by the footmen;
 look ye for no other issue of the conflict with footmen, than was before of the other with
 horsemen. These words, both the horsemen (who bare upon their own shoulders the spoils of
 their enemies lying slain before their eyes in open view) heard with great pleasure and com-
 ment, as measuring the hope of the future speed by the fortune passed; and also the footmen en-
 flamed now with the glory of others, and namely, those that were of the Macedonian Phalanx,
 wished with all their hearts to have the like occasion offered unto them, wherein they might not
 only shew their valiant service before the King, but also win sensible glory of their enemies. Thus
 the assembly was dissolved, and the morrow after the King marched forward and encamped upon
Mopsus, which is an hill great in the mid way between *Pella* and *Larissa*. The Romans remov-
 ed their camp into a place of more security, howbeit, not far from the bank of *Pelagos*. Thence he
 paired *Masines* the Numidian, with 1000 horse and as many foot, besides 22 Elephants. Now
 as *K. Persius* during these daies, sat in Council what course to take as touching the main conduct
 of his affairs, when his courage was now well abated and not so lusty for his late victory, some of
 his friends were so hardy as to advise him to use this good fortune of his for the obtaining and
 compassing of some honourable peace, rather than upon a vain hope to carry his head aloft, and
 engage himself and his whole state into some hazard & jeopardy, out of which he should not be
 able to recover and retire into safety. For to keep a mean and moderation in prosperity, and not
 over-confidently to trust upon the present flattering fortune, is the part (say they) of a wise man in-
 deed and truly happy. And therefore the best course is, to send certain men of purpose unto the
 Col. for to renew the league upon the same conditions, with which your father *Philip* had accep-
 ted peace hitherfore of *T. Quintius* the conqueror. For neither (say they) can the war be taken
 up with greater honour and reputation, than after so memorable a battell; nor ever will there be
 presented more firm and assured hope of a peace to continue for ever, than upon this occasion,
 which will work and mollifie the Romans as a man would have them, to come on and assent to
 any accord, considering they are well tamed with the infortunity of this battell. But in case the
 Romans upon an inbred peevishness and engrossed pertinacity of theirs, should not hear reason
 but refuse an indifferent end, then both God and man shall be witness, as well of the moderation
 of *Persius*, as of their pride & insolent forwardness. The King was willing enough to give ear to this,
 and indeed never misliked such discourses; and therefore the advice was approved by the assent
 of the most part; whereupon ambassadors were sent to the Col. & in a frequent Council assem-
 bled, had audience given them. Peace they demanded, and promised that *Persius* should pay unto
 the Romans as great a tribute as *Philip* had covenanted for; and likewise quit the same Cities,
 coasts, and territories, which *Philip* had given up and surrendered. To this effect spake the embas-
 sadors; who being retired aside, the Romans debated in Council, and in the end, Roman constan-
 cy imported and had the upper hand: for in those daies the manner and use was, in time of ad-
 versity to bear all out and set a good countenance, but in prosperity to hold an even hand and to
 use governance. So agreed it was to return this answer, That peace might be granted with this
 condition, That *K. Persius* should permit full and free power to the Senat of *Rome*, for to dispose
 both of his person and the kingdom of *Macedony* at their good pleasure. When the Embassadors
 had made relation hereof, this constant resolution and invincible persistance of the Romans made
 them to wonder again, as being not acquainted with their manners and fashions: and most of
 them forbid to make mention any more of peace, saying, That the Romans would be glad most
 ly to seek for that of their own accord, which now at this present they loathed & rejected when
 it was offered. But *Persius* mightily feared, that this arrogant spirit of theirs, proceeded from the
 confidence they had in their own forces; inasmuch as he gave not over so, but assaid to tempt
 the Col. if haply by augmenting the sum of money, he might buy peace at any price & reckoning
 whatsoever. But seeing him nothing to come down, nor to alter one jot from the first answer; in
 despair now of all peace, he returned to *Sycrinum* from whence he came, purposing once again to
 try the hazard of the field. Now the fame of this late fight of cavalry was sown over all *Greece*,
 and discovered the minds and affections of men: for not only they that took part with the Ma-
 cedonians rejoiced to hear this news, but also very many of them who were obliged and be-
 holden unto the Romans for benefits and favours received at their hands, and some likewise who
 had tasted of their violence and proud government. And this they did for no other reason at all,
 but only upon a foolish and perverse affection, like to that wherewith the common people ordi-
 narily is carried away in the beholding of sports and trial of masteries, even to favour ever-
 more the weaker and him that taketh the foil.

At the same time *Lucretius* the Prator had with most forcible means assailed the City of *Ha-*
Nartus in *Beotia*; and albeit the beleaged defendants within were relieved by no forraign aid, but
 only the youth of the *Coronians* (who at the beginning of the siege entred the City) nor hoped
 for any to come; yet they stood out and made resistance with courage of heart more than with
 strength of hand: for they issued forth many times, and filled upon the fabricks and engines of the
 enemy, yea & when the ram approached hard to the wall, they let fall thereupon a mighty weight
 and counterpoise of lead and so depressed and drove it down to the ground. And if haply the ene-
 mies who ran with the ram against the wall, avoided the device of their laid battery, and shook
 into some other place; the townsmen within, raised presently with great speed another mass,
 - piling

H piling up hastily the stones out upon another, which they found lying among the ruins of the
 breaches. The Consul seeing this manner of service by way of ordinance and battery, is the more
 slow and tedious, commanded to divide ladders amongst every company, and purposed to insert
 the City round about, with the Ekeados supposing that the smaller which he had would be suf-
 ficient to exploit this enterprise, because on this side where the Town is defended with a marsh,
 it was bootless (or rather impossible) to assault it. Himself in person presented 5000 select foot-
 soldiers before that part, whereas two towers, and all the wall between was beaten down and over-
 thrown to the end that in the very instant, whilst he assaied to enter at the breaches the town-
 men should run all thither to repulse him; and in the mean while the wall void of defence might
 might in some part or other be scaled and won. But they within bestirred themselves lustily to
 give him the repulse. For having piled in the very open breaches a mighty number of faggots
 made of olive vine cuttings and such small brush, they stood ready with flaming firebrands and
 burning links, there standing ever and anon to kindle the same and set all on fire, to the end that be-
 ing defended from the enemy by the means of fire between they might have time to oppose an in-
 ner countenance against them. But by mistake this device and enterprise of theirs was com-
 peached. For there poured down on a sudden such a mighty shower of rain that the faggot would
 not easily take fire, and look what was set a burning, it soon was quenched again. By which means
 not only the passage was made open between the smoking faggots drawn apart one from another
 here and there, but whilst they all intended wholly the defence of that one place, the walls were
 taken at one instant by ladders yeared up against many and sundry parts thereof. In the first heat
 upon the winning of the City, old and young, such as chanced to come in their way, without any
 respect at all of age were put to the sword. The armed soldiers fled into the Castle, and the next
 day being past hope to make good the place, they yielded and were all sold into the garland in
 port sale, to them that would bid most, to the number of 2500 men or very near. The ornaments
 and beaudies of the City, as statues, images, painted tables and pictures, and whatsoever was found
 in the pillage to bear a better price, was carried to shipbord, and the Town itself raised from the
 very foundations, and laid even with the ground. From thence the army was conducted to *Thebes*,
 which being won without any resistance he put into the hands of the banished persons, and those
 that took part and sided with the Romans; but those of the contrary faction, such as favoured the
 King and the Macedonians, he sold by whole families in open market to the best chapmen. Having
 performed these exploits in *Bacchia*, he retired himself to the Seaside to his ships.

Whilst these affairs passed thus in *Bacchia*, *Perseus* lodged for certain daies in camp at *Sycorium*.
 Where being advertised, that the Romans made great hast to inn the corn newly reaped down,
 and to carry it from all parts of the fields unto the leaguer; and that every souldier before his tent
 cut and shred off the ears as they lay bound in sheaves, to the end they might thrash and drive
 out the clearest corn, by which occasion they had made great heaps of straw throughout all parts
 of the camp; he supposed it was an easy matter to set all their tents and pavillions on fire. Where-
 upon he commanded to provide torches, links and balls made of tow besmeared with pitch and
 tar: thus provided and furnished, he set out at midnight, that by the dawning of the day, he might
 put this device in execution without being desired before. But all came to nothing; for the for-
 most corps de guard although they were surprised with this sudden coming, by their trouble and
 affright awakened and raised all the rest, and immediately the alarm was given; so as at one instant
 the souldiers were ready and well appointed at the gates, and upon the rampier bent and preft for
 to defend the camp. *Perseus* likewise incontinently turned about with his ensigns, putting his far-
 dage and carriage before, and then commanded the infantry to march after: himself with the ca-
 valry and light armors staid behind to fortify and guard the rereward, supposing (as it fell out in-
 deed) that the enemies would make after to charge upon the tail of the march. His light armed
 souldiers had some short skirmishing especially with the forlorn hope and loose avant-courriers,
 but the horse and footmen both, retired without any impeachment into the camp. Thus when all
 the corn was cut down about those quarters, the Romans dislodged and removed into the terri-
 tory of *Cyrrhon*, which as yet was not endamaged. Whilst they lay encamped in security and
 mistrusting nothing (because the enemies were so far off, and by reason that the way between *Sy-
 curium* and *Cyrrhon* was so difficult for want of water;) behold all on a sudden early in the
 morning by day light, the Kings cavalry and light armed souldiers shewed themselves upon the
 hills that overlooked them from above; and put them into great trouble. Departed they were
 from *Sycorium* at noon the day before, and had left the infantry behind, about the break of day
 upon the plain next thereto. For a while he stood upon those said hills, hoping that the Romans
 might be raised forth to an horse-fight. But perceiving them not to stir at all, he sent one off
 horseback to command the footmen to retire again to *Sycorium*, and himself in person followed
 straight after. The Roman horsemen made after a pretty distance off, if haply they could spie any
 advantage in one place or other to charge upon them, disbanded and stragling asunder. But when
 they saw that in their dismarch they kept close together following their guidons and keeping their
 ranks, they also returned into the camp. After this, the King weary of making so long journees, di-
 lodged and removed to *Alipsum*. The Romans for their part likewise having mowed down all
 the corn of *Cyrrhon*, passed into the territory of *Phalaennum*. The King having intelligence by a
 sennate souldier that the Romans were scattered all over the fields and reaping the standing corn
 without any guard of armed men, made a rode with 1000 horse & 2000 Candiots & Thracians:

who marching with as great hast as possibly they could upon the Romans as if all were provided; where he took a thousand carts or chariots together with his train, most of them laden, and upon each even besides. The guard and cobbles of this host into the camp he committed to the charge of 300 Cretans. Himself having settled his train dispersed here and there busily in execution and reinforced with the rest of his footmen left them to the sole charge and organisation of the enemies, supposing that with little ado they might be surprised and vanquished. *L. Pompeius* a Colonel had the command of them, who seeing his soldiers affrighted with the sudden coming of the enemies retired with them to an hill next at hand for to defend himself by the vantage and strength of the place, considering that otherwise in number and force he was too weak. Where after he had cast his men into a bog for to ward against the shot of arrows and darts by a roof and fence of targets coupled close together over their heads. *Prasus* having environed the hill round about with armed men, commanded some to mount up and assay to win the place on all parts, & possibly they could and then to fight close hand to hand; others he charged to lance, their darts and shoot, their shafts thick at them a far off. The Romans were beset with a double fear: for neither could they maintain skirmish and fight close together because of those who laboured to climb the hill; and say they had broke any ranks with excursions and thrusts upon them, yet were they exposed and lay open to the shot of arrows and darts. Most hurt they had by certain weapons called *Cestrophandone* [Sling-darts]. A new kind of dart this was and lately devised in the time of this very war. It had a sharp head of iron the length of two hands breadth, and the stinger fast in a steel which was half a cubit long, stid above the thickness of a mans finger: for to flie direct and streight, three feathers it had about it in man of a shaft: the fling from the middle part had two cords of an unequal size: now when as the slinger swung it about, as it lay even poised in the greater capacity of the leather thong, one flew the dart and was driven with violence like a bullet. Many of the soldiers being very sore wounded as well with this weapon as all other sorts of shot, so as now for weariness they were scarce able to bear their own armour: the King was earnestly in hand with them to yeeld and submit, assuring them upon his faithful word their lives, yea and other whiles promised them rewards and recompences. But there was not a man whose heart inclined once thereto. Now as they stood thus stiff and resolute to die there shone upon them a little comfort and some hope of evasion beyond all their expectation. For certain of the foragers and corn purveyors, who hapned to flie for refuge unto the camp, brought word unto the Consul that the *corps de guard* aforesaid was besieged so hard, where upon being moved with the jeopardy whereto so many citizens stood (for about 900 they were, and all citizens of *Rome*), he went forth of the camp with the cavalry and light armed soldiers, and unto them joyned certain new succours of the Numidians as well horse as foot together with the Elephants: and gave commandment to the martial Colonels, that the ensignes of the legions should follow after. Himself in person marched before toward the hill aforesaid taking with him a certain number of skirmishers, for to strengthen the light armed auxiliaries. *Eumenes*, *Antalus*, and *Misagene* also the King of the Numidians, flanked the *Col*s on either side. When as the besieged Romans had a sight once of the foremost ensignes of their friends and fellows, they took comfort and courage again upon their former extream despair. *Prasus*, who had purposed in the first place not to spend any long time in laying siege to this *corps de guard* but to content himself with the fortunat success which at a venture hapned, in that he had taken and slain some of the foragers: secondly (when he was in some sort entred into that action) to depart (whiles he had means thereof) without any damage received, as knowing that he had no strength, to speak of, about him: yet puffed up and caried as it were above the ground with the conceit of his late good hand, both staid in person to attend the enemies coming, and also sent out in all hast for the [Macedonian] Phalanx. Which coming later than the present necessity required (albeit in great hast they hurried) it fell out so, that they were to encounter (troubled and disordered as they were in running) their enemies that were well appointed and provided aforehand. And the *Col*s, who had prevented them presently welcomed them with battail. At the first, the Macedonians made resistance; but afterwards being in no respect equal unto the enemies, after they had lost three hundred footmen with four and twenty of the most forward and bravest horsemen out of that corps, which they call *Sacra* (amongst whom *Antimachus* also their leader died) they endeavoured to retire and be gone. But the way by which they were to pass, was more troublesome to speak of, than the skirmish and battail it self. The Phalanx being sent unto by a messenger in hast, and conducted as hastily, encountered affront in a certain streight a troop of prisoners, and likewise the waggons charged with corn. Who being laid at to give way, thereupon arose a great trouble as well of the one part as the other: whiles no man took heed how to march in order: but the armed souldiers cast down and overthrew the heaps of sardage and baggage, for otherwise there could no way be made: and the draught-beasts being pricked and provoked forward, ragged and made foul work in the press and throng. Hardly and with much ado were they disengaged and rid of this confused and disordered company of captives, when they met with the King his company and the horsemen discomfited. In which place, the noise which they made crying unto the Phalanx. Back again Back again made a fright among them as if there had been something ready to fall upon their heads: in such sort as if their enemies durst have entred into the streight and pursued farther after them, no doubt they had received a great overthrow. But the Consul contenting himself with a mean good hand, in that he had rescued and recovered his *corps de guard* from the

A the hill, retired with his forces into the camp. Somewhile that there was a great battail fought that day, and how 80000 men were slain, and among them *Sipus* and *Amipus* two of the Kings Captains. Also that there were taken prisoners about 2000, and military coffers 17 carried away. Neither was the victory easily gotten but with blood, for not so few as 4000 were slain of the Consul his army, and the guidons of the enemy were lost. This journey reinforced the Romans, but daunted and quailed the enemy in such sort, as after he had laid a few daies at *Thessaly*, especially about covering the bodies of his dead soldiers, and left a sufficient garrison at *Gomus*, he retired his army into *Macedonia*, leaving also at *Phila* one of his own Captains named *Timarchus*, with some small forces, whom he commanded to assay the *Magnesium* and the borderers adjoining. When he was come to *Phila*, he dismissed his army out of the field, and sent them to their wintering harbors, but himself together with King *Corys* went to *Thessaly*.

B Thither news came that *Artabazus* a pety King of the *Thracians*, and *Corragus* a Captain under King *Eumenes*, had invaded the marches of *Corys*, and were masters of the country which they call *Marene*. And therefore supposing that he must needs discharge *Corys* to look to the defence of his own realm, he bestowed rich presents upon him at his departure: and gave him 200 talents for six months wages of his cavalry, whereas at the beginning he purposed to be at the charge of a whole years pay.

The Consul after he heard that *Perseus* was gone, approached with his army neer to *Gomus*, and there lodged: if haply he might force and gain that also. Situated it was over against *Temperat* the very mouth and gullet of the streights, and is the very frontier Town, yielding both a most assured defence and strength to all *Macedonia*, and also a commodious passage for the *Macedonians* to enter into *Thessaly*. And being a place impregnable, as well for the naturall site thereof, as the strong garrison therein planted, he gave over the enterprise. So turning and bending his way into *Perrechia*, after he had forced *Mallac* at the first assault and put into the rancke: and received *Tripolis* with the rest of *Perrechia*, yielded by composition, he returned to *Lusitania*. And then having sent *Eumenes* and *Antas* home into their own country, and bestowed *Macedonia* and the *Numidians* in divers Cities of *Thessaly* neer at hand to remain there for the winter time, and distributed part of his forces throughout all *Thessaly*, in such sort, that not only they had all commodious wintering but also served in stead of garrisons to the Cities. *Q. Mutius* his Lieutenant he sent with a regiment of 2000 men to guard *Ambracia* and keep it in obedience. All the confederats of the

D Greek Cities, save only the *Acheans* he licensed to depart. With one part of his army he went into *Thessaly* in *Phibia*, where he rased down to the ground *Pileum* abandoned of the inhabitants. But *Ambracia* he won with the good will of the Townsmen. Then afterward he approached before *Lusitania* with his forces. The City was left desolat, for all the people were retired into the fortres, the which he began to assault: and first the Kings garrison of *Macedonians* quit the place of whom the Townsmen being forsaken and left to themselves, submitted incontinently. Then he stood in doubt whether he should assail *Damascus* first, or have an eye and look into the troubles and state of *Babia*. For the men of *Thessa* being grievously molested and annoied by those of *Corona*, had sent for him into *Babia*: at whose prayers, thither he conducted his army: and besides, *Babia* was a country more commodious to winter in than *Magnesia*.

The three and fortieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the three and fortieth Book;

Divers Pretors were judicially condemned, for demeaning themselves with cruelty and avarice in the administration of their Provinces. *P. Licinius Crassus* the Pro-consul, won by force many Cities in Greece, and cruelly risted them. For which rigour of his, the captives whom he had sold under the garland in open market, were by an order directed out of the *Senat*, restored afterward to their former estates. The Admirals of the Roman fleet committed many outrages and enormities against their allies. Besides, there are comprised in this book, the prosperous affairs of King *Perseus* in *Thrace*, after he had vanquished the *Dardaniens* and subdued *Illyricum*, whereof *Gentius* was King. The troubles which began in Spain by means of *Olonicus*, were appeased by his death. *M. Manlius Lepidus*, was by the *Censors* created president of the *Senat*.

The three and fortieth Book of T. Livius.

The same summer, wherein the Romans won the victory with horse-fight in *Thessaly*, the Lieutenant being sent into *Illyricum* from the Consul, compelled by force and arms two rich Towns to yeeld unto which nevertheless he gave all their goods again, to the end that by an opinion of this clemency, he might win the hearts of the inhabitants of

Cornelius, that strong City. But when he saw that he could not constrain them to repeller, no more than force them by force; because his soldiers should not seem to have been wearied for nothing in the besieging of two Towns, he fell to rife and smelt that, which before he left unattempted. The other Consul *C. Cassius* neither performed any memorable exploit in Gaul, which was his Province by lot; and having endeavoured to conduct his legions through *Hyrcania* into *Macedonia*, all his designment came to no effect at all. That the Consul was entered upon this journey the Senat was certified by the Embassadors of the *Aquileians*; who complained that their colony newly erected was feeble, and not as yet well secured among those fierce nations of *Illyrians* and *Hyrcians*; and wistful they made suit, that the Senat would provide and take order, that the said colony might be fortified: and when the question was put unto them, Whether they would be content that commission should be directed unto *C. Cassius* in that behalf? they answered, That the said *Cassius*, having assembled his army at the *River* *Adriaticus* in *Aquileia*, was departed through *Scythia* into *Macedonia*. This at first was thought incredible; and every man supposed vainly, that he had been gone to levy war upon the *Carnians* haply or the *Illyrians*. The *Aquileians* were able to reply no farther, nor a firm more upon their knowledge than this, That allowance of corn was made for the soldiers to serve thirty daies, and that guides were sought and brought out, who knew the waies out of *Italy* into *Macedonia*. Hereat the Senat (ye may be fore) took great fume and was highly displeased, that the Consul should be so hasty to leave his own Province for to pass into that which belonged to another, and to lead his army an unknown and new way, and the same dangerous, through strange and forraign countries, thereby to open passage as it were, for so many nations to come into *Italy*. Whereupon in a frequent assembly of the Senators, there passed a decree, That *C. Sulpicius* the Pretor should nominate three Embassadors out of the body of the Senat, for to depart out of the City that present day, to make all the hast they possibly could to overtake the Consul wheresoever he was, and to give him warning to levy no war against any nation without direct warrant from the Senat. And these Embassadors went, namely, *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, *M. Fulvius*, and *P. Martinus Rex*. The present fear as touching the Consul and the army, was the occasion that the care of fortifying *Aquileia* was deferred for that time.

After this, were the Embassadors of certain States in both Provinces of *Spain* admitted to come into the Senat: who complained of the covetousness and pride of the Roman Officers and Governours among them; humbly beseeching the Senat upon their knees, Not to suffer them (being allies and confederats) to be more shamefully pillied and spoiled than the very enemies. Among other indignities for which they shewed themselves aggrieved, notorious it was, that the said Magistrates had taken bribes, yea, and used extortion in wringing monies from them. Whereupon a commission was granted to *L. Canuleius* the Pretor (unto whom *Spain* by lot was fall) to ordain five judges or commissioners (and those out of the rank and degree of Senators) for every person of whom the Spaniards claimed to recover such monies; and likewise to permit the plaintiffs to take unto them what Advocats and Counsel they would. Then, after those Embassadors were called again into the Senat, this decree and act of the Senat was read unto them; and willed they were to nominate their Advocats; who named four, to wit, *M. Porcius Cato*, *P. Cornelius Scipio* the son of *Cn.*, *L. Emilius Paulus* the son of *Marcus*, and *C. Sulpicius Gallus*. And first they took commissioners to proceed against *M. Titinius*, who had been Pretor in the higher Province of *Spain*, when *An. Manlius* and *M. Junius* were Consuls. Twice was the cause of the accused party adjourned to a farther time, but at the third session he was quit and found unguilty. Then arose some variance and dissension between the Embassadors of those two Provinces. The Scipios of this higher *Spain*, took for their patrons and Advocats, *M. Cato* and *Scipio*; they of the farther and lower *Spain*, made choice of *L. Paulus* and *Gallus Sulpicius*. They of high *Spain* convented before the delegate judges, *P. Furius Philus*; the other of the base *Spain*, *M. Marienus*. *Philus* had been *L. Deputy* there three years past, when *Sp. Posthumius* and *Q. Mutius* were Consuls; but this *Marienus* two years before, during the Consulship of *L. Posthumius* and *M. Popilius*. Charged they were both of them with right grievous matters and imputations, and a farther day granted of a final judgment: but when they were to answer judicially again, they made default, and for excuse it was alledged, that they were both out of the country; and so they departed into voluntary exile, *Furius* to *Praneste*, and *Marienus* to *Tyber*. The voice went, that the patrons of the plaintiffs would not suffer them to follow process still against such noble and great personages: and the suspicion hereof was more pregnant, by reason that *Canuleius* the Pretor let this matter fall, and began to take musters and levy soldiers for the war; and so forth with directly went into the Province, to the end that no more men should be brought into question and troubled by these Spaniards. By this means, all former matters past were buried in silence and no more speech made of them; but for future time, the Senat took order and provided for the Spaniards so well, that they obtained an immunity, That no Roman Magistrate should have power and authority to set the price upon any gain, nor force the Spaniards to sell the *Pisces* at what rate he pleased to set down: also that there should be no commissioners appointed within their Towns for the gathering and receiving of the revenues and monies issuing from thence. Besides, there came another embassy of a sort of people out of *Spain*, after a new and strange manner: for there were above four hundred persons, avouching themselves the children of Roman soldiers and Spanish women not joyned in wedlock: who appeared before the Senat and besought them, for

A to allow them a City to inhabit, whereupon *Clodius* was, that they should enter their names and be inscribed before the *Pretor L. Cassius*: and look where soever of them he attracted and made use, those they thought meet to be sent to *Carthage* near the Sea side, and there planted also that those Carthaginians who were willing still to keep home and remain there, should be privileged as Colonists and be enrolled, and to enjoy besides a portion of Land assigned unto them. This was the *Latin* Colony, and was called the Colony of the Libertines.

At the same time there came an Ambassador out of *Africa*, *Gaius* the son of *Masanius*, and he wrote the Carthaginian Embassy. *Gaius* first was brought into the Senat, who declared what his father had sent unto them against the Macedonians: promising withal, that if it pleased them to support him upon him, he would be ready to perform the same in remembrance of the benefits B received from the people of *Rome*: finally, he gave the LL. of the Senat a caveat by the way to take heed that the Carthaginians deceived them not in the end: for that resolved they were, and went in hand to prepare a great navy under pretence of sending it to the Romans against the Macedonians: which if it were once ready fitted and furnished it was in their choice then to make whom they would either friends or foes.

Being entered the camp and viewing the heads aloft, they struck such a fear, that if immediately the army had come forward and advanced against them, the camp might have been won: and yet even then as it was, they fled again: and some there were who gave their opinion, to send Embassadors to treat and with prayers to intreat for peace. Upon the news reported hereof, many Cities submitted and were surrendered. Such as made excuse, and laid the fault upon the folly of two persons only, who had of their own accord offered themselves to be punished, obtained pardon of the *Pretor*. And then forthwith he went in expedition against other Cities: but finding them all ready to do whatsoever they were commanded, he passed quietly with his army through that country in peace, which but a while before was all up in arms and on a fight fire. This lenity of the *Pretor*, which he used in taming and subduing this most fierce and proud nation without effusion of blood, was by so much more acceptable to the LL. of the Senat and the whole body of the people, as the Consul *Ennius* and the other *Pretor Lucius* had warred in *Greece* with greater cruelty and avance. As for *Lucius*, the Tribuns of the Commons accused him daily in their ordinary Orations before the people for his absence: Notwithstanding his excuse was alleged, that so long as he was, and employed about the affairs of the State. But in those daies, so unknown were

D things done hand by, that even at that present he was at his farm within the territory of *Arpinum*, and busy in conveying a conduct of water out of the river *Crus* unto *Arpinum*: the charges whereof he defraied with the money which out of the tale of prizes taken from the enemies. Some say that he bargained to have that piece of work effected, for the sum of a hundred and 1000 *Aes*. Moreover he embellished and adorned the Temple of *Esculapius*, with the painted tables found in the pillage. The envy and ill will, the obloquy also and dishonor like to grow to *Lucius*, turned upon his successor *Hortensius*, by occasion of the Embassadors of *Abdera*, who in private were complained with tears before the Senat, that their Town was by *Hortensius* forced and ransacked. How the cause of this ruin and destruction of their City was no more but this, that being enjoined by him to make payment of a hundred thousand Denarii, and allowance of fifty thousand Modii of wheat, they requested some respite of time, wherein they might address their Embassadors, as well to *Hortensius* the Consul as unto *Rome*, concerning this imposition. For scarcely were they come unto the said Consul, but they heard how their City was forced, the principal Citizens thereof beheaded, and all the rest sold in port-sale under the yoke. These were grievous indignities in the sight of the Senat, whereupon they passed the same ordinance in the behalf of the *Abderites*, that the year before had been directed in the like case as touching the *Corinthians*: and commanded the *Pretor Q. Manius* to publish the said decree before the publick assembly of the people. In like manner two Commissioners were sent, namely, *C. Sempromius Blaesus*, and *S. Julius Cæsar* for to re-establish the *Abderites* in their freedom: who also had in charge to signify from them, both to the Consul *Hortensius*, and also to the *Pretor Hortensius*. That the Senat judged the hostility offered unto the *Abderites* unjust, and the war unlawful, and therefore that all such as were brought into servitude, should be sought out and restored again to liberty.

At the same time presentation was made unto the Senat of certain complaints against *C. Cassius* who had been Consul the year before, and at that time was employed in quality of a Colonel-marshal together with *A. Fabius* in *Macedonia*. Likewise there arrived the Embassadors of *Clitarchus* a pery King of the *Gauls*. A brother of his having audience granted in the Senat made a speech, wherein he complained, that *C. Cassius* had given the waite to the lands and territories of the people inhabiting the *Alps*, who were their allies and confederats, and from thence had led a way into captivity many thousand persons. And much at one instant there came the Embassadors of the *Carnians*, *Illyrians* and *Iapides* with complaints against *Cassius*. That first he had enjoined them to furnish him with guides for to shew and direct him the best way to march with his army into *Macedonia*, and so departed in peace from them, as if he had meant to ware else where: but afterwards out of the midway of his journey he returned upon them and in hostile manner overran them from front, robbing, spoiling & burning where soever he went: and to this day they cannot devise and know the reason, wherefore the Consul should hold them for enemies and deal so cruelly by them. As well the Prince of the *Gauls* aforesaid being absent as these Embassadors in place received

this answer, That as touching the outrages for which they shewed themselves grieved, the Senat neither knew thereof beforehand, that ever they were intended, nor yet approved of the same, since they were committed. But against all right and equity it were to condemn unbesought in his own defence, and absent, such a personage as he is, namely a man who had been Consul: considering also that his employment about the C. W. is the occasion of his absence. When C. Cassius once returned out of *Macedony*, then if they would they themselves and accuse him face to face, the Senat would hear the cause and take knowledge accordingly: yea, and endeavour that they should be satisfied and contented. Moreover, thought good it was that these nations should not be dispatched only with this bare answer, but that Embassadors also should be sent: two unto the foresaid King beyond the *Alps*: and other three to the people above named, for to acquaint them with the resolution of the Lords of the Senat. And they gave order besides to send presents to each of the Embassadors to the value of two thousand Asles over and above, to the two Princes that were brethren, these gifts following, to wit, two chains of gold weighing after they were wrought five pound of gold: also five peeces of plate in silver, amounting to the weight of twenty pound: two bard horses with their riders and lackies: likewise horsemens armour and their cassocks: and liveries likewise for all those of their train, as well bond as free. These were the things sent unto them. But at their own request granted it was besides, that they might for their money buy each of them ten horses, and be allowed to transport them out of *Italy*. The Embassadors sent with the Gauls beyond the mountains, were C. *Laelius* and M. *Emylius Lepidus*: to the other nations C. *Sicinius*, P. *Cornelius Blasio*, and T. *Memmius*.

* Rome a god-
dess.

Moreover, there met together in *Rome* at once, the Embassadors of many States both of *Greece* and *Asia*. And first the Athenians were brought into the Senat, who related, That they had sent unto the Consul P. *Licinius* and the Pretor C. *Lucretius*, what shipping they had, and all the fighting men they were able to make: but seeing they had no use of them, they had raised a levy of a hundred thousand Modii of corn. Which albeit their land was but barren for tillage, and the very husbandmen themselves lived of forrain corn brought in unto them, yet they had made means to do accordingly, because they would not seem to be wanting in any dutifull service: and willing they were yet, and prest to perform whatsoever they would require. The Milesians for their part said, That hitherto they had done nothing, marry they offered themselves to be ready to accomplish all that the Senat should command them toward this war. The Alabandians shewed, That they had built a * Temple to the City of *Rome*, and obtained besides, that in the honour of that goddess there should be a solemnity of games and plaies exhibited every year. Also, that they had brought with them for a present, a crown of gold weighing fifty pound, to set it up in the Capitol as a gift and offering to *Jup. Opt. Max.* and withal, three hundred horsemens shields, which they were minded to bestow upon those, unto whom it pleased them to appoint and command. Their petition was, that they might be permitted to offer their present in the Capitol, and there to sacrifice. The men of *Lampascus* came with a golden crown weighing fourcore pound, protesting, That they had quit and abandoned *Perseus*, so soon as ever the Roman army was arrived in *Macedony*, notwithstanding they owed allegiance unto *Perseus*, and were homagers to his father *Philip* before him. In which consideration as also for that they had performed their devoir to their full power to the Roman Generals, they requested no other favour to be gratified withal, but to be received into the amity of the people of *Rome*: and in case there should be peace concluded with *Perseus*, that they might be excepted and exempted in the accord, for being reduced under his obedience. The rest of the Embassadors had a gracious answer returned unto them. As for the *Lampascens*, order was given to Q. *Manius* the Pretor, to enter and enrol them in the number of allies. Every one of these Embassadors were rewarded with a present worth two thousand Asles. The Alabandians were appointed to carry back with them into *Macedony* their shields aforesaid, and to deliver them unto A. *Hostilius* the Consul. Over and besides, the Carthaginian Embassadors out of *Africk*, made relation that they had brought from thence ten hundred thousand Modii of wheat, and five hundred thousand of barley, which they had on shipboard at the sea-side, ready to cary the same wheresoever the Senat would appoint. This benevolence of theirs they accompanied with good words, saying, they knew well that this gift and recognisance of their duty, was inferior either to their own good will, or the demerits of the people of *Rome*. Howbeit many times heretofore they had shewed themselves to do the part of thankful, faithful, and trusty allies, in all things tending to the profit and good of both states. In like sort the Embassadors of *Masanissa* promised the same proportion of corn, with 1200 horse, and twelve Elephants, assuring them in his name, to do whatsoever the Senate would impose and should be thought needful: and that with as free an heart as the benevolence offered of his own accord. Thanks being given both to the Carthaginians and also to the King, requested they were to transport over into *Macedony* to the Consul A. *Hostilius*, those things which they had promised. To the Embassadors were sent by way of presents, two thousand Asles apeece. The Cretensian Embassadors, related how they had sent into *Macedony* such a number of Archers, as the Consul P. *Licinius* had imposed upon them: and when they denied not upon the question asked, that there served more Archers of theirs under *Perseus* than with the Romans, this answer was made unto them, That if the Cretensians would well and truly and in good earnest prefer the friendship of the people of *Rome* before that of King *Perseus*, the Senat of *Rome* likewise would give them answer as certain and assured allies: in the mean while, they should let their country-men to understand,

stand, that it was the will and pleasure of the Senat, that the Cretensians should with all speed possible call home all those souldiers whom they had in any garnison of King *Perseus*. The Candians being dismissed with this dispatch, then the Chalcidians were called in: and at the very first sight of them, it soon appeared upon what terms of necessity they were driven to send an embassage: when *Micion* the chief man among them, by occasion that he was lame with the gout in his feet, was brought into the Senat in a litter, in which extremity diseased as he was, there was no pleading of any excuse by his lameness, nor craving pardon, since he was to go without, when he had all done. He began by way of preface and preamble, saying, "He had nothing left alive but his tongue, for to deplore and bewail the calamities of his country: then he went forward, and first shewed what courtesies and good turns the State wherein he lived had performed to the Caprains General and armies of the Romans, both of old, and also of late in the war against *Perseus*. After this he declared what parts of pride, covetousness, and cruelty, first *C. Lucretius* a Roman Pretor had exercised upon his countrymen, and afterwards what *L. Hortensius* practised, at that time above all others: also how the Chalcidians were resolved to endure all calamities, were they more grievous than those which they presently suffered rather than they would yield to *Perseus*. And as for *Lucretius* and *Hortensius*, they knew full well, that it had been better and more for their safety to have shut their gates against them, than to receive them into their City. For such as had excluded them forth, as namely they of *Emathia*, *Amphipolis*, *Maronea*, and *Euss*, remain still entire and in good estate; but with us (say they) the Temples have been robbed of all their beautiful ornaments, and utterly spoiled by these sacrileggers, *C. Lucretius* hath carried all away by water over to *Asinum*, and hath led away into bondage and captivity the persons free born. So as the goods and fortunes of the allies of the people of *Rome* both have been and daily are pillaged & rifled. For according to the use & fashion brought up by *C. Lucretius*, *Hortensius* likewise houseeth his mariners as well in summer as winter, and our houses are full of a rabble of these sailors and sea-men, in such sort as our wives and children be forced to converse among such grooms as make no account at all what either they say or do. Hereupon thought good it was to send for *Lucretius* into the Senat, that he might see his accuser, answer face to face, and purge himself of these challenges. But when he was come in place, he heard much more in presence, than had been spoken against him in his absence. Over and besides, there shewed themselves and joined together against him two other more stout adversaries and bitter accusers, to wit, *M. Inuentius Tullius* and *C. Hostilius*. And these two not only coured him before the Senat, but also having drawn him perforce into the general assembly of the people, and charged him before them with many reproaches, took out process also and arrested him to make his appearance and answer judicially at a day before the people. Then *Q. Manius* the Pretor, by order from the Senat, answered the Chalcidians in this manner: Whereas ye alledge and say, That ye have well deserved of the people of *Rome* both heretofore and also in this present war now in hand, the Senat knoweth all that to be true, and accepteth the same thankfully in the best part, as of right they ought. As touching your grievances and complaints for the lewd parts which *C. Lucretius* hath plaied, and which *L. Hortensius* still practiseth (both Pretors of *Rome*) the same neither have been nor are committed and done by the will and allowance of the people of *Rome*. For who would not judge so of it, that knoweth how they levied war upon King *Perseus* and his father *Philip* before him, for to enfranchise *Greece* and set it at liberty: and not that their allies and friends should thus hardly be intreated by their Magistrates and Governors sent from hence? Write therefore they would unto *L. Hortensius* the Pretor, to let him understand, that the Senate is not well pleased with these pranks of his which the Chalcidians complain of. Also if any free born persons were become thrall and bound; that with all convenient speed he should take order to seek them up and restore them again to their former freedom. Last of all, that they deemed it meet and reason, that no sailer or mariner, but only the masters of ships should be lodged and entertained in your houses. And these were the contents of the letters written unto *Hortensius*, by commandment from the Senat. Unto the Embassadors were gifts sent, to every one as much as came to 2000 Asles. As for *Micion*, he was allowed his carriage in chariots at the charges of the City, and order given that he should with all ease ride in them to *Brundisium*. As for *C. Lucretius*, when the day of appearance was come, the Tribuns commended an action against him before the people, to be a fined at a million of Asles. And in a general assembly and Session holden for this purpose, cast he was and condemned by the suffrages of all the tribes, even thirty five and no fewer.

In *Diguntia* no memorable exploit was that year performed: for neither the enemies entred into arms, nor the Consul led his legions into their country: and when he was assured of peace for that year, he discharged the souldiers of two Roman legions, within 60 daies after his first coming into the Province. As for the army of the Latine allies, he brought it early into the Cities of *Luna* and *Pisa*, there to winter: and then himself with the cavalry visited most of the Cities in the

Province of *Gallia*. In no place was there any war but in *Macedony*: howbeit they had in suspicion *Geminus* and the King of the *Illyrians*. Therefore the Senate ordained to send from *Brundisium* eight ships ready armed and fully furnished, unto the Lieutenant *C. Furius* at *Issa*, who was Governor of the Iland with the guard and strength of two *Issian* Vessels: in which were put aboard and shipped 2000 souldiers, which *Q. Manius* the Pretor by a warrant directed out of the Senat, enrolled in that quarter of *Italy* which lieth opposite to *Illyricum*. In like manner the Consul *Hostilius* sent

Lissa

Appius

In the beginning of the year next following, after that the new Coss, Q. Martins and Q. Septimius, had moved in the Senate as touching their provinces, advised it was, That with all speed possible they should either agree between themselves, or else call lots for the governments in Italy and in Macedonia. And before that the lots determined this matter so doubtful and uncertain, to the end that nothing afterwards should be done for favour partially, thought good it was, to ordain before hand a competent and sufficient number of soldiers for the supplement of the armies in both Provinces; namely, for Macedonia 6000 footmen of Romans, and as many of Latine allies: 250 horsemen Romans, and 300 allies: also to call the old soldiers, as in every Roman legion there should not be above 6000 foot and 300 horse. As for the other Coss, he was not paged with any certain list of Roman citizens to be levied for the full accomplishment of his legions.

Only this was determin'd for down, That he should enrol two legions, and either of them to contain 500 foot and 200 horse: but for footmen of Latins, he had a greater number allowed than his colleague: namely, 1000 foot and 600 horse. Moreover, commandment was given to enrol four legions more, to be led forth into the field, upon what need and occasion forever should fall out. The Marshal-Colonels of the army the Consuls might not be permitted to elect, but created they were by the people. The allies of the Latine nation were enjoined to set out fifteen thousand foot and a thousand horse: And this power was only to be in steadiness at all hours wanting, for to be led forth as occasion should be offered. Their principal care was about *Macedon*. Ordained also it was, That for the service at Sea, there should be enrolled to serve the navy, of the Roman citizens (such as were libertines and newly enfranchised) but of all parts of *Italy* not thousand; and as many out of *Sicily*: And unto whether of the Consuls the Province of *Macedon* fell, he should give order for their transporting thither, to the armada wheresoever it was; For *Spain* there were three thousand Roman footmen and three hundred horsemen appointed to make up the decayed bands. There also, a certain number was set down for every legion, to wit, five thousand foot and three hundred and thirty horse. Moreover, that Consul whose lot was to govern in *Spain*, had commission to levy of the allies four thousand footmen, and three hundred horse.

I am not ignorant, that from the same prophane negligence and irreligion, whereby commonly men now saies are of belief, that the Gods portend and fore-signify nothing to come by signs and tokens: it proceedeth also, That no prodigies which happen, should any more, either be published and reported abroad, or recorded in the annals and chronicles. Howbeit, for mine own part, in writing of these acts and monuments of ancient times, I know not how, but me thinks I carry a mind, that is become (as it were) antique also: yea, and some scrupulous devotion inquit in my spirit, which moveth me to account the things not unworthy to have place in my histories, which those sage fathers and most prudent personages in old time thought meet to be considered of by the State, yea, and to require publick expiation. Well, to proceed, from *Anagn* were two fearful fights reported that year, namely, That alarming and blasting flame was seen in the skie; and a cow known to speak, lapt and nourished at the publick charges. At *Mimurna* also much about those daies, the well in flames to be on a light fire. At *Roma* there fell a shower that raised bones. In the forests at *Comis* the image of *Apoll* wept three daies and three nights continually. In the

City of *Rome*, two famous or keepers of the Temples made report, the one, That in the Church of *Fortuna* there was a Serpent seen by many men, crested with a mane: the other, That about the chappel of *Fortuna Primigenia*, which standeth upon the Capitol hill, there hapned two divers and different prodigious signs, namely, That in the Chappel-yard there sprung up a palm-tree; and all one day it rained blood. Two other strange things there were, whereof there was no regard nor account made: the first, because it chanced in a privat place; for *T. Martius Figulus* reported, That there grew up a palm or date-tree in his corn-field: the second, because it hapned in a forrain place: for spoken it was, That at *Fregellan* in the house of *M. Aruns*, a lance or spear which he had bought for his son a souldier, burned in the day time for two hours space and more, yet so, as the fire consumed nothing thereof. In regard of those publick prodigies, the Decemvirs had recourse to the books of *Sibylla*, who one of them declared, That the Consuls should sacrifice forty head, of greater beasts, and they flewed also to what Gods. They added moreover and gave advice to hold a publick procession, and that all the Magistrats at every shrine and upon every altar of the Gods should sacrifice greater beasts, and the people wear garlands and chaplets of flowers. All things were executed accordingly, as the Decemvirs suggested and directed.

After this, the assembly was published for the chusing of Censors. In election there were for this dignity of Censorship, the very principal persons and of best note in all the City, *C. Valerius Maximus*, *L. Postumius Albinus*, *P. Mucius Scaevola*, *C. Junius Bruttus*, *C. Claudius Pulcher*, and *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*. These two last regarded the people of *Rome* these for Censors. When as by occasion of the Macedonian war, a greater care was had about the taking of musters, than at other times before, the Consuls found much fault with the common people, and complained unto the Senat, that the young and able men for service being called would not answer to their names. But *C. Sulpicius* and *M. Claudius* two Tribunes of the Commons, maintained the cause against them in the behalf of the Commons, saying, That it was no hard and difficult matter for Consuls to levy souldiers: many for corrupt, affectionate and popular Consuls, it was not so easy a thing, and namely, such as would be sure to enrol no souldiers against their wills. And to the end that the LL. of the Senat might know this to be a truth, they should see the Pretors (if the Senat were

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 persons within
 the City were
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"Cum primo-
genitis favorite
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Medians.

* The civil Pretors within the City were allowed but two Lictors, and the provincial abroad in forrain parts not above six aspece, whereupon Polybius calleth a Pretor *Ætæadæus*, whereas each Consul had every where twelve.

to content, and thought well thereof) which power of not man had liberty of government it was left them the Consuls, to go through with the duties of government, but because charge was committed to the Pretors with the great authority, they were not without some backbiting and detraction of the People, and the Consuls, to avoid this forward charge, made it known, and notified in the full assembly of the people, that they would publish nothing as touching the raising and estimate of every mans duties, nor of his liberty, but beside the ordinary path of all citizens, they that were to these powers in this sort following: As the usual duty, six and forty years of age: then by virtue of the edict made by the Consuls, *Ætæadæus* and *Tib. Sempronius*, come forth and show thy self, or the musters of others, so that shall be only levy taken, and what Consuls hereafter shall happen so be in place, this shall be observed in case thou wert not a prest soldier before. Moreover because they perceived, that many soldiers of the Macedonian legions were absent from the army, and had obtained large passports without limitation of return, and that through the corruption and favour of the Generals, they published an edict as touching the soldiers enrolled by *Macedonius* when *P. Ælius* and *G. Papirius* were Consuls, or any time since. That as many of them as remained within Italy, after they were enrolled and registered first under their hands, should within thirty daies return again to their countries into the province: and whosoever of them were in the disposition of further grandeur, their names should be preferred and declared before the People. Scarcely, they would take knowledge of their caities who were clean dismissed and called: and look in themselves whether judged to have obtained their discharge by any special grace and favour, before they had served out their full term by law: quited they would command them to be enrolled soldiers again. By virtue of this edict of the Consuls as also by their letters sent out and divulged abroad in all incorporate City and places of resort for market and men hand, there assembled together and came to Rome such a multitude of lusty, young, and able men, that their unusual and extraordinary number was chargeable and cumbersome to the City. Thus besides the former levy taken of those that were to be sent and employed in supply of the old armies four legions more were enrolled by *G. Sulpicius* the Pretor, and within eleven daies the musters were accomplished and ended.

Then the Consuls cast lots for their provinces. For the Pretors had their governments allotted unto them before, and the sooner, by reason of the civil troubles which required their jurisdiction. The one over the citizens was given to *G. Sulpicius*, the other over soldiers to *G. Decimus*. *M. Claudius Marcellus* obtained the regiment of Spain, *Ægrius*, *Quintilius* of Sicily, *P. Furius* of *Capitula* ruled *Sardinia*, *G. Marius* *Fignulus* had the conduct of the navy. And then, *Isid.* to *Q. Servilius* one of the Consuls fell the government of *Italy*, and to *Q. Marius* that other of *Adriaticum*. This *Marius* so soon as the Latin league were solemnised, departed toward his province immediately. After this, upon the motion of *Capitula* to the Senate to know their pleasure, which two legions of the new be should conduct into *Gallia*? the Senate answered, that the Pretors *G. Sulpicius* and *M. Claudius* should give unto the Consuls, which it pleased them of those legions that they had enrolled. This he took to the heart, that he a Consul was thus subjected to the will of the Pretors: yet after the Senate was risen, he stood waiting at the Tribunal of the Pretors, and required them according to the order set down by the Senate to sign him his two legions. But the Pretors submitted the choice thereof to the Consuls. This done, the Censors took a review of the Senate and chose new Senators, and *M. C. Cæcilius* *Lepidus* was elected president of the Senate and these were the third Senators that made choice of him: consequently one after another seven were displaced and deposed from their Senators dignity. Now in taking the number of the people, and in assessing them, they compelled conscription into *Macedonia* those who were departed from the army there: and by means of this assessment, they soon knew who were absent from their companies: they examined them for what causes they were discharged from soldierly, and whose licence they judged not to be grounded, edged, and sufficient reason that they found to make the military oath again in this manner and form: According to the edict of *G. Claudius* and *Tib. Sempronius* the Censors, thou shalt well and truly swear, to return willingly and with all thine heart, into the province of *Macedonia*, and this shalt thou do to thy power without fraud or covin. In making the review of them that served on horseback their custom was executed with great rigour and extremity. They took from many their horses of service: upon which occasion having given offence to the whole state of Knights and Gentlemen of *Rome*, they blew the coals and kindled the fire of ill-will and heart-burning against themselves: by a certain edict of theirs besides, whereby they intimated, That none of them who in time that *Q. Furius* and *An. Postumius* the Censors had taken to farm the revenues, fruits and profits of the City, or undertaken at a price the publick works and provisions, should be so hardy as to present themselves to their spear set up, either to be farmers or undertakers, no, nor to be pinner, or have any thing to do with those that were in such negotiation, commerce and bargain. The old Publicans and farmers had oftentimes complained hereof to the Senate: but when they could obtain no comfort from them, to moderate and abridge this infinite power of the Censors, at length they met with a Tribune of the Commons, one *Rutilius*, to stand with them and defend their cause: a man who upon a particular and private quarrel of his own was offended and bare a grudge against the Censors. And this was the occasion: They had commanded one of his late vassals and enfranchised retainers, to pull down a wall standing in the street *Servius* over against a publick edifice: pretending that the said wall was built upon the City ground. The man a private person, called upon the

the Tribunes for their lawful help and favour: but when as one of them all but only this *Rutilius* would meddle in the matter and interpose their helping hand, the Censors sent to strain and take gages for to bind him in answer thereto, and before the body of the people intended and stood against him, and for a glorious fine upon the head of his party aforesaid. By means, I say, of this debate begun upon such an occasion, when as the old publicans betook themselves for succoured this Tribune, presently there was a bill presented and subscribed with the name of the said Tribune alone, in this form. That what public revenues and profits of the State, *C. Claudius* and *T. Sempronius* had to farm for, for a year, nor what public works and provisions they had put out to be made and purchased at a price, the same laws and bargains should not stand for good but be cancelled, and new demands drawn and made. Also that it might be lawful for all men indifferently either to be farmers or undertakers of the premises. And the said Tribune assigned a day for a general assembly and session, to have this bill to be cast by the voices of the people. When the day was come, the Censors advanced and put themselves forward to dissuade and plead against the bill. So long as *Gracchus* spake, he was heard with patience and silence. But at *Claudius*, when he opened his mouth, they hissed and kept muttering, so as he was forced by an *ovium* made by the criers to procure audience, which being made, the Tribune found himself grieved and complained that the people there assembled were withdrawn and called away from him, to the prejudice of his authority and honour, and with that sang out of the Capitol where this assembly was holden. The next day, he kept a great coil and made a toul stir: first, he interdicted the goods of *Tib. Gracchus* as condemned and accursed, for that in setting a fine, and straining gages of him, who had appealed to a Tribune, and in not obeying and condescending to his opposition, he seemed to set light by his Tribunes authority, and prejudice his reputation. As for *C. Claudius*, he arrested him to answer at a day, for that he had withdrawn the assembly from him: nay, he professed that he would indite both the Censors of treason or felony in the highest degree, and required *Sulpicius* Petron for the citizens, a day of affixes for their judicial tryal. The Censors refused not to have this matter put to as issue with all speed, and to be tried by the doom of the people. So the time for the hearing and determining of this heinous crime of majesty or treason aforesaid, was assigned the 8. daies immediately before the eight and seventh calends of *October*. Upon this, the Censors incontinently ascended up into the Porch of *Liberty*, where after they had made fore and sealed the public Registers and Records, shut up and locked all the offices of the Chancery, and discharged for the time the public Clerks and proto-Notaries attending upon that Court, they promised that they would not go in hand with any public affairs of State, before the sentence and judgment of the people were passed upon them. The day came, and *Claudius* first pleaded his own cause and spake for himself: and when of twelve Centuries that were of Gentlemen, eight had found the Censors guilty and cast him, yea, and many other centuries of the first *Classis*. Then presently, the principal persons of the City in the very sight of the people, changed their weed, laid away their rings, and went about from one to another in humble manner, to crave the commons to be good unto the Censors. But that which most of all either staid or reversed the definitive doom against him, was (by report) *Tib. Gracchus* himself the other Censor: for that when the commons cried from all parts, that there was no danger growing toward *Gracchus*, he swore by express words, That if his colleague were condemned, he would (without attending the judgment of the people as touching himself) accompany him into banishment. Howbeit the defendant and accused person, was driven to this meer point and hard exigent of extremity, that he came within eight centuries of being cast and condemned. Thus when *Claudius* was acquit, the Tribune said he would not trouble and molest *Cynabrus*.

This year at the earnest suit of the Aquileian Embassadors unto the Senat, for to have the number of their colonies increased: a shopland and five hundred families (by vertue of a decree granted out of the Senate) were enrolled: and for the conducting of them to *Aquileia*, were sent as Triumvirs or commissioners these three, to wit, *T. Annius Luscus*, *P. Decius Subulo*, and *M. Cornelius Cethegus*. The same year *C. Papilius* and *Cn. Octavius* Embassadors, who had been sent into *Greece*, having first read and published at *Thebes* the act and ordinance of the Senat, carried it afterwards throughout all the Cities of *Peloponnesus*, to this effect, That no person should contribute toward the wars, and put into the hands of the Roman Magistrate, more than that which the Senat had set down. This put them in good hope and assurance for the future time, that they should be eased of those charges and expenses, by which they were impoverished and wasted, while every one imposed upon them some taxation or other, and never gave them repose. In the Achean general council holden at *Argos*, they had audience given them and were heard in gracious sort: from whence leaving a most loyal and faithful nation in singular good hope of happy estate for the time to come, they passed into *Ætolia*. There was as yet no sedition broken out there: but all were in jealousy and suspicion one of another, and full of mutual accusations: in regard of which jar and troubles, the Embassadors only demanded hostages, and without any other end made, went directly into *Acroania*. The Acroanians granted unto these Embassadors a *Dia* to be holden at *Tyrrebania*, where some debate was between the partakers of diverse factions. Some principal men of the States, required that there should be garrisons received into their Cities, to bridle the wilful folly of those that inclined to the Macedonian nation: others gainst this course, and besought the contrary, for fear lest that peaceable and

in ante 8 & 7
Calendas Octobris,
that is the
23 and 24 of
September.

confederat Cities should be put to receive that disgrace and dishonour, which usually falls upon known enemies and those that are conquered by force of arms. And this request was happily granted. Then the Ambassadors returned to *Drusus* unto *Ulpian* the Pro-consul for from thence they were employed in embassage. *Octavius* he retained still with him; but *Agrippa* together with his roots soldiers on very secret, he sent to *Ambracia*, there to lodge for the winter time. *Perseus* in the beginning of winter durst not go forth to the frontiers of *Thrace*; for he knew the Romans would invade with violence his realm in some place or other. If they found it cold and disurnished. But toward the middle of *December* about mid-winter, when by reason of the deep snow the mountains are impassable and unsupportable from out of *Thrace*, thinking he had then a fit season and opportunity to cut off the hopes and break the hearts of the neighbour-borders, that when he should be averted another way and bashed in the Roman war, he might be secured of danger from them: considering that from the parts of *Thrace* he had peace with *Corys*, and likewise from *Epirus* side (by the means of *Cephala*, who suddenly of late was revolted from the Romans:) moreover having newly vanquished the *Dardanians* in war; and seeing only the quarter to infect and annoy *Macedony*, which regardeth and affronteth *Illyricum*; and that those *Illyrians* also were not quiet and at peace, but ready to give entrance unto the Romans: but if he had subdued and tamed those *Illyrians* which were next unto him, then King *Gentius* also, who a long time hung between in doubtful terms; might be induced & drawn wholly into society with him: he resolved at length, and with ten thousand footmen hourly armed, whereof part were *Phalangites*, and other two thousand lightly appointed, and five hundred horse, he made a rode and presented his forces before *Scutaria*: from whence after he had provided himself of corn to serve for many daies, and given order that the ordinance and engine of battery should follow after the third daies end he lodged near *Uscana*, the head City of all that Land *Penninsula*. But before that he offered any assault, he sent certain of purpose to sound and solicit the affections, one while of the Captains of the garrison, and another while of the Townsmen. Now there lay within the City, together with the manhood and youth of the *Illyrians*, a garrison also of the Romans. And when he saw that they brought no news of any peaceable dealing from thence, he began to bend his forces against them, and assailed to invest them round about, and so to force the City. And albeit both night and day without any rest and intermission they pressed upon the inhabitants, and evermore one succeeded another: while some reared ladders against the walls, others threw balls of fire against the gates, yet the defendants of the City held out and endured that furious and violent tempest: because they hoped that neither the *Macedonians* lying abroad were able any long time to endure the rigor of the cold winter: nor the King on the other side could have so much release and relaxation from the Roman war, as to stay there and make his abode. But after they perceived once the mantles approach, and the frames of currets and fabricks erected, their persistence was over-matched & they began to relent. For besides that in plain force they were the weaker and not able to resist, distressed also they were for want of corn, neither had they store of any other provision, as being taken on a sudden, and looking for nothing less than siege at such a time of the year. Therefore when they were past all hope to be able any longer to resist, *C. Carvilius Spolatus* and *C. Afranius* were sent from the Roman garrison, to crave of *Perseus*, first that he would permit them to depart in their arms, and to carry with them their bag and baggage: secondly, if they might not obtain so much, that he would but give them assurance of life and liberty. The King was more free and liberal to promise, than fast and faithful to perform. For after he had commanded them to go forth, and carry with them all that was their own: the first thing that he did was to disarm them and take away their weapons. They were not so soon departed out of the Town, but both the company of the *Illyrians*, to the number of 3000 men, and also the inhabitants of *Uscana* rendered themselves and their City. *Perseus* when he had put a garrison in *Uscana*, led away the whole multitude of the yielded Townsmen (and those were well-near as many in number as his own army) and transported them to *Scutaria* where, after he had sent the Romans (all besides their Captains) who were 2000 fighting men, into sundry cities to be kept in ward, and sold the *Uscanians* and *Illyrians*; he led his army back into *Penninsula*, intending to be master of *Oryzium*, a Town seated otherwise commodiously, and withal it is the very key and highway that openeth passage into the country of the *Libeatis*, within the realm of King *Gentius*, and where he kept his royal state. As he passed by a strong borough-Town well inhabited, named *Drandicum*, one about him that was well acquainted with the coasts of that country put into his head, that bootless it was and to no purpose to win *Oryzium*, unless he had *Drandicum* also in his hands; as being a Town situate more commodiously in all respects. Whereupon he advanced forward, and so soon as ever he presented his army before it, incontinently all the inhabitants submitted and yielded. Being much animated and encouraged with this surrender of theirs, which they made far sooner than he hoped or looked for: after that he perceived how terrible this redoubled army of his was, all the way as he marched he brought under his subjection eleven other Castles and strong holds, upon the like fear that they were put into. Violence he used against very few of them: the rest yielded willingly, wherein were taken 1 god Roman soldiers, placed there in several garrisons. In great stead and to very good use served *Carvilius Spolatus* in all their parties, who evermore gave it out that there had been no cruelty nor rigor exercised upon him and his fellows. At length the King came before *Oryzium*, which could not possibly be won without a second full siege. For the Town had far more youth and able men

A men within it then therof, was fortified with a strong wall about it, and defended on the one side with the river called *Araxus*, and on the other with an exceeding high mount, and the same of hard and difficult access. All these things considered, the townsmen were in good hope to be able for to make resistance. *Perseus*, having encircled the town and cast a rampier round about it, began likewise to raise a terrace & mount from the upper part thereof, so that he might have firm mount and over-top the walls. But during the time that this peece of work was in hand and brought to perfection, a great number of the inhabitants within were consumed by divers and sundry adventures, whiles they skirmished oft and falshed forth, endeavouring both to defend their own walls, and also to impeach the fabricks and devises of their enemies. And those that remained alive, what with toilsome labour night and day, and what with many a wound, were past all service and good for nothing. So soon as the terrace and mount store laid was raised close unto the wall, both the Kings cohort (whom they call *Nomades*) mounted up into it, and also with ladders the assault was given unto the City in many places at once. All that were above fourteen years old he put to the sword: their wives and small children he cast into prison. The rest of the booty and pillage fell to the soldiers share. As he returned from thence with victory to *Sindera*, he sent as Embassadors unto *Gentius*, *Plauratus* the Illyrian (a banished person who sojourned with him) and *Agaveus* a Macedonian of *Berbera*. Then he gave in charge to declare unto *Gentius*, what he had achieved against the Romans and Dardanians the summer past, together with the late exploits performed in that winter expedition; and withall to perswade the K. for to be knit in amity with him and the Macedonians. These Embassadors having transmounted the top of the hill *Scordus* and traversed the wilds and wolds of *Illyricum*, which the Macedonians of purpose had laid wast and desert, to the end, that the Dardanians might have no easie passage either into *Illyricum* or *Macedony* after much pain and travell they arrived in the end at *Scodra*. Now was K. *Gentius* at *Lissus*, and thither were the Embassadors sent for, where they delivered their message with gracious audience: but they went away with an answer to no effect; namely, that he wanted no will, and his heart was good enough to war upon the Romans; but his coffers were empty, and he lacked mony especially, to go in hand and enterprise that which he desired. This answer they related unto King *Perseus* at *Sindera*, at what time as he was most busie in selling of his captives taken in *Illyricum*. Then forthwith were the same Embassadors addrest again unto him, accompanied with *Glaucius* one of the Kings guard and squire of his body, without any mention made of mony, and that was the only means to induce the bare and needy Barbarous Prince to levy war. After this, *Perseus* ransacked the City *Ancyra*, and once again reduced his army into Penestines country, and having strengthened the garrisons in *Vscana*, and in all the forts and peece about it, he returned into *Macedony*.

L. *Calvus* a Roman lieutenant, lay in guard for the defence and rule of *Illyricum*, who durst not stir so long as King *Perseus* was in those quarters: but in the end after his departure, he endeavoured to recover *Vscana* in the Penestins country, but was repelled from thence by the garrison of the Macedonians there, and carried away nothing but many adry knock and bloody wound, & so retired with his forces to *Lychidum*; from whence, some few daies after he sent *M. Tribellius Fregellanus* into the Penestins country, with a strong power, for to receive hostages of those Cities who faithfully had persisted in amity & friendship. He commanded him also to go forward to the Partins (for they like wise had covenanted to put in pledges) for that of both these nations, the said hostages might be gotten without any stir and trouble. The hostages of the Penestins were sent to *Apolonia*, but those of the Partins to *Dyrrhabium*, which in those daies was more usually called by the Greeks *Epidamnus*.

App. *Candrus*, desirous to rase out the blemish and make amends for the dishonour received in *Illyricum*, set in hand to assault *Phanices* a fort of *Epirus*, having brought thither with him the *Athamans* and *Thesprotians* (over and above the Roman army) to the number of 6000 men; but he got nothing there but travell for his paines, by reason that the place was valiantly defended by *Cleodas*, left there with a strong garrison by K. *Perseus*. *Perseus* likewise made an expedition to *Elymus*, and after he had taken a solemn survey of his army about it, he conducted his power to *Siratus* at the request of the Epirots. This *Siratus* then, was the strongest City of all *Etolia*. Situated it is upon the gulf of *Ambracia*, neer the river *Achelous*, he advanced thither with 10000 foot & not above 300 horse of them he took the fewer with him in number, by reason of the streight passages and rugged waies. Being come at the third daies end so far as to the mount *Citus*, after he had with much difficulty passed over it, the snow lay so deep, that hardly and with much ado could he find a convenient place to encamp in. From thence he removed, more for that he could not there abide and remain, then for any intolerable way and weather he met withall in his dimarch and journey forward: so with passing great travell and trouble, of his beasts especially, the second day he arrived at the temple of *Jupiter* called *Niceus*, and there lodged. Then after he had taken an exceeding long journey, he abode at the river *Arachibus*, being staid there by reason of the deep water: during which time, he made a bridge over and transported his forces; and when he was gone a daies journey onward, he encountered on the way *Archidamus* a principall person of the *Etolians*, by whose exam the City of *Siratus* was to be delivered up unto him. And that day he lodged upon the frontiers of *Etolia*: from whence next morrow he journeyed as far as to *Siratus*, where having encamped neer the river *Achelous*, he looked that the *Etolians* would run out unto him by heaps at all their gates, to yield themselves to his protection: but in

stead thereof he found their gates shut & garisons of the Romans received into the City that very night when he came, together with the lieutenant C. Popilius. For the chief of the City (who induced and enforced by the authority of Archidamus while he was present in place, had sent for the King) became more slack and negligent, by occasion that Archidamus was gone forth to meet with him, and thereby gave advantage and opportunity to the adverse faction, to send for Popilius with a 1000 footmen from Ambracia. In very fit time and to right good purpose came Dimachus also a captain of the Etolian Cavalry, accompanied with 600 foot and a 100 horse. Known it was for certain, that he marched toward Stratus, as intending to band and take part with Persens; but changing his mind together with the turning of fortune, he joyned with the Romans, and banded against him for whom he set out at the first. Neither was Popilius, among these wavering and inconstant spirits, more secured then he should be; and therefore incontinently got the keyes of the gates into his hands, and possessed himself of the guard of the walls. And for Dimachus and the Etolians, together with the youth and able men of Stratus, he bestowed them all in the towresse, under a colour of guarding the same. Persens, having assaid to parly with them from the hills which commanded the higher part of the City, finding them perverse and obstinate, and seeing them ready to set him farther off with shot of their darts, encamped five miles off from the City, beyond the river Peropis. There, he called a councill; in which, Archidamus together with the revolts and renegats of the Epirots, exhorted him there to sojourn and continue; but the captains of the Macedonians contrariwise were of advice that there was no striving with that troublesome and dangerous season of the yeer, considering their provisions were not ready; and the assailants were like sooner to feel the scarcity and want thereof, then the defendants: in regard whereof, and especially for the enemies wintred not far from thence, he dislodged and removed to Aperantia. The Aperantians by reason of great credit of Archidamus among them, received him with a generall consent. And the same Archidamus was made captain there over a garrison of 800 souldiers. And so the King returned into Macedony, with lesse trouble both of his men and beasts, then he came thither. Howbeit the bruit blown abroad, that Persens led his forces against Stratus, caused Appius to levy his siege from before Phanoes. And Cleuas with a brave regiment of lusty men well appointed, followed hard after him, and at the foot of the hills which were almost unpaissable, he slew wel-neer a 1000 of them as they marched heavily armed, and took prisoners above 200. But after that Appius was passed through streights & come into the plain called Eleon, he lay encamped there some few daies: mean while Cleuas, accompanied with Philostratus the chief commander of the Epirots, passed over into the territory of Antigonia. The Macedonians went about to rob and spoil: but Philostratus with his cohort set him down in a wait, under a covert and hidden place for the purpose. And when as those of Antigonia issued forth in arms & charged upon the forragers as they ranged over the fields, and dispersed in stragling-wise, pursuing them too eagerly in their flight, they chanced to engage themselves over far within the valley where the enemies lay in ambush: and there to the number of a 1000 of them lost their lives, and almost a 100 were taken prisoners. And so the enemies having sped well in all their enterprises, removed their camp close to that of Appius, to the end that the Roman army might do no violence and outrage upon their friends and allies. Thus Appius spending the time in these parts to no purpose, and doing no good, after he had discharged the companies of the Chalonians, & as many of the Epirots as were with him, returned in Myricum with his Italian souldiers; and when he had distributed them among the confederat Cities of the Partynians, there to winter, returned himself to Rome by occasion of a certain solemn sacrifice. Persens sent to Cassandra for to lie in garrison there, a 1000 foot and 200 horse, whom he had caused to come again out of the countrey of the Penestins. And they that returned from Gentius related still the same long from him, yet never rested he nor gave over to tempt and importune him, sending Embassadors after Embassadors unto him, knowing right well, that in him rested great importance: yet could not by any meanes possible bring the man to expend ought and to be at any charge, in a matter of very way of great consequence.

The four and fortieth Book Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the four and fortieth Book.

Quintus Martius Philippus passing through wilds and woods, entered into Macedony and surprised many Cities. The Rhodians sent Embassadors to Rome, breaching to aid Perseus, unless the people of Rome would conclude peace and contract amity with him: whereas was taken great scorn and disdain. Now when the charge of this war was committed to L. Aemilius Paulus the Consul now the second time for the year following, Paulus before the public assembly of the people prayed unto the gods, that all infelicity and cursed fortune coming towards the people of Rome, might be

A *a verted from thence, and light upon his own house. And so having taken a village into Macedonia, vanquished Perseus and subdued all Macedonia. A little before he should strike a blow, C. Sulpicius Gallus a Martial Colonel, forewarned the army that they should not wonder & be troubled in mind at the eclipse of the moon which was to happen the next night following. In like sort Gentius the King, of the Thyrans having entered again into arms, was overcome in field by Aricius the Pretor, and having submitted himself to him, was with his wife, children and kindred, sent to Rome. From Alexandria there arrived the Embassadors of Cleopatra and Ptolomeus King and Queen of Egypt: complaining of Antiochus King of Syria for that he wanted upon them. Petrus having followed Eumenes King of Pergamus, and Gentius King of the Thyrans to aid him, was abandoned, for that he made not true payment of money according to his promise.*

The four and fortieth Book of T. Livius.

B *I*N the beginning of that spring which immediately followed the winter wherein these occurrences hapned, Q. *Martius Philippus* the Consul came to *Brundisium* with five thousand men, whom he intended to transport over the sea for the supply of his legions. And M. *Popilius* (one who had been Consul) and other brave gallants of noble parentage as well as himself, followed after the Consul to be martial-Tribunes in the Macedonian legions. Also about the same time C. *Martius Figulus* the Pretor, and Admirall of the navy, repaired to *Brundisium*. Who weighing anchor, looked to sea from *Italy* together, and arrived the next day at *Cephæ*; but the morrow after that, they put within *Albanum*, an haven of *Acarnania*. From thence the Consul set sail for *Ambracia*, where he disembarked and travelled by land to *Thessaly*. But the Pretor having doubled the point of *Leucas*, entered the gulf of *Corinth*; leaving his vessels at *Crusa*, journeyed likewise by land to *Chalcis* unto the naval forces, making such expedition that he croized through the midst of *Boeotia* in one day. At the same time A. *Hosilius* lay encamped in *Thessaly*, neer to *Palapharsalus*. Who albeit he had performed no memorable exploit of warlike feats, yet he had reclaimed his souldiers from all licentious looseness, wherewith they were corrupted, and ranged them within good order of discipline. Also by his faithfull corraige in government, he had entertained and kept the love of the allies still, yea, and protected them from all manner of wrong and injury. Now when he was advertised of the arrivall of his successor, he assembled with all diligence his forces both men and horse, & gathered together all armor, as well offensive as defensive: and so with a brave army right well appointed, he went forth to meet the Consul upon the way. As their first encounter and meeting was honourable, and besitting as well their own reputation as the greatest state of the Roman name, so for the managing of the affairs afterward [* it was very expedient to the Consul *Philip*. For the pro-consul turning to his own army, exhorted the souldiers to perform valiant service; and so when he had delivered it to the Consul, returned to Rome.] Some few daies after, the Consul made an oration in a solemn audience of all his souldiers: Wherin first he began with the parricide of *Perseus*, committed upon the person of his own brother, but projected against his very father. Then he proceeded forward and declared the wicked and divelish means whereby he attained to the crown, allo his practises of poisoning, his bloody murderers, he laid await for King *Eumenes* his life by way of detestable brigandage and robbery: moreover, the injuries offered to the people of *Rome*, and sacking of associat Cities against the covenants of accord. All which dealings of his he should find one day (quoth he) by the issue of his affairs, how odious and cursed they are in the sight also of the immortal gods. For the gods are evermore favourable and gracious to piety and fidelity, the only means whereby the people of *Rome* is mounted to that pitch and height of felicity. Then he compared the forces of that State which already compassed the round world, with the strength of *Macedony*; he let armies to armies, making remonstrances how far greater was the puissance of *Philip* and *Antiochus* before, and yet was it defeated utterly by no greater power then the Romans now were able to shew. Having thus enkindled and enflamed the courages of his souldiers by this manner of exhortation, he began to debate in counsel as touching the principal and main point of the whole war. And thither repaired unto him from *Chalcis*, the Pretor C. *Martius*, after he had taken the charge of the armado and sea-forces. Resolved it was and concluded to make no longer abode in *Thessaly*, and there to lose time, but presently to dislodge and remove directly into *Macedony*: that the Pretor also should endeavour and cast, how at one and the self same time he might infest and annoy the sea-coasts of the enemies. Now after that the Pretor was dismissed & sent away, the Consul commanded his souldiers to bring every man with him provision for a month: and to the tenth day after he had received the conduct of the army, he removed the camp and set forward. When he had gone a daies journey, he called together the guides, and after he had commanded them every one to declare before the Council there assembled, which way each of them intended to direct the army, he caused them to go aside; and then debated it was in counsel, which course to take above all others. Some were of opinion to lead by the way of *Pythium*; others advised to passe over the *Camburian* mountains, like as the year before *Hosilius* the Consul conducted his army; and there were who gave advice to go neer to the moor of *Ascuris*. Now thereremained yet some part behind of the way, which lay indifferent still and common to all these places; and therefore their consultation of this point was put over to the time when they should encamp neer to the parting and division of the said waies. So from thence he led the army to *Perrhabia*, and sat him down between *Axrus* and *Dolobe*, for to consult once again for all, which way to take.

* The place is here defective, but may be supplied, as *Sigonius* thinketh in this manner as you see between these marks []

The same time *Perseus* knowing that the enemy approached, but yet ignorant which way he meant to come, determined to beset all passages with strong guards. Whereupon he sent ten thousand young and lusty men lightly armed, to the pitch of the Cambanian hills (which the inhabitants themselves call *Volustana*) under the conduct of captain *Aselepidemus*. But he commanded *Hippias* with a power of twelve thousand Macedonians to seize the streights of a certain fort situated upon the marsh *Asenris*, and is called *Lophus*. Himself in person accompanied with the rest of the forces, lodged first neer to *Dium*: but afterwards seeming as if he were unprovided of counsel and void of sense and understanding, he with his light horsemen made rodes and comes along the strand, one while toward *Heraclia*, and other whiles to *Phila*, and so backward again the same way to *Dium*. In this mean time the Consul resolved fully to lead his army by that path where we said before that the army of King *Philip* encamped sometimes neer a place called *Ossa-lophus*. Howbeit he thought good to send out before four thousand armed men, for to prevent the enemies and be possessed first of the most commodious places of advantage: this regiment was commanded by *M. Claudius* and *Q. Martius*, the Consuls son; and incontinently all the forces in general followed after. But the way was so steep and difficult, so rough, uneven and rugged, that in two daies space, they which were sent before, albeit they were not charged with the carriage of anything, had much ado to march fifteen miles: where they lodged, and the place which they made choice of was called the Tower *Eudirru*. From whence the morrow after they journeyed seven miles forward and seized a hill not far from the enemies camp: where they dispatched a courier back to the Consul, to give intelligence, that they were come neer to the enemy, and seized in a place of safety, commodious also for all purposes; and withall to advise him for to make all possible speed after, for to overtake them and join together. This messenger encountered the Consul at the Meare *Asenris*, where he was greatly perplexed as well for the difficulty of the way which he was to enter himself, as also in regard of the danger of them whom in so few number he had sent before, even through the midst of the enemies corps de guard. Whereupon he took a better heart to himself, and having united all his forces, encamped upon the foresaid hill which his men already held, on that side which (considering the nature of the ground) was most commodious. And there they might discover within the view of eie, not only the enemies camp distant from thence a little above a mile, but also the whole countrey as far as to *Dium* and *Phila*, yea, and all the sea-coast by reason that the high pitch and top of the mountain yielded a prospect far and neer round about. And this was it that set on fire the souldiers hearts, when they beheld the whole weight of the war, the Kings forces altogether, and the enemies countrey so neer unto them. In which spirit of cheerfulness when they were earnest with the Consul, and exhorted him to advance directly against the enemies camp, they had but one day granted them to rest after their wearisome journey. So upon the third day the Consul leaving part of his forces to guard the camp, led the rest against the enemy. Now had *Hippias* been lately sent from the King to keep and guard the passage, who since the time that first he espied the Roman camp upon the hill, had prepared the minds of his men to a battel, and so encountered the army of the Consul and met it half way. The Romans advanced forth to fight, nimble appointed; and the enemies likewise were lightly armed, and by reason thereof most fit and provided for to give the charge and begin skirmish. So soon as they affronted and encountered one another, presently they fell to lancing of their darts on both sides. Many a wound was given and received of the one part as well as the other by their rash charging at random, and few of both sides were slain. Thus were their stomachs whetted and edged against the morrow, and then had they skirmishes, and maintained fight with greater forces, and more deadly feud, if the ground would have served them to have displayed their battallions at large: but the top of the mountain was streight and arose to a sharp crest in form of a con or wedg; and hardly afforded room enough for three ranks of armed men affront; and therefore when some few were in fight, all the rest and specially they that were heavily armed, stood as lookers on. As for the light armour of one part, they would run forth at the broken crags of the hill, and ever from the sides join battel with the like of the other part: yea, and find meanes to charge their enemy, were the place even or uneven, it skilled not whether. But after that more that day also were wounded then killed, the night at length parted the fray. The third day, the Roman General was to seek and wist not what to do; for neither could he stay any longer upon that hill, for want of all things; and retire back from thence it was not possible, without dishonour and danger both. Moreover, if he had retired, the enemy might presse upon him from the upper ground with advantage. There remained therefore no other meanes to mend that which was the audaciously enterprised, with as resolute & hardy persistence in execution; a thing that other whiles proveth well in the end, as if it proceeded from wise and deliberat counsel. And verily to this hard passe and difficult terms they were come, that if the Consul had been to deal with an enemy like to any of the Macedonian Kings in old time, he might soon have received a great foil and overthrow. But *K. Perseus* as he coasted and ranged with his cavalry upon the strand neer *Dium* (albeit for the space of 12 miles wel-neer, he heard the cries and shouts of them that were in fight;) neither reenforced the companies by sending fresh souldiers in place of the wearied, nor shewing himself in person at the battel (which had been a thing I assure you of most importance) whereas the Roman General being above 60 years of age, corpulent besides, & unwieldy, performed himself right lustily all military services of a valiant warrior, persisting in that to the very end most bravely, which he had begun and enterprised so boldly:

and

And having left *Popilius* to guard the hill and guided over places that had no tracks at all to direct them, by sending out before, *Antius* and *Asinius* with the auxiliary soldiers of their own sides to guard them that crossed the river. Then he putting before him in the night the lightning with beggars, many behind with the legionaries in the forefront. No tongue is able to express what a toil and painful labour they found in going down the hill, the sumpter horses with chills back and castles tumbled to down one with another: in so much as when they had scarcely gone four miles forward, they withed in their hearts nothing more then to return the way they came, if it had been possible. The elephants troubled the march as much in manner as the enemies could: for when they were come to a place where they could see no way down, they cast their riders and governors, lying them along on the earth, and with the horrible braying that they made, affrighted their horses especially, until such time as a device was found for their passage. They began first to make the bed or entrance of the bridge at the very bow and edge of a steep downslope: this done, in the lower ground beneath they let lay in the earth good strong and long posts of wood, two by two distant one from the other a furlong, while little more then the largeness of one of their beaks. Upon which rested fast joined I with ten on & mortise certain rafters like wall plies 30 foot in length, and those being couched with planks, crosse over in form of a bridge, had earth and mould cast thereupon. A little way off beneath it, such another bridge was made, and so a third likewise, and many more consequently according as the craggy ground was broken and uneven. Now the elephant from the firm ground entered upon the first bridge, stood still: but before he was gone as far as to the foot and end thereof the posts above mentioned, were cut in two underneath: so the end that the bridge might fall, and in the same reeling thereof the beast also gently slide, as it were, and be carried therewith as far as the head of the second bridge. Thus some of them slid and kept themselves standing upright on their feet, others tumbled upon their buttocks. Again, when they were come to the plain and level floor of another such like bridge, by the fall of it in manner aforesaid they were driven unto a third bridge beneath it, until such time as they were come to a more plain and even valley. In this order the Romans could rid little more then seven miles that day. And the least part thereof went they upright on their feet but were thin most what to tumble and roll over, no over with the armor and fardels about them, and thus they got forward in all kind of pain and trouble, in such sort that he, who induced them to this journey & conducted them therein, could not deny but the whole army (with a small power coming against them) might easily have been defeated. By night they arrived at a pretty plain, but the place being enclosed on all sides, they had no space and room to view round about, whether it were dangerous or no. At length after much ado and beyond their expectation, they met with a firm piece of ground, whereas they might take sure footing: and there they were forced the morning following to attend in the hollow valley the coming of *Popilius* and the companies left with him: who also were exceedingly sore vexed and plagued with the roughness of the way, albeit the enemies troubled and affrighted them no whit at all. The third day after they had joined their forces together, they took their way through a pass, which the inhabitants call *Callicrates*. The fourth day they passed over a place that had no more means to direct them, then the other before: but by use and experience there were grown more skillfull, and better hope they had, for that the enemy in no place appeared, but approached neer to the sea. When they were come once down into the plains between *Harmonia* and *Lebethrus*, the footmen (whereof the greater part kept the hill) pitched their tents and took up the valley, and a good part of the plain wherein the horsemen should quarter. As the King was bating himself, it is said that word came, How the enemies were neer at hand: at which news he was so leared, that he leapt out of his bathing vessel, and in haste got him out of the barge, crying aloud, That he was vanquished without drawing sword and stroke given: neither will he for fear which way to turn him, taking no counsel one of another, and commanding he knew not what, sometime this and sometime. In this perplexity he sent for *Alcibiades* (one of his two especial friends) out of the place where he lay in garrison to go to *Pella* where all his money and treasure lay: and by this means opened all the avenues for the Romans to make war. Himself, after he had had in great haste bestowed and piled up in his ships, all the gilded images at *Dium*, to the end that the enemy should make no prize of them, sailed with all speed possible to trade up and to remove to *Pydna*: & hereby gave occasion, that the enterprise of the Consul which might have seemed rashness (in that he had engaged himself so far that he could not possibly to retire again without leave of the enemy) proved in the end up inconsiderate and unadvised judgement. For now the Romans had the choice of two passages through which they might escape away, the one, by *Tempe* into *Thessaly*, the other into *Macedony*, by the way neer *Dium*, both which before were held by the King's guards. So as it: refulant and feeble captain could have held out and endured but one ten daies the first appearance and shew of terror that approached the Rom. could never have returned them *Thessaly* by *Tempe*, nor found way for convenience of provision & victuals to the place where they were: But *Tempe* is of itself a difficult passage, even without any force of arms to make it dangerous, and why besides the straight gullet five mile in length, yielding a very narrow way, for one beast to go charged with burden, the rocks of either hands are so steep and upright, that hardly a man is able to look down from them, but his eye will dazle, his brain turn, and his head be giddy withall. Moreover, the found and noise, yes, and the depth of the river *Peneus* running directly

As *Drusus*, but he started and weakened the enemy, and put in his head new a length to regain those matters, which had been lost before through his dependance. For hearing that the Consul was departed, he returned himself directly to *Drusus*, where he repaired what ever had been demolished and rebuilt by the Romans: the battlements of the walls which were cast down he set up again in the right place; and in all parts fortified the muns and bulwarks of the City. Which done, he encamped five miles off on this side *Sapientis*, intending that the river itself (which is very hard to be passed over; should serve in stead of a rampier and trench of defence. This river runneth out of the vale from under the mountains *Olympus*, and in summer season is small and shallow, but in winter it fills high and spreads broad by reason of rain: running also with a forcible current and stream, it throweth great rocks, and amongst his stony crags and shelves maketh many whirlpools. By occasion likewise, that from thence it carrieth away with it into the sea, store of earth, there are many gulfs of exceeding depth: and by reason that it hath even a hollow channel in the midst, the banks of each side are very high and steep upright. *Perseus*, supposing that by the means of this river the enemies were debarr'd from all passage, purposed in his mind to hold off, and drive on the rest of the summer in that sort.

But the Consul in the mean while sent *Papilius* from *Philae* into *Heraclea* with 2000 armed fighting men. This *Heraclea* standeth about five miles from *Philae*, situate in the mid-way between *Drusus* and *Triump*, upon a rock that commandeth this river. *Papilius*, before that he caused his men to approach the walls, sent certain persons of purpose to persuade the magistrats and chief of the City, to make proof of the faithful protection and clemency of the people of *Rome*, rather than to use their rigor and violence. But this motive and advice prevailed not, because they might discern the fires out of the Kings camp near to *Sapientis*; whereupon both from the land and sea-side for the fleet also being arrived (anchored near the shore) as well by force of arms as by fabricks and engines of battery, they began to assail the town. Moreover, certain young and lusty Roman soldiers (making use now in war of exercise which they had practised in the games *Circenses*) gat over the wall where it was lowest. The manner was in those daies (before this wall prodigiously came up of filling the whole circus or show place with beasts ferret out of all countries) to devise and seek sundry sorts of publick fights & spectacles to be hold, & not running out course with the enactor, and another on horseback; and to an end, to employ at both races the space of one full hour. Among others feats of activity exhibited, the masters and wardens of those exercises and games brought into the race commonly 60 (and other whiles more) lusty young men in arms well appointed. Their training in part represented a shew and apparance of two armies encountering and encountering and charging one another, in part also the use and practise of a more gentle and elegant exercise then military profession, and coming nearer to the handling and managing of weapons after the order of sword-fencers. These young gallants, after they had performed other ordinary running courses, put themselves into a four-square squadron, with the buttlers or targets close couched and joined together over their heads: in this manner they that were foremost in the front stood bolt upright; the second rank stooped somewhat lower under the other; the third course more then they; and so the fourth untill the hindmost kneeled on their knees: and by this means they resembled a pavilaine rising up higher & higher, like the pent-house or roof of a edifice.

This done, two men well armed, fetching their run fifty foot or thereabout back ward from thence, and seeming to desie and challenge one another, mounted the foresaid pavilaine, ran from the neither end up to the top upon those targets so jointly united and set close and thick together: and one while they set their countenance as though they would defend the sides and edges thereof, other whiles in the midst they seemed to performed their devoir and maintain combat one with another, as upon firm and steady ground. Like for all the world to this, was there a pavilaine framed and brought close to that part of the wall; and when armed men were mounted upon it, they that stood upon the very ridge thereof, were as high fall as the defendants which kept the walls who being once beaten back and turned down, two ensignes of soldiers gat over into the City. The only difference between this pavilaine and the other above described was this, that they only who stood in the front before and in the flanks, bare out their targets aloft above their own heads, because their sides and bodies should not be united and exposed to hurt, but carried them before after the usual manner of fighting men in a battail. By which means, neither the arrows and darts discharged from the wall hurt them abroad, nor the shot that light upon their targets fence took any hold, but glanced and slid down ward from the top without doing any harm, like to rain water that slueth from the ridge of a house, and runneth down the eves. The Consul likewise, now that *Heracles* was won, advanced forward with his army thither, pretending as though he marched toward *Drusus*, and as soon after he had chased and driven the King from thence, he minded to passed for what also into *Perseus*. But preparing now against winter, he commanded to make the walls firm and handsome, for the carriage of provision out of *Thessaly*, and to chuse out commodious places for garners: also to build certain houses, wherein they that brought the provision, might live in cover and lodge commodiously. *Perseus* in the end having taken heart again and gathered his was together, upon the late night which had amazed his spirits, wished then within his heart, that his commandments had not been obeyed, at what time as in a last will he gave expresse charge to cast the treasure into the sea at *Pala*, and to offer on fire the wealth at *Thessalonica*, and *Andronicus* being sent for to the same purpose to *Thessalonica* made no halt to execute his will, but rised out the time for the nonce, leaving the King

some repulse to repent, as it fell out indeed. *Nicias* was not so provident and well advised as *Pericles*, in throwing away some part of the money which he there found: howbeit his thought in that manner was recovered by the means of certain divers that fished for it under water, and fetched it up from the bottom of the sea. But the King himself was constrained of this foolish fear, that in a moment he commanded those poor divers to be secretly murdered: yea, and afterwards *Nicias* and *Nicias* also; the end that no person should remain alive that was privy to that foolish commandment of his.

Amids these affairs, *C. Marcius* having looked to sea from *Heraclea*, and with his fleet sailed to *Thessalonica*, landed his armed souldiers in divers places of the shore, and made wast in the territory all about: and when they made sallies out of the City and charged upon him, after some fortuit skirmishes, he chased them back and beat them within the walls. So at length he terrified the town it self: but not only they who ranged up and down here and there, unadvisedly approached the walls, were wounded with shot discharged out of instruments of all sorts, planted upon the walls: but those also who were in the ships, were hurt with stones, weighed and levelled from engines afar off. Upon which occasion he commanded his souldiers to retire a shipboard, and leaving the siege of *Thessalonica*, they passed from thence to *Eris*, a City fifteen miles off, situate in a fertile soil just over against *Pydna*. When they had spoiled the territory lying to that City, they coasted along the shore and arrived at *Amigoneia*. Where, being set a land, first they spoiled the country in every quarter, and brought good store of prizes to their ships: but afterwards, as they straggled out of order and disbanded, the Macedonians, as well footmen as horse, ran upon them, and chased them as they fled space to the sea-side: in which rout they slew about 500 and took as many prisoners. And nothing else provoked the courage of the Romans (in regard as well of utter despair, otherwise to save themselves, as of the indignity it self, so to hazard their honour, but only the extreme necessity, where in they stood having no means to recover their ships in safety. Whereupon they turned head, and renewed the fight upon the very sea strand. They also who were a shipboard, succoured and helped them. In which conflict, two hundred Macedonians lost their lives, and as many were taken prisoners. From *Amigoneia* the fleet weighed anchor, & made head toward the territory of *Pallina*, where the souldiers were set on shore to spoil the country. The territory appertained to the confines of the *Cassandrians*, the most fruitful tract of those parts which they had coasted and sailed by. There King *Eumenes* being departed from *Elea* with twenty war ships met with them. So likewise five other covert ships were lent from King *Prusias*. The Pretor seeing this good encrease and addition of his forces, took a better heart unto him, even to besiege *Cassandria*. This City was built by King *Cassander*, in the very strait & gullet which joineth the territory of *Pallina* with the rest of the Macedonian country, enclosed on the one side with the *Toronian* sea, and on the other with the Macedonian. For there leeth out a bank or shelf like a sponge into the sea, upon which the City standeth, and beareth unto the deep, no less in compass, and quantity then is the mountain *Asko*. It butteth full against *Magnesia*, with two promontories of unequal bigness: of which the greater is called *Pepidema*; the lesser *Canastrium*. This town they began to assail in two divers parts. The Roman (Pretor) drew his fortifications to a place called *Cilia*, opposing certain strong forked stakes for to debar, and shut up the way from the Macedonian sea to the *Toronian*. On the other side there is an Enripe or arm of the sea, from which quarter *Eumenes* gave the assault. The most trouble and toil that the Romans found, was in damming and filling up the trench, which *Perseus* had cast against them a little before. And as the Pretor enquired where the earth was bestowed which was thrown out of the trench foresaid, because he could see no heaps thereof any where, there were shewed unto him certain vaults and arches within, which bewraied a new wall, not built to the thickness of the old, but with perpend work, laid with one course of brick and no more. Whereupon he resolved to pierce through the said wall, and so to make way into the City. The which he thought to execute and perform without being discovered, in case he scaled the wall in another quarter, and by making a shout and alarm there, witherew all the defendants of the City to the guard of that one place. There lay in garrison at *Cassandria* (being a sufficient number of servicable young men of the City) eight hundred Agrians, and two thousand Peneltins of *Silavony*, sent from thence by *Pleuratus*: and both these nations are hardy warriors. Whiles these defended the walls manfully, and the Romans endeavoured with all their might to mope over, the thin walls of the vaults and arches foresaid were wrought and digged through in the turning of an hand, and gave entrance into the City. Now if they who brake in, had been armed (as they were but pioneers) the town had been taken at that instant. But when as the souldiers heard news that the said work was finished, they suddenly set up a cheerful shout for joy, being ready some in one place and some in another to rush into the City. The enemies at the first wondered what the meaning should be of that suddain cry: but the captains of the garrison, *Pycho* and *Philippus*, *Pro* being once advertised that the town lay open, supposing that herein consisted the vantage, who could first prevent the other and give the charge, sallied forth with a strong band of Agrians and Illyrians: and whiles the Romans sallied themselves some from this place, and others from that, and were called together for to enter the City with banner displayed, they set upon them unready as they were, and not ranged in any good order, put them to flight and chased them as far as to the trench, where they overthrew them one upon another by heaps: 600 or very were there killed;

and

* *Cassandria*

A and in manner whom they could reach between the wal & the trench were sore hurt. The Pre. thus overtaken in his own enterprise, was not so hally to project any new designs; neither sped *Eumenes* any better, albeit at one time he assaulted the City both by land and sea. Whereupon they accorded both, to set strong guards, for to impeach the passage of all garrisons out of *Macedony* thither; and (since open force took no better effect) to assail the wals with fabricks & engins. As they were busie in preparation thereof, there arrived ten frigots of the Kings, sent from *Macedony* with certain select auxiliary Gauls. These when they perceived their enemies ships siding at anchor, sailed in single range one after another, as close as possibly they could to the shore in the dark night, and so entered the City. The Brut that went of this new succour and garrison, forced as well the Romans as the King to give over the siege; so fetching a compassse about the promontory, they arrived before *Torone*. And when they began to lie against it, after they perceived once that there was a valiant company there to defend it, they abandoned their enterprise without effect, & sailed to *Demetrias*. Being approached thither, and seeing the wals full of armed men, they passed by and anchored at *Isole*; intending after they had spoiled the territory, to set upon *Demetrias*. Mean-while, their Consul also, because he would not sit still doing nothing in the enemies countrey, sent *M. Popilius* with five thousand soldiers to give the assaile to the City *Melibeas*. Seated it is at the foot of the mountain *Ofa*, on that side which looketh to *Thessaly*, and very hilly for the purpose commandeth *Demetrias*. The first arrivall of the enemies put the inhabitants of the place in great affright; but after they had recovered their spirits danted with so unexpected fear, they ran in arms to the gates, and up to the wals, where they doubted and inspected any place like to give entrance, and incontinently cut off all hope from the enemies, that it could possibly be forced at the first assaile. Whereupon they prepared to lay siege unto it, & began to make fabricks and engins to batter the wals. *Perseus* having intelligence, that in one instant both *Melibeas* was beleaguered by the Consul, and also that the fleet anchored before *Isole*, to the intent that from thence he might go in hand to assail *Demetrias*; sent *Euphranor* one of his captains, with a choien regiment of two thousand soldiers to *Melibeas*; with this charge and direction, That if he could raise the siege from *Melibeas* and force the Romans to depart, he should march secretly to *Demetrias*, & put himself within the town, before the Romans could remove from *Isole*, and advance before the City. The assailants of *Melibeas* discovering him with his forces all at once upon the higher places, quit their fabricks and engins in fearful hast, and let them all on fire; and thus they departed from before *Melibeas*. *Euphranor* having levied the siege from the one City, forthwith led his army to *Demetrias*. And then the citizens assured themselves, that they should be able not only to defend the City against the siege, but also to save their territories from wast and spoil: and so they made sallies upon the forragers dispersed loosely here and there, not without drawing blood of their enemies. Howbeit the Pretor and the King rode about the wals, and viewed the situation of the town, if peradventure they could espie any one place which they were like to force, either with battery of engins or force of arms. The voice went, that by the means of *Cydas* the Cretensian, and *Antiochus* governor of *Demetrias*, there was a treaty of peace and amity between *Philip* and *Eumenes*. But howsoever it was, this is certain, both *Eumenes* and the Pretor departed from *Demetrias*. As for *Eumenes*, he sailed to the Consul, and testified unto him the joy that he conceived for his safe and prosperous entrance into *Macedony*; and from thence returned to *Pergamus* into his own realm. But *Martius Figulus* the Pretor, when he had sent part of his fleet into the harbor of *Sciatibus* there to winter, with the rest of his ships went to *Orreum* in *Bœotia*: supposing it a commodious City, from whence victuals and all provisions might be sent to the armies that abode either in *Macedony* or *Thessaly*. As touching *Eumenes*, sundry authors have written diversly. If a man should go by *Valerius Antias* and beleave him, he reporteth, that neither the Pretor had any help from him by his navy, notwithstanding that oftentimes he had sent for him by his letters; nor took his leave of the Consul in good terms with favour, at what time as he was to depart into *Asia*, as being highly displeased, that he was not permitted to quarter with him in one of the same camp; inasmuch as he could not possibly be entreated by him, to leave behind that Cavalry of Gauls which he had brought thither with him. As for *Artalus* his brother, he remained still with the Consul (as *Valerius* saith) and continued sincere and faithful unto him without any change and alteration, yea, and performed right good service in all that war.

F During these wars in *Macedony*, there came Embassadors from beyond the *Asp*, to *Rome*, sent from a petty K. of the Gauls (*Balaus* he had to name, but of what lineage he was descended it is not recorded) promising aid to the Macedonian war. Thanked they were from the Senat, and presents were sent unto them: to wit, a chain of gold weighing two pound, certain golden cups of four pound weight, a brave courler barbed and trapped, and an horsmans armor. After the Gauls were gone out of place, the Embassadors of *Pamphylia* brought with them into the Senat a golden crown, valewed at 20000 *Philippæces* of gold: their request was, that they might be permitted to set up the said present and oblation in the chappell of *Iup. Opt. Max.* and likewise to sacrifices within the Capitol. Their petition was granted: and when these Embassadors were desirous to renew the amity between them and the Romans, they received a gracious answer, and had of them a reward sent of two thousand Alces. Then the Embassadors of King *Prusias*, and anon after, others from the Rhodians had audience: who of one and the same argument, discoursed diversly, for both tended to one thing, namely, a treaty for reconciliation of peace between the Rom. & K. *Perseus*. *Prusias* seemed to intreat rather then to demand: protesting that he had

"had ever to that day stood with the Romans in that war; and willingly would stand them still
 "to the very end thereof: but since that there came Embassadors unto him from *Perseus*, and
 "dealt with him to make an end of the war between him and the Romans, and for that he pro-
 "mised them to be a mediator and intercessor for him to the Romans: therefore his request
 "unto them was, (if they could so find in their hearts) to stifle their anger, & so they should use
 "him in any service, as one that would acknowledge himself beholden unto them for a favor, in
 "ending this agreement and reconciliation. In this manner (I say) spake the *K. his Embassadors*.
 "But the Rhodians contrariwise, in a proud humour of theirs, reckoned up a bestdroll of their
 "demerits towards the people of *Rome*, attributing the greater part (believe me) of the victory of
 "K. *Antiochus* to themselves: moreover they added and said, that when the Macedonians and
 "Romans were at peace, they began to enter into league and amity with *K. Perseus*: which they
 "had interrupted and discontinued against their will: not upon any desert or occasion given of
 "his part, but only because it pleased the Romans to draw them into the association of the war.
 "Three daies now already (say they) have we felt the smart of this war and lived by the loss: by
 "reason that the seas are shut up from us, and our land is decayed and distressed for need and
 "want, having lost our tollage and customs issuing from the seas, which we are not able to en-
 "dure any longer, have addressed Embassadors to *Perseus* into *Macedony*, to intimate unto him,
 "that the Rhodians will and pleasure was, that he should grow to a composition and be at
 "peace with the Romans. Our selves also are sent to *Rome* to declare the same: and likewise to
 "denounce, that whosoever shall impeach and hinder this course tending to pacification, the
 "Rhodians will consider of them accordingly & bethink how they are to protect against them.
 "I am verily perswaded, that there is no man at this day, who can hear or read this, but his sto-
 "mack will rise thereat with indignation: guesse then thereby how the LL. of the Senat of *Rome*
 "were affected and touched as then, at the hearing thereof. *Claudius* mine author saith, that there
 "was no answer at all given unto them. Only an arrest or decree of the Senat was read before them,
 "importing thus much, that by order from the people of *Rome*, the Carians & Lycians were made
 "free: and presently were letters dispatched to both nations to signifie so much unto them. Which
 "when the principal persons of the embassage once heard, even he, whose big and brave words a
 "little before, the whole Senat-house was hardly able to contain, fell down flat before them in a
 "wob and extasie. Other Historians write, that this answer was returned, "That the people of
 "*Rome* at the very beginning of this war, knew assuredly (by intelligence given from persons of
 "right good credit) how the Rhodians had secretly complotted with *Perseus* against the state of
 "*Rome*: and if there had been some doubt thereof before, yet the words of the Embassadors ere-
 "while delivered, made all clear and put it past peradventure: and no marvell, since that for the
 "most part it falleth out, that such cautelous practises, howsoever at the first they are covertly &
 "cleanly carried, yet one time or other are bewraied and discovered. Let the Rhodians send their
 "messengers over the world and spare not: let them make themselves judges to determine of
 "war and peace at their pleasure: as for the Romans, they will take arms in hand, and lay them
 "down again at the will and appointment of the gods in heaven. We are well holpen up now in
 "deed, if we must have the gods no more to be witnesses of our accords, but the Rhodians for-
 "sooth. And must the Romans (I would not else) be ruled by them, and withdraw their forces
 "out of *Macedony*? They will consider and advise themselves how to proceed against us! How
 "shall we do then? What the Rhodians will see to, well may they perhaps themselves know:
 "but the people of *Rome* (that is certain) will consider indeed and resolve after that *Perseus* is
 "vanquished (which they hope will not be long first) to recompence and requite every City and
 "state according as they have deserved in the service of this war. As sharp as this answer was, yet
 "they sent a reward to these Embassadors to every one of them 2000 asces; but none would they receive.
 "After this, were the letters read of *Q. Marcius* the Consul, containing thus much, namely,
 "How he had passed over the streights of the forrest, and was come into *Macedony*, where he had
 "provision of victuals which the Pretor had given order for out of other places to serve for win-
 "ter: and besides, had taken up of the Epirots twenty thousand Modii of wheat and ten thousand
 "of barley, for which corn they should make money ready at *Rome* to content their Embassadors.
 "Also that they must send from *Rome* souldiers liveries and other apparel, and need he had besides
 "of 200 horse or thereabout: especially of *Namidia*: for in those parts he had no plenty of any thing.
 "Hereupon an act was granted out of the Senat, That all these things should be done according to
 "the tenor of the Consul his letters. So *C. Sulpicius* the Pretor bargained for the transporting over
 "into *Macedony* of 800 fide casocks and 3000 short coats or jackets, together with horses: for
 "to be disposed and distributed at the discretion of the Consul: and besides paid the Embassadors
 "of the Epirots good money for their grain. He brought also into the Senat. *Oneimus* the son of
 "*Pytho* a noble personage of *Macedony*. This man was evermore of counsel with the *K.* perswading
 "him to peace: and admonished him as his father *Philip* before him observed an order even to the
 "time of death to read over twice a day from point to point the instrument of the accord & cove-
 "nants between him and the Romans: so he also would take up that good custome and practise
 "the same, if not so continually, yet at leastwise many a time and often. But when he could by no
 "meanes scare him nor avert his mind from war, he began at first to withdraw and absent him-
 "self, alledging for his excuse one while this occasion, and otherwhiles that, because he would
 "not be present at the debating of those matters which he approved not: and in the end perceiving
 "that

A that he was had in some jealousy, & other whiles charged to be a traitor, he changed his allegiance revolted to the Rom. and served the Consul in right good stead This *Onofimus* being brought into the Senat house, related all these premises: whereupon the Senat ordained, that he should be enrolled formally in the number of allies: also, that he should be provided of a lodging, and his ordinary expences for the time allowed at the Cities charge. Moreover, 200 acres of land in the territory of *Tarentum*, which was confiscat to the people of *Rome*, should be set out for him; and a messuage in *Tarentum* bought for his habitation. To see all this performed, C. *Decimus* the Pretor had in charge.

The Censors upon the * thirteenth of *December*, took a survey of the number of citizens and an estimat of their goods, more strictly then aforetime. Many were unknighted and had their B horters taken from them; and P. *Rutilius* among the rest, who when he was Tribune of the Com. had been their accuser and called them to reckoning; degraded he was besides and displaced out of his own tribe, & made no better then a very labourer in the Cities works. When as the one moiety of the Cities renewes and profits for that year, was set by, and allowed unto them by the treasurers (according to an ordinance of the Senat) Tib. *Sempronius* out of the mony assigned unto him, purchased the house of P. *Africanus* on the back side of the old *Curia* neer the image of *Fortunus*: the shops also wherein they sold wooll and the other adjoining thereto, all to the use of the City. He caused likewise the stately palace to be built, which afterwards was called *Sempronia Basilica*.

Now was the year come about and well neer at an end, when by reason of the great care principally about the Macedonian war, men began to talk, whom they were to create for Consuls against the next year, to achieve and end the said war? Whereupon there passed a decree of the Senat, that Cn. *Servilius* with all speed possible, should make hast to *Rome* for to hold a general assembly of election. This decree *Sulpicius* the Pretor within few daies after read to the Col. to the end that he should repair home into the City before the day prefixed. Whereupon both the Col. hastned; & the said election was also furnished by the d.y appointed. Col. these were created, L. *Emilius Paulus* the second time (even 14 years after his former Consulship) with C. *Sicinius Crassus*. The day following were the Pretors also chosen, to wit, Cn. *Babius Tampilus*, L. *Anicius Galus*, Cn. *Octavius*, P. *Foncius Balbus*, Mar. *Ebutius Helva*, and C. *Papirius Carbo*. The carefull regard of the Macedonian war caused every thing to be done with greater expedition And therefore it was thought meet, that these new elect magistrats should cast lots out of hand for their provinces, that it might be known to whether Col. *Macedony*, and to which Pretor the conduct of the navy should fall, that thereupon they might presently consider and provide for all things requisite to the war, & require the advice of the Senat as need required. Ordained it was when the Consuls were entered into their office, to solemnize the Latine festivall holidays as soon as they might conveniently, without offence of the gods and breach of any religious order: that the Consul whole lot fell to go into *Macedony*, were not detained behind upon any occasion. After these ordinances, *Italy* and *Macedony*, were nominated for the provinces of the two Consuls, and for the Pretors, the two civill jurisdictions within the City of *Rome*, the navy, *Spain*, *Sicily*, and *Sardinia*. In five; *Macedony* fell to *Emilius* the Consul, and *Italy* to L. *Emilius*, Of Pretors, Cn. *Babius* was lord chief just ice of the pleas of citizens, and L. *Anicius* of aliens. And if the Senat thought good to send the navy any whither, Cn. *Octavius* had the charge thereof as L. admiral. P. *Foncius* was appointed by lot L. Deputy of *Spain*, M. *Ebutius* of *Sicily*, and C. *Papirius* of *Sardinia*.

All men soon saw, that L. *Emilius* intended not to go coldly about the managing of that war; both for that he was not an ordinary man, but singular above all other; and also because that night and day he mused and studied upon nothing else, but that which was requisite and pertinent thereunto. The first thing of all wherewith he went in hand was this; a request to the Senat for to dispatch certain delegat commissioners into *Macedony*, to visit the armies there and the armado; to make true report upon their certain knowledg, what was needfull to be done for the supply of the forces as well by land as sea; also to lie in espiall, & estimat as much as possibly they could, the Kings power; moreover, what quarter of the province were taken by our men, and which the enemies kept; whether the Romans lay encamped still within the Forrest, or if they were passed beyond the streights and come into the even ground; who continued trusty allies, who were suspected, who hung in doubtfull terms, as whose faith depended upon fortune: who seemed to be professed enemies: how great the provisions were of victuals; from whence they were conveyed by land; from what places transported by water; & lastly, what exploits had been done the summer past both by land and sea: supposing, that for a light given and certain intelligence delivered of these things, he might be sure y directed in the casting and flying of future plots & designments. So the Senat granted out a commission to Cn. *Servilius* the Col. for to send the delegats into *Macedony*, such as L. *Emilius* thought good of. Whereupon within two daies after, Cn. *Domitius Enobarbus* and A. *Licinius Nerva*, took their journey as legats and commissioners. News came in the latter end of this year, that it rained stones twice, namely in the territory of *Rome*, and likewise about *Vesii*: and therefore a novendiall sacrifice was celebrated. This yeer there died certain priests, namely, Pub. *Quintilius Varus*, a flamin of *Mars*, and M. *Claudius Marcellus* a Decemvir, in whose room was substituted Cn. *Octavius*. And now noted it was, that the magnificence and port of the people of *Rome* encreased, for that in the plaies called *Circenses* exhibited by *Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica*, and *Publius Lentulus* Aediles Curule, three score, and three

* idibus Decembru.

* Pore Vile es.

3 wild beasts out of *Africa*, with 40 bears & elephants, were baird to make sport to the people. AH
 When *L. Aemilius Paulus* and *P. Licinius* entered their Consulship upon the nineteenth of *March*, which was the beginning of the year following, the *PE* of the Senat were in great expectation, and especially what the Consul would propose unto them as touching the *Macedonian* war, which was his proper province. But *Paulus* said that he had nothing to propound and put to counsel, seeing that the Delegates aforesaid were not returned. And at *Brundisium* (quoth he) they now are, having twice in their voyage upon the sea been driven back by tempests, and cast upon *Dyrrhachium*. But so soon as I am once advertised and have perfect knowledge of those things that first are to be known, I will then consult; and that will be within very few daies. Now to the end that nothing may stay and hinder his journey, he told them, that the even before the Ides of *April*, was appointed for the solemnity of the *Latine* festival holidays. And after sacrifice duly performed [upon the *Albane hill*] the Senat should no sooner ordain, but he and *C. Octavius* would set forth and put themselves on their way. As for *C. Licinius* his colleague, his charge should be in his absence to provide and send all things requisite and needfull for this war. Mean while (quoth he) the embassies of forraign nations may have audience given. So when he had sacrificed as the manner was, before they took in hand the great affairs of State, the Embassadors of *Alexandria*, from King *Protolomaeus* and queen *Cleopatra*, were called in. Clad they were in poor array, the hair of their head long, their beards side and overgrown, and carrying in their hands branches of the Olive-tree, they entred into the Senat, and fell groveling and prostrat upon the floor. Their habit and apparel was not so simple and mournful, their look and countenance not so heavy and sorrowfull, but their speech was more piteous and lamentable. *Antiochus* now King of *Syria*, and who had sometime been hostage at *Rome* under a colourable pretence of honesty and equity to restore *Protolomaeus* the elder to his Kingdom, made not war upon his younger brother, who then held *Alexandria*: and after a victory obtained in sea-fight neer *Perisus*, he made a bridge of hasty work upon the river *Nilus*, over which he transported his army, & now laid siege to *Alexandria*: so as by all likelyhood he would shortly by way of conquest be lord of a most rich and wealthy Kingdome. In which regard, these Embassadors made pitefull moan and grievous complaint, beseeching withall the Senat, of their aid and succour to that realm and those Kings, who were such friends to their feignory and dominion. For perswaded they were that the people of *Rome* had done so much for *Antiochus* in particular, & were of that account & authority with all other Kings and nations, that if they would but send their Embassadors to intimate thus much, that the Senat was not well pleased with waging war upon confederat Kings, he would presently raise his siege, depart from before the walls of *Alexandria*, and withdraw his army clean away into *Syria*. But if they protracted the time long and delayed thus to do, then should *Protolomaeus* and *Cleopatra* within a while be driven out of their realm, and forced to come to *Rome* with some shamefull spot of dishonour to the people of *Rome*, in that they had not let their helping hand in that extreame danger of all their fortunes. The *LL* of the Senat moved with compulsion at the prayers of these Alexandrians, sent incontinently *C. Popilius Lenas*, *C. Decimus*, and *A. Hostilius* as Embassadors to determine and make an end of the war between those two Princes. In commission they had first to go unto *Protolomaeus*, and then to *Antiochus*, and to let them both understand, that unless they surrendred and gave over arms, they would take him neither for friend nor confederate, whom it was long of that the war was not given over. So these three together with the Alexandrian Embassadors, took their leave within three daies & departed. Then the forsaide Delegates returned from out of *Macedony*, the last day of the feastivall games to *Minerva* called *Quinquatrus*, and not before they were welcome; for so looked for they were, had it not been evenide when they came, the Consuls would immediately have called the Senat together. But the morrow after the Senat sat, and those commissioners had audience given. Report they made first, that with more danger then profit ensuing, the army entred into *Macedony*, over those passies and streights, where was no way nor passage at all. Item, that the King kept the countrey of *Pueria*, into which the Roman armie was now advanced, and were so neer encamped one to the other, that nothing but the river *Enipus* between kept them asunder: that neither the K. made offer of battel, nor the Rom. were of sufficient strength to challenge & force him to fight; moreover, that the winter had overtaken them (a time unreasonable for warlike exploits) that the souldiers were nuzled and nourished in idleness, notwithstanding they had victuals to serve no longer then six daies; also, that by report the *Macedonians* were thirty thousand strong. Were it so that *Ap. Claudius* had a good and sufficient power about *Lychnidum*, he might be able to trouble the K. and put him to his trumps in a battel; but now both *Appianus* and the garrison with him, are themselves in extreame jeopardy, unless with speed either a complete army be sent thither, or else they draw from thence: where they are, into *Macedony*. Over and besides they related, how from the camp they went towards the fleet, where they heard say, that some of the sea-faring men and mariners were dead of sickness, others, and namely, those of *Sicily* above the rest, were gone home again to their own houses, inasmuch as there were not men enow to serve the ships; & those that remained, had neither their wages paid & mony to put in their purse, nor liveries & apparel to hang on their backs. As for *Eumenes* & his fleet, they (like ships driven to a coast by force of wind and weather, without any other errand or cause else) were come and gone again, and it seemed the mind of that K. was not well settled and resolved. But as they reported also *Eumenes* suspiciously & in doubtful terms, so they assured them of the singular fidelity & constancy of *Antiochus* his

A his brother. When these Legates had spoke then said *L. Aemilius*, let us debate now in council what is to be done as concerning this war. So the Senat ordained, that for eight legions the Consuls and the people should elect an equal number of martiall Tribunes or Colonels, the one as many as the other, and that none should be created and advanced to that place for that year, but such as had borne some honourable dignity: then, out of all those Tribunes thus elected, that *L. Aemilius* should make choice for those two legions which were to go into *Macedony*, of whom he would himself: also, that after the solemnity of the Latine feasts performed, *L. Aemilius* the Consul and *C. Octavius* the Praetor and Admirall of the fleet, should depart into their Province. A third was joyned in commission with them, to wit, *L. Anicius* the Praetor and L. chief Justice for strangers. And ordained it was, that he should pass into *Illyricum* about *Lachnidum*, for to succeed *Ap. Claudius*. The charge of taking misters was put upon *C. Licinius* the Consul. He had commandment to enroll seven thousand [foot] Citizens of *Rome*, and two hundred horsemen, and to charge the Latine allies with a levy of seven thousand footmen, and four hundred horse. Also to send letters unto *Cn. Servilius*, who governed the Province of *Gaul*, to enroll six hundred men of arms. This army he had commandment to send with all convenient speed to his Colleague into *Macedony*, so as in that Province there should not be above two legions, and the same full and compleat, containing six thousand foot, and three hundred horse apeece. As for the increase, as well of the Cavalry as Infantry, they should be disposed and bestowed in sundry garrisons. And all such as were unmeet for service, were to be called and sent away. Moreover, the allies were put to set out and find 10000 foot, and 800 horse. And those were to serve in garrison under *Anicius*. Over and above the two legions, which he was commanded to lead into *Macedony*, consisting of 5000 foot, and 300 horsemen either of them. Also for the navy were enrolled 5000 mariners and rowers. *Licinius* the Cos. was appointed to defend and keep in obedience his Province with two legions, and to take besides of allies ten thousand foot, and six hundred horse.

After these ordinances of the Senat were accomplished, *L. Aemilius* the Cos. went forth of the Senat house into the common place before the assembly of the people: where he made a speech unto them in this wise following: "Me thinks I perceive and see, my good friends and Citizens of *Rome*, that ye have shewed more apparent tokens of joy and gratulation in my behalf, for that the Province of *Macedony* is faine to my lot: than either at the time that I was declared and saluted Cos. or that day whereupon I first entered into government: & for no other reason in the world, but upon the opinion which you have conceived, that the Macedonian war, which hath so long continued, may be brought by my means to such an end as becometh the greatness and majesty of the people of *Rome*. And for mine own self I have good hope, that as the gods in favour have directed this sortilege, so they will be present and propitious unto me in performing the service. In these matters, I say, I am but carried partly with conceit and partly with hope. But this one thing I am assured of, yea and I dare affirm and promise on my own head, that I will endeavour my self and employ all that is in me, that this your good opinion of me may not be in vain conceived. As for all things necessary and requisite to this war, both the Senat hath ordained: & also, for that they have thought good I should depart immediately (for which my self am well pleased and contented, neither in me there shall be any delay) my Colleague *C. Licinius*, a singular man, and of great valour, will provide with as great care and diligence, as if himself had the full conduct of this war. For the effecting whereof, see that whatsoever I shall write either to the Senat, or to you, ye beleieve for true: as for running rumours which have no certain author give no ear and belief thereto: neither feed them with your foolish credulity. For now I advise you, (a thing that I have observed so fall out ordinarily in this war) there is no man set forth so far by the common bruits that are blazed abroad, but his spirit and courage may be thereby quailed and dented. In all meetings now, yea and at every board (I would not else ye shall have them) that in their table talk will lead your armies into *Macedony*: that know where they are to lodge and encamp: what commodious places are to be seized and kept with garrisons: what time and through which pass the entry must be made into *Macedony*: where the garners and storehouses for corn should be built and set: which way by land and sea both, the provisions of victuals ought to be brought, when the time serveth to encounter and fight with the enemy, and when to sit still and rest. Neither are they content to set down and pronounce, what is to be done for the better: but it ought hap. to be managed otherwise than they have judged expedient, they are so bold as to controule the Cos. yet, and ready to commence a quarrel with him unjustly. These are throwd hindrances, I may tell you, to warriors & men of action. For all men have not the gift of resolution and constancy to neglect the speech and talk of men, as some times *Fabius* had, who chose rather to have his authority & command diminished and impaired by the folly and vanity of lewd people, than with their favourable applause and good opinion to manage his affairs but unworthily. Yet take me not so, as if I were a man that would have no respect to be admonished and advised by others: nay contrariwise, of this judgement I stand, that he who worketh all by himself, is as followeth only his own head is self-willed and is blind and working age & waste. What is then to be done? First in mine opinion, Generals and Commanders of armies are to be instructed by discreet and prudent men: by such as are skillful in the practice in sorts of armed military science: by those also that by long practice are thoroughly experienced: say more than that, they are to be taught and counselled by them that are usually present and conversant in the execution of affairs, who daily see the advantage of

The Oration of *L. Aemilius* to the people of *Rome*.

M m m m

"place,"

"places, mark the proceeding of the enemies, and observe the opportunities of times: those (I say) H
 "who as passengers in one ship, are partakers of the same danger. If there be any man therefore,
 "who is verily perswaded of himself, that he is able to direct me and give me any counsel in the
 "conduct of this war which I have in charge for the good of the Common-weal, let him come
 "forth, and not deny his helping hand to the weal publike, and go along with me into Macedonia.
 "Furnish him I shall, with ship, with horse, with rent-room, with conduct-money, and all things
 "necessary for his voyage. If any be loath so to do, and had rather sit warm at home, preferring the
 "ease and repose of the City before the travel and pain of warfare, let him not here on the land
 "take upon him to play the pilot and steersman at sea. Matter he shall find enough within the Ci-
 "ty to talk of, and seek no farther; let him hold him there & keep his babble and prattle to him-
 "self: know he (whosoever he is) that we will content our selves with our own counsell about us
 "in the camp. And this oration ended, and the Latine festivals solemnized the day before the ca-
 "lends of March, together with the sacrifices duly celebrated upon the Alban mount: the Cos-
 "and the Prætor Cn. Octavius departed incontinently into Macedonia. It is recorded in the Chro-
 "cles, that the Cos was honoured with a greater frequency that accompanied him than usually had
 "been known: and that men presaged in manner assuredly, the end of the Macedonian war: how
 "the Cos should have a speedy return, and obtain a brave and glorious triumph.

"The 1. of
 February.

During these occurrences in Italy, Perseus who (because he was to be at the charges of disbursing
 money) never thought of it, to go through with that which before he had begun, namely, to ad-
 joyn unto him Gentius King of the Illyrians: so soon as he perceived that the Romans were ch-
 rred the straights, and the war come now to this extremity of hazard: thought good now to make
 that sure and put it off no longer. Whereas therefore he had covenanted & promised by his Em-
 bassador Hippas three hundred talents of silver, with condition also, that for security hostages
 should be put in of both parties interchangeably: he sent Pantaneus one of his most trusty friends
 to dispatch and make an end of this affair. This Pantaneus met the Illyrian King at Medon in the
 Country of Labacis: where he both took an oath of the King, and also received his hostages.
 Gentius likewise sent his ambassador, named Olympio, to demand the semblable oath of Perseus, and
 require hostages accordingly: with him were certain persons sent of purpose to receive the money,
 who also by the advice of the said Pantaneus were to go in embassy with the Macedonians to
 Rhodes: and the men hereto appointed were Parmenio and Morycus. But they had in charge and
 commission after the oath taken, after hostages & money received, to go to Rhodes, & not before. L
 Good hope they conceived that the Rhodians might be solicited and induced to take arms a-
 gainst the Romans, by using the name of these two KK: at once: and this account they made, that
 if this State which carried the renown and honour above all others for sea-service, would once
 combine and band with them they should leave the Romans no hope at all, either on land or sea.
 When these Illyrians arrived, Perseus departed with all his Cavalry from before the river Enipeus
 where he was encamped, and encountered them near Dium. There were all the complements per-
 formed according to the covenants, in the sight and midst of the Cavalry, whom the K. of purpose
 would needs have to be present at this accord of association made between him and K. Gentius,
 supposing that it would comfort & encourage them the more. So the hostages were given and ta-
 ken in the presence of them all. They also who were to receive the money were sent to Pellæ M
 where the K. his treasure lay: and those that should go to Rhodes with the Illyrian ambassadors
 had commandment to embark at Thessalonica. Now was Metrodorus there, lately come from Rhodes
 who assured them by the means of Dion & Polyarchus, two principall personages of that City, that
 the Rhodians were prest and ready to war. Whereupon the said Metrodorus was appointed the
 chief in this embassy of Macedonians and Illyrians together. At the same time likewise was ad-
 dressed and imparted both unto Eumenes & also unto Antiochus, such advice and counsel in com-
 mon, as the present condition wherein their affairs stood, might minister & afford argument name-
 ly, "That a free City and a K. were two; by nature, enemies that possibly could not live together:
 "That the people of Rome went in hand with them severally one after another & (that which was
 "a greater indignity & unsupportable) used the force of KK to overthrow the state of KK. For so, N
 "by the aid of Attalus they had brought his father Philip to ruin: by the help likewise of Eumenes,
 "& partly also of his father Philip, Antiochus was defeated; & even now against himself both E-
 "menes and Prusias were put in arms, if the kingdom of Macedonia were once subverted have it
 "Asia next; which the Romans have in some part seized already for their own under a colour
 "of enfranchizing Cities, & setting them free: & then they will not leave until they have Syria
 "too. For now is Prusias preferred in honour before Eumenes; & Antiochus for all his conquest is
 "chased & debarr'd out of Egypt, which ought to have been the recompence of the war by him
 "enterprised & achieved. In these regards Perseus advertised each of them to consider & provide
 "therefore either to force the Romans to make peace with him, or else to hold them for the com-
 "mon enemies of all KK. in case they persisted still in so unjust a war. The commission that the em-
 "bassadors had to Antiochus was open & open: but unto Eumenes an ambassador was sent under a
 "pretence of ransoming certain captives: but privily there were under hand more secret plots:
 "which caused Eumenes even then to be suspected & odious unto the Romans, yet & charged after-
 "ward with more grievous matters, although contrary. For he was reputed like better than a traitor
 "& a professed enemy to their state, whereas indeed both he & Prusias strove who could compass
 "surprize, & overtake one another better in fraud & avarice. Now there was one Cylas a Greek-

An inward & most secret threat to *Emilius* had also had commended him at *Amphipolis* with one *Chimius* a confidant of his, who served under *Perseus* in the wars; and afterwards at *Demetrius* conferred with another named *Antiochus* also with a certain third person called *Antiochus*, all captains to *Perseus*, even under the very walls of the foresaid City. Over and besides, *Erophen* who at this time was sent, had beforetime been employed in two several embassies to the same *Emilius*. These secret communications and embassies were badly spoken of; but no man knew what was concluded between the two Kings. However, that the calistood *Emilius* as he had no mind nor intention to war upon *Perseus*, so he was not desirous in his heart that he should have the victory of the Romans; not so much for the old enmity which had been between both their fathers as for the hateful quarrels kindled among themselves. For this concurrence & emulation there was between these two Princes, that *Emilius* could never abide to see *Perseus* (or to purchase so great wealth & so much honour as he must needs acquire by the conquest of the Romans; he saw moreover, that *Perseus* from the first beginning of this war fought by all means possible for peace, & the nearer he was to danger & damage, aimed thereat every day more than others, employing his whole study & care about nothing else. He perceived also that among the Romans, because the war grew to be longer than they hoped and looked for, as well their captains as the Senate were well enough content and very desirous to see an end once of so troublesome, hurtfully, and difficult a war. Knowing thus as he did the mind and will of both parties, he declined & framed to that which, or it left as he thought might fall out, where the stronger was weary and the weaker in fear; and therein desired he to shew his double diligence, thereby to win a thank & purchase favour of both parts. For he entered into bargain with *Perseus* for a sum of money, one while not to aid the Romans either by land or sea; another while to be a means for peace and to treat with the Romans thereabout, and not to meddle at all in the war, but to sit still: he capitulated (I say) for 1500 talents; making semblance and shew, that for the assurance both of the one and the other, ready he was not only to free, but also to put in good and sufficient hostages. *Perseus* was the willingest man in the world to set on hand with this as being driven thereto by the exigent of fear; and presently without delay dealt with him as touching the hostages which were to be received; and in this concluded it was that they should upon their delivery and safety be sent into *Greece*. But when they came on to take of the money aforesaid, he halted and stuck at that; and to lay a truth either of these two lumps (between Princes of so great name and honour) was but a dale and dishonest consideration; a thing much unfitting (I say) the giver, and more the receiver. *Perseus* very far for his part in hope to purchase peace with the Romans, was willing enough to be at the expense of so much money; more, he said, that he would make payment thereof when the thing was done and accomplished; & in the mean time lay in his life for that purpose within the temple of *Demetrius*. *Emilius* again considering that the said sum was an assistance to the dominion of *Perseus*, could not see but that it was all one for it to be there and in *Italy*; and therefore was careful to have part thereof in hand. Thus between them there was nothing but lying in the wind for the vintage, who could over-reach the other; & what was gained in the end but infamy and discredit. As for *Perseus*, he not only let fall this design and lost his opportunity (and that by his negligence only) when by the means of *Emilius*, he might have had either his money more enough, or peace or in (which indeed he should have bought, if it had cost him the one half of his kingdom, and been once received into state & liberty of the people of *Rome*) he might have detained and brought into oblation and danger his country, by charging him to have received a piece of money for a bribe, and so justly have let the Romans upon his top; but also the association with *King Perseus*, which now was at the point of a conquest, was neglected; yea, and a mighty army of Gauls (read at that time all over *Italy*) and was sent, but was even then recruited and discharged by his purchasing and laying of his money. Nor these same and offered their service to *Emilius* and *Romans* and as many more, and those so well practised and in good of foot, manly as that they were able to hold out a pace with horses, and manly to the rider, such as they were, which were unpurged and full could walk & mount on the empty horse backs ready to fight in their own way. These had bargained to have for pay every horseman ten *Philip* pieces [of gold] paid down aforeshand, and a footman five, and their Captains thirty and. *Perseus* departed from his league lying past the river *Enipeus*, and with the one half of his own forces met these coming from the war, and caused proclamation to be made in all towns and villages near the high ways, To make ready and bring abroad their provision of victuals, and see that there were plenty of corn, of wine, and cattle. Himself though with him horses and trappings, and his footmen, all armed with bare horse. Thus he came to the City of *Aloneus*, and encamped there the last of the month of *April*. But his army of *Gauls* were lodged about *Aloneus* in the country of *Aloneus* and called there a meeting he promised the money aforeshand according to contract. But *Perseus* sent go to them, *Antiochus* one of his gallants and courtiers, to wait and command the soldiers for the money to be paid, and to move to *Aloneus*, a place in call of *Aloneus*, and a good sort of the rich of to report unto him. Nay, were they three score and thirty miles from the river *Aloneus* and the *King's* army. And when *Antiochus* had delivered these words to the soldiers, he had in shew, and ended besides, with what care and diligence the King had laid his provisions by the way of all things in great plenty for the army, and

* *Philip* pieces
summus was
somewhat less
than our silver
raign of 60 s.
or 3 ducats.

with what gifts of apparell, silver, and horses, he purposed to receive and entertaine these Captains. At their first coming unto him: as for that (say they) we shall take no more than when we are in presence personally: but now for this time, we demand, Whether he will give us with you in ready coin according to bargain, that gold which is to be paid to the soldiers, as well horse as foot? And when he could make no answer thereto, but was yet *unpersuaded*, then the said *Cloniscus* their Prince, Go your waies then (sayd he) and tell your King and Master, that the Gauls unless they may receive the gold, and hostages besides for their security, will not stir one foot forward. Relation being made hereof unto the King, he called his Council: and when it was soon less than hold the royall estate of his kingdom, began to enter into a discourse of a disloyalty and savage nature of these Gauls; making remembrance, how he had experience by the calamities and losses of many before him, that dangerous it was to receive so great a multitude of them within *Macedony*, for fear the Gauls would be found worse neighbors than the Romans were enemies. Five thousand horsemen are sufficient (sayd he) and so many well we may have good use of in wars, and need not be afraid of them for their number. But every man saw well enough, that it was the waging of such a number that he feared, and nothing else: but when no man durst give him counsell, albeit he seemed to ask their advice, *Antigonus* was sent again with a message unto the Gauls. That the King stood in need of five thousand horsemen and no more, as for all the rest he weighed them not. When these Barbarians heard that, all the rest began to mutter and grumble, yea, and to take great scorn and indignation, that they were levied and departed out of their native country for nothing: but *Cloniscus* redemanded, Whether he would make present pay to those five thousand according to covenant, yea, or nay? but seeing that he was to seek, and made shifts to avoid a direct answer, he let this deceitfull messenger go his waies, and did no harm unto his person (a thing that *Antigonus* himself would scarcely have thought could possibly have been.) And so after they had given the wasse unto those parts of *Thracia* which lay near to their way, they returned back again to the river *Ister*. Which power of men if it had passed the straits of *Perrhaebia* into *Thessaly* against the Romans (although *Perseus* had not hired at all, but been still at *Enipeus*) might not only have spoiled and laid bare the territory all about, and embarked the Romans for expecting any victuals there, but also destroyed the towns utterly, whiles *Perseus* held the Romans play at *Enipeus* that they could not relieve and succour the Cities of their allies and confederats. Nay, the very Romans should have enough to do to look unto themselves, considering, that there was no carrying for them, after that *Thessaly* was lost, which nourished and maintained their army, and past forward they could not possibly, having the Macedonian camp to affront them. But *Perseus* by that deed, as he confirmed the hearts of the Romans, so he quailed not a little the courages of the Macedonians, who depended upon the hope and expectation of other aid. By the same miserable pinching of his he changed also the heart of *K. Gentius* from him. For when as at *Pella* he had paid 300 talents unto those that were sent of purpose from *Gentius* to receive the same, well content he was that they should feel up that money. Afterwards he sent unto *Pantheus* their taken, and commanded him to deliver the same to the King in person. As for the rest figured up with the seal of the *Illyrians*, he commanded his own men who had the convey thereof, in going with it to take small journeys, and when they were come to the utmost frontiers of *Macedony*, there to rest and attend the messengers from him. *Gentius*, after he had received a counsel that small portion of the whole sum aforesaid, being called upon continually by *Pantheus* and for on to provoke the Romans by some hostility or other, made no more ado, but committed to prison *M. Perseus* and *L. Perilius*, who chanced at that time to come thither him in embassy. Which when *Perseus* once heard, he had enough of thought, how he might have done that, whereby of necessity he must be forced to wage war with the Romans; and thereupon sent out presently to call those back who had the carriage of the foresaid talents: as if he had studied and thought for nothing more, than to reserve as great a booty as possibly he could, for the Romans, as for those that they had vanquished and subdued him, *Eropon* returned likewise from *Eumenes*, and with him what had been contrived secretly between them. That their treaty was about certain captives, they themselves had given forth abroad, and likewise *Eumenes* advertised the Romans so much, for avoiding of all suspicion.

23. *Perseus* after the return of *Eropon* from *Eumenes* was much distressed and cast down. Whereupon, he sent *Antenor* & *Calippus* (admirals of his navy) to *Tenarum* with forty prizes, unto which number five Gallions were adjoynd: who from that coast depending themselves all about the Islands *Cyclades*, might wait and guard the lighters and holes charged with corn, as they sailed to *Macedony*. These ships were gone to sea at *Dafanion*, and first they fell with the haven that he under the foot of the mountain *Atthos* and from thence sailed to *Tenarum* with pleasure to catch, where finding certain Rhodian open ships riding in the harbour, they spoke courteously to *Eumenes* their Admiral, and let them alone without any hurt at all done unto them. But afterwards upon knowledge, that fifty hulks of theirs on another side were shut up and sent to by the war-ships of *K. Eumenes* (which rid in the mouth of the haven, and were commanded by *Dionysius*) he turned about in all haste, & dispersed the enemies ships with a sudden terror, that he put them in, & sent the said hulks & vessels of burden into *Macedony*, with a convoy of ten brigantines to wait them over: with this charge, That after they had conducted them past all danger into place of safety, they should return again to *Tenarum*. After the date they retired toward the straits, having then

In the Iode of *Sigam*. From whence they crossed over to *Sabota*, an Island lying between *Ella* and *Chios*. It fortuned, that the morrow after the fleet was arriv'd at *Sabota*, five and thirty Bells which they call *Hippagoga* [serving for the transporting of horses] which came from *Ella*, having aboard certain horsemen of *Gaul* and their horses, made head toward *Phana*, a cape or promontory of the *Chians*, from whence they might cut over into *Macedony*. And these were sent from *Eumenius* to *Antenor*, *Antenor* being advertised by a signall given him from a watch-tower, that those ships were discovered under sail in the open sea, loosed from *Sabota*; and between the cape of *Elythra* and *Chios*, where the sea is most narrow, he encountered them. The admirals of *K. Eumenius* thought nothing less, than that any fleet of *Macedonians* were abroad in those seas: but imagined one while they were *Romans*, otherwhiles, that it was *Attalus* or some sent back from *Attalus*,

B who from out of the *Roman* camp were sailing toward *Pergamus*. But as they approached nearer, they took knowledge by the form and fashion of their pinnaces who they were, by their busy rowing also and making head full against them they were out of all doubt that their enemies were at hand. Then were they mightily afraid as having no hope to resist and withstand them, considering the ships were unweildy and unhandsome, and the *Gauls* besides could hardly brook the very sea without any other trouble. Some of them therefore, who were nearer to the firm land saved themselves by swimming to *Brythra*; others set up their sails, and being cast upon the Island *Chios*, forsook their horses, and ran as fast as they could for refuge to the City. But the barks discharged their armed souldiers nearer to the City in a more commodious place for landing, where the *Macedonians* overtook the *Gauls* and slew them; some in the way as they fled, others before

C the very gate of the City, being kept out and excluded from thence: for the *Chians* not knowing either who fled or who pursued, had shut their gates upon them. Nine hundred *Gallo-greeks*, or very near doth their lives and were hewn in peeces, and 200 taken alive. As for the horses, part perished in the sea after the ships were split and broken, and the *Macedonians* haught and cur the strings of their gambrels of as many of them as they found upon the shore. Twenty of the best and fairest horses, together with the prisoners, *Antenor* commanded that those ten barks which he had sent before, should transport to *Thessalonica*, and return again with all speed to the fleet, for that he would expect their coming at *Phana*. The fleet staid about three daies under the City side, but afterwards went forward to *Phana*; and when the ten pinnaces aforesaid were returned sooner than they looked for, they set up sail in the *Aegean* sea for *Delos*.

D In this while the *Roman* Embassadors, *C. Popilius*, *C. Ducentius*, and *C. Hostilius*, departed from *Chalcis*, and arriv'd with three Quinquageme galiees at *Delos*, where they found forty *Macedonian* pinnaces, and five royall Quinquageme galiees of *K. Eumenius*. The holiness of the Temple and Island wherein it stood afforded security to them all, so as there was no hurt done nor violence offered from one to another. And therefore, as well *Romans* as *Macedonians*, and besides the sailors and mariners of *K. Eumenius* confled together, intermingled one with another in the Temple, and the religious devotion of the place yielded them truce and surcease of hostility.

Antenor, the admirall of *K. Persius*, when he was advertised from the watch and sentinell, that certain ships of burden were seen far off in the sea, set sail, & made after them himself with part of his pinnaces; and part of them he bestowed in war among the *Cyclades*, and having those that directed their course toward *Macedony*, he either drowned or spoiled them all. *Popilius* did the best he could, and *Eumenius* with his ships likewise to save some; but the *Macedonians*, who sailed by night with two or three pinnaces at the most, deceived them and were not discovered.

Much about this time the *Macedonian* and *Illyrian* Embassadors came together to *Rhodes*, who banded the greater authority and credit with the *Rhodians*, by reason not only of the coming of their brigantine, which sailed to and fro ranging over the *Aegean* sea and among the *Cyclades*, but also by the conjunction and association of the two *K. Persius* and *Gentius*, together with a rumor that sometime *Gauls*, who were coming with a great number, as well of horse as foot. And now both *Dionysius* and *Polyarchus*, who took part with *Persius*, took more courage and heart unto them, by whose means there was not only a gracious answer returned to the Kings, but also pronounced openly, it was that by their authority they would make an end of the war. In regard whereof, the Kings also for their parts were to be disposed and well willing to accept of peace.

E Now was it the prime of the spring, when as the new legions were arriv'd into their Provinces, *Lucius* the *Col.* into *Macedony*; *Oppidius* to the navy at *Oreus*; and *Anicius* into *Illyria*, whose commission was to levy war against *Gentius*. This *Gentius* was the son of *Plautus* King of the *Illyrians*, and *Enkidia* was his mother: two brethren he had, to wit, *Plator* of the whole blood by father and mother both, and *Caracanthus* only by the mothers side. This half brother he

was suspected by reason of his base parentage from the father; but as for *Plator* he murdered, together with two especial friends of his *Etricus* and *Epicadus* (brave men of action) to the end that he might reign in more liberty and security. The voice goeth that he carried an envious eye to

F his brother of his, for that he had espoused *Elena* the daughter of *Hannus* the Prince of the *Dardaniens*; and by this marriage he meant to make himself strong and combine with the *Dardaniens*; and the more likelihood this carried with it after he married the damoell indeed, *Plator* made away *Plator*, and rid himself of the fear that he might have of his brother. He began to molest and oppress his own natural subjects; and as he was by nature given to violence, so that disposition of his he set on fire with untemperat drinking of wine. But as we said before, being moved and incited to war against the *Romans*, he assembled all his forces together

* Note that the *Gauls*, *Gallians*, and *Gallo-greeks* be all one, in this book; although *Livy* term them only, *Gallies*.

unto *Lissus*, to the number of 15000 armed men, and sent his brother from thence with 3000 foot and 500 horse against the *Cavianes*, for to subdue that nation either by force or fear, whiles himself led his army five miles against the City *Bassania* from *Lissus*. Now, while the *Bassanians* considered allies of the Romans: and therefore when they were first solicited by messengers to yield they resolved rather to endure a siege than do so. As for *Gentius* he was graciously and friendly received at his first coming into *Durina*, a town of the *Cavianes*: but *Caracanthus*, another City, made the gates fast against him: and as he gave the watch to the sentinels about it, certain of his soldiers stragling here and there, were by the peasants and villagers killed, who came forth and made head against them.

And now by this time *Appius Claudius* having taken with him, over and above his own army, the auxiliaries of the *Bullians*, *Apollonians*, and *Dyrhachians*, dislodged out of the place where he had wintered, and encamped near the river *Gentius*. For hearing of the alliance made between *Perseus* and *Gentius*, and incensed besides with the outrage committed upon the Roman ambassadors, whom *Gentius* put in prison, he resolved certainly to war upon him. *Anicius* the Praetor being at that time at *Apollonia*, and advertised in what terms the affairs stood in *Illyricum*, dispatched letters beforehand to *Appius*, willing him to attend at *Gentius* for his coming: and so within three daies after came himself to the camp there: and to those aids which he had of his own, he took with him two thousand foot, and two hundred horse, drawn out of the youth and flower of the *Partians*. Of the Infantry *Epicadus* had the conduct, and *Agathus* commanded the Cavalry. With this power he prepared to go into *Illyricum*, principally for to levy the siege before *Bassania*: but this design projected by him, was impeached by a bruise that was blown of certain pinnaces which wasted and spoiled the sea-coasts. A fleet they were together of eighty sail, sent from *Gentius* by the instigation of *Pantuncus*, to forrage the territories of *Apollonia* and *Dyrhachium*. Then the fleet

Which being surrendered, they submitted also and yielded themselves. And so consequently other Cities of that country one after another did the semblable: and the inclination & disposition of mens minds that way, was much set forward by the clemency and justice of the Roman Praetor which he used toward all. Then they marched to *Scodra*, the capital place and seat-town of the war: not only for that *Gentius* had seized upon it for his own self, as the chief strength and fortress of all his realm, but also because it was the strongest peece of all the *Labeate* nation, and very difficult for access. Enclosed it is with two rivers: so wit, *Clanfala* which runneth along the East side of the City, and *Bathana* on the West, arising out of the marsh *Labeatis*. These two rivers joyn in one, and are discharged together into the great river *Oriundus*: which springing from the mountain *Scodrus*, and increased still with the confluence of many other waters and rivulets, fallerh at length into the Adriack sea. This *Scodrus* is the highest hill by odds of all other in those quarters: on the east it hath *Dardania* under it, on the South *Macedony*, and *Illyricum* on the West. Albeit, this town was strongly situated, by the naturall site of the place, and defended by the whole nation of the *Illyrians* and the King himself in person: yet the Roman Praetor (encouraged with the good success he had at the first, and supposing the fortune of the totall war would be answerable to so happy beginning, and that a sudden terror also would serve him in much speed and prevail) approached the walls of the town with his army ready embattelled, and displayed his banners against it. Now if they had shut their gates, and defended their walls and towers over the gates, with armed guards bestowed accordingly, surely they had repulsed the Romans from the walls, and defeated them of their enterprise clean: but they issued forth of the gate, and in the plain and even ground gave battell with more animosity and courage, than they maintained it with persistence. For being discomfited and driven back, and in the chase hindered by heaps together as they fled, after 10000 above were slain in the very straight entrance of the gate, they put the rest within in such a fright, that *Gentius* incontinently sent unto the Praetor, as Orators, *Tentulus* and *Bellus*, the principal persons of that nation to treat and intreat for a increase of arms, that in the mean while he might debate in council and be advised as touching the main estate of his affairs. And when for this purpose he had obtained a grant for three daies, and the Romans lay encamped from the City half a mile: *Gentius* took a barge, and sailing along the river *Bathana*, passed into the lake or meare of the *Labeates*, as if he had sought some secreet place to consult in. But as it appeared afterwards, he was moved upon a certain vain hope of his brother *Caracanthus* his coming, who was said to be near at hand accompanied with many thousands of fighting men, whom he had levied and brought out of that quarter into which he was sent. But when this rumour was over-blown & vanished to nothing, down the river he went again with the stream the third day after in the same vessel to *Scodra*, and sent courriers before him to the Praetor, requiring leave to parley & commune with him: which being granted, he entered into the camp. First, he began his speech with accusing and confounding himself at the Praetor his feet, he submitted to his devotion. The Praetor at the first had him take a good heart unto him and be of good cheer, and invited him to supper: and so he returned to his own people into the City, where he was honorably settled that day by the Praetor. But afterwards he was delivered to the guard and keeping of *C. Cassius*, a martiall Colonell: and then received he of *K. Perseus* only ten talents (a mean reward and hardly sufficient to contract a simple and displeased) to engage himself into a world of dangers and being a King, as he was, to fall into this extreme calamity and misery. *Anicius* having entered upon *Scodra*, first before all other things, sought out that

that the two Embassadors, *Phidias* and *Barchanes* should be sought out and brought unto him: whom after he had restored to their native state and reputation, he sent *Perperna* presently to summon his friends and kindreds of the King: who took his way directly to *Ades*, a City of the Libyans, and brought with him into the camp at *Scodra Ellyria* the King's wife, with her two sons *Scandianus* and *Phanias* together with *Carvantius* the K. his brother. Thus *Antiochus* having ended the Illyrian war within the compass of thirty daies, sent *Perperna* to *Rome* with tidings of this victory: and within few daies *Antiochus* himself after him together with his mother, his wife and children his brother and other I.L. of the Illyrians. This was the only war achieved and brought to an end before they heard at *Rome* that it was begun.

During the management of these affairs, *Perperna* also was in great fear and affright, by reason of the coming of *Lucius Scipio* a new Consul (who as the voice went, marched against him with great menaces) together with *Oppianus* the Pretor. Neither was he less terrified with the Roman army and the danger of the sea-coasts. *Eumenes* and *Athenagoras* had the keeping and command of *Thas* *Calymna* with a small garison of two thousand targettiers. Thither he sent Captain *Antiochus* also with commandment to encamp close to the very harbor where the ships lay in rode. Unto *Antiochus* he sent one thousand horsemen under the leading of *Antigonus*, to guard the sea-coast; so the end that in what part soever they heard the enemies ships were arrived, they might incontinently advance to the succour of the peasants and country people. Five thousand Macedonians were likewise sent to lie in garison at *Pythium* and *Petra*, under the conduct of *Hippinus*, *Tibullus* and *Asiden*. After these were departed, he went in hand to fortifie the bank of the river *Enipeus*: because it was passable over the very channell on dry foot. And to the end that all the multitude should be employed hereabout, the very women were compelled out of the towns adjoining to bring victuals into the camp. The souldiers were commanded from out of the woods near by

Finally, the water-bearers in leather bits or bottels, were commanded to follow him to the sea, which was a quarter of a mile off: and thereupon they stood to dig pits, some in one place, and some in another, a pretty distance asunder. The exceeding high hills all about him in good hope (so the rather because they sent out from them no rivers to be seen in open view) that they contained within them some hidden springs, the veins whereof draining into the sea, were intmingled with the sea-water. They had scarcely sunk through the uppermost course of sand above, when they might see small sources to boil up, at the first troubled, but afterward they began to yield shier and clear water in great abundance: by a speciall gift (as it were) of the gods above. And even this occurrent also increased the name and reputation of the Captain with his souldiers. Therafter he had commanded his men to make ready their armour, himself with the martiall Tribunes, and the principall foremost tanks, marched to recognise and view the passages, and to see where the armed men might descend with ease; and where they might with least trouble mount up the bank on the further side. When he had taken a sufficient survey hereof, he foretold & gave direction aforehand, for all things to be done in the army in good order without trouble, and tumultuous noise, even at the very beck and commandment of their leaders. For when a thing to be effected is pronounced to all at once, it falleth out that every man is not within the hearing: and so receiving an uncertain signal and commandment, some put more of their own sense to that which was commanded, and others do less again for it: and so there arise out all sorts of dissensions, cries, and by this means the enemies know sooner whereabout they go, than many of themselves. Therefore to avoid this confusion, he ordained that every martiall Colonell should give a secret watch-word to the principall Centurion of the legion; and round him in his ear what he would have done: then he and forth every one should deliver unto each Centurion the word in rank and place, what was to be executed: whether it were that the commandment was to be carried from the front of the army to the tail, or from the reterguard behind to the vanguard before. He brought up a new order and custome, forbidding the watchmen to carry with them any targets or their sentinels: for that the watchmen went not out to fight, whereby he he armed and armed, but to keep watch: that when he desired the enemies coming, he might know himself, and give others to take arms. From he ordained that the helmettiers or motions should stand upon their feet, having their shields upright before them: and when they were weary to lean and bray upon their javalins, and resting their head upon the edge of their shields, as to take a nap and sleep to the end that their glittering armour might be discovered as off by the enemy, whereas himself could not see far before him. The manner also of warding in the day time was of the *Scythians* & *Germans* he altered cleane. For whereas they were wont to stand all the day long upon horse, and the horsemen holding their horses bridled, it fell out so, that in summer daies when the sun is extreme and scorching hot, both horse and man became weary and languished, and with abiding in many hours in the heat, and oftentimes the enemies being fresh, although they were but few in number, set upon them and put them to trouble and hazard enough. These things he commanded, that the morning guard should break up at noon, and others succeed in their place to watch in the afternoon. By this means the enemy fresh and in heart could never take them weary and in charge upon them. When he had pronounced in a publike assembly as the soldiers, that he will have that that he desired should be observed accordingly, he delivered unto them a watch-word, and commanding the watchword *Otarion*, which he used before to the people within the camp to be. Namely, that the Centurill of an army ought only to foresee and provide for the safety of the army, and not to be concerned by himself, or otherwise with those whom he had joynted

* He speaketh of L. Pausanias.

"assistants unto him: as for such as are not called to be of his counsell, they ought neither in public like nor in privat to shew their bolts and give their advice. Three things indeed the souldier was to care and provide for: namely, to have a body most strong and nimble withall, his armour and weapons decent and fit: and thirdly, a spirit prompt and ready at all assaies to execute any commandment on a sudden. For all things else he ought to know, that the gods immortal and his Generall will take care: forasmuch, as in that army wherein the souldiers, the Consul, and chief commander, suffer themselves to be carried away with rumours and bruits of the common sort, it is not possible for any thing to go well forward & come to good effect. For his own part (according to the duty and devoir of a captain General) he would endeavour and provide to give them the occasion and opportunity of brave exploits: as for them, they were not to enquire after any future thing: but so soon as the signall is given, then every man to perform the service of a doubty souldier and valiant warrior. After these good precepts and instructions, he dismissed the assembly: and the old souldiers themselves confessed commonly in plain terms, that they had taken forth a lesson that day as young and raw novices, yea, and learned in military profession that, which they never knew before: neither shewed they only by these and such like words, with what content and general liking they heard the Cos. his speech, but also testified the same by present deed and visible effect. For immediately, you should not have seen over all the camp, one man idle and doing nothing: some fell to whet and sharpen their swords: others furnished their head-pieces, buffs, and beavers: some scoured their shields and bucklers: others their cuirasses and corselets: some fitted and buckled their harness to their bodies, and tried how they could bestir their limbs and rule their joynts under it: some shook their pikes and couched their javellins: others brandished their swords and lookt that they were sharp at point: So as a man might easily perceive by them, that upon the first occasion presented of encounter with the enemy, they would enter into conflict, either to achieve a brave victory, or to die an honourable death.

Persons also on the other side, perceiving that upon the arrivall of the Consul and the beginning of the spring together, the Roman camp refounded and hung again with their firing and rattling of armour, as if there had been some new war towards: that they were dislodged from *Phylis* and encamped upon the bank just over against him: and that now their leader and commander rode up and down to view and behold his fortifications and works, to see (no doubt) some way or other for passage

* Namely, the news that K. Gentius was vanquished, and that he and his kingdom was at the devotion of the Romans.

This encouraged the Romans hearts, and danted not a little the Macedonians and their King. At the first, *Perseus* endeavoured to suppress secretly and stop the bruit and fame thereof, by sending out certain of purpose to *Pantancus* (as he came from thence) to forbid him in any wise to approach the camp. But by this time were certain children seen brought by their own parents among the *Illyrian* hostes: and look how much more carefull order was taken to conceal all, so much the sooner was every thing set abroad and blurted out by the prattle and babble of the Kings servants attending about his person.

About the same time the *Rhodian* Embassadors came into the *Rhodian* camp, with the very same charge and commission as touching peace, which at *Rome* had set the *LL* of the Senate interceding heat & choler; but far worse audience had they in the council of the camp, & with greater discontentment. And therefore when some advised, that they should be thrust on by head and shoulders without any answer at all: the Cos. pronounced, That he would shape them an answer after fifteen daies, and not before. Mean while that it might appear what a gooly reckoning was made of these *Rhodian* peace-makers who came about a pacification: he began instead thereof to debate in Council as concerning the means and manner of making war. Some were of opinion (and principally the elders and ancients) to give the assault, and force the mighty *Illyrian* defence planted upon the bank of the river *Entipus*: for that the *Macedonians* were never able to resist, if they came upon them lustily and charged them by thick troops: for why? No longer ago (say they) than the year before, disleized they had been of so many holds both higher and better fortified and the same holden with strong garrisons. Others were of mind, that *Onias* the Admiral should with the fleet sail to *Thessalonica* & by laying waste the maritime coast, to weaken the Kings forces: to the end, that upon another war showed from behind at their backs, they might be withdrawn & trained about to defend the heart of his realm, and thereby forced to some sort to open & lay naked the passage over the river *Entipus*. And *Onias* himself was of this judgment, that the bank as well by the natural site thereof as for the forces made upon it by mans hand, was insuperable and not to be gained: so besides the engines planted every where thereupon, he heard say, that the enemies had the sight and skill to discharge all kind of shot far better and shew more dead sure than the invention of the General *Scipio* was worthy to command war: and after he had dissolved the assembly of his Council, he called unto him the Merchants of the *Perthabians* namely, *Schemus* and *Menophilus* (men of approved fidelity and wisdom) and of them in great secret enquired, What kind of passages there were over into *Perthabia* when they answered, That the waies were nothing difficult and dangerous: the only way they were kept and beset by the Kings guards: he conceived some hope, that if he assaulted them by night with a select company, and took them suddenly at unawares before they looked for him, he might chase them from their holds: for darts, arrows, and all other shot served to kill or to maim in the dark, when a man cannot see his mark as far off before him: but close sword-fight, dead to hand pell mell, was it that must do the deed: wherein the Roman souldier had no fellow, winning therefore

"time will come when you will be of that mind of which I am now. Till then I am by experience
 "of many adventures and valours in war to know what is to be done to you, and what
 "benefit to yourself and to the state. For this present reason I have thought fit to advise you
 "arranged in order of battell) to tell you what motives they be, that induce me to advise you
 "to be quiet and not to fight this day. Another time I shall demand the reason thereof, and shall
 "tell I advise you, with the authority and credit of an old warrior and experienced Captain. The
 "young man was blank and said not a word: nevertheless he was doubting that the Consul would
 "impediments to stay the battell, which to himself appeared not. *Paulus* when he perceived that the
 "camp was set and quartered out, & the carriages bestowed accordingly drew first out of the rearguard
 "the *Triarii*, then afterwards the *Principes*, whilst the *Hastati* or pikes kept their standing
 "hill in the vanguard (if haply the enemies should offer battell) as the sun be withdrew them al-
 "so beginning first at the right point, taking by little and little the footmen from every corner one
 "after another. By this means were the footmen had away without any trouble and tumult, and the
 "horsemen together with the light armour opposed against the enemy in the front and head of the
 "main battell before the enemies: neither was the Cavalry called back from their stations where
 "in they were placed, until the forefront of the rampier and trench was fully finished. The Consul
 "wife, who without any remembrance had stood ready that day to fight, contenting himself with
 "this that he knew the day thereof was occasioned by the enemy, led his companies back into his
 "camp. After the Romans were encamped and well fortified, *C. Sulpicius Galba*, a martiall Colonel
 "of the second legion, who had been Praetor the year before by permission of the Consul, called the
 "soldiers to a general audience, and before them all declared and pronounced, that the next night
 "following there would be seen an eclipse of the moon, from the second hour of the night until
 "the fourth: and this he did, because no man would wonder thereat, as if it were a prodigious to-
 "ken. *Albius* made demonstration unto them, that it might be well fore-known and fore-told,
 "because it is a thing coming at certain times by the ordinary course of nature. For like as they
 "nothing marvelled at the rising and going down both of sun and moon at set hours, nor to see the
 "moon sometimes more bright out at the full, otherwhiles in the wain giving light only with the
 "small tips of her horns: even so they ought not to make a wonder and miraculous matter of it,
 "that the moon be dark when as her body is hidden by the shadow of the earth. Thus the moon
 "was eclipsed at the hour before prognosticated, overnight before the *Ides* of the Nones of
 "September. By occasion whereof the Roman soldiers held *Calpurnius* for a deeply learned sage, and a di-
 "vine Philosopher: but contrariwise, the *Macedonians* were troubled with the sight thereof as an
 "heavy prodigy, portending and preluding the ruin of that realm and the utter destruction of the
 "whole nation. And surely the howling and yelling which they made in their camp all the while
 "until the moon recovered her full light again, was a very demonstration and prediction of wo-
 "rels. The morrow after both the armies were so fierce and greedy of fight, that both sides
 "were blamed by some of their own soldiers for that they went out of the field the day before,
 "and struck not battell. As for the Roman side, *Paulus* had his estate and defence ready, not only because the
 "enemy refused the fight in an open view of all men, and so retired his forces into his camp, but also
 "because he had placed and ranged his engines in such a place, into which the *Macedonians* could
 "not come nor advance, considering that with the smallest disadvantage of the ground
 "there is no use at all thereof. The Consul for his part, as the day before he seemed to have pre-
 "meditated and lost the opportunity of a combat, yet, and to have given the enemy advantage to depart in
 "the night season (if he had to say) to bow also he timed out the time making remembrance of his
 "free, whereas the height of battell at the point of day was but total for the footmen to come into
 "the field. Well at the last when the sentence was only pronounced about the third hour of the day,
 "he assembled his Council about him, where, some there were that thought the best course was
 "the time to offer purpose with his own butt, and an unreasonable consideration, and spent that opportunity
 "to which should be employed better in night, and a season of some worth. *Calpurnius* however
 "after some speeches passed, the Consul made an Oration unto his soldiers in this wise:
 "The only man that offered his mind and acquainted me with his Council, yet as I have
 "he held his peace, and kept silence in such sort, as he seemed to change his opinion, and to be of
 "my mind in the end. Some others there be that have taken a several course by themselves, and
 "thought it better to carp at their General behind his back, than to admonish him to the point
 "of fight. I will not think much nor make a daily, to render a reason both to you, and to
 "me, that I am of this better rather now by such means and policy, than I have the whole
 "of mine without you could let him consider & discourse together with me. I think to good
 "what advantage the enemies had, as how many things made against us, and to most show
 "that they surpass us in number, assured I am that none of you either was before, or
 "could chide but observe and mark yesterday, seeing their army how he was drawn and ordered
 "together. And of that small number which we see, the youth part of our gentles was less
 "behind to guard the baggage, & yet we work that to let nor the most cowards to the keeping of
 "our baggage. But suppose we had been all there together, how then I think we, I pray you, that
 "we

- A^c we have not enough of it, even out of this very camp wherein we have rested one whole night, to go either this day or to morrow at the battles, with the leave and power of the gods, into the field, if you shall also think good? Soldiers & not indeed, and is it all one, to bid a souldier take arms, whom neither the travel of this dayes journey, nor toil of laborious work hath rained and wearied, but is at quiet yea and fresh within his tent & so to bring him forth into the field for a battel lusty and strong, full of bodily vigour of heart? or to offer and expose unto the enemy who is heavy and fresh, who hath taken his rest and ease, & hath brought with him to a fight, his strength whole and whole, not soiled or spent upon any occasion: to present, I say, unto such an enemy, a souldier tired out with long journey upon the way, wearied with carrying his burden, all molten to sweat and dropping therewith, his throat scorched for thirst, his face and eyes full of dust, and all his body roasted against the noon-sun? Now tell me, by the ye ow to the gods, what is he that being in this so good a plight, were he the veriest beast and coward otherwise in a country could not foil and beat out of the field the hardiest & most valiant man that is? Moreover, what should I say how materiall & important this also was that our enemies had marshalled their battailions with great leisure after long time of rest, that they had repaired and refreshed their own strength, & stood ranged every man orderly in his own rank, whereas we were at one instant both hastily to embattel and set our men in array, yea, and also to fall to skirmish pell mell without all order? But may some men say, True it is, our battel indeed we should have had much out of square and thrust in great confusion: yet our camp was well fortified: we had forecast and provided for good watering, the passage thereto was good & safe by reason of strong guards placed every way: & all coasts were cleared about us by our elipses. Nay, I wis, but contrariwise, nothing (to say truly) was ours, but the bare & naked plain field where we were to fight. Your ancestors in times past, esteemed a camp fortified with rampiers and trenches, as good as a port and harbor of sure refuge, for an army against all chances and misfortunes whatsoever: from thence to take forth, & thither to retire for safety, after they had been toiled and beaten with the tumult of a battel. And therefore when it was empaled round about with good defences, they had a care also to re-enforce & strengthen it with strong guards: forasmuch as he that hath lost his camp & is turned out of it, is ever holden for vanquished, notwithstanding he won the day & had the better in the field. The hold of a camp serveth for a place of retreat to the conqueror: & of refuge to the conquered. How many armies could I reckon, which having sped but badly in the battel, were driven to take their leaguers: yet afterwards seeing their time, and spying their vantage, otherwhiles sallied forth & in the turning of an hand repuled and discomfited the enemy for all his former victory? This feat and retreat of souldiers in time of war, resembleth as a man would say, another native country of theirs: the rampier serveth instead of walls, the tent and pavilion is to every souldier his house and home. And should we have fought indeed like vagabonds without any place of mansion wherunto we might betake our selves after victory? But against these difficulties and empeachments of giving battel, this one thing is objected: How and if the enemy (say some) had gone his waies last night between, what a foul deal of trouble & sorrow should we have endured again in pursuing him as far as to the heart say to the farthest frontiers of Macedonia? But I for my part verily hold this for certain, that if he had ever meant to have sallied from thence, he would never have said thus here as he hath done, nor brought his forces out into the field. For how much more easie was it for him to depart & be gone when we were farther off, than now when we are ready to tread upon his heels and go over his back? Surely he could not possibly have given us the slip, but we should have been aware of his dislodging either by day or night. But, say he had gone his waies, what could we have wished more at the gods hands, than to let upon the back part of the enemies in the open plain ground, departing in disarray disbanded one from another, as they about doing their fort and strong hold, and whole camp situate most sure upon an exceeding high and steep bank of a river, fortified also with a rampier, and many a sconce and tower thence, we gave the venturo to assault? So, what the cause were, why the battel was put off from yesterday to this present. For I must tell you, I am as willing my self to try the fortune of a field as any other, and to that end, because the adventures to the enemy over the river Enipeus were stopped up, I have found a new way through another pass and straight by differizing the guard of the enemies there left: and never will I live over until I have defeated him quite, and brought this war to an end. After this oration all kept silence, partly for that many of them were won to his opinion, and partly because they feared to find fault to no purpose & so to give offence, when a thing was never out of question to be resolved and amended. But that day neither, was there battel fought, for any great desire that the Consul or King had thereto. The King wished it not, because he was now to change his enemies, not weary of their way as the day before, nor troubled about their countrolling as he had been & hardly at the last brought into order. The Consul also had no great desire thereto, for that his camp newly pitched, was provided neither of fewell nor forage, though he had laid in stores: and for the purveyance thereof, out of the villages and towns near at hand, many of the souldiers were gone abroad forth of the camp. And thus when all things were thus, more chance and fortune (which is more powerful than the counsell and policy of man) made means and gave occasion of a battel. There was a river not very great, next to the enemies camp, whereat both Romans and Macedonians watered: and on either bank had certain guards kept their stations for the safety and security

as well of the one part as the other. Two Cohorts there were of the Romans of *Alatrin* and *Fregens*, footmen; two troops of corned soldiers, *Prætorii* horsemen; all commanded by *M. Servilius Sulpicius* a lieutenant. Over and besides, another *Prætorii* corps of heavy-armed men on the cliffs, containing three cohorts, namely, of *Flaminii*, *Vetuliæ*, and *Cælonia* footmen, together with two troops of *Placentine* and *Cherman* horsemen, all conducted by *Publius*. When all was well and quiet about the river, and no one provoked or challenged other, it happened that a sumpter horse of the Romans about the fourth hour of the day broke from the hands of those that had the tending and keeping of such, took the river and made toward the bank of the farther side: & when three soldiers followed after, cross the water almost knee-deep to catch him, the Thracians began to train the side from the midst of the river to their bank, but after one of them was slain, the Romans recovered the beast again & retired to their own guard. Now there was a strong corps *de garde* of 800 Thracians upon the bank which the enemies kept, from whence some few at first, taking it to the heart that a countryman of theirs should thus be killed before their face, traversed over the river in pursuit of those that had slain him; afterwards more and more, and in the end all followed after, and together with that guard leader to the battle. Men were moved with a reverence of the majesty of his place, as he was *L. General*; also with respect of the honour and glory of the man otherwise, and above all, with the regard of his age: for that being about three score years old he did undergo the offices and parts of young men in the adventures of greatest travell and danger. That void space which was between the light targetiers, called *Cetræi*, and the thick battalions named *Phalanges*, the legion took up clean, and broke within the battell of the enemies. Behind the *Cetræi* was this legion and had a front them the Pavoiuers called *Asclepiades*, with resplendent or shining shields. *L. Attilius*, who had been Consul beforetime, was commanded to lead against the battailon of other Pavoiuers called *Leucopides* with white shields. And that was the main battell of the enemies. Against the right flank, from which quarter the skirmish first began about the river, the Elephants were conducted together with a wing of confederat horsemen and from thence began the Macedonians to fly. For like as many new devices and inventions of men carry some show in apparence of worth when they are first spoken of; but come to practice and try them once, and not to argue and dispute how they should be put in execution, they vanish away without effect and prove just nothing: even so at that time, the Elephants bare a name only in the battell, without any use and service at all. That violence of the Elephants (such as it was) the Latine allies seconded immediately, and forced the left flank to retire. Then the second legion was put forth, and in the midst entered upon the *Phalanx* and put it to flight; neither was there any cause of victory more evident than this, namely, that many skirmishes there were in divers places, which at the last troubled the *Phalanx*, and afterwards discomfited it. True it is that to abide the force thereof it is impossible so long as it keepeth close united together & putteth forth their many pointed pikes bent thick couched together breast-high: but if a man by charging the same here and there, force them once or twice about those pikes, which for their length and heavy weight are slowly and hard to guide, they soon are intangled and catch one within another unto deadly hurt; but in case it fall out that there be any thrust made either a flank or behind, then there ensueth a general trouble and confusion of all, as if they all at once came tumbling down: like as it happened then when as against the Romans who assailed them by troops in many parts, they were driven to break their battailon into many pieces, as if were, and so to make head & affront the enemy. But the Romans chose where there was a breach made and a hole left between, and there they would intrude and wind in with their ranks and files: who, if they had run upon the front of the *Phalanx* close and together with their whole battailon, they had enveloped and entangled themselves within their pikes; (which in the beginning of the conflict happened to the *Cetræi*, as they closely dealt with the targetiers, called *Cetræi*) and had never been able to draw that battailon untried back and coyned together. But as there was a cruel laughter committed upon the companies of the infantry in every place, save only those that flung away their weapons and fled to the soldiers of the Cavalry departed in manner late and found out of the conflict. The first man that fled, and now by this time was escaped beyond *Freges* and with his cohorts of horsemen which they call *Sacra* made haste to *Felice*. Anon after followed *Calpurnius*, and the Cavalry of the *Odyris* thus consequently, other troops and companies of Macedonian horsemen departed and kept their arrayes unbroken: for that the *Phalanx* or battailon of the footmen between which were the conquerours occupied in execution, put them quite out of remembrance to make the men of arms. A long time continued the massacre of this *Phalanx* about, a flank & behind. In the end they who escaped the hands of the enemies, fled without weapons to the sea, some took the water, and stretching forth their hands to them that were shoore in the ships, they humbly besought them for to save their lives: and when they saw the small pinnaces and cockboats making space on all hands toward them from the ships, they imagining that their coming was to catch them for their prisoners rather than to kill them outright, waded as it were into the water, yet some swam forward: but when they saw they were by them of the boats slain in all those manner like enemies as many as could, went back again to land: where they met with a colder welcome, and were worse plagued than before: for the Elephants driven by their governors to the shore, trode them under foot and crushed their guts out. All men generally agreed in this point, that never at any one field, were so many Macedonians defeated and killed by the Romans: for 30000 men were

A were there slain, and to the number of five (who fled to *Pella* out of the battail) came almain-
 to the enemies hands; 5000 besides were taken prisoners, as they fled for nothing and disbanded
 here and there. Of the victors there died not above an hundred, and the grose part by sea of *Pe-
 lignians*; but a greater number of them were hurt and wounded. And if the battail had begun
 sooner, that the wisdom might have had day enough to follow the chain upon their enemies, all
 their forces had been surely defeated and devoured by the sword: but upon the night coming
 upon them, as it covered and shadowed the enemies that fled, so it caused the Romans not to be
 so hasty and forward in pursuit: considering they were not acquainted with the coasts of the
 country. *Perseus* fled to the forest *Pieria* by the post rode way with a great number of horsemen
 and his royal train about him. So soon as he was entered the forest where the way divided into
B sundry and diverse parts, seeing that the night approached, he turned out of the high beaten way
 with very few of his most loyal and faithful friends. The horsemen being thus abandoned and left
 destitute of their leader, slipt some one way, and some another home into their own Cities: cer-
 tain of them (but very few) recovered *Pella* before *Perseus* himself, because they rode a direct and
 ready way. The King was much troubled and vexed until midnight almost, what with fear and what
 with difficulty to find out the way. When he was come to *Pella*, *Ennius* the Governor thereof,
 and the Kings pages, were ready attendant at the court to wait upon him and do him service: but
 contrary wise, of all those friends who escaped safe out of the battail and chanced by variable ad-
 ventures to come into *Pella*, there would not one come at him, notwithstanding they were often-
 times met for. Three only bare him company in that flight of his, to wit, *Egydus* of *Cretes*, *Nabu-
 C* a *Bardian*, and *Archidamus* the *Æolian*. Fearing therefore lest they who refused to come unto
 him, would soon after enterprise some greater matter against him: with those three he fled still
 forward, about the fourth watch of the night. After him there followed upon 500 *Cretesians*.
 Toward *Amphipolis* the went: but he departed in the night from *Pella*, making all the haste he
 could to pass over the river *Axius* before day-light, supposing that the Romans would give over
 the chase there, by reason of the difficult and dangerous roads.
 The Consul being returned into the camp with victory, (because he should not have the fruition
 of sincere and perfect joy) was greatly disquieted and troubled about his younger son, and that
 was *P. Scipio*, situated also afterwards *Africanus*, because he raised the City of *Carthage* the ma-
 ternal son he was of the Consul *Paulus*, and the adopted nephew or grand-child of *Africanus*: he
D was at that time 17 years of age, and (which augmented the sorrow of the father) while he fol-
 lowed in chase the enemies upon the spur, was carried by the press a contrary way, in such sort as
 it was late ere he returned: and then the Consul having recovered him again safe and sound, felt
 the joy as of great a victory, and not before.
 When the fruit and news of this battail was arrived at *Amphipolis*, and that the dames and
 wives of the City ran flocking into the Temple of *Diana*, whom they call *Tauropolos*, to beseech
 and call for her aid, *Dionisius* the chief Governor of the City, fearing the Thracians (who were
 soon in garison) lest in that tumult and garboil they would spoil and rish the City: craftily suborn-
 ed a fellow on far purpose in guise and shew of a letter-carrier, and received from him letters in
 the midst of the market place: wherein it was written, That the Roman fleet was arrived in *Enna-
 B* *chus*, and that the territories all about were pitifully wasted by them; and therefore the rulers and
 captains of *Enna-chus* requested him to send a garison to succour them against these foragers. When
 he had read these counterfeit letters, he exhorted the Thracians to undertake this expedition and
 to go into *Enna-chus* fast to guard the coasts thereof: giving them to understand, that considering
 the Romans were loosely stragling and scattered about the fields and villages, they might make a
 foul harvest and slaughter of them, and besides raise and bring away with them a great booty with-
 all, he urged not to flatter as much as he could, the same of the forsaide unhappy field fought, say-
 ing, This ill had been ere there would have been messengers coming thick one after another
 upon their flight to bring fresh tidings still hereof. Under this pretence he sent away the Thraci-
 ans: and so soon as he saw they were passed over the river *Strymon*, incontinently he shut the
P gates. The third day after the battail fought, came *Perseus* to *Amphipolis*, and from thence he sent
Q. Fabius with an herald of peace. Mean-while *Hippias*, *Midon*, and *Pantaneus* the Kings
 principal friends, went themselves to the Consul, and surrendered unto the Romans *Berthea*, whi-
 ther they had retired and fled immediately out of the field. Other Cities also stricken with fear
 one after another, prepared to do the like.
 The Consul, after he had sent to Rome with tidings and letters of his victory, *Q. Fabius* his own
 son together with *L. Lentulus* and *Q. Metellus*, gave the spoil of the enemies army thus lying defea-
 ted, unto his footmen: but the horsemen he allowed the booty of all the territory round about,
 with condition, that they should not be absent from the camp more than two nights. Then he re-
 moved nearer unto the sea, and lodged about *Pella*. First *Berthea* (as is before said) yielded, then
 ● *Thessalonica* and *Pellae* and consequently all *Macedony* well-near within two daies was surrendered.
 But the *Pydneans* who were next unto him, as yet were behind with sending their Embassadors:
 the reason was, for that the confused confidence rather of many nations, and the disordered mul-
 titude of those that fled out of the field, and were all met there together, hindered the counsel and
 consent of the whole City: so as the gates were not only shut but also mured up. Now were *Mi-
 da* and *Q. Fabius* but no part under the walls with *Salon*, who lay there with a garison: by whose
 means the whole troop and multitude of armed men was sent away, the City rendered up and the
 pillage given to the soldiers.

Non n

Perseus,

And whose only hope was in the aid of the Bithynians whom he had raised and collected; and for which purpose he had sent his Embassadors (although in vain) held a publick assembly, and bringing his son Philip with him, came forth before the people to the end that he might by some exhortation confirm and strengthen the hearts as well of the Amphipolitians as the companies of foot and horse, who either at all times continually had followed him, or were retired thither by sight for refuge. But ever as he was about to make a speech unto the audience (which he on began to do) he could not proceed for tears. Now for that himself was not able to speak, he came down from the pulpit, and imparted unto Evander the Cretensian those points, which his will was to be delivered and proposed unto the congregation there assembled. The multitude, as they lamented and wept again to see the King so preciously shed tears, so they regarded not the speech of Evander's day, some of them were so bold as to cry out aloud from the midst of the assembly, Away away, and get ye gone from hence that the final remnant of us here perish not for your sake. The stout resolution of these men stopped Evander's mouth, that he could not say a word and reply again. The King by this time was gotten to his lodging, and having conveyed into certain bottoms upon the river *Strymon* all his money, gold, and silver, went also in person down to the water side. The Thracians durst not go aboard and commit to sea, but stuck every man away to his own home; and so did all the sort of souldiers besides. The Cretensians only for greedy hope of gain accompanied the King, who became in sharing & dealing money among them; he should incur more offence than win thanks laid out fifty talents among them upon the river side to ramble for. When they had made quick riddance and a clean hand with it, they went aboard in a great hurry so as one barge overcharged with a multitude of passengers was cast away and sunk in the mouth of the river. That very day they arrived at *Galipoli*, and the morrow after at *Samothracia*, the very place that they intended; and thither (by report) were conveyed 2000 talents. *Perseus* after he had sent presidents to govern every City surrendered, to the end that no injury should be offered in this new peace to the conquered; and despatching with him still the Kings heralds and Orators, not knowing any thing of the Kings flight and departure, sent *P. Nasica* to *Amphipolis* with a mean regiment of foot and horse, to ruinat and destroy at once *Strima*, and also to empeach all the designments and enterprises of the Romans. In this time *Melitas* was forced and ransacked by *Cn. Octavius*; but at *Aginium* (to the siege whereof *Cn. Amicius* the Lieutenant was sent) 200 men were lost by a fallly made out of the town; for that the *Aginians* heard not the news of the late defeat. The Consul departed from *Pydna* with his whole army, and the morrow after came before *Pella*. Where having encamped within a mile of the City, he made abode there for certain daies to view on all sides the situation of the City, which he perceived and marked full well, to have been chosen not without good cause, for the imperial fear of the Macedonian Kings. Situate it is upon a hill that lieth to the South west, enclosed round with meane so deep as they cannot possibly be waded and passed through; and these marshes are bred and fed both winter and summer by waters overflowing out of certain lakes. Within the very marsh next unto the City side, there standeth a strong Tower by it self, bearing up above the rest, as it were an Island raised upon a terrace made with exceeding labor of mans hand, which terrace both fust smeth a wall, and is not hurt with the moisture of the marsh round about it; and a far off seemeth close joined to the City wall. Now being divided it is by a river between it and the wall, and yet united to the City by a bridge over its founts, whosoever assaileth the same without, can have no access any way to it, neither, if the King be disposed to shut and enclose any man within, can he possibly make an escape and get forth but over the said bridge; which a few men may keep and guard with ease. In this place the Kings treasure used to lie, but at that time there was no more found but the 300 talents which were sent to King *Gentius* first, and afterward staid and detained. During the time that the Consul remained about *Pella* in his standing camp many embassages had audience given them, who repaired thither out of *Thessaly* especially to congratulate with him, testifying their own joy and wishing his. But the Consul after that he had intelligence that *Perseus* had crossed over to *Samothracia*, departed from *Pella*, and at the fourth gift and journey that he made came to *Amphipolis*. The whole multitude went forth of the City in great numbers to meet him, which gave testimony to every man, that neither a good nor just King.

The five and fortieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the five and fortieth Book.

Perseus was taken prisoner by *Emilius Paulus* in *Samothracia* when *Antiochus* King of *Syria* besieged *Ptolomæus* and *Cleopatra*, King and Queen of *Egypt*. Embassadors were sent from the Senate of Rome, willing *Antiochus* to give over, and beseege no more an assailable King unto them: but

A when he made answer to this their message delivered, that he would consider better what he had to do, Popilius one of the said Embassadors with his rod that he had in his hand drew a circle about the King, and charged him to give him another answer before he went out of that circle: by which rude, rough, and blunt behavior, he forced Antiochus to lay away arms and cease war. Divers Embassies of States and Kings came with congratulation, and were admitted into the Senat. As for that of the Rhodians, because in the late war they stood out and took part against the Romans, it was excluded. The morrow after, when it was debated in counsel about making war upon the Rhodians, the Embassadors pleaded the cause of their country in the Senat: So, they neither had a friendly dispatch and farewell, as allied associates, nor yet were sent away as professed enemies. Macedony was now reduced into the form of a Province. Emilius Paulus triumphed, notwithstanding the contradiction of his own soldiers, discontented for that they were pinched & cut short in the pillage. & although Ser. Sulpitius Galba interposed himself & gainsaid it. He led before his chariot Perseus with his three sons. And that the joy of this triumph of his should not be entire and accomplished, he missed faultily it was with the death of his two sons: the one died before, the other after the triumph of the father. The Censors took a review of the City, in which were assessed and enrolled in their subsidy books 312805 citizens. Prusias King of Bithynia repaired to Rome, to rejoyce with the Senat in their behalf for the victory and conquest of Macedony, where he commended unto the Senat his son Nicomedes. This base minded King, made all of slavery, named himself the enfranchised vassal of the people of Rome.

The five and fortieth Book of T. Livius.

Quintus Fabius, L. Lentulus, and Q. Metellus, the messengers of the late victory, albeit they made all the hast that possibly they could, and came speedily to Rome, yet found the joy thereof to have prevented them: for the fourth day after the battail fought with the King, even as the playes and games were exhibited in the shew-place, there was heard suddenly at first, a confused humming noise, which spred over all the companies of the spectators. That a field was fought in Macedony and Perseus vanquished: afterwards arose a more cleer and evident voice, which grew at length to an open shout and clapping of hands, as if certain news had been brought of the said victory. The magistrats wondered hereat, and made search after the author of this so suddain gladness, but none would be found: and then verily it passed away as the momentary joy of some vain and uncertain occurrence: howbeit a joyfull presage of some good luck settled in mens hearts and remained behind. But after that this was confirmed by the true report and relation of Fabius, Lentulus, and Metellus, which they made at their coming, all men rejoyced as well at the fore-giving of their minds, as for the victory itself. This joyous conceit of this assembly in the shew-place, is reported otherwise, and carrieth with it no less probability and likelihood of truth, in this manner: Upon the 22. of September (which was the second day of the solemnity of Romans games) as the Consul was going up to the lifts for to set out the running of the chariots, a post, by report, (who said he was come out of Macedony) presented letters unto him decked with lawrel. The Consul then, so soon as he had set on foot the race, presently mounted up into his own chariot: and as he rode through the shew-place toward the common scaffolds, he shewed unto the people the said laureat letters: which being once seen, the people presently (forgetting all their sports and fights) ran out into the mids of the cirque & thither the Cos. assembled the Senat, unto whom when he had read the letters, by the advice and allowance of the LL. even before the publick stages and scaffolds, he published the contents thereof to all the people in this manner: That L. Emilius his colleague had fought a set field with K. Perseus. That the army of the Macedonians was discomfited and put to flight. That the King himself was fled with some few of his train, and that all the Cities of Macedony were subdued and brought under the subjection of the people of Rome. These tidings were no sooner heard, but there arose a shout with exceeding great applause, in so much as many men there, left the sight of these dispatchs, and carried these joyfull news home to their wives and children. This was the thirteenth day after the battail given in Macedony. The morrow after the Senat assembled in Curia (Hostilia) and ordained it was that publick processions should be solemnized: an Act also passed, that the Consul Emilius should dismiss all those that had taken the military oath, excepting only these soldiers and mariners: and as for the discharging of those soldiers, agreed it was that it should be moved in the Council-chamber, when the Lieutenants were arrived and come from L. Emilius the Consul for they had dispatched a courier with letters before them. Now these messengers aforesaid entered the City the 25th of September about the second hour of the day, and drew after them a mighty train of those who encountering them upon the way wheresoever they went, accompanied them to Rome, and so directly went to the market-place and tribunal seat. In fortune that the Senators sat then in the ordinary Curia or Council-house, and thither the Consul brought the Embassadors. Where they were received and held so long only as they might declare these points. How great the Kings forces were, as well in foot as horse: how many thousand were slain, how many taken prisoners: what small loss of Roman soldiers that great defeat of enemies cost: how few they were in number that the King drew with him: that it was supposed he would pass into Samothracia: that the fleet was in readiness to make way after him in chase: and that it was not possible for him to escape either by Land or Sea. And then anon they were brought forth before the general Assembly of the people, where they

they made relation of the same. And then the joy was renewed upon proclamation made by the Consul, That all the sacred temples and churches should be let open: and that every man should depart out of the assembly to render thanks unto the Gods: in such sort, that all the temples of the Gods throughout the whole City were replenished with mighty multitudes and congregations not of men only, but also of women. Then the Senat met again in the ordinary *Curia*: and ordained that publick processions and thanks should be made for five daies together in all Churches and Chappels and at every Altar for the happy and fortunat success of *L. Aemilius*, and that greater head of beasts should be killed for sacrifice. Also that the ships which were ready rigged and well appointed in the river *Tyberis* for to be sent into *Macedony*, (in case it had so fallen out, that the King had been able to have resisted) should be retired and drawn to land, and so laid up drie in their docks and arsenals: also that the mariners should be called, after the receipt of a whole years pay, and together with all those who had sworn to serve the Consul, should have their conge and passport to be gone. Item, that all the souldiers in *Corcyra*, *Brundisium*, about the Adriatick sea, or in the territory of the *Larinats* (for in all these there was an army set in readines, wherewith *C. Licinius* if need required should have succoured his colleague) should have their discharge. Also processions were published in the full assembly of the people, to begin * from the tenth day of *October*, and so to hold on five daies after.

* *es a.d. quint. Idus*, *Octob.*

* *in a quart. Idus*, *Novembr.*

Out of *Illyricum* also two Lieutenants or messengers, to wit, *L. Licinius Neron* and *P. Delius*, brought word that the army of the *Illyrians* was defeated: that King *Gentius* was taken prisoner, & that all *Illyricum* was reduced under the obedience of the people of *Rome*. For which exploits achieved by the leading and conduct of *L. Anicius* the Pretor the Senat decreed a solemn procession to be holden for three daies, like as also the Latine feast & holy-daies were proclaimed by the Consul, for to be holden the * ninth, tenth, and eleventh daies of *November*. Some have recorded that the *Rhodian* Embassadors had not yet their dispatch, nor were sent away, but after the news of this victory were called into the Senat in mockery and scorn of that sortish insolence and pride of their own. And then *Agepolis* the principal person of them spake in this manner, "That the *Rhodians* had sent them in deed as Embassadors to treat about an accord & to make peace between the Romans and King *Perseus*, for that this war as it was grievous and prejudicial to all *Greece*, so it could not chuse but be chargeable and hurtful to the Romans themselves. But fallen out it is passing well through the goodness of fortune, that the war is ended otherwise: and hath given them so good an occasion and opportunity, to rejoyce and testify their joy in the behalf of the Romans for the achievement of so brave and notable a victory. Thus much spake the *Rhodian*. And then the Senat made answer again, "That the *Rhodians* had sent that embassy not regarding the good and profit of *Greece*, nor yet for any care they had of the expenses defraied by the Romans but only in love and favor of King *Perseus*. For if they had been respective unto them (as they would make semblance and have the world to think) they should have addressed their Embassadors when as *Perseus* invaded *Thessaly* with an army, & for two years space persecuted and plagued the cities of *Greece*, besieging some, & frighting others with menaces of war: yet all that while, not a word with the *Rhodians* as touching peace. But after that they heard once that the Romans were mounted over the streights and passed through into *Macedony*: that King *Perseus* was shut up and enclosed sure enough for starting any way, then and not before, they could send an embassy for no other reason in the world but to rid and deliver *Perseus* out of that imminent danger which threatened him to neer hand. With which answer the Embassy were sent away.

* *A summam*, *sestertian denarius*.

About the very same time *M. Marcellus* being departed out of his government in the province of *Spain*, after he had forced and won *Marcolica* a renowned and famous City in those parts, brought home with him and bestowed in the publick treasury ten pound weight of gold, and about a million of sesterces in silver coin.

Perseus Aemilius the Consul lying encamped (as is aforesaid) neer *Syræ* in the *Odontandian* territory, when he saw the letters from King *Perseus* brought unto him by three Embassadors of base condition, wept (by report) himself, to consider the frailty of this world, and the fickle state of mans life; to see (I say) that he who erewhile could not rest content with the royalty of *Macedony*, but would needs war upon the *Dardanians* and *Illyrians* and levy the aid of the *Bastarnians*, was now after the loss of his army, as one exiled out of his own Kingdom, driven into a small land, where, like a poor suppliant he remained in surety, not by means of his own forces, but through the religious protection of a sanctuary & privileged place. But when he read the superscription of the letter with this stile, *King Perseus to the Consul Paulus, greeting*, he could no more pry him for thinking of his blockish folly, in that he had no sense and feeling of the calamity and misery wherein he stood. And therefore albeit the contents of the letter otherwise were prayers to demits and abject as little favoured of a princely mind, yet was that embassy dismissed without answer and without letters. *Perseus* soon perceived what aile it was that he must lay down and forget now that he was vanquished: wherupon he addressed other letters in quality of a privat person without any other addition at all: and by those as he craved, so obtained he likewise, that certain agents should be sent unto him, with whom he might parley and commune as touching the state and condition of his present fortune. So three delegate Embassadors were sent unto him, namely, *P. Lentulus*, *A. Posthumus*, *Alpinus* and *A. Antonius*. But nothing was effected in this agency of Embassy: whiles *Perseus* stuck hard and laboured all he could to hold still and keep the roial name of King, and *Paulus* endeavoured contrary-wile, that he should submit himself and all that he had to

A to the protection and clemency of the people of Rome. During these debates and affaires between them, the fleet of *Cn. Octavius* was arrived at *Samothrace*, who also presenting before their eyes fearfull objects of terror, went about to force him as well by threats and menaces, as to win him by hope of fair intresty and good usage to yeeld and submit; and herein he found some help by means of an occurrent, either hapning by chance and meer adventure, or contrived by mans device of set purpose. *L. Atilius* a noble yong Gentleman, perceiving that the people of the *Samothracians* were met in a general assembly, requested of the Magistrats that he might be permitted to make a short speech unto the people. Good leave he had, and then he began in this wise; "My masters and friends of *Samothracia*, I would gladly know, whether it be a false fable or a true tale which we have heard, That this is a sacred Iland, and the soil thereof holy and altogether inviolable? When they all accorded in one consent, that the Iland was as holy and sacred as it was reported: How is it then (qd. he) that a murderher hath violated and polluted it with the blood of King *Eumenes*? And considering that in all preambles and prefaces of sacred and divine service premied, they are commanded precisely to avante from the ministry thereof, who have not pure and innocent hands; will you suffer in deed your most secret sanctuaries and devout tabernacles to be stained with the bloody body of a thief and fellow? Now was it a ripe report and common bruit in every City of Greece, That *K. Eumenes* had like to have been mured at *Delphos* by *Evander*. The *Samothracians*, besides that they saw their whole Iland and the said Temple to be in the power and puissance of the Romans, took these reproofs and reproaches to touch them neer, and not without just cause: whereupon they sent *Theondas*, the soveraign magistrate (whom they call their *K.*) unto King *Persus*, giving him to understand, "That *Evander* the *Cretenian* was charged with murder: also that by custom and tradition from their ancestors, they had full power and authority to proceed by order of law, against all those that were presented and endited for entering within the liberties and sacred precincts of the Temple, with unclean and unpure hands. Now if *Evander* stand upon his innocency, and knoweth himself cleer and unguilty of the capital crime laid to his charge, let him come to his answer and plead his cause for his own defence, and he shall be heard: but if he dare not hazard the judicial trial of the issue, retire he and depart, that he pollute not the temple; let him shift for himself and escape away. *Persus* called forth *Evander* unto him, willing him in no case to try the process of justices: for neither would his cause justify him, nor any favour bear him out. He much feared wishal, lest being cast and condemned, he would bewray *Persus* himself and appeach him for the setter and author of that so horrible a fact: and no way then but one, even with patience and resolution to take his death. *Evander* gain-said nought in outward appearance, but pretending in words, that he had rather dye by a cup of poison than upon the sword's point, sought secret means to flie and be gone. The King upon advertisement hereof, fearing lest the *Samothracians* would discharge their anger upon him, as if he had wrought his evasion to avoid due punishment, commanded *Evander* to be made away and killed. After which murder committed thus rashly without a advisement, he be thought himself, & considered, that he should be touched deeply with the same spot of guilt that *Evander* was noted with: namely, that as *Eumenes* was by *Evander* wounded at *Delphos*, so *Evander* by him was murdered in *Samothracia*; and so the two most holy and religious temples in the world were stained and polluted with mans blood; and who but he the cause and contriver thereof? But the blame of this foul fact of his, was by the corruption of *Theondas* quite averted another way; and he for a sum of money bare the people in hand, that *Evander* was his own hangman. But *Persus* by this lewd and detestable act, committed upon the person of the only friend whom he had alive, (so well approved and tried by him in so many adventures, and now betraied for his labour by him, unto whom he refused to be a traitor) estranged clean the hearts and affections of all men from him: so as now every man ranged with the Romans. Thus abandoned as he was and left to himself, they forced him to cast about and devise how to escape and be gone. Whereupon he called unto him *Oraander* the *Cretenian*, a man that knew well the coasts of *Thrace*, (because he had negotiated and traded in those parts;) and with him he dealt to embark him in some small foist, and so to conduct him into *Cosys*. Now there was a certain bay under a promontory of *Thrace*, where in a pinnace stood in readines: thither, after sun-setting were all things brought for necessary use; and money withal, as much as closely could be conveyed. The King himself at midnight accompanied with three persons (for no more were privy to this his flight) went out at a postern or back dore of the house, into a garden neer his bed-chamber, and so with much ado having clambred over a mud wall, passed to the water side. Now was *Oraander* already loosed from the foresaid creek, for so soon as the money was once brought thither into the vessel, he latched into the deep and set his course for *Candy*. *Persus*, after that the bark was not to be found in the bay, walked and wandered a good while along the strand: and fearing at last the day-light approaching (yet not so hardy as to adventure back again to his lodging) lurked behind in one side of the temple close unto a blind corner and nook thereof. Among the *Macedonians* they called those the Kings pages who were the Printes and noble mens sons, chosen to serve and wait upon the person of the King. That company yet followed after the *K.* in his flight, and as hard as the world went, departed not from him until such time as by the commandment of *Cn. Octavius*, the publick cryer pronounced with a loud voice, That the Kings pages and all other *Macedonians* besides in *Samothracia*, if they would turn to the Romans, should enjoy with safety of life their estate entire, their liberty free, and all that ever they either had about them, or was left in *Macedony*. At which proclamation

once published, they all immediatly revolted to the Romans, and entred their names with C. *P. R. M.* *Humius*, a martial colonel. Likewise *Ian of Thessalonica*, delivered into the hands of *Octavius* the yong infants of the King, and not one of them all was left with *Perseus*, but *Philip* his eldest son: and then he yeilded both himself and that son into the hands of *Octavius*, crying out upon fortune, and blaming the Gods in whose Temple they were, for that he received no aid and succour from them, notwithstanding he humbly craved and besought the same. Then commandment was given, that he should be embarked in the admirals ship: and thither also was brought aboard all the mobey that remained, and then forthwith the fleet retired to *Amphipolis*: from whence *Octavius* sent the King to the camp unto the consul, but first he had dispatched his letters to give him knowledge, that he was sure enough under his hand, and that he was at the point to be brought unto him. *Panius*, reputing this for a second victory, (as it was no less indeed to be esteemed) presently upon the receipt of the message, killed beatts for sacrifice: and when he had called his counsell about him, and read the letters of the Pretor before them, he sent *Q. Aelius Tubero* to meet the K. upon the way, and commanded the rest in good frequency to remain in his capital pavillion, and give attendance upon him. Never was there seen before, so great a multitude to run out for to see any solemn fight or pageant. In their fathers daies King *Syphax* was taken prisoner and brought into the Roman camp: who besides that there was no comparison between him and *Perseus*, either in regard of his own name or the renown of his nation, was then also but an accessory as it were to the Punick war, like as *Geminus* now to the Macedonian. *Perseus* was the very head of this war, neither was it the fame of his father and grandsire only (whom he neerly touched in birth and blood) that made him renowned, but the resplendent glory of *Philip* and *Alexander* the Great, who brought the sovereign empire and monarchy of the whole world to the Macedonian nation. Well, *Perseus* entred the camp arrayed in a black cloak, without any one of his own train to accompany him, who partaking his misery, might cause more compassion to be had of him. The affluence of the people was so great who went out to see him, that for the very pefe he could not march forward, untill such time as the consul sent his sergeants and hushers to void the thronging of the multitude, and make way for him to go to the consul his pavillion. The consul arose, and (giving commandment to the rest for to sit still) advanced forward a litle, and raught out his hand to the King as he entred into the pavillion: and when he bowed and debased himself to his very feet, he took him up again and would not suffer him once to touch his knees, but led him into the tent and caused him to sit down right over-against those whom he called thither to counsell. The first question that he demanded of him was this: "What wrong he had sustained at the hands of the people of *Rome*, that he should be constrained to enterprife and begin the war against them with so malicious a mind as he did, and so to hazard himself his whole state and Kingdom, in such extremity of danger? And when every man attended what answer he would make, he staid a good while without utterance of one word, casting his eyes wistly upon the ground, and shedding tears withal. "Then spake the consul again: If you had been but yong (qd. he) when you came to the crown, I would verily for my part marvel the less, that you should be so ignorant as not to know how important it was, to have the people of *Rome* either for a friend or an enemy: but now, since you both had your hand in that war which your father waged against us, and also could not chuse but remember the peace afterwards made with him, and which we observed most faithfully, What policy was it for you to entertain war rather than peace, with them, whose force you had tried in war and whose fidelity you had found in peace? When as he would yet make no answer at all either to question or accusation, the consul went on and said: "Well, howsoever these things are thus saln out and come to pass, be it through the error and frailty of man by adventure of fortune and hard hap, or fatal necessity of the destinies, be of good chear yet, and take a mans heart unto you: the gracious clemency and mercy of the people of *Rome*, well known and proved in the misfortunes of many Princes and States, afford unto you not only hope, but certain assurance of safety. Thus much spake he to *Perseus* in the Greek tongue: then, turning to his own assistants and company about him, he directed his speech to them in Latine as followeth. "A notable example and rare mixtoure you see (qd. he) of the changeable variety of this world: to you I speak especially, my masters here that are fresh and youthful gallants in the heat of your yong blood. And therefore let no man in time of his prosperity, carry himself proud and violent against another, nor yet confidently to trust upon the present state wherein he is, for who knoweth what may hap once yet before midnight? But him alone will I hold for a man of valour indeed, whose heart neither the gentle gale of this fawning and flattering world is able to lift aloft, nor yet the blustering blasts of frowning fortune cast down or dash upon the rocks. After the consul was risen and departed, he committed the charge and custody of keeping the King to *Quintus Aelius*. But for that day *Perseus* was not only invited courteously to sup with the consul, but respected also in all kind of honor, as possibly might be done unto him in that state and condition of his.

After this the army was divided here and there into garrisons for the winter time. The greatest part thereof was received into *Amphipolis*, and the other cities neer adjoining entertained the rest. This was the end of the war between *Perseus* and the Romans, which had endured four years one after another continually: and here an end withal of the most flourishing Kingdom of the greatest part of *Europe* and of all *Asia*. *Perseus* was counted the twentieth King after *Caranus*, who was the first that reigned there. This *Perseus* began his reign that year wherein *Q. Fulvius* and

And *L. Manlius* were Consuls. In the time of *M. Junius* and *A. Manlius* Consuls of Rome, the Senat. entituled and honoured him with the name of King, and eleven years his reign continued. The name of these Macedonians was very obscure and base, untill the daies of *Philip* the son of *Amynas*. From that time and by his means it began to grow and was great: howbeit, contained it was within the compass and precincts of Europe, comprehending all Greece, and part of Thrace and Illyricum. Afterwards it spread into Asia, and in thirteen years space, during the reign of *Alexander*, it subdud and brought under subjection, first all those parts whereunto the empire of the Persians extended, which was an infinit dominion in circuit: afterwards it reached to Arabia and India, even to the end of the earth, bounding and confining all about upon the red sea. At that time was the monarchy and name of the Macedonians the greatest in the whole world, but upon the death of *Alexander*, distracted it was and divided into many and sundry Kingdoms. And whiles each one endeavoured & strove by force to draw unto him more and more puissance, they dismembred and rent the whole: & so from the highest top & pitch of prosperity, brought it down to a most base and low condition; after it had continued in good estate a hundred and fifty years.

When the bruit of the Romans victory was blazed and blown as far as to Asia, *Antenor* who with a fleet of barks and pinnaces rid in the harbour of Phana, sailed from thence to *Cassandrea*, *C. Popilius*, who was in *Delos* to guard and wait those ships which were bound for Macedonia, after he heard say that the war in Macedonia was brought to an end, and the enemies vessels removed out of their rode, dismissed also for his part the Athenian ships, intending to go forward in his voiage for Egypt, to accomplish that embassage which he had taken in hand: to the end that he might encounter *Antiochus*, before he approached the walls of *Alexandria*. As these Embassadors coasted along the river of Asia, and were arrived at *Loryma* (a port somewhat more than twenty miles distant from *Rhodes*, and situate just over against the city) the principal States of *Rhodes*, met him in the way (for now by this time was the fame of this victory flown so far) requesting him to set sail thither and there to land: for that it concerned their city much in fame and reputation, yea, and was expedient for their good and safety, that they should be made acquainted with all that either had been done or was now in hand at *Rhodes*, and so to make report thereof at Rome upon their own knowledge, and not as things were voiced by the common bruit. They refused a long time, but in the end they were so importuned, that content they were to sail a little farther, and spend some small time for to gratify and benefit a city associat unto them. When they were come to *Rhodes*, the same principal citizens aforesaid urged them instantly with much prayer and entreaty to come into their general assembly of the people. The arrival of those Embassadors rather augmented than empaired the fear of the city. For *Popilius* made rehearsal there in open audience, of all which had been done or spoken (sounding any way to hostility) either in particular or in general by them, during the late war: And being as he was, a grim fir, tough and fierce by nature, he aggravated all that he spake, with his four visage and sharp language, like an accuser at the bar: in so much as they might well conjecture and guesse, how the whole body of the Senate stood affected unto them, by the bitterness of one only Senator, who otherwise for himself had no occasion of particular ill will and malice against the city. But the speech of *Decimius* was more temperate, who said, that the blame of those imputations for the most part which were objected by *Popilius*, was not to be laid upon the people, but upon a few persons, who had solicited and stirred the multitude: for those having their tongue at hire, and using to speak for gain, had made decrees full of flattery to please the King, and sent such embassages, as the Rhodians at all times were no less ashamed than repented of. All which practises of theirs no doubt would fall upon their heads who were faulty, in case the people had the government and rule in their own hands. Audience he had with great assent and applause: not more for elevating the fault and trespass of the common people, than for laying the weight upon those that were the authors culpable. And therefore when the chief men among them made answer to the Romans, their words, who went about to excuse and save in some sort as well as they could the articles objected by *Popilius*, were not so well taken, as their speech who accorded to *Decimius*, in delivering the guilty persons and offenders to be punished according to their demerits. Whereupon there passed presently a decree, That all those who might be convicted of any deed done or word spoken in favour of *Persus* against the Romans, should be condemned and have sentence to lose their heads. Some of these persons were departed out of the city upon the coming of the Romans, others laid violent hands upon themselves. These Embassadors or delegats having sojournd no longer than five daies at *Rhodes*, departed and made sail for *Alexandria*. And notwithstanding their absence, the execution of judicial proceeding was no less hotly followed at *Rhodes*, according to the decree made in their presence. For the moderation and gentle carriage of *Decimius* was the very cause that they persisted resolute, and gave not over untill they had gone through with it, and dispatched all.

While these affairs were thus managed, *Antiochus* after he had assailed in vain to force the walls of *Alexandria*, was departed from before the city, & having possessed himself of all Egypt besides, and left the elder *Ptolemaus* at *Memphis*, (for whose behoof he pretended by his own forces to reconquer the Kingdom, to the end that soon after the conquest obtained, he might let upon him like wife) withdrew his army away into Syria. *Ptolemaus* for his part was nothing ignorant of his designment and intention, making full account, that whiles he kept his younger brother affrighted with the fear of siege, by the help of his sister he might be received into *Alexandria*: considering withal, that his brothers friends were not opposed against him, first he sent unto his sister,

* For Pelusium
is called Cla-
vis Egypti, as
Ortelius no-
teth out of
Strabo.

* Pharamica.

* Balaia.
* Carabes.

afterwards to his brother and his friends, and never gave over to write and send, before he had concluded and established a peace with them. The thing that made him so suspect *Antiochus* was this, for that when he had made over all the rest of * *Egypt* unto him, he left yet a strong garrison behind at *Pelusium*: and well he knew, that he held still the frontier Towns as the very keys of *Egypt*, to the end that he might with an army enter and invade again, whensoever he would. And thus he conceived of it, that this would be the issue of the civil and domestical war between brethren. That the victor wearied with war, should not be able to make head against *Antiochus*. These things wisely forecast and seen by the elder brother, were received with assent of the younger and those that were assistant about him: and the sister between stood in very good stead, not by her good advice and counsel only, but also by her effectual prayers. And therefore by a general accord of all, a peace was concluded, and the elder *Ptolemæus* received into *Alexandria*, without any gain-saying or resistance, as all so much as of the very multitude: notwithstanding that during the war they were much decayed and weakened (not only by the siege, but also after it was raised and the army gone from *Alexandria*) for want of all things, by reason that no provisions were brought thither from out of *Egypt*. Now, where as *Antiochus* should have taken great contentment and rejoiced much for this, in case he had brought his forces into *Egypt* for to restore *Ptolemæus* into his own estate (which was the goodly pretence and colourable shew that he made to all the States of *Asia* and *Greece*, when he received their embassages, or sent forth his letters into all parts) so it fell out, that he was so highly offended and displeased hereat, that he went in hand and prepared to make war now against them both much more eagerly and with greater malice than before against one alone. Presently he rigged and sent out his navy at sea to *Cyprus*: himself in person at the beginning of the spring minding to invade *Egypt*, marched forward with his army as far as into *Cæle-Syria*. The Embassadors of *Ptolemæus* encountered him in his journey about * *Rhinocolura*, and gave him thanks in behalf of their K. and master, for that by his means he had recovered the inheritance of his fathers Kingdom: requesting withal to maintain that benefit and good deed of his, to declare rather by word of mouth what he would have done, than deal by sword in hand and force of arms, and not of a friend and ally to become a mortal enemy. His answer was, that he would neither call back his fleet nor withdraw his army upon any condition, unless he quit unto his use as well the whole Isle of *Cyprus*, as the City * *Pelusium*, together with the territory about the mouth of *Nilus*, called * *Pelusiæcum Ostium*. And therewith he set him down a day, before which he expected to receive his answer as touching the accomplishment of the said conditions. After the day prefixed for the truce was past, as they sailed in the mouth of *Nilus* near *Pelusium*, the States along the deserts of *Arabia* yielded. Then, being received of them that inhabite about *Memphis*, and the rest of the Egyptians, partly with favor and good will, and partly for fear and constraint: by small journies he descended toward *Alexandria*. When he was passed over the river at *Leufina* (a place about 4 miles distant from *Alexandria*) the Roman Embassadors met him upon the way. After greetings and salutations at their first coming, he put forth his right hand to *Popilius*; but he delivered unto him a scroll written, and willed him before he did any thing else to read that script. After he had read the writing through, he answered that he would devise with his friends and consider what was best to be done. But *Popilius* according to his ordinary blunt manner of speech which he had by nature, made a circle about the King with the rod that he had in his hand, and withal, "Make me an answer (qd. he) I advise you such as I may report to the Senate, before you pass the compass of this circle. The King astonished at this so rude and violent a commandment, after he had staied and paused a while: I will be content (qd. he) to do whatsoever the Senat shall ordain. Then and not before, *Popilius* gave the King his hand as to a friend and ally. Afterwards when *Antiochus* was departed out of *Egypt* by the day prefixed, the said Embassadors having by their authority established concord also between the two brethren (who as yet were not thoroughly agreed) some of them sailed to *Cyprus*, and from thence they sent away the fleet of *Antiochus*, which already had given an overthrow in battail to the Egyptian ships. This was a noble embassy and much renowned among those nations, for that thereby *Egypt* was undonbredly taken from *Antiochus*, who was as good as possessed thereof already, and the N inheritance of the Kingdom restored again to the race of *Ptolemæus*.

Of the two Consuls that year, like as the one was famous in his place by this notable victory, so the other was little or nothing spoken of, by reason he had not matter of any great exploit to be employed in. And first of all when he was assigned a certain day for the legions to meet, he entred into the temple without the lucky approbation of the auspices. And when the Augurs were moved and their advice required therein, they declared, that there was an error committed in the appointment of the said day. In his voyage for *France* he kept his standing leaguer for the summer time about the mountains *Sicimina* and *Papinnus* near the plains called * *Maecti*. And afterwards he wintered about the same places with the allies of the Latine nation. For the Roman legions, because the day was not rightly appointed for the assembly of the forces at the *Rendez-vous*, remained behind at *Rome*. Also the Pretors save only *C. Pappus*. *Carbo*, unto whose lot *Sardinia* was fall, went forth into their Provinces: and him the LL. of the Senate had ordained to attend upon his civill jurisdiction at *Rome* between citizens and forrainers. *Popilius* likewise, that embassy which was sent to *Antiochus* returned to *Rome*: where he made relation that the controversies between the two Kings were decided, & the army of *Antiochus* retired out of *Egypt* into *Syria*. After this, came the Embass. also of the Kings themselves. Those of *Antiochus* made report that the King their master

* Valle di
Mon:irone.

A master esteemed more of the peace approved by the Senat, than of any victory whatsoever; and obeyed the orders set down by the Roman Embassadors, no less than the very messengers coming with commandments directly from the Gods: and finally they testified their own contentment, and wished them great joy of their victory obtained, saying that the King himself would have been with all his power at the achieving thereof, in case he had been enjoined to perform any service. The Embassadors of *Prolemus* in the name jointly of their King and of *Cleopatra*, rendered thanks unto them, acknowledging themselves more bound & beholden to the Senat and people of *Rome*, than to their own parents, yea & more than to the immortal Gods; for by their good means they were first delivered from the most lamentable miseries of a siege, and had recovered their fathers Kingdom, which they were at the point to have lost forever. The Senat returned this answer again, That whereas *Antiochus* had been ruled by the Embassadors, therein he did well and as it be-
 C feemed him, and in so doing he highly contented and pleased the Senat and people of *Rome*. Again, if *Prolemus* and *Cleopatra* the King and Queen of *Egypt*, had found any goodness and com-
 D modity by them, the Senat was very glad therefore and rejoiced thereat and would endeavour and work it so, that they might be perswaded that the greatest assurance and safeguard of their realm rested at all times most in the faithful protection of the people of *Rome*. This said, the Pretor *C. Pappus* had in charge to see that presents and gifts were sent to these Embassadors according to the ancient custome. Then were letters brought out of *Macedony* to redouble the joy of the vi-
 E ctory, importing that *Perseus* was sure enough in the hands of the Consul.

When those Embassadors were dismissed and gone, much debate and argument there was be-
 C tween the Embassadors of the *Pisans* and *Lunenses*. They of *Pisa* complained that they were dis-
 D seized & driven out of their territory by the Roman coloners; contrarywise those of *Luna* plain-
 E ly averred, that the Land in controversy had been set out and assigned for them by the Triumvirs. The Senat hereupon sent five men as commissioners to make inquisition into the limits of the said territory and to determine accordingly, and those were *Q. Fabius Buteo*, *P. Cornelius Blasio*, *T. Sempronius Musca*, *L. Navius Balbus*, and *C. Apuleius Saturninus*. There came likewise a solemn em-
 bassage sent in common from *Eumenes*, *Attalus*, and *Athenus*, all three brethren to notify the joy and contentment which they took for the Romans victory. Moreover, *L. Manlius* the treasurer was ready at *Puteoli* to receive and welcome *Masgaba* the son of *K. Masinissa*, as he should disembark and set on land: for sent he was of purpose with money to meet him upon the way, to conduct
 D him also and bring him to *Rome* at the cities charges. He was no sooner come, but immediately au-
 E dience was given him in the Senat.

This young Prince spake in such sort, as the things which of
 " themselves were acceptable enough indeed, he graced and made more worthy of acceptance by
 " his good words. He rehearsed what forces of foot and horse both; how many Elephants, what
 " quantity of corn for that four years space (during the war) his father had sent over into *Maced-*
 " *ony*. But two things there were for which he was dismayed and could not chuse but blush: the
 " one that the Senat by their Embass. had made request unto him and not commanded rather to
 " furnish them with necessaries for the war: the other, that they had sent them money to pay for
 " their corn. For *Masinissa* was not forgetful, but bare well in mind, that he held his Kingdom as
 " first conquered for him, afterwards augmented and amplified many waies unto him by the peo-
 " ple of *Rome*; and for his own part he could content himself with the use and occupation thereof,
 " as a tenant in fee-farm, acknowledging the propriety and possession thereof to be in them, who
 " as Lords of the fee feoffed him therein. Good reason therefore and meet it was that they also
 " should be bold with their own to take and not to ask, to have and not to crave, much less then
 " to buy the commodities & fruits issuing out of the lands by them demised given & granted. As
 " for *Masinissa*, sufficed he was, and evermore would rest contented with that overplus which the
 " people of *Rome* might leave and spare for him. Thus much (sd. he) I had in charge and commis-
 " sion from my fathers own mouth, when I departed and took my leave of him: but afterwards
 " certain horsemen riding post overtook me, to let me understand that *Macedony* was subdued, and
 " to charge me, that after I had signified our joy in your behalf, I should shew unto the Senat, that
 " my father took such contentment therein, that he would gladly come to *Rome*, to offer sacrifice
 " and render thanks to *Jupiter*, *Max* in the Capitol: which to do he requested leave of the Senat,
 " so might stand with their good liking and be no trouble unto them. The Prince received this
 " answer from the Senat, That his father *Masinissa* did as becommed a good man and thankful per-
 " son to do in giving such a grace and honor over & above, to benefit of duty required. More-
 " over, that the people of *Rome* acknowledged how they had received great help at his hands in the
 " Punic war by his valiant and loyal service, as well as he obtained his Kingdom through the fa-
 " vour of the people of *Rome*, yea, and afterwards according to equity and justice, had born himself
 " right worthily in all sorts of devotions and duties during the wars of three Kings one after ano-
 " ther. Neither was it any marvel at all, that he rejoiced at the victory in the people of *Rome*, be-
 " ing a King who had engaged, hazarded, and entangled all his own fortunes and the whole estate
 " of his Kingdom with the Roman affairs. As for rendering thanks to the Gods for the victory of
 " the people of *Rome*, let him do that himself in his own house at home: for it should suffice, that
 " his son for him performed that duty at *Rome*. That he and his father both had sufficiently for
 " their parts testified their joy. As for *Masinissa* in proper person to leave his realm and depart out
 " of *Africa*: over and besides that it was in no wise profitable in himself, the Senat deemed it
 " not expedient for the weal-publick of the people of *Rome*. *Masgaba* further more requested,
 " that

that Hanno the son of Amilcar should be sent hostage in place of another Carthaginian (whose name is not known) but the Senat answered, That they thought it not meet to demand hostages at the pleasure of Masinissa. The treasurer was commanded by order from the Senat, to buy certain presents for to bestow upon this young Prince, namely, as much plate as might wile out of an 100 pound weight of silver: also to accompany him as far as Puteoli: to defray all his charges during his abode within Italy; and to hire two ships for to transport and conduct him & his princely train into Africk. To all his retinue as well bond as free there was allowance made of apparel.

Not long after, were letters brought as concerning Masinissa the second son of Masinissa: who after that Paulus had vanquished Persus, was sent home by the said Paulus into Africk with his Cavalry: but as he sailed, was driven (sick as he was) upon Brundisium with three ships only, for that the rest of the fleet was dispersed in the Adriatick Sea. Stertinius the treasurer was sent to him at Brundisium, with the like gifts as were bestowed upon his brother at Rome, and a charge to see to his lodging.

By vertue of an act granted out of the Senat, the Libertins [i. the sons of freed men] were enrolled into the four tribes of the City, all save those who had a son above five years old: with express commandment, That when they were to be enrolled at the review next ensuing, their goods also should be valued, and they accordingly entred into the subsidy books: namely, That as many of them as possessed any manor or manors in the countrey, esteemed better worth than 30000 Sesterces, should be enrolled and assessed. This ordinance being thus observed, Claudius denied flatly, that the Censor had authority to take from any particular person, and much less from a whole state and degree of men, the right and liberty of suffrages, without the warrant and ordinance of the people: for say, that he have power to take a man out of his tribe, (which is nothing else but to command him to change his tribe) it followeth not then, that he may dispossess and displace him out of all the 35 tribes, which is as much as to strike him out of the number of citizens, and deprive him quite of his freedom and burgesse: and is not (I say) to limit and set down in what rank he shall be enrolled, but to exclude him full and wholly out of all enrolment. This dispute and debate passed between them: untill at last they grew to this point, that of the four City tribes, they should cast lots openly in the Hall and Cloister of Libertas for one tribe, in which all they should be registred and comprised, who had been villains sometimes and were enfranchised. Now this lot fell to the tribe *Exquilina*. Then Tib. Gracchus pronounced, That ordained it was to enrol in it all the Libertins. Great honour and reputation with the Senat gained the Censors by this act: Sempronius likewise won much thanks therefore, because he had persisted constantly in that good enterprise so well commended: and Claudius went not without his due thank, for that he was no hindrance to this proceeding. In this review and survey taken by the Censors, more Senators were removed and put out of the council: yea, and more Gentlemen commanded to sell their horses of service, than by other Censors in former time. And all those by both of them joyntly were not only displaced out of their tribes, and made no better than *Aerarii* (i. to lose their voice) but also to pay all taxes whatsoever to the utmost. And look who was noted and disgraced by the one, had no relief nor hope to recover his credit and place by the other. Now when these Censors demanded, That according to a custome and order, they might be allowed a years space and two months, to look into the reparations of the publick edifices, that they were maintained wind-tight and water-tight: as also to see whether they who had undertaken to finish certain works at a price, had performed their bargain accordingly: C. Terentius a Tribune interposed himself and denied this demand, for anger that he was not chosen and taken into the Senat. The same year C. Cerealis dedicated a chappel in the Albane mount, which he had vowed five years before. Also that year was L. Posthumus Albinus enrolled a Flame of Mars. The Consuls Q. Aelius and M. Junius propounded in the Senat, as touching the government of their Provinces: and the LL. ordained, That Spain should be divided again into two Provinces, which had been united in one during the Macedonian war: also that the same L. Aelius and L. Aneius should defend and keep in obedience as before, *Macedonia* and *Thyrionia*, with such time as they by the advice of certain deputed commissioners, had both composed all matters and affairs disordered and troubled by the wars: and also reformed the estate of that realm, by reducing it into a new form. The Provinces assigned unto the Consuls were *Pisic* and *Gallia*, and they had the command of two legions of footmen, and four hundred horsemen apiece. The Pretors had their lots for government as followeth: The civil jurisdiction over citizens fell to Q. Cassius, and over strangers to M. Juvenius Tullus: Tib. Claudius Nero was deputy of Sicily, C. Fulvius of the bither Spain, and C. Licinius Nerva of the farther: left of ally, M. Manlius Torquatus was appointed to the government of *Sardinia*: but into his province he could not go, by occasion that he was detained at home by vertue of an act of the Senat, to make inquisition into certain felonious and capital crimes. After this consultation there was in the Senat touching the prodigies which were reported. The chappel of the *Penates* (protectors of the City) in *Pala* was smitten with thunder and lightning: Also in the Town *Minerua*, two gates and a good part of the wall felt the like harm. At *Ardea* it had rained earth, and in *Alatrinum* there appeared in the shie a burning flame: Moreover, M. Valerius a citizen of *Rome* gave knowledge, that in *Calatia* within the publick territory of that City, for the space of three dayes and two nightes together, blood gushed out in his chimney hearth where he kept fire: and for this strange sight above all the rest, the Decemvirs were commanded to have recourse unto the books of *Sibylla*: who

* This hath respect to some other act, which is not extant.

A proclaimed a publick supplication of the people for one day; and sacrificed fifty goats in the common market place of the City. Also in regard of the other prodigies, a supplication was holden another day, and men did their devotions at every altar of the Gods: greater beasts were killed for sacrifices, and the City was solemnly cleansed and purged. This done, as touching the honor of the immortal Gods, the Senat ordained, that forasmuch as the two Kings *Perseus* & *Genius* their enemies were overcome, and now at the devotion of the people of *Rome*, together with *Macedony* and *Illyricum*, *Q. Cassius* and *M. Junius* the Pretors should give order for as great oblations to be offered unto the Gods at every shrine and altar as had been heretofore (when *App. Claudius* and *M. Sempronius* were Consuls) for the defeat of King *Antiochus*. Then they ordained certain delegats, by whose advice *L. Paulus* and *L. Anicius* the two Generals, might set all affairs in order, namely, ten into *Macedony*, and five into *Illyricum*. For *Macedony* were nominated *A. Posthumius* *Luscanus* and *C. Claudius*, (who both had been Censors) *C. Licinius* *Cassius*, late companion to *Paulus* in the Consulship, and who at that present had the government of *Gaul* continued him. To these delegats above-named, men of Consular dignity all by their calling, were adjoined in commission *Cn. Domitius* *Enobarbus*, *Ser. Cornelius* *Sylla*, *L. Junius*, *C. Anicius* *Labes*, *T. Numisius* *Tarquinienus*, and *Autus* *Terentius* *Varrus*. For *Illyricum* were these named, *P. Elius* *Liguis*, one that had been Consul, *C. Cicereius* and *Cn. Babius* *Tamphilus* (this *Babius* had been Pretor but the former year, and *Cicereius* many years past) *P. Terentius* *Tuscanus*, and *P. Marcius*. Then the Consuls being advertised by the L. of the Senat, that (forasmuch as one of them must succeed *C. Licinius* in *Gaul*, who was nominated one of the delegats) they should part their Provinces between them either by accord and agreement, or by lot make choice of the fortune of lottery. So *P. Elius* fell to *M. Junius* (but before he went into his province, he had in charge to bring into the Senat, those embassies which from all parts were come to *Rome* for to declare their joy in the behalf of the people of *Rome*) and *Gaul* to *Q. Cassius*.

Albeit such personages were sent, as by whose sage counsel good hope there was, that the chief commanders of the Roman armies would pass no decree unbeseeming either the clemency or Majesty of the people of *Rome*, yet debated it was in the Senat about the sum and principal points of all their counsels and designs; to the end that the said Legats might carry unto the Generals all things plotted already and begun to their hands at home in the City. In the first place ordained it was, That the Macedonians and Illyrians remain free and enjoy their liberties, that all nations of the earth might see, that the drift of the Roman armies and forces was not to bring free states into servitude, but contrarywise to reduce those that were in bondage to liberty, to the end that those nations which now enjoyed freedom, might be secured under their safeguard and protection. Both of surety and of perpetuity, and such as lived in subjection under the Kings, might both for the present time find their government more mild and righteous, for that respect which the Kings have of the people of *Rome*, and also, if it fortun'd hereafter, that there should be war between the people of *Rome* and their Kings, they might be assured that the issue of those wars would bring victory to the Romans, and procure liberty to themselves. Also agreed it was that there should be no more farming out of the metal mines in *Macedony*, albeit they yielded a great revenue; nor yet of publick lands and possessions in the countrey: for possible it was not that these matters should be practised and followed without publicans; and where those intermeddle & have ought to do then it must needs follow, that either the publick right and prerogative of the State be annulled or the liberty of allies come to nothing. Neither were the Macedonians themselves able to exercise the same: for look where the ministers and managers of any thing see a booty presented before their eyes, there, occasions of sedition and contention will never be wanting. Moreover, concluded it was, that there should be no common and general counsel of the whole nation, for fear lest at any time the lewd vulgar people having by the Senat liberty granted unto them tending unto a good and wholesome moderation and equality of the State should abuse the same and draw it to a malicious and pestilent licentiousness. But they thought it good policy to divide *Macedony* into four quarters and countries, that each one might have their severall counsel: likewise it was supposed to stand with good reason and equity, that they should pay the one moiety of that tribute which they were wont to yield unto their KK. Semblable commission and like directions they had for *Illyricum*. As for all other matters referred they were to the discretion of the Generals and the Delegat commissioners, who might be better able to determine more certainly of particulars, according to the occurrents presented unto them in the managing of their affairs.

Among many and sundry Embassadors of Kings, nations, and states, *Antalus* the brother of *K. Eumenes* most of all others amply moved mens minds, and drew their eyes upon him: for by them who had born arms together with him in that war, welcomed he was much more heartily, and received with greater courtesy than if *Eumenes* the K. himself had come. Two occasions there were outwardly pretended, and those carrying a good show of honesty and credit, which brought him to *Rome*: the one a gratulation or testimony of joy (as meet it was) for that victory, wherein himself lent his helping hand; the other, a complaint of French tumultuous wars and the bloody hostility of *Adriatic* their King, by which means his brothers Kingdom was in great jeopardy. But there lay another thing hidden underneath, namely, an inward and secret hope that he conceived of honors and rewards from the Senat, which hardly he could seem to aim & reach unto, without some unkindness and violence offered to brotherly duty and affection. For some there were even of the Romans also, who did him no good, but gave him bad counsel, drew on his appetite with fair hopes,

hopes, and set him a longing, feeding him with these and such like conceits. That in Rome this
 was the opinion entertained of *Attilius* and *Emmenus*, as if the one of them were a friend and ally
 sure to the Romans; the other an ally, sound and faithful neither to the Romans nor yet to *Per-
 seus*: and therefore hard it were to let down and lay. Whether of the twain would be more easily
 obtained at the Senats hands, namely, a suit made in his own name for his pretermitt of a demand
 of some hard course against his brother: to bent were all men in general to grant any thing to *At-
 talus*, and to deny every thing to *Emmenus*. *Attilius* (as the sequel and proof shewed) was pliant
 to those persons whose desires reach at all that hope promiseth, had not the sage admonition of
 one friend come between to bridle his affections, ravished and transported so as they were with
 the amiable aspect and fawning flattery of his own good fortune. He had about him at that time
 one *Serapinus* a Physician, sent by *Emmenus* (who rested not secure of his brothers loyalty) to Rome,
 of purpose for to lie in espial and observe all that *Attilius* did: and to advise him faithfully if he saw
 him tread awry and practise ought against his duty and allegiance. When he came unto him he
 found his ears already possessed, and his spirit tempted and solicited beforehand: howbeit taking
 his times and waiting opportunities, he went roundly to work and stuck to it close, until he had
 set all up again which was at the point to run on end and fall to the ground. He alledged and laid
 these remonstrances before his eyes, saying, "That Kingdoms have grown mighty, some by one
 means, some by others: but as for theise, being but newly erected, & grounded upon no strength
 of ancient foundations, it stood upright only by the mutual concord of him and his brethren, in
 that one of them beareth the name and title of King, wearing the diadem and crown alone upon
 his head, but in effect all three brethren be KK. As for you *Attilius* (sd. he) who are the eldest
 brother save one, who is it that reputeth you for less than a King, not only for that he seeth you
 so mighty at this present, but also the next heir apparant, and without all doubt like shortly to
 reign indeed? considering the feeble body and craly age of *Emmenus*, who hath besides no line of
 children to succeed him in the roial throne? (for as yet he took no knowledge of him that reign-
 ed afterwards.) What need then is there to use violence, and to force that which of its one ac-
 cord will shortly be devolved upon you & fall into your hands? Moreover, a new tempest and
 storm is risen of French wars, threatening peril unto the realm, which it will be hard for you
 Princes to withstand, agree as well as you can in all brotherly love, unity and concord. But if to
 forra in war abroad, there should arise a domestical and civil dissention between you at home,
 what remedy then but utter ruin and destruction? Neither shall you (*Attilius*) purchase any good
 but this, first to prevent that your brother be not King, and then to dilable and disappoint your
 self of that neer and assured hope you have to be K. But say, that to preserve a Kingdom for a
 brother, and to wrest a Kingdom from a brother, were honorable and glorious deeds both the
 one and the other: yet surely of the twain, to have saved a Kingdom deserveth greater commen-
 dation and praise, in that it setteth so well with piety and kindness. And certainly seeing the o-
 ther is a cursed and detestable part even next neighbor to parricide: what scruple and doubt re-
 maineth now which needeth any farther deliberation? For tell me, beseech you, is it one parcel
 of the Kingdom that you reach at, or shoot you at the whole? If you aim at a part only, then
 upon the dismemb'ring and distraction of your puillance, you shall be both twain much weak-
 ned and exposed to the danger of all injuries: if you would have all, what shall become of your
 brother? Would you with him being your elder, to live a privat person or to far spent in years as
 he is, a banished man: and namely, with those murtherers of body which he earneth about him,
 or would you command to take his life away and rid him out of this world at once? Now truly
 to say nothing of the unhappy and miserable issue of such practices, and wicked brethren deliv-
 ered unto us in fabled fables, you see what a goodly fall end *Perseus* is come unto, who being in
 the Temple of *Samothracia* was constrained lying prostrate upon the ground, to prostrate himself
 at the feet of the enemy his conqueror, the crown and diadem which he came to possesse by, even
 with the unnatural murder of his own brother, as if the Gods in heaven had been there present,
 to require due punishment for his horrible fact. To conclude, they also themselves, who in no
 friendly love and affection to you, but in rancor and hatred to your brother *Emmenus*, have put
 these designs into your head, and prick you on to execute the same: even they I say, will praise
 your kindness, your piety and constancy in case you persevere true and trusty to your brother, to
 the very end. These and such like important persuasions prevailed with *Attilius* and settled deep-
 ly in his mind. Therefore being admitted into the Senat, after he had wished joy unto them and
 protested his own for the late victory, he laid abroad and declared his own merits and good
 service in that war, the favors also (such as they were) done by his brother, and last of all, the re-
 volt of the Gauls lately broken out with great troubles and commotions. His petition to the Se-
 nate was, for to send their Embassadors unto them, by whose countenance and authority they
 might be reclaimed, and to lay arms a de. Having declared this message which concerned the pro-
 fit in general of the realm, he made a special suit for himself, and demanded to have *Carus* and
Marcus given unto him. And thus, when he had put them besides their hope, who thought verily
 that after he had accused his brother he would have required the kingdom to be divided bece-
 meal & dismembred, he departed out of the Council house. Seldom had been known at any time
 before any man whatsoever, King or subject, to have had the like audience with so great favour
 and applause of all men, as he: received and entertained he was right honourably with gifts & pre-
 sents of all sorts whilst he was at Rome, and with the like they accompanied him at his departing.
 Among

Among many Embassies of *Syria* and *Babylonia*, the Rhodian Embassadors were most marked and looked upon throughout all the City: for whose sake they were all trim and glossy to be seen in their white and bright apparel, as if it were for them that would seem to congratulate for the victory: for if they had worn black or been poorly arrayed, it might have been construed that they mourned for the misfortune and calamity of *Perseus*. After that *M. Titius*, the Consul brake with the LL. of the Senat (not all that while the said Embassadors stood without in the common place *Comitium*) to counsel and advise, whether they would allow lodging, presents, and give audience in the Senat unto them: they resolved and were of opinion to observe no rights nor customs of hospitality with them. Then went the Consul out of the Senat: unto whom when the Rhodians said that they were come to rejoice in their behalf for the late victory, and wished to answer in the name of their City to certain crimes whereunto they were charged, requesting that they might speak before the Senat and be heard with indifference: the Consul pronounced aloud unto them, That the custome indeed of the Romans was, to entreat their allies and friends graciously, and among other matters of courtesy and hospitality which they afforded unto them, to grant them also a day of hearing in the Senat; but the Rhodians had not demeaned themselves during the war, in such sort, as to be reckoned in the number of lovers and associates. At the hearing of these words they call themselves all prostrate on the ground, beseeching the Consul and all those that were present, not to suffer that false imputations of late furnished should against a reason prejudice the Rhodians more, than their good deserts of old (whereof themselves were sufficient witnesses) stand them in stead. And presently after they had put on simple apparel and mourning weeds, they went about from house to house visiting the principal persons of the City, humbly beseeching them with tears, to hear their cause before they were condemned. *M. Fuficius* also the Pretor or L. chief justice for the pleas between citizens and strangers, was the only agent that provoked and incited the people against the Rhodians: nay, he had promulgated and published a bill to this effect, That war might be denounced against the Rhodians; also, that one of the Magistrats for that year they would make choice of some one to be sent as Admiral with a fleet for the managing of that war: hoping that himself should be the man. But this religion and proceeding of his was crossed by *M. Antonius* and *M. Pomponius*, two Tribuns of the commons. Over and besides, the Pretor, to say a truth, had broached this matter after a new and strange fashion, and to the evil example of future times, in that he preferred a bill unto the people of his own head alone, without asking the advice of the Senat, or making the Consuls acquainted therewith, and that in this manner and form. Pleaseth it you, and is it your will, that war be proclaimed against the Rhodians? whereas alwaies before-time, in question of war, the Senats advice was first taken, and then the thing was proposed unto the people. Likewise the Tribuns of the commons for their part, did more than they might, and a thing not warrantable by any precedent. For it was a custom and tradition observed ever of old, that no person should interpose his negative to cross any bill, before that privat men in particular had their cause and right granted; both to persuade or dissuade the same; by which means many a time it fell out, that even they who never professed nor meant to oppose themselves; being moved and induced by the reasons of those that stood up to dissuade, and perceiving also by them the inconveniences of such a bill, would step between and dash all: yea, and contrarywise such as came of purpose to cross and wipe the same being convinced by the authority and born down by the important arguments alledged by those that enforced the said bill, would desist and surcease. Thus the Pretors and Tribuns strove much who should do every thing more unseasonably than others. The Tribuns impeached and staid the hastines of the Pretor, interposing their negative before the time, and deferring the matter until the coming of the L. General.

Whether we have transgressed and offended yea, or no, that yet remaineth doubtful: but sure we are of this, that we suffer all punishments and shameful ignominies already that can be devised. Heretofore, when the Carthaginians were vanquished, when *Philip*, when *Antiochus* was overthrown, we came to Rome: from our publick lodging provided for us at the charges of the City, we presented our selves (my LL.) into your Councel-house, to testify our great contentment (of your conquests: from the Councel-house we went directly to the Capitol, carrying with us presents and oblations to the honor of your gods. But now we the same Rhodians are come unto your Senat clothed in this poor habit and array, as you see, from out of a base hostility and common inne, where hardly we could have lodging for our money; being commanded in manner of enemies to make our abode without the City walls. We Rhodians (I say) whom but lately ye scolded with the grant of two Provinces, *Lycia* and *Caria*, and whom ye graced with all kind of honors, and enriched with all manner of gifts and rewards. You ordain as we hear say, that the Macedonians and Syrians should live free, notwithstanding they were in servitude before they levied war against you. Neither speak we this in envy & repine for any mans welfare and good estate; nay, we acknowledge therein the rare clemency of the people of Rome: and will ye then make the Rhodians off friends, enemies, who during this war did no more but sit and meddle with neither part? Now surely ye Romans are like men that pretend and give out ordinarily, that your wars have good success and speed well, because they be just and righteous: neither do you glory so much in the event and issue thereof, whereby ye are revengers and conquerors, as for the beginning and first enterprises, in that ye undertake them not without good cause. The besieging of *Messana* in *Sicily* by the Carthaginians, was the cause that the people of Rome reputed them

* The beginning of this Oration of the Rhodians to the L. of the Senat is lost.

enemies. The assailing of *Athen* by *Philip*, his intent and purpose to bring *Greece* into servitude, his relieving of *Amibal* with men and money, caused him likewise to be holden for their enemy. Thus *Antiochus* brought upon his own head the *Roman* war, for that he being solicited by the *Ætolians* your enemies came willingly out of *Asia* and with a fleet sailed over to *Greece*: and when he had seized upon *Demetrias*, *Chalcis*, and the freights of *Thermopyla*, went about to dispossess you of the empire. And last of all, *Persens* by levying arms against your allies, by killing some of their petty kings and princes, by murdering other chief persons of sundry nations and cities, gave you just occasion to make war upon him. But what colourable cause can there be pretended of our calamity, if needs we must miscarry and perish? All this while I make no difference between our cities case and that of *Polyaratus* and *Dion* our citizens, even those persons whom we have brought to deliver into your hand. For suppose that the cause were all one, and that we *Rhodians* were all faulty and culpable alike, what might that crime be for which we are touched in this war? We favoured *Persens* and that side (you will say) and like as in the war of *Antiochus* and *Philip*, we stood with you against those kings, so now we took part with the *K* against you. Was that all? well, In what sort we are wont to aid our associates, and how lustily to enterprise wars, do but ask of *C. Livius* and *L. Emilius Regillus*, the Admirals of your fleets in *Asia*. Your ships never fought at sea without us: yet we with our Armado alone fought a battail once before *Samas*, and a second time in *Pamphylia* against General *Anniba*: which victory there achieved was unto us by so much more honorable and glorious, for that after we had in an unfortunat fight near *Samas* lost many of our ships & the very choise and flower of our youth, we nothing terrified and dismayed with so great an overthrow, durst turn again to make head yet, and were so hardy as to encounter the Kings royal navy coming out of *Syrin*. And all this have I related not by way of boast & to glorify our selves (for we are not now in case to stand upon those terms) but to give you a tale by the way and put you in mind, in what manner the *Rhodians* have used evermore to succour their confederats. And for the better proof thereof, after the defeat of *Philip* and *Antiochus* we received at your hands right great rewards & recompence for our service. In case the fortune of *Persens* had been so happy as yours is at this present (praised be the Gods for their grace and goodnes & thanked be your own valour withal) and we had come into *Macedony* to the King upon his victory to require & demand rewards, what could we alledge therefore? Might we say that he had bin maintained by our mony, or relieved with our corn, with land forces, or strength at sea? Was there any place by us kept and held with a garrison for his use, were we able to tell where we fought, either under the conduct of his Captains or upon our own leading and direction? If haply he should demand in what quarters our souldiers kept, in what coast our ships lay inguard for his defence, what could we answer? Peradventure we might plead our cause & excuse our selves in the presence of him, supposed conqueror like as we now do before you here in place. For by sending our Embassadors to and fro unto you as well as to him about a treaty of peace, this is all the good we have got, that in stead of winning the love & favor of both parts, we incur the heavy displeasure of the one; being thus charged with crimes and wrapped in dangers. And yet my good *LL* and honorable Senators of *Rome*, *Persens* might truly object that to us, which you in no wise can, namely, that we in the beginning of the war sent Embassadors to you making promise in our name of whatsoever was needful thereunto: also that we would be ready at all assaies to furnish you with ships strongly rigged and with our youth well appointed like as in the wars afortime. That we performed not these promises of ours, you only were the let and hindrance, who (whatsoever the cause was) refused our offered service & rejected all our succours. Well then, neither have we attempted ought as enemies, nor failed in the duty of good friends and allies: but impeached have we been by you for effecting that which we intended. How now? may some man say: Hath there been nothing done or said in your City (O ye *Rhodians*) that you wish unsaid or undone, & whereat the people of *Rome* may justly take exceptions and be offended with you for it? Undertake to justify and make good whatsoever hath been done, I will not, neither have I so little wit I trow, but sever I will the publick cause of the whole state from the privat offences committed by particular persons: for no City is there under the sun, but may otherwhiles have lewd and naughty citizens some or other, and evermore a rude and fortish multitude. I have heard say, that even amongst you here at *Rome*, some have sought to advance and set themselves aloft by currying favor and flattering the common people: and that the time was, when the commons rose and departed from among you so as the rule of the common weal and people of *Rome* was out of your hands, as in a very Anarchy. If such a thing as this might chance in this your City (so well qualified & ordered as it is) how can any man make a wonder that among us there have been some, who (affecting and seeking for the amity and friendship of the *K*) might haply corrupt and seduce our commons with their naughty counsel? And yet when all is said, they prevailed no more than thus, that we sat still and failed in doing our devoir to you: for I will not over-pass in this place the greatest and most grievous crime of all other where with our City is charged during this war, and that is this. At one and the same time we sent Embass, both to you and *Persens* about a peace. This designment so unfortunat and unlucky as it was, a furious and brainick orator and agent of ours (as afterwards we understood) handled as foolishly: who (as it is for certain known) framed his language in that manner, as if he had been *C. Popilius* the Roman Embassador, whom ye sent to the two *KK*, *Antiochus* and *Ptolemus*, to warn them both to lay down arms &

surcease

N^o success was. But that behaviour of his, (so it what you will, either pride or folly) was no worse
 before you than it was to K. *Perseus*. Every City hath their conditions and qualities by them-
 selves, like as particular and several persons: and temblably it is in whole nations, some are testy
 and choleric, bold and audacious; others again be fearful and timorous: some are given to wine
 and drunkenness, others to women and wantonness. The people of *Athen* (by report) are too
 hasty, hot, and forward to enterprise any thing even beyond their power. The *Lacedemonians*
 again, be as slow and backward, casting many doubts & difficulties to enter upon the very things
 which they are assured of. I cannot deny, but that all the country of *Achaia* in general breedeth
 many a mad brain and vain spirit: and I will not say, but that our people are jolly fellows of their
 tongue and can speak big, for that we seem (among other cities and states bordering upon us)
 to excel and surpass; and that no so much in the confidence we have of our own forces; as for the
 honorable regard ye have had of us, and the great testimonies and judgments ye have given out
 of us. But that foolish embassage of ours even then at the very time had punishment sufficient,
 being sent away (as it was) with so heavy an answer of yours: and if we were not then disgraced
 and shamed enough, now surely this present embassage so humble and pitiful, were able to make
 full satisfaction for a more insolent embassy than it was. All pride (and arrogancy of words espe-
 cially) choleric persons indeed hate, wise men deride, and namely, from an inferior to his bet-
 ter: but no man ever judged it a mortal sin and worthy of death: many here was all the danger,
 lest haply the *Rhodians* might seem thereby to despise the *Romans*. How then? be there not some
 also that cannot rule their tongue, but will be railing & uttering blasphemous words against the
 Gods: yet we never heard of any that have been therefore smitten dead with a thunderbolt.
 C^o What remaineth then for us wherein we should purge and clear our selves, if we neither can be
 charged in fact with hostility; and if our Embassy hath used some proud and presumptuous words
 more than became him, which deserve not the total ruin of our City but some sharp checks and
 hard rebukes on both sides of our ears? But I hear (my good LL.) that in your ordinary talk a-
 mong your selves when ye are together, we are censured for our inward affection only & secret
 thoughts, and condemned no less than for some deed, namely, That in heart we favoured the K.
 and wished him rather than you to obtain the victory: and therefore they deem us worthy to be
 persecuted with fire and sword. Some there be again of you, who think verily that thus indeed
 we stood affected, howbeit they would not have us for it to be warred upon as enemies: for that
 it standeth not with the custom or law of any City in the world, That if a man with a mischief
 to his enemy, he should be straightwaies condemned therefore to die, so long as he hath not en-
 tred into any action tending thereto. And verily these men we have to thank, who free & quit
 us yet from punishment, although they clear us not of guilt: howbeit this sentence we pass a-
 gainst our own selves, That if it can be proved, that we were all of us so minded and disposed in
 affection as we are burdened, (for content we are that all go under one heart and hand, will and
 deed, without distinction) then let us all be punished for it and feel the smart. But if of the great
 men and chief among us, some affected you & others the Kings; we require not, that for the love
 of us who sided with you, the Kings suppose should fare the better and escape clear: but we re-
 quest and beseech rather, that for their sakes we perish not, and be quit undone. And certainly,
 E^o your own selves are not worse affected and more set against them than our very City is: which
 they knowing well enough, most of them either fled away, or else killed themselves: others of
 them (such as we have condemned and passed judgement against) shall be at your pleasure (my
 LL.) to do with them what you will. All the rest of us *Rhodians*, as thanks we have merited none
 in this war, so we have deserved as little punishment. Lay the over-deal and surpluse of our
 former good deeds and demerits to this want of duty now, and let the heap of the one make up
 the scant measure of the other. With three Kings of late years ye have maintained war: let not
 our slackness and sitting still in this one, codamage and hurt us more, than our devoit and em-
 ploiment in the other twain may seem to satisfy and countervail. Set *Philip*, *Antiochus* and *Per-*
seus, for three verdicts and sentences as it were passed upon us: two of them acquit us clear: the
 third is doubtful whether it wil go against us or no. Indeed if they themselves were to sit upon
 us, we should no doubt be cast and condemned: but you (my good LL.) that are our competent
 judges determine now at once. Whether there shall be a City of *Rhodes* remaining upon the face
 of the earth, or be razed utterly & destroyed from the very foundation forever: for you are not
 to debate in counsel about making war upon us: which we you may begin and go in hand with
 at your pleasure: but follow and manage you never shal, because there is not a *Rhodian* that wil
 take arms and come into the field against you. Will you not be pacified but persist still in your
 schools and anger then will we crave at your hands some respite of time, whiles we may go home
 and upon these how we have sped in this lamentable embassage of ours. And then, all of us iri-
 viously shall be born and of free condition every one, I say, man and woman with all our wealth
 and substance will embark our selves for sale we will our privat houses and publick edifices: and
 G^o with *Rome* straight will we all come: and when we have laid on heaps here in your common hall,
 and at the porch and entrie of your counsel house, whatsoever gold and silver we have either
 in privat use or common thist: commit we will to your devotion and metry our own persons,
 together with the bodies of our wives and children: and sever wil we go further but even here
 in this place will we suffer and abide what which we have to undergo and endure. Let our City
 then be sacked, pillied and burned so it be far enough out of our eye that we see it not. The Ro-
 mans

mans may (if it please them) judge the Rhodians enemies; yet you will give us leave to pass in some sort a doom of our own, that we in our consciences never condemned our selves for such, nor ever will enter in any hostile action against you, come what will, even the utmost extremity that can be suffered. After their oration in this manner uttered, they set down again all prostrate, and as humble suppliant citions, put forth and shook their branches of the olive, until at length they were raised up on their feet, and so departed out of the Senat. Then began the LL. within, to give their opinions, and pass their sentences of them. The heaviest enemies and most maliciously bent against the Rhodians, were those, who had conducted the war of *Macedony*, as Consuls, Pretors, or Lieutenants; but *M. Porcius Cato* was their only patron that stood to them and supported their cause right earnestly; a man otherwise by nature severe and severe, but as then he shewed himself a mild and gracious Senator. I will not insert here the lively portraiture and resemblance of that copious and eloquent person, by relating the flowing speech which he then delivered; his very oration is extant in writing, and contained in the fifth book of his *Origines*. In fine, the Rhodians received such an answer, as they neither were concluded enemies, nor yet remained in the nature and quality of friends. The principal persons of this their embassage, were *Philocrates* and *Asymedes*. Ordered it was & agreed between them, that *Philocrates* (with some of his fellows) should report this answer at *Rhodes*; and that *Asymedes* (with the rest) should stay behind at *Rome*, to know what was practised and done there, and give intelligence thereof accordingly to their citizens at home. For that present the LL. of the Senat gave them in charge, to remove their Captains and Governours by a certain day out of *Lycia* and *Caria*. These news related at *Rhodes*, importing matter (in it self considered) of grief & heaviness, turned into joy, in regard that they were eased from the fear of a greater mischief, for they doubted sore that they should have had hot war. And therefore presently they ordained for the Romans a crown amounting to the value of 20000 pieces of gold, and with this present they sent *Theodorus* the Admiral of their navy in embassage. A will and desire they had to make suit unto the Romans for association: but so, as no act and ordinance of the people should be entred therof, nor any instrument engrossed as touching it. And this they did, to avoid the greater shame and ignominy of repulse, if haply they missed of their purpose, and could not obtain. The Admiral alone had this priviledg, and was permitted to treat of that matter, without any bill at all either published or enacted by the people. For in so many years before they had continued in amity with the Romans in such sort, as they never linked and tied themselves unto them by any formal deed and covenant upon record, and that for no other reason in the world, but because they would neither cut the Kings off from all hope of their aid, if haply any of them might stand in such need, nor disable themselves of the possibility they had to reap some fruit & receive good of their bounty and prosperity. But surely at this time (me thinks) they ought to have fought sadly and in good earnest for their society, not so much for safety and security against others (for none they feared at all but only the Romans) as to be rid of the suspicion and jealousy which the Romans had of them. About the same time the Carians also revolted from them, and they of *Mylas* took certain Towns of the *Euromestians*. Now were the hearts of these Rhodians within the City not so much broken or abated, but they saw well enough that if the Romans took from them *Lycia* and *Caria*, all the rest would either by way of revolt put themselves in liberty and shake off the yoke of their subjection, or else be surprised and seized by the neighbour nations bordering upon them; and that then they should be pent up and shut within the compass of a small Isle and the stands of a barren soil, not able to nourish and maintain the inhabitants of so great and populous a City. Therefore with all speed they dispatched and sent forth their youth, and not only forced the Carians (notwithstanding they had joined unto them the aid of the *Cybirds*) to their obedience, but also in battel beat *Orthesia* overcome, the *Mylasians* and *Alabandians*; who having disseized the *Euromestians* of their province, advanced jointly with their united armies against them.

Whiles these affairs thus passed there, whiles some occurrents fell out in *Macedony*, and others likewise at *Rome*, *L. Anicius* having subdued King *Gentius* (as is before said) and brought him under his own hand, placed a garrison in *Scodra*, the Kings roial seat, and appointed *Gabinus* the Captain thereof: but in *Rhizon* and *Olcinia*, two commodious cities of good importance, he ordained *C. Licinius* the Governour. Having thus made over the rule of *Thyrrheny* unto these twain, himself with the rest of the army went into *Epirus*. Where the Town *Phanota* was the first that yielded unto him, and the whole multitude of the people came forth to meet him with their intules in token of submission. After he had put a garrison in this place also, he passed over into the countrey of *Molossy*, where he received the surrender of all the Towns thereof, excepting *Passaron*, *Tegium*, *Phylacum*, and *Horreum*. And then he led his army first against *Passaron*. The principal men and rulers of that City were *Antinous* and *Theodorus*, men of mark and name, as well for the favor they bare to *Perseus*, as the hatred they carried to the Romans: the only persons who had counselled and perswaded the whole nation to revolt from the Romans. These two having guilty consciences within them for their privat trespass, and being past all hope of finding any grace and pardon, shut the gates of the City, to the end that they might perish with the overthrow of all, and be overwhelmed with the total ruin of their own country: and therewith they exhorted the multitude to prefer present death before servitude and slavery. No man durst once open his mouth to contradict these so great and mighty persons. At length a certain noble young Gentleman, named also *Theodorus*, with whom the greater dread from the Romans abroad prevailed more, and overcame the

A the less fear of the rulers at home. "What ail ye my masters (sd. he) and fellow citizens, what rage and madness hauntheth you to enwrap and intertise the whole City in the faine and folly of these two persons? Certainly, I have often heard of men that for their countrey have willingly lost their lives, but to think it meet, that their countrey should perish for them, these are the first that ever were known. Why rather open we not our gates and submit our selves to that empire, into which the whole world besides is subject. As he spake these words, the multitude followed him toward the gates: which when *Antinous & Theodotus* saw, they made no more ado, but brake upon the first *corps de guard* of the enemies which they came unto, and exposing their bodies to the swords point, were soon killed, and the Town was yielded into the hands of the Romans. *Tegmon* also, upon the like wilfull obstinacy of Prince *Cephala*, had shut their gates, but after that he was slain, the Town was taken by surrender. And neither *Phylace* nor *Horreum* would abide the assault. Having thus quieted *Epirus*, and bestowed his forces by garrisons in diverse commodious Towns for the winter time, he returned into *Illyricum*: where he held a general Assembly at *Scodra*, to which he had summoned the principal States of the whole nation, and whither all others were arrived five delegates from *Rome*. And there in this frequent and solemn session, he pronounced from the Tribunal seat, by the advice of the counsel assistant unto him, That the Senate and people of *Rome* ordained the *Illyrians* to live free and enjoy liberty, and that himself would withdraw the garrisons out of their Towns, Fortresses, and Castles. As for the *Issians*, *Taulantians*, *Tirustians* in the *Dassaretians* countrey, *Rhizonits* and *Olcianats* (for that whiles *Gentius* his fortune stood upright, they had ranged with the Romans) he declared them not only free, but also exempt and privileged from all tributs. The *Doarians* also, for leaving *Caravanius*, and passing with their armies to side with the Romans, he endowed with the like immunity. They of *Scodra*, *Dassara*, and *Selepsia*, with the rest of the *Illyrians*, were to pay the one moiety of the tribute which they had yielded to the King. After this he divided *Illyricum* into three cantons: the one of them he made of those before named: the second, all the *Labeats*: and the third, of the *Agravonits*, *Rhezonits*, *Olcianats*, and those that bound and border upon them. Having set down this order in *Illyricum*, he returned to *Passara* a City in *Epirus*; there to lie for the winter time.

While these things hapned in *Illyricum*, *Paulus* before the coming of the ten Legats, sent *Q. Maximus* his son (who was now lately returned from *Rome*) to the laccage of *Eginium* and *Agasse*. The quarrel against *Agasse* was, for that they having delivered the Town once to *Martius* the Consul, and therewith of their own accord craved the alliance of the people of *Rome*, revolted notwithstanding afterwards to *Persius*. As for the *Eginians*, they had committed a late and fresh trespass: for giving no credit to the fame that was voiced of the Romans victory, they cruelly handled certain Roman souldiers, who were entred into their City. Moreover, he sent *L. Posthumus* likewise to espial in hostile manner the City of the *Enians*, for that they had persisted in arms more busily than the other neighbour Cities. Now was it about that season of the year which men call *Autumn*: in the beginning whereof, so soon as he had determined to ride a circuit and visit all *Greece* round, and so see those places whereof there went so great a name, and which were more renowned by hear-say than known by sight of eye: he left *C. Sulpicius Gallus* for the command and guard of the camp, & let forward in his progress, accompanied with no great train. And being guarded of the one hand with his own son *Scipio*, and on the other, with *Athenaus* the brother of King *Eumenes*, he passed through *Thessaly*, toward the famous Oracle at *Delphos*. Where, after he had sacrificed to *Apollo*, he destined and appointed those Columns & Pillars (which were begun in the porch of that Temple, and whereupon the statues of King *Persius* should have been erected) for to sustain and bear the statues of himself with the title *Victorious*. He visited also the temples of *Jupiter* in *Lebadia*: where, after he had seen the mouth of that peakish cave into which they use to descend that would have the benefit of the Oracle, and know the will of the Gods; after sacrifice also done to *Jupiter* and *Hercinna*, whose temple there is to be seen he went down to *Chalcis*, to behold the birth of *Euripus*, and that Island which in times past was united & joined to the firm continent by a bridge. From *Chalcis* he crossed over to *Aulis* three miles distant from thence, a port enabled for the rode some time there of *Agamemnons* fleet, consisting of a thousand sail. Being there, he went to the Temple of *Diana*, where that King of Kings (*Agamemnon*) offered his own daughter in sacrifice upon her altar, to have a prosperous voiage for his fleet intending to sail to *Troy*. After this he came to *Oropus* a Town in *Attica*, where *Amphilochus* the Prophet is worshipped as a God. There, was to be seen an ancient Temple, most pleasant to behold for the goodly fountains and Rivers round about it. Then went he forward to *Athenis*, a City likewise for antiquity of fame much spoken of, and highly renowned time out of mind: wherein were many monuments also worth the seeing: namely, the citadel, the havens, the walls that reach from the City to *Sunius* a headland made by great Captains and Commanders, the images of the Gods, and of men likewise, so brave & excellent, as well for the artificial workmanship, as the matter whereof they were made. When he had sacrificed within the City to *Minerva* the goddess and patroness of the said citadel, he kept on his journey, and the next day following arrived at *Corinth*. A fair & beautiful City it was in those daies: before it was destroyed, the fortels there and the *Isthmus* were things of especial mark and worth the sight: for the said fortels notwithstanding it be mounted up to such exceeding height above all yet is it full of fountains; and the *Isthmus* by a narrow ridge of land divided from sea neeth together, the one lying East, and the other West. From thence he went to *Sicyonia* and *Argos*, two noble Cities, and so forward to *Epidaurus*, nothing in wealth com-

Iphigenia.

parable to the rest, yet of great name for the famous temple of *Aesculapius*, which standeth 5 miles from the City, where at this day are to be seen the marks and tokens of the empty places from whence the oblations have been plucked away: but then a rich place it was and full of those offerings and gifts, which diseased persons had consecrated to that God in recompence and reward for those sovereign salves and wholesome remedies which they there found. From thence he came to *Lacedaemon*: a City memorable not for any magnificence of stately works and buildings, but for good discipline and orders there observed. From whence passing through *Algalopolis*, he ascended up to *Olympia*: where among other things there to be seen, he beheld *Jupiter* as it were represented even before his eyes, whereat he was much moved in spirit. And therefore as if he had been to sacrifice in the capitol, he commanded a sacrifice to be prepared with more state and magnificence than ordinary. Thus having visited all *Graeces* over without any search and enquiry made, how men either in general or particular stood affected in the war against *Perseus*, (because he would not trouble and disquiet the minds of the allies with any fearful occurrent) as he returned toward *Demetrias*, he was encountred by the way with a number of *Esolians* all clad in doleful & mourning array. And when he wondred and asked what the matter might be, he was given to understand that 550 of their principal men of name, were by *Lyciscus* and *Tisippus* massacred, who with the help of certain Roman souldiers sent from *Babius* the Governor, had beset their Senat: that the rest were driven into exile: and the goods as well of those who were murdered, as also of the banished persons were now possessed by their accusers. He commanded them to attend upon him at *Amphipolis*, and when himself had communed & conferred at *Demetrias* with *Cn. Octavius*, after he once heard that the ten legats had passed the seas, he laid aside all other affairs, and went directly to *Apollonia* there to meet with them. To which place when *Perseus* came to meet him, for he having over-large liberty of poison, was come from *Amphipolis* & that was a daies journey off: unto the King he shewed good countenance and gave him good and gracious words, but after he was returned to the camp at *Amphipolis*, he sharply checked and rebuked, as men say, *C. Sulpius*, first for suffering *Perseus* to range so loosely and so far off from him, all over the province: secondly, for giving his souldiers so much liberty as to pluck the tiles from off the walls [and houses] of the City to cover the places of their winter harbour: and therewith he commanded that the tiles should be carried thither again where they had them, and the houses to be repaired as sufficiently as before. As for *Perseus* and his elder son *Philip*, he delivered unto *A. Posthumus* to be kept in safe custody: but his daughter and younger son, he sent for to *Amphipolis* from *Samotheace*, and used them with all courtesy and kind entertainment as possibly he could. When the day was come, on which he appointed that ten principal burgeses out of every City should repair to *Amphipolis*, & that all the Kings letters and writings in what place soever to be found, should be sought up & represented there together with all his mony: he sat him down upon the tribunal seat, together with the ten legats from *Rome*, and the whole multitude of the Macedonians were gathered round about him. Albeit they had been used to subjection under the King, yet this new Tribunal carried with it a form and shew of a terrible government, namely, when they saw the high seats & buisiers to keep the doors and places of entry, the publick crier and the sergeant: strange matters all unto their eyes and ears & where to they had not been accustomed, able to strike a terror to allies, much more then, to conquered enemies. After silence made by the crier, *Paulus* pronounced in the Latine tongue, what the Senats pleasure was to be done, and what himself with the advice of his Council assistant about him had thought upon and set down: all which points *Cn. Octavius* the Pretor (for he also was in place) interpreted and related again in the Greek language. *Imprimis*, they ordained the *Lacedaemonians* to be free, to have and enjoy the same Cities and territories, to use and exercise their own Laws to create yearly Magistrats, and to pay half of that tribute to the people of *Rome*, which they used to pay unto their Kings. *Item*, to divide *Macedony* into 4 quarters: The one, and that the principal, for to contain all the country between the 2 rivers *Strymon* and *Nessus*: to which part there should be laid the tract on the farther side of the river *Nessus* Eastward (where *Perseus* held Towns, Castles and Cities) excepting *Abnus*, *Maronea*, and *Abdera* also beyond *Strymon* Westward all the Bisaltique territory, together with *Heraclea*, which they call *Synice*. For the second, all those parts which on the East-side the river *Strymon* encloseth, except *Synice*, *Heraclea*, & the *Bisaltas*: also on the West, whatsoever is bounded with the river *Axius*, together with the *Paeonians* lying to it, who inhabit upon the river *Axius* Eastward. The third quarter was that, which *Axius* from the east and *Peneus* the river from the west do compass, and to the north-side is limited with the mountain *Bora*, and to this portion was adjoined the tract of *Paeonia*, which coasteth along the river *Axius* toward the west: *Edessa* also and *Bithras* were annexed thereto. The fourth was beyond the mountain *Bora*, confining on the one side upon *Ilyricum*, & on the other upon *Epirus*. The head cities of every quarter where they should hold their sessions and councils he appointed these: For the first, *Amphipolis*: The *Palaeonea* for the second: In the third *Pella*: & *Palaegonia* in the fourth. To these places he ordained that by summons they should repair, and hold the assemblies of each quarter: thither the mony to be brought: and there the magistrats to be created. *Item*, he declared and pronounced that it should not be lawful for any person to contract marriage, neither to have commerce & traffick together in buying or selling of lands or tenements without the limits of their own division. *Item*, that in their mines they should no more dig for silver and gold: but for Iron and brasse they had permission. And those that had the profit thereof, were to pay the one half of the old rent, which they were wont to yeeld and grant unto the King. *Item*, he for-

A had them to use any more farraine salt brought from out of other parts. When the Dardanians put in their claim for *Pannonia*, for that it had sometime been their appurtenance, and also confined upon their country; he pronounced freedom to all those who had been subjects to *K. Persius*. But afterwards, when they could not obtain *Pannonia*, he granted unto them the commodity of the traffick for salt; and he charged the inhabitants of the said country to carry it to *Sisti* in *Pannonia*, and he set them down a certain price. *Item*, he debarred them from selling any ship-timber themselves, and from suffering any others. Unto those countries which bordered upon the Barbarians (and except the third quarter all the rest, confined upon them) he granted that they might keep armed garri- sons upon their frontiers and marches. These Acts and ordinances thus published the first day of the session, wrought diversly in the minds of men. Freedom granted beyond their expectation, and the easment in the yearly tribute, comforted their spirits and made them look up. But by the inter- ruption of the commerce & traffick one region with another, they seemed like creatures dismem- bred and plucked under joint-meal, so as having need one of another, yet they had no mutual & reciprocal use and intercourse. In so much as the Macedonians themselves knew full little how big and large *Macedony* was, and how commodiously it was divided, so as each part was sufficient in it self without the help of others. The first region containeth the *Bisaltæ* who inhabit beyond the river *Nesius* and about *Strymon*, the most valiant men of all the rest; besides, it hath many proper commodities by it self as well fruits of the earth as mines of metals, together with the opportunity and commodious situation of *Amphipolis*, which as a frontier-bar stoppeth all avenues on the east side into *Macedony*. The second quarter hath in it two most famous and frequented cities, *Thes- salonica* and *Cassandria* & *Pallens*, a fertile & fruitful land. Besides, the maritime commodities which the havens at *Torone* and the head of *Athos* (and it they call the port or rode of *Eneas*) do yeelds to say nothing of other bayes lying handsomely; some toward the Iland *Eubœa*, others toward *Hellaspont*. The third countrey containeth the famous cities *Edessa*, *Berythea* and *Pella*, the warlike nation of the *Vetæi*, and many Gauls and Illyrians besides who there inhabit, notable men all of action & execution. The fourth region is peopled with the *Eordians*, *Lincestians*, and *Pelagonians* unto whom, the provinces *Atintania*, *Strymonia*, and *Elimia* are adjoynd. All this quarter is cold, rough and hard to dwell in. The nature of the inhabitants is likewise suitable to the soil; the fiercer they are by reason of the barbarous nations their neighbours, who one whole find them occupied with war, and otherwhiles mingle their rites and fashions with theirs in time of peace.

D When *Macedony* was thus divided and each part distinguished by their severall uses & commodi- ties, he appointed a general review to be made and enrolment of all the Macedonians; having de- clared unto them before, that he purposed to give laws unto them.

This done, the *Ætolians* were cited and called next; and in the whole course of the commission touching them and their affairs, more inquisition there was, who favoured the Romans, and who affected the King, than of any that either had done or suffered wrong. The murderers were found guilty and absolved, and the banishment of the exiled was as much avowed as their death justified who were massacred: *A. Balin* only was convicted and condemned, for that he had sent Roman souldiers to execute the said butchery. This issue of the *Ætolian* cause, posied up the spi- rits of all those who had sided with the Romans, throughout all the nations and cities of *Greece*; in such sort as they grew to a pride intolerable: but contrarywise put down & abased under their feet, as many as were suspected any waies to have cast a favor and born good will to the King. The principal states-men of their cities were of three sorts: two of them were skillful in the art of so- cialling & either by submitting and subjecting under the Roman Empire, or winding within the fa- vor and friendship of the *RK*, grew infinitely rich and mighty themselves in privat, with the publick oppression and undoing of their countrey: the third between, sung a mean, and was cross to the other men that stood for the defence of their liberties and maintenance of laws, who as they were more dearly beloved of their neighbours at home, so they were less grations and of credit with strangers abroad. The favorites and supplicants only of the Romans, were advanced by their prosperi- ty; they alone sat in place of government, they were employed in all embassages, and none but they.

F These being there present in great number coming out of *Peloponnesus*, *Ætolia*, and from other fre- quent assemblies of *Greece*, filled the heads of the ten delegats and high commissioners; buzzing into their ears, that not they alone who openly were seen in their braverie and vanity of spirit, vaunting themselves for the hosts and friends of King *Persius*, but many more besides under-hand took part with him and favoured his proceedings: as for the rest (under a colour of maintaining liberty) practised in all their counsels and conspired against the Romans what they could: and never would the Greek Nations abide long in their allegiance, unless the hearts of that side were taken down and broken; and their authority only cherished, confirmed, and strengthened, who regarded nothing else but the empire and sovereignty of the Romans. When these had informed and presented divers by name: sent for they were by the letters milive of the General; out of *Ætolia*, *Acarnania*, *Epeiros*, and *Pannonia*, to give their attendance and follow him to *Rome*, there to answer the cause. But into *Achaia* two of the high Commissioners were sent, namely, *C. Clau- dius* and *C. Domitius*, who personally should summon them by virtue of their edict. And this was done for two considerations: the one, because they thought verily that the *Achaians* were more considerate and cautious, and therefore would not obey the summons by letters, and any adventure also, *C. Claudi* and other the informers and accusers who made presentment of their names, should be in some danger of their lives: the other cause why they would be present

to give them summons was this, that amongst the Kings records and rolls they had found the letters of the principal Statesmen of other nations: but of the Achæans there appeared no writing at all under their hands, and therefore the imputations charged upon them were nothing evident.

After the Ætolians were dismissed, the nation of the Acarnanians was cited and called into place: as for them, there was no change nor alteration: only *Leucas* was exempt from doing service to the high court and general assembly of the Acarnanians. As they followed the inquisition still farther and farther, making enquiry who either in publick or private had taken part with the King, they extended their commission as far as into *Asia*, and sent *Labæus* to demolish and raze *Antissa* a City in the Isle *Lesbos*, and to translate the inhabitants thereof to *Methyæna*: the pretence was, for that they had given harbor in their haven to the provisions of *Antenor* the Kings Admiral, at what time as he hovered and ranged about *Lesbos* with his pinnaces. Two there were that lost their heads, men of quality and great worth, to wit, *Andronicus* the Ætolian son of *Andronicus*, for that he followed his father and bare arms against the people of *Rome*: and *Næus* a Theban, by whose advice and perswasion they had contracted a society with *Persens*.

After this enquest of foreign causes interposed and coming between, the assembly of the Macedonians was called again: wherein as touching the state of *Macedony*, pronounced and published it was, That there should be certain Senators chosen, whom they call *Synædri*, by whose counsel the common-weal should be managed and governed. After this, were the names read of the principal Macedonians, whom he appointed (together with their children as many as were above fifteen years of age) to go before into *Italy*. This at first was thought to be an hard and cruel course, but anon it appeared to the multitude of the Macedonians, that it was all done for their liberty. For nominated there were, the Kings friends and gallants of his court, the commanders of armies, the Admirals of the fleets, and the Captains of the garrisons, who were wont to serve the King basely, but to over-rule others proudly and imperiously: some exceeding rich and wealthy, others spending above the proportion of their revenues and living: all faring at their table, and arrayed in apparel like KK, not one carying with him the civil mind of a good citizen, nor one that could abide to hear of laws, or of equal liberty. All these therefore, who had been employed in any ministry or service about the King even they also who had been used in the least embassages that were, had commandment to depart out of *Macedony* and to go into *Italy*: and look who obeyed not this edict, were threatened with death. Unto *Macedony* he gave laws, with such diligent care and good regard, as if he had reckoned them not for enemies vanquished, but for allies of good desert: such laws (I say) as the very practise and tryal of long time (the only corrector of all statutes) was not able upon that experience, to check and control.

After these serious affairs were finished, he exhibited with great furniture and preparation, a solemnity of game and disport at *Amphipolis*, which long before he had intended, and for the intimation whereof he had both sent out his messengers to the States of *Asia* and to the KK, and also himself in his circuit and visitation of the Grecian Cities, had given warning to the great men and principal citizens. And thither repaired out of all parts of the world, a number of cunning, dextrous, and artificial actors, that made profession of such plaies and pastimes: besides a sort of wrestlers, champions, and brave horses of the best kind & breed. Also divers embassages with their beasts for sacrifices, and whatsoever else was usually done of custome, at the great and solemn games in *Greece*. Thus it came to pass, that men admired not only his magnificence, but his wisdom also in exhibiting these shews and fights, wherein the Romans at that time were altogether rude and ignorant. Moreover, he feasted and banquetted the Embass in the same sumptuous manner and respective consideration. And this (by report) was an apophthegm and common saying of his, That none could make feasts and set forth plaies better than he who had the skill to win a field. Having represented their solemnities of all sorts, and bestowed all the brazen shields on shipboard; all other armor and weapons of sundry kinds, he piled upon a mighty heap, and after his prayers made to *Mars*, *Minerva*, *Jane Luna*, and other Gods and Goddesses, unto whom of right and duty appertained to consecrate and dedicate the spoils of enemies; himself (the General with his own hands put under a burning torch, and kindled the fire, and after him all the martial colonels standing round about, cast every man his fire-brand, and set all a burning. This was a thing noted in that great assembly of *Europe* & *Asia* where there was such a confluence of people from all parts, as well to testify their joy in his behalf as to see the shews and disports: in that meeting, I say, of so great numbers of sea-fightors and land-fighters, there was that plenty of all things and cheapness of venials, that *Emilius* the General, of that exceeding store and abundance, gave much away freely to privat persons, to cities and nations, not only for their present use, but also to cary home with them into their countries. And this multitude there assembled, took not more pleasure either in beholding the stage-plaies acted, or seeing men practise feats of bodily strength and activity, or the running of horses to the race, as in viewing the Macedonian booty and pillage laid all abroad to be seen: namely, of statutes, and painted tables, of rich cloth of tissue, of vessels in gold or silver, in copper, and iron, most curiously wrought in that royal seat and City of *Pella*, not only to serve for a present shew and no more, like those that the Kings Palace of *Alexandria* was replenished with, but also for continual and everlasting use. These were all embarked, and committed to the charge of *Ca. Octavian* to be transported to *Rome*. *Pentus* after he had given the Embassadors a grand and courteous farewell, bailed over the River *Strymon*, and lodged within a mile of *Philippi*. From thence he unloosed and journeyed until he came on the fifth day as far as *Philippi*.

13 Cities there
be of that
name.

A Pellus: And passing by the City, he abode two daies at a place which they call *Spezium*, and then he sent *P. Nasica*, and *Q. Maximus* his own son, with part of the forces in an expedition, to give the war unto those Illyrians, who had succoured *Perseus* in his wars, but he commanded them to meet him at *Oricum*. Himself marching toward *Epirum*, at the fifteenth remove arrived at *Passaron*. Not far from thence lay *Anicium* encamped: unto whom he dispatched his letters, so the end that he should not be troubled at those designs which were to be put in execution; signifying therein that the Senat granted to the army the pillage of all the Cities of *Epirum*, which had revolted unto *Perseus*: which done, he suborned certain Centurions, and sent them into all the Towns with instructions, to give out that his coming was to withdraw all the garrisons from thence, with an intent that the Epirots should enjoy their freedom as well as the Macedonians; & so he summoned out of every City ten of the chief to repair unto him. And when he had charged & commanded them to bring abroad into the market place all the gold and silver which they had, he sent out certain cohorts and companies of souldiers to every of the said Cities: they who were assigned for the places farthest remote went before them, which were appointed to the nearer; and this was ordered so, that upon the same day they should enter into them all at once. Now the Colonels and Centurions had their errand delivered them, what to do. In the morning he times all the gold and silver was brought forth together accordingly, and that at the fourth hour of the day a signal was given to the souldiers to fall to ransack and rife the Cities. Wherein they found so great store of pillage, that every horseman had for his part * 400 Denarii, and the footmen 200 apiece, and a hundred and fifty thousand poles were led away into captivity. Then the walls were rased of the said Cities thus spoiled, and those were to the number of seventy. All the booty and prizes were sold, and out of that mass of money were the souldiers paid. From thence *Paulus* went down to the Sea side, unto *Oricum*. But the souldiers minds were nothing so well satisfied, as he supposed they had been, for discontented mightily they were and angry, that they had no share at all in the Kings pillage and treasure, as if they had made no war in *Macedony*. At *Oricum* he found those forces which he had sent under the conduct of *S. Nasica* and *Maximus* his son: there he shipped his whole army, and sailed over into *Italy*. In like manner a few daies after, *Anticius*, when the session and general meeting of the other Epirots and Acarnanians was ended, having given commandment, that their principal persons should follow him into *Italy* (the knowledge and deciding of whose causes he reserved and referred thither) himself attended the ships which the army had used in *Macedony*, and passed over likewise into *Italy*.

D At what time as these affairs were thus managed in *Macedony* and *Epirum*, the Embassadors who had been sent with *Attalus*, to end the war between the Gauls and King *Eumenes*, arrived in *Asia*. A surcease of arms for the winter time, was agreed upon between both parties during which cessation the Gauls departed home, and *Eumenes* was retired to *Pergamus* there to winter, where also he lay grievously sick. The spring was no sooner come, but the Gauls began to stir and took abroad: but by that time they were come as far as the *Synada*, *Eumenes* had assembled his forces from all parts to *Sardis*. There at *Synada*, the Romans parted with *Saluvstinus* the General of the Gauls: *Attalus* also went with them: but thought good it was not, that he should enter within the Gauls camp, for fear of stirring coals in heat of argument, and raising choles of the one side or other. So *P. Licinius* communed with the Duke of the Gauls also said: and when he had done he brought word back, that the more he was entreated, the worse he was and less tractable: inso-much as it might seem a wonder, that the words of the Roman Embassadors were so powerful and effectual with *Antiochus* and *Ptolemy* (two mighty and puissant Kings), as to make peace so presently between them, since they prevailed so little or nothing at all among the Gauls.

E To return again to *Rome*. First, the two captive Kings, *Perseus* and *Gernius* were sent thither, and committed there to ward they and their children: after them the multitude besides of prisoners, then consequently those Macedonians, as also the other chief pieces of *Greece*, who were wanted to repair unto *Rome*. For not they only were summoned to make appearance there, who had been seen present in place, but also all those were sent forth by letters missive contemptuously, who were but reported to have been with the Kings. Then *Paulus* himself a few daies after embarked in a ship of the Kings: a Gallacee of a mighty bigness, making way with sixteen banks and rowes of oars to a side, and she same set out and adorned with the Macedonian spoils, not only of brave gorgeous armours, but also of rich hangings, tissue, & cloth of gold out of the Kings wardrobe came up the *Tyber* against the stream, where great numbers of people went forth to greet him, and filled the banks on both sides of the river. Some few daies after *Antonia* and *Octavia* arrived also with their fleet. And to all three, by an act of the Senat was triumph granted. *Q. Cassius* the Pretor had commandment to deal with the Tribunes of the Common by a trans from the Senat, that they should present a bill unto the common people, that those things should be in full commission of command and government that day when they were to ride triumph into the City. See how mean things escape the reach of envy, but the highest commendations are arrogated. No doubt was made at all of the triumph of *Anicium*, nor yet of *Octavia*. But *Paulus*, with whom even they themselves would have been abashed to compare, could not avoid the backbiting of slanderous & malicious tongues. His souldiers according to the ancient discipline of war, he had held hard to their service: and so them had he given a donative indeed out of the booty, but more sparingly & with a lighter hand than they hoped for, from out of so great wealth and riches of the Kings: and yet in good faith to say a truth, full well he knew that if he had satisfied their greedy desire, and dealt

still amongst them till they had cried Ho, he should have left himself just nothing as he brought it
 into the common treasury. So that all this Macedonian army gave a shout by this time, as if they
 had but cold devotion to their General, either to appear, or to give their voices for the setting
 forward of the bill aforesaid, as touching his triumph and plenary power of command, when the
 day of assembly should come. Over and besides, *Ser. Sulpicius Galba*, who had been a martial Colo-
 nel in the second legion, in *Macedony*, and in private enmity with the General: both himself in per-
 son was in hand with him, and by the souldiers also of his own legion solicited and spurred on the
 rest to appear in sufficient number, there for to give their suffrages against him, and check the bill
 saying, "That as he was an imperious and Lordly commander, so he was as miserable a pinch-
 penny withal, and a good deed it were to deny his grace and to cross the law proposed for his
 triumph, & so to be revenged of him thoroughly: for no doubt the commons of the City would
 go that way that they should see the souldiers to lead before. He could not forthwith (say they)
 give money among his souldiers liberally: well, he shall surely know, that his souldiers yet can
 give him honour: but never let him look for the fruit of favor and grace, where he hath de-
 ved none. These words set them agog: and when *Tib. Sempronius*, a Tribune of the Commons
 read out and published the foresaid bill in the Capitol, and that by permission of law any private
 person might have spoken thereto, and no man came forth, as being a matter whereof no doubt &
 question was to be made: then *Servius Galba* suddenly stepped forth, and required of the Tribune,
 That (forasmuch as it was so far forth dayes, as being the eight hour thereof, so that he had not
 time enough to declare and shew at large, what allegations he had why they should not grant *L.*
Emilius a triumph) they would adjourn the assembly to the next day, and betimes in the morn-
 ing set the matter on foot again: for that he had need of a whole day and no less, to plead that
 cause to the full as he should do. But when the Tribune willed him again to speak his mind that
 day, if he had ought to say, he made a speech, and with his long oration held the court until it
 was within night: putting them in mind and alledging, "How precisely and rigorously he had
 exacted at their hands all military duties; how he had imposed upon the souldiers more painful
 and dangerous labour than need was: but contrary-wise in dealing rewards and bestowing ho-
 nourable recompences for good service, he was over-straight-laced & too short in every point:
 and verily souldiery and warfare, if it continued still under such Captains, will be more hard, tra-
 veltome, and tough to souldiers and warriors: but when all is done and victory obtained, rewar-
 ded it shall be with bare poverty and neglect of honour. Certainly, the Macedonians are in bet-
 ter case yet than the Roman souldiers. But if they would be present in great frequency the next
 morrow, so to deny and revoke this bill, then these rich and mighty men shall know full well,
 That all lieth not in the hands of the Captain and Commander, but that the souldiers also can do
 somewhat. The souldiers animated and induced with these perilous words, resorted the day follow-
 ing in so great multitudes, and pestered the whole Capitol so full as none but they could come in
 to give their voice. The first tribes that were called in, clearly called the grace: which when the
 principal and chief men of the City saw they ran all into the Capitol with open mouth crying out
 upon this indignity offered, That *L. Paulus* a conqueror in so great and dangerous a war, should
 be deprived of his due triumph: and the grand Commanders and Generals of the field were now
 subjected and entailed to the loose licentiousness and greedy avarice of their souldiers. In this
 one thing (say they) have we too too much faulted, such hath been our favours and partiality, and
 so loth have we been to displease any: but what will become of us in the end if souldiers once may
 come to be Lords and masters, and thus to crow over their Generals? And every man raised and
 cried out upon *G. M.* In the end after this garbail was appeased, *M. Servilius* who sometime had
 been Consul and great master of the horse under the Dictator, requested the tribunes that they
 would begin all again annulling that which was past, and give him leave withal to make a speech be-
 fore the people. The Tribunes went aside to consult of this matter, and in fine, over-ruled with the
 authority and countenance of the nobles and peers of the City, began to treat afresh and go in
 hand with all matters, and making it known openly that they would recal back those first tribes,
 in case *M. Servilius* and other private men who were willing to utter their mind to the cause had
 once spoken. Then said *Servilius* as followeth, "Masters and friends, citizens here of *Rome*, if and
 why nothing else might be judged how singular & how excellent a Commander *L. Paulus* was
 in the field, his army (if there were no more) may suffice, that having with him such seditious
 and light-headed persons for his souldiers, and an adversary of his own among them, so noble of
 birth, so rich of fortune, and withal so arrogant and self-contented, ready to in the end stir up
 multitude to commotion, yet troubled he never was with any mutiny at all in his whole army.
 The same severity it was in government & conduct that held them in law and good order, which
 now at this present they have & detain. And so long as they were managed by ancient discipline,
 they durst not quarrel nor give offence: As for *Servius Galba* if (like a new recruit who is to
 show the first proof) to give the day and basket of *M. Emilius* he would have made choice
 of *L. Paulus* to begin withal and salute him at the bar, he should not yet have trusted his tri-
 umph, which (if there were nothing else to dissuade and draw him back) the Senate had judged
 to be just & due: but the morrow after his triumph (when he had fresh with a private man) he
 might have given presentment of his name, & by order of law manifested his arrogances unto
 him and so ended process: or rather he might have said a little longer, boldly, that himself
 had been a Magistrate in place, and then have gone roundly to work, arrested him upon an action
 "10

The Oration
 of *M. Servilius*
 in the behalf
 of *Paulus*.

A to answer at aday, and so accused him judicially before the people. Thus should *L. Emilius* have
 H had his triumph for reward and recompence of his well-doing, in that so nobly & valiantly he
 had conducted this war: thus likewise should he have suffered condign punishment, if he had
 committed ought unworthy either of his ancient glory or this new honor. But will you have the
 truth? which he could find no matter of crime to reproach him with, he fought by waies and in-
 direct means to detract his well deserved praises. He demanded yesterday, one full day to accuse
L. Paulus: and * four hours, even all the day time that was left he spent in making an incedive
 against him. What prisoner was there ever brought to the bar so culpable and sinful, but all the
 faults of his whole life might be ripped up, deciphered, and painted forth in so many hours space?
 But what objected he all that while, that *L. Paulus* if he were to frame his defence, would wish
 B to deny? O that some man would procure me here for the while two assemblies and courts, the
 one of Roman souldiers employed lately in *Macedony* the other more pure and uncorrupt of the
 twain, namely, of citizens sounder in judgment, void of all favor, & cleer from hatred. And the
 people of *Rome* I would have to be the judge. First, let *Paulus* be accused in the grand assembly &
 court of these citizens. Tell me, O *S. Gellus*, what would you say against him before those *Quirites*
 of *Rome*. For there you should have been cut off and lost all this discourse & special part of your
 oration, carrying these terms, You looked too streightly & precisely to the *corps de guard* in their
 stations; you held the souldiers too hard to their watch and ward; the sentinels were neerly and
 narrowly looked unto; & you were over curious about going the rounds & relieving the watch,
 C in the night season; about the works and fabricks you put the souldiers to more toiling & im-
 bil- ing than heretofores whiles you, my *L. General*, their surveior, over-seer, and task-maker, rode
 all about to exact the utmost with all extremity: in one & the same day when you had the army
 on foot, presently from a journey you led them forth to battails: when the victory was got, you
 would not suffer the souldier to breath and take repose, but caused him to march immediatly &
 to follow the enemy in chase; also, whereas the booty to be parted & shared out might have en-
 riched your self, yet will you carry the Kings treasure in shew of triumph & then lay it up in the
 chamber of the City. As these be shrewd matters, like sharp goads to prick those souldiers & let
 D them on, who think they have not scope enough to serve their dissolute looser, or too small al-
 lowance to content their covetous appetits: so, with the people of *Rome* they would have no-
 thing at all prevailed: who if they should not call to mind examples & stories of old, which they
 have heard their fathers talk of, namely, what overthrowes have been received through the indul-
 gence and popularity of Generals; and contrarywise what victories have been achieved by their
 severe discipline and government: yet at leastwise they cannot chuse but remember what odds &
 difference there was in the late Punick war, between *M. Minutius* General of the horse, and *Q.*
Fabius Max. his Dictator. And therefore since the accuser might know all this, the defence of *Paulus*
 in this behalf was altogether needless and unnecessary. Let us go now to the other audience,
 and assembly of the Macedonian souldiers. But now me thinks I must not call you *Quirites* any
 more, but souldiers: if haply there be so much grace in you, as that this name yet may cause you
 to blush, & be abashed for very shame of the world, to offer abuse unto your General. And verily
 E for mine own part, I find a great change in my self, & am otherwise affected in my mind, now
 that I seem to speak unto an army of souldiers, than ere-whiles I was, when my Oration was at-
 commodate and framed to the commons of a City. Now souldiers, what say you to the matter?
 Is there any one at *Rome* (but *Perseus* again) that would not have a triumph over the Macedoni-
 ans? & are you not ready to pull such a one in pieces with those very hands, wherewith you van-
 quished the Macedonians? He, whosoever he is, that impeacheth you for entering into the City in
 triumph, trust me truly, would have debarred you of victory if it had bin in his power. Lo, how
 foully are ye deceived (souldiers) and far out of the way, if ye think that the triumph is the honor
 only of the General, and not of the souldiers likewise, and consequently of the whole people of
 F *Rome*. This is not *Paulus* his case alone. Many others likewise there have been, who when they
 could not obtain triumph at the hands of the Senate, triumphed nevertheless upon the Albane
 mountain. As impossible it is for any man to bereave *L. Paulus* of the honor due for the finishing
 of the Macedonian war, as it was to disappoint *C. Lutatius* of his glory for ending the first Pu-
 nick war, *P. Cornelius* for the second; or others besides who after them triumphed. It is not a tri-
 umph that can make *L. Paulus* better or worse, either the greater captain or the less. Herein con-
 sists the credit, renown & reputation of the souldiers and of all the people of *Rome* more than
 his: for fear lest they be reputed & noted either forenvious & malicious, or else unthankful for
 their best members & noblest citizens; & therein seem to imitate the people of *Athens*, who ever-
 more persecute and plague with envy their best men that live amongst them. Your ancestors and
 forefathers when time was (faulted this waies enough I wis) in the perion of *Camillus*, whom they
 offered abuse unto, before the City by his means was recovered out of the Gauls hands. Much you
 G were to blame your selves here & overmuch too in *P. Africanus*. That in *Liternum*, his misson,
 house and place of habitation (who was the conqueror of *Africa*) should be shewed: that in
Liternum (I say) the sepulchre of *P. Africanus* should be seen. Let us blush for very shame, that
L. Paulus, as he is equal to them in glory and honor, should likewise go with them and have his
 part of your hard and wrongful dealing. The first thing that ye do then, let be this Out with this
 spot & stain of infamy which ye have caught; so reproachful in regard of other nations, so hurt-
 full to your selves. For who wil ever hereafter wish to be like *Africanus*? who will endeavor to
 resemble

* By this it is
 be collected,
 that they
 coured the
 day 12 hours
 from 6 to 6, &
 not from sun
 to sun, as *Seneca*
 would have it.

resemble *L. Paulus* in a City so unthankful, say, so spiteful and malicious to all good men? Say if there were no question at all of infamy and obloquy, but of honor only and reputation, tell me if I beseech you) is there any triumph that comprises not the glory also of the Roman name? So many triumphs over the Gauls, so many again over the Spaniards, and so many over the Canthabrigians, are they reputed and called the triumphs of the Captains alone, and not likewise of the people of *Rome*? And like as we say, that we triumphed not over *Pyrrhus* only, nor over *Antiochus* but over the Epirots likewise and the Carthaginians: even so neither *M. Curius* alone, nor *P. Cornelius*, but the Romans also have triumphed. True it is, and I must needs say, that the soldiers have a proper interest and part by themselves, in that they alone (dight with branches and chaplets of laurel, and every one bravely to be seen and adorned with the gifts that have been given them) resound in Triumph, *Triumpe*, and as they pass along the City sing and chant the praises of themselves and of their Captain-Generals. And if it fortune at any time that the soldiers be not brought home out of the province to the triumph, they grumble & are discontented: yet notwithstanding, absent though they be, they think it is their due: and so long as their General and leader triumpheth, they triumph also, because the victory was achieved by the strength of their arms. Good soldiers, if a man should ask you, for what intent you were reconducted into *Italy*: and wherefore so soon as the service was performed and the war brought to an end, ye had not presently your congys of discharge? moreover to what purpose ye came by companies and squadrons under your ensigns and colors: for what cause ye stay and remain here, and go not every man his waies to his own home? what answer would ye make else, but, That ye would be seen in triumph? And to say a truth, since ye have won the victory and are conquerors, I cannot blame you may ye ought to desire for to be seen and seen again. It is not long since we triumphed over *Philip* (this mans father) and over *Antiochus* likewise: and reigned both they did as *KK*, when the triumph was: and shall there be no solemnity of triumph over *Perseus*, taken prisoner and brought captive with his children into the City? If *L. Paulus*, standing beneath as a privat person, one amongst the company of gowned citizens, seeing *L. Anicius* and *Cn. Octavius* arrayed sumptuously in cloth of gold, and in their rich purple robes and mantles of estate, mounting up the Capitol in their triumphant chariots, should ask them the question and say in this manner: Tell me, *O Lucius Anicius* and you *Cn. Octavius*, judg ye in your own conceit that you are more worthy of a triumph than I? They would no doubt come down each one out of his chariot and yield him their place, yea, and for very shame deliver up all their ensigns and ornaments unto him. And you *Quirites*, had you rather see *Gentius* than *Perseus* led in triumph? would you wish indeed to triumph for an accidental appendant only of the war, rather than for the main substance of the war? Shall the legions coming out of *Sclavonia*, and the mariners at sea, enter the City crowned with laurel garlands: and the legions out of *Macedony*, being denied their own triumph stand still and behold others to triumph? Moreover, what shall become of this rich booty? what shall be done with the spoils of that great and wealthy victory? where shall be bestowed and laid up so many thousand coslets and armors plucked from the bodies of enemies slain? Shall they be sent back again into *Macedony*? Those costly images of gold, of marble of ivory: those goodly fair pictures: those pretious clothes and hangings of purple, scarlet, and tissue: that mighty quantity of gold and silver wrought into vessels chased and engraven: that huge mass of the Kings mony and coin, what shall we do with it? What shall it be carried all by night as stollen goods into the publick treasury and City Chamber? The goodliest sight of all the rest, what say you to it? A most noble & puissant King is taken prisoner, where shall he be shewed to the people of *Rome* his conqueror? What turning, what concourse there was of people to see *K. Syphax* captive (& yet he was but an accessory to the Punnick war) most of us do well remember. Shall *K. Perseus* then, a prisoner and captive: shall *Philip* and *Alexander* his sons, (persons of so great name) be hidden and kept from the sight and eyes of the City? And there were no more but *L. Emilius* himself, twice Consul, the conqueror & subduer of *Greece*, all men would desire to see him, enter the City in his triumphant chariot. We created him *Cos.* for this intent that he should finish and determin this war, which to your dishonor and great shame had hung for the space of 4 years. To him then, who (at what time as the lot of that province fell unto him, and when he departed on his voyage from *Rome*) had all our hearts to presage victory and triumph, shall we now deny triumph when he hath the victory? And verily in so doing, we shall not only defraud men, but rob the gods also of their honor: for due it is to the very gods also, and not to men alone. Have not your ancestors ever used to enterprize all great affairs in the name of the gods first, & therein also to end last? The *Cos.* or Pretor, when he is to take his journey into his province, or to levy war, with his Lictors before him clad in their coats of arms, is ever wont to make his solemn vows in the Capitol: after he hath acquit himself of his charge and obtained victory, when as he triumpheth, he transferreth in pomp the rich presents of the people of *Rome* so well deserved, and offereth them to the same gods in the said Capitol, unto whom there first he pronounced his vows. And the beasts for sacrifice going before the pomp of triumph, are not the least part of this solemnity: that it may appear, how the General in his return is mindful of the gods, & rendereth thanks unto them for the happy managing of the affairs of Common weal. As for those beasts for sacrifice which he hath appointed to be shewed in the pomp of triumph, slay them: neither makes it matter whose hand doth in some kil one & some another, but those sacred viands of the Senat, which are not to be eaten in any privat house, nor in publick place unhallowed, but

A "but only in the Capitol: and there, not for the pleasure of men, but of God and men together,
"will ye trouble and impeach at the suggestion of *Servius Galba*? Shall the game be thus against
"the triumph of *L. Paulus*? shall *Perseus* King of the Macedonians, with his children and the mul-
"titude besides of captives, with the spoils of the Macedonians, be left behind at the river side?
"shall *L. Paulus* go directly from the City gate home to his house as a private person, like one that
"hath been abroad in the countrey to see his farm, and is newly returned? But thou Centurion and
"thou souldier, give ear, I advise thee, to the ordinance which the Senat hath decreed as touching
"the General *Paulus*, rather than to the vain speech of *Serv. Galba*: hearken to this, that I say the
"word, rather than he. As for him, he hath learned nought else but to prate and talk, and that to
"the depraving of others full maliciously. I tell thee, fought have I with mine enemies even upon
B "defiance given twenty times and three; done I have my devoir, and from them all that were in
"combat with me, I never failed but carried away their spoils: I bear the marks about me of many
"a wound, and the honorable scars thereof are to be seen, all of them in the breast and forepart of
"my body. At which word, they say, he bared his naked skin, and related withal in what baselie
"had received this or that wound. Now as he shewed these scars, and chanced to discover some
"parts that better I wis and more honestly had been unseen, and therewith, a * bunch or swelling
"of a rupture that he had in his groin, wherat some of them that stood next unto him took up a
"laughter, then (sd. he) even this that you have espied here, and make such game at, I caught with
"a train, riding continually as I did, and never from my horseback day nor night: and no more
"ashamed I am and displeased with my self for that infirmity, than for these scars which you here
C "see: since that it never was any impediment unto me in performing my service to the Common-
"weal, either in civil affairs of City, or in warfare abroad. Well, I an old servitor, have been, con-
"tent here to shew unto yong men and raw souldiers, my body, many a time and often hacked,
"pierced and slashed with the sword. Let *Galba* now lay bare that whole skin of his own so slick
"and fair. Now my masters, you that are Tribuns, call the tribes again to the Centurins, and take
"their voices. As forme [down] I will, and go after the souldiers hard at heels. Know I will which
"be those lewd and unthankful companions that had rather be footed up and flattered in the
"wars by mutinous persons, than serve under the martial discipline of their General. * * *

Βυβαροκήλη,
Hermia vel ra-
nex Ipeinis.
When the goat
bear down to
that part, upon
distention or
bursting of
their rim,

All within
these marks
[] is supplied
out of Plu-
tarch. Some-
what wanteth
besides imme-
diately after
this Oration;
namely, part
of the descrip-
tion of *Paulus*
his triumph.

Valerius Antius reporteth, That the sum of all the gold and silver taken in pillage and carried in
the pomp of this triumph, amounted to the worth of 20 millions of Sesterces. Which maie, no
doubt, riseth much greater by the proportion of the number of wains, and the poies both of
gold and silver by the same author set down in general sums. And as some have recorded he either
spent in the war next before, or else scattered and lost in his flight when he made hie to *Samo-*
thrace, as much again as that came to. And the more wonder it was, that so mighty a mass of
money had been gathered and heaped up within thirty years after the war between *Philip* and the
Romans, raised part out of the issue and income of his mett mines, and part out of other profits
and tributs. Thus *Philip* very bare of money, and *Perses* contrary-wise exceeding rich, began to
make war with the Romans. Last of all, *Paulus* himself rode in his chariot, carrying a great port
and majesty with him, both for his comely and personable body, and also for his reverent old age.
After his chariot, among other honorable personages rode his two sons, *Q. Maximus* and *P. Scipio*.
Then followed the horsemen by troops, and the footmen by their cohorts and companies,
every one keeping their ranks full decently. The footmen had given them a hundred Sesterces
apiece, the Centurions double, and the horsemen triple so much. And it is thought, that he meant
to have given the footmen as much as the most, and to the rest in proportion, in case they either
had not denied his honour by their voices, or if in token of thankfulness and joy, they had but
willingly and cheerfully shouldered when this yoke which they received was pronounced and related
unto them. And not *Perses* alone (led as he was through the enemies City in chains before the
triumphant chariot of the conqueror) but also *Paulus* himself the conqueror glittering in glori-
ous in his cloth of gold and costly purple, was a mirror to the world in those few daies, of the transi-
tory and mutable state of mans life. For of those two sons, whom (after he had given the other
two by way of adoption from himself) he kept alone at home as heirs to bear his name, to main-
tain the sacred rites and sacrifices of his family, and to uphold the house itself, the younger, *Scipio*,
being under twelve years of age, five daies before his triumph died; and the elder full fourteen years
old and more departed within three daies after the triumph. Which two youths indeed ought
to have been armed in their embroidered robes of purple, and so to have ridden in the chariot
with their fathers, predestining and aiming to themselves the like triumphs another day.
Some few daies after, *M. Antonius* Tribune of the Commons assembled a solemn audience of
the people for his sake, wherein when after the manner and custom of other Generals he should
discourse of his own exploits and worthy deeds, he made them a memorable Oration and
well becoming a Noble Roman Prince, to this effect, Which I suppose (quoth he) my neighbors
and friends, the citizens of this Noble City, you be not ignorant, both how happily I have
succeeded in well publick and also how unfortunately within these few daies two of my children
have lost their private hopes in having one while he should be gloriously free and pomp of my
triumph remain the one, and seen another while the world to be as and be equall of my two
sons to be him the other, yet I be not your master as with this negligence of heart and affection
I thought to make a brief composition between my two young men, and for one, and my

The Oration
of L. Amylus
to the people
of Rome.

publick felicity of the City. At my departure from *Italy*, I loosed from *Brundisium*, and set up sail at the sun-rising: by the ninth hour of the same day I arrived safe with all my ships at *Corfu*. The fifth day after I came to *Delphi*, where I sacrificed unto *Apollon*, for my self, for your armies and your navy. From *Delphi* I departed, and within five daies was in the leaguer. Whereafter I had received the charge of the army, and altered some things which might greatly have hindered the victory, I marched forward, for that the enemies camp was inexpugnable, and the King could not be forced by any means to fight: and piercing through his guards that kept the passage, I went as far as *Petra*: so as by this means having perforce drawn the King to fight, I vanquished him in plain field and ranged battell. *Macedony* I subdued, and brought it in subjection to the people of *Rome*. Finally, that war which for four years together other Consuls before me so managed, as each one left it ever to his successor worse than he found it, I achieved, and brought to a final end in fifteen daies. I followed then in this train other prosperous affairs, as the fruits ensuing of that victory. For all the Cities of *Macedony* yielded unto me. The Kings treasure I seized upon: the King in person (as if the very Gods themselves had delivered and put him into my hands) I took prisoner, with his sons in the Temple of the *Samothracians*. But then my heart misgave me, and even then I suspected the surpassing favour of my good fortune: then cast I doubts, and began to fear the dangers at sea, having so mighty a mass of the Kings treasure to transport, and my victorious army to reconduct back into *Italy*. But seeing all things fall out to hearts desire, a prosperous voyage, a safe arrival, and whatsoever I could pray for at the Gods hands: this I wished in my heart, (as knowing full well the wonted manner of fortune, when she is at the highest pitch, to turn back again and come as fast down) that mine own house, rather than the Common-weal, might feel that change and alteration whensoever it came. And therefore I hope that this so notable a calamity of mine own, shall excuse the City for having any other misfortune, since that my triumph (as it were to check and mock the changes of this world) hath fallen so just between the funerals of my two sons. See how I and *Perseus* are represented above all others for two notable examples of the frail and unstable condition of man. Lo how he, who being a prisoner himself, saw his sons likewise led captives before his face, hath them yet living sound and safe: and I, who have triumphed over him, came from the burial of one of my sons to ride in my chariot up to the Capitol, and from thence descended again to find the other lying at point of death: neither is there of all that fair issue that I had, one left to bear the name of *L. Paulus Emilius*. For two of them the house of the *Cornelii* and the *Fabii* have, unto whom I gave them in adoption, as out of a great race and breed of children: so as now, in the family of *Paulus* there is not one left but himself. Howbeit for this calamity and ruin of my house, your felicity and the happy estate of the City is a great comfort and consolation again. These words delivered with such a magnanimity, troubled the spirits of the auditors, and alienated them more, than if he had lamentably moned himself unto them with piteous tears, for his childless estate and desolate condition.

C. Octavius solemnized his naval triumph over King *Perseus* the first day of *December*: in which solemnity, he neither had prisoners led in show, nor spoils carried in pomp. He gave to his mariners and sailors seventy and five *Denarii* apiece: to every pilot double, and to the ship-masters four times as much. After this, the *Senat* assembled, and the *LL.* ordained, That *Q. Cassius* should lead King *Perseus* with his son *Alexander*, together with his train that accompanied him, as also bring all his money and goods, silver, or what moveables and furniture soever he had to *Alba*, there to be kept in sure custody. And the Kings son of *Thrace*, with the hostages was sent to *Caracoli*, there to lie in safe ward. As for the rest of the captives who had been led in triumph, thought good it was they should be clapt up fast in prison.

Some few daies after these things, there arrived Embassadors from *Corys* King of the *Thracians*, bringing with them money for the ransom of his son and the other hostages. Into the *Senat* they were brought: where, by way of presamble they laid this for the ground of their speech, That *Corys* had not sided with King *Perseus* in the war, upon his own motive and accord, but was compelled to give hostages: then they besought the *LL.* of the *Senat* to suffer them to be redeemed at what price soever they would set down, were it never so high. Unto whom this answer was returned by authority of the *Senat*, That the people of *Rome* bare well in mind the amity which they had with *Corys*, with his progenitors, and the whole nation of the *Thracians*. As for the giving of the hostages, it was rather an evidence to prove, than an argument to excuse their trespass and fault: considering that when *Perseus* was quiet, the *Thracian* nation stood in no fear and awe of him, much lesse then when as he was troubled and occupied in war with the *Romans*. Howbeit although *Corys* preferred the favour of *Perseus* before the friendship of the people of *Rome*, yet they would consider of the matter, and respect more his quality and what was meet for his estate, than his desert and what he was worthy to have, and therefore they would release his son and the hostages, and send them home again. As for the people of *Rome*, their manner is to bestow their favours and benefits freely without regard of recompence the worth and estimation whereof they had rather leave to the consideration and minds of the receivers, than require and demand the same presently. So there were Embassadors nominated to reconduct the hostages into *Thrace* to wit, *T. Quintius Flaminius*, *C. Lucinius Nerva*, and *M. Ciminus Rebilus*. And to whole *Thracian* Embassadors were given by way of presents, 1000 asses apiece. So *Roxus* with the rest of the hostages was sent for from *Caracoli*, and with the fore-named Embassadors returned again to his father.

The

As the Kings ships taken from the Macedonians, of an extraordinary and illustrious bignes before
 time, were landed upon *Mars* field and there laid up. While the remembrance of the Ma-
 cedonian triumph remained still not in the minds only, but as it were in the very eyes of men,
L. Anicius triumphed over King *Gentius* and the Illyrians upon the very day of the feast *Quirinalis*.
 It was generally thought that all things therein rather resembled some likeness in show, than
 otherwise countervailed in substance the former triumph; The General himself *Anicius* was infe-
 rior to *Emilius* both in nobility and also in quality of person: and setting together their places
 of command, the one being but Pretor, and the other Consul; neither was *Gentius* equal to *Per-*
seus, nor the Illyrians to the Macedonians. Spoil for spoil, money for money, gifts for gifts there
 was no proportion nor comparison between them. And therefore as that late triumph was
 more resplendent and glorious than this, so considered in it self without other respect, it was not
 to be found fault withal and despised. *Anicius* within few daies had vanquished and thoroughly
 tamed the nation of the Illyrians: both by Sea and Land proud and mighty, bearing themselves
 stout and bold for their strong and fenced forts. The King he took prisoner, and those of the Kings
 race and royal blood. He shewed in triumph many field-ensigns, besides other spoils and move-
 able goods of the King. Likewise of gold seven and twenty pound weight, and of silver nineteen;
 besides 3000 Denarii, and a hundred and twenty thousand peeces of Illyrian silver in coin. Before
 his chariot were led King *Gentius* with his wife and children; *Carvilius* also the Kings brother,
 and certain noblemen of *Illyria*. Out of the pillage he gave unto his footmen 45 Denarii apiece,
 to every Centurion a double proportion, and unto the hotsmen a triple. To the allies of the *Lig-*
urians nation he allowed as much as to citizens; the sailors and mariners he made equal with the
 footmen. Herein he surmounted the triumph of *Emilius*, for that his souldiers followed after
 his triumphant chariot more jocund and merry, and the General was praised and extolled in many
 a ditty and ballad. *Anicius* writeth, That of his booty there was raised as much money as came
 to twenty millions of Sesterlii, over and above the gold and silver that went into the common
 treasury. But because I could not see how possibly such a sum should be made, I have set down
 mine author for the thing, now, chuse you whether you will believe him, King *Gentius* with his
 wife, children, and brother, was by order from the Senat to *Spolegium*, there to be kept in
 ward: all the captives besides were at *Rome* cast into prison, and there lay. But when the *Spole-*
tins refused to take the charge and custody of him and the rest, these Princes were translated from
 thence to *Igiturium*. There remained besides of the Illyrian prizes two hundred and twenty
 barks, which being taken from King *Gentius*, *Q. Cassius* by the ordinance of the Senat gave and
 distributed among the citizens of *Corphy*, *Apollonia*, and *Dyrhachium*.

The Consuls that year after they had only wasted the territories of the *Ligurians*, because they
 could never train the enemies forth to fight, having done no memorable service, returned to *Rome*
 for the choice of new Magistrats in the room of the old. And so the first comitial or court day
 that came, they created Consuls *M. Claudius Marcellus* and *C. Scribonius Curio*. The morrow after
 were elected for Pretors *L. Livius*, *L. Apuleius Saturninus*, *A. Licinius Nerva*, *P. Rutilius Calvus*,
P. Quintilius Varus, and *Marcus Furius*. These Pretors had their government in this manner:
 two for the jurisdiction within the City, two for *Spain*, the other for *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. This
 year leapt, and the leap day was the morrow after the feast *Terminalis*. That year died *O. Clau-*
dus the Augur, and in his place the college of the Augurs chose *T. Quinctius Flaminius*. Also *M.*
Fabius Pretor the Flamin of *Quirinus* the same year departed this life. This year also came King
Perseus to *Rome* with his son *Nicomedes*. He entered into the City with a great train attending up-
 on him; from the gate he went directly to the common place and the tribunal of *Q. Cassius* the
 Pretor. And when there was a great concourse of people about him from all parts; he said that
 his coming was to worship the Gods which are the presidents of the City of *Rome*; as also to sal-
 late the people of *Rome*, and withal to shew his own joy and to wish theirs for their happy vic-
 tory over the two Kings *Perseus* and *Gentius*, and for that by subduing the Macedonians and *Illy-*
rians, they had enlarged their hegemony and dominion. And when the Pretor made an offer to call
Perseus for him even that present day, if he would so himself he desired two daies respite to see the
 Temples of the Gods, to view the City, and to visit his good friends and acquaintance. *L. Corneli-*
us Scipio the treasurer was appointed to go about with him and shew him all: who also had been
 sent as far as to *Capua* for to meet him upon the way: also for him and his train about him, there
 was a sufficient house taken up, where he was kindly and liberally intreated. The third day af-
 ter he came into the Senat, where after he had congratulated in their behalf for their late victory,
 he recounted his own demerits and good deserts during the war; and then requested, that he
 might have leave to pay his vows and namely, to sacrifice at *Rome* in the capitol, ten head of grea-
 ter beasts, and one at *Preneste* to *Fortuna*. For that he said those vows were made for the victory
 of the people of *Rome*. Also that the league and alliance with him might be renewed: from that the
 Gaul won by conquest from King *Antiochus*, which being not by the people of *Rome* given unto
 any, the Gaul notwithstanding held in possession, might be conveyed unto him by a deed of gift.
 Last of all he recommended his son *Nicomedes* to the Senat. He found much favor among all them
 who had been Generals of armies in *Macedonia*. And therefore he obtained directly all other suits
 that he made: only as touching the said lands, this answer he had, That they would send certain
 commissioners to see and view the thing. And if it appeared and fell out, that the foresaid land
 appertained to the people of *Rome*, and was not passed away by gift to any already, they would
 repete

"separate King *Prospere* the worthiest man of all others, to receive that donation at his hands. But if it never belonged to King *Antiochus*, and so manifest and evident that the people of *Rome* had no right unto it, or if the Greeks had a grant thereof already, *Prospere* then must be content and pardon them, if they were unwilling to grant him with his people's prejudicial and injurious to another. Neither could a thing never so freely given, be an acceptable gift, which he knew the donor may take away from the donee at his pleasure. As for *Antiochus* himself, they would willingly receive him into their protection and his hands for so recommended. And how careful and tender the people of *Rome* was over those children committed unto them to keep, may appear by *Prodomas* the King of *Egypt*. With his sister was *Antiochus* dismissed. Orders were given that he should be presented with a certain sum of silver recompensed with silver plate of the quantity of 50 pound weight. Also they ordained that *Antiochus* should have gifts proportionable to that sum which was given *Masgabath* the son of *Antiochus* for all that he and all other things appertaining to sacrifices, should be allowed unto the King out of the King's chamber, like as to the magistrates of *Rome*, chose whether he would stay and govern them at *Antiochus*. Also that out of that fleet which rid in the harbor of *Antiochus*, there should be twenty galleys assigned him to use, until such time as the King were obliged at the fleet which was given him. Finally, that *L. Cornilius Scipio* should accompany him and never depart from him, but bear the charges both of him and his retinue about him until they were embarked and on shipboard; it is said, that the King rejoiced wonderfully at this courtesy and kindness shown him by the people of *Rome*, and that he would needs pay for those presents which were given him, only he comprehended his son to take a gift at the hands of the people of *Rome*. Thus much have our historians written as touching *K. Prosperi*. But *Polyhistor* reports that this King was unworthy the Majesty of so honorable a name, for that he was wont to mock the Embassadors of *Rome* with his head shaven and a cap upon it, so to acknowledge and call himself the freed villain and a slave of the people of *Rome*, and in jests so much he wore the badge and token of that degraded condition. As *Rome* likewise when he entered the Council-house, he stooped down and kissed the very door-ill, calling the Senators Gods, his Saviors, yea, and to have used other speeches not so honorable to the hearers, as befitting his own person. When he had sojourned in and about the City not above thirty daies, he took his leave and departed into his own Realm.

To the Reader.

From the five and fortieth book forward, all the rest of *Livy* (to the great main and blemish of the Latine tongue, and no small grief of learned men) is lost, even 100 books wanting five, like as those ten between the tenth and one and twentieth books, commonly called the second Decad. For as it appeareth by *L. Florus* the Epitomist there were in all 140: and the arguments of so many remain at this day, by him collected. But as it is true that *Francis Petrarch* saith *Livy* wrote in all 142: and as *Charles Sigonius* probably conjectureth, the 36 and 37 Breviaries of *L. Florus* be remainings of this last number. How all these complete books of *T. Livius* should miscarry, is a matter certainly known. Some hope there is that they are but mislaid, and laid out of the way. For like as within these hundred years some fragments of the story were discovered in *Mogunce*: and the last five books now extant, found by *Simon Grineus* in the Library of a monastery over against the City of *Worms*, and dedicated by *Erasmus* of *Rotterdam* unto *Charles* the son of *William Lord Montjoy*, in the reign of *Henry* the eighth of famous memory King of *England*, &c. so we are not to despair of the rest. In the mean times, we must make such of these brief summaries left unto us. Even as therefore I have inserted those ten Breviaries in stead of the books: so I thought it not amiss (in hope that one day the very books themselves will come to light) to proceed in the rest following: and the rather for that neither he that translated *Livy* into the *Tuscan* language, nor they who have done him into *French* (as far as I could ever see) have taken that pains.

The

*The Breviaries of L. Florus upon the rest of T. Livius his
Books, which are not extant.*

Of the XLVI. Book.

Eumenes came towards Rome. Now because in the Macedonian war he had carried himself in different between Perseus and the Romans, there passed a law in general terms, That no King might repair to Rome; so the end, that if he were excluded, he should not be repaid an enemy; nor if he were admitted, acquit and cleared of all fault. Cl. Marcellus the Consul subdued the Gauls inhabiting the Alps; and C. Sulpitius Gallus the Ligurians. The Embassadors of King Prusias complained of Eumenes, for that he invaded and wasted their borders; and they informed besides, that he had conspired with Antiochus against the people of Rome. At the earnest suit and entreaty of the Rhodians, a league was contracted with them. The Censors took a review and survey of the City, wherein were enrolled and taxed 327022 citizens of Rome. M. Aemilius Lepidus was elected president of the Senat. Ptolemæus the King of the Egyptians, was by his younger brother expelled out of his realm; but by the means of Embassadors (sent from Rome) he was restored to his Kingdom. Upon the death of Ariarathes King of Cappadocia, his son Ariarathes came to the crown, and by entercourse and mediation of Embassadors, renewed amity with the people of Rome. This book containeth besides, the wars against the Ligurians, Corsians, and Lusitanians, fought with variable fortune; the trouble also in Syria after the death of Antiochus, who left behind him Antiochus his son, a very child. The young Prince (together with his guardian Iyas) Demetrius the son of Seleucus (who had been sent in hostage to Rome) murdered privily, because he was not set at large and dismissed by the Romans; and so himself entered upon the Kingdom. L. Aemilius Paulus who had conquered Perseus, departed this life; whose incorruption and abstinence from the publick treasure was such, that notwithstanding he had brought both out of Spain and Macedony so great store of wealth and riches, yet when his goods were prized and sold, there would be hardly raised thereof sufficient to repay his wife her dowry. The Pompeian marishes were drawn drie by Cor. Cethegus the Consul (unto whom that charge was by lot given) and the same turned into firm ground.

Of the XLVII. Book.

Cneus Tremellius, a Tribune of the Commons had a fine set on his head, for that he had contended in a wrongful cause with M. Aemilius Lepidus the sovereign Pontife. The power and authority of the clergy Magistrates, was greater and mightier than before. A law was enacted as touching inordinable suit for offices. In the survey of the City, there were taxed in the subsidy book 328314 Roman citizens. L. Aemilius Lepidus was chosen again president of the Senat. Between the two brethren Ptolemæes, who were at variance, there passed this accord and agreement, That the one should reign in Egypt and the other in Cyrenæ. Ariarathes King of Cappadocia, by the politick plot and forcible power of Demetrius King of Syria dispossessed of his Kingdom, was by the Senat set into it again. Certain Embassadors were sent as delegates from the Senat to determine of the litigious ground between Masaniſſa and the Carthaginians. C. Marius the Consul fought against the Dalmatians, at the first unfortunately, but afterwards achieved the victory. The occasion of the war with them was this; for that they had made wast upon the Illyrians, who were allies of the people of Rome. The same nation Cornelius Nasica the Consul brought in subjection. Q. Opimius the Consul subdued the Ligurians beyond the Alps, who had spoiled Antipolis and Nicæa, two Towns belonging to the seignory of the Massilians. Moreover there are contained the adventures of many Captains in Spain, with no good success. In the 598 year from the foundation of the City, the Consuls so soon as the assembly for election was past, and other Consuls chosen for the year following, began their office. The cause of this alteration was, because the Spaniards were entered into rebellion. The Embassadors aforesaid who had been sent to take up and decide the controversy between Masaniſſa and the Carthaginians, made report, That they had found great store of ship-timber and other matters for a navy at Carthage. Certain Pretors accused by the provinces for avarice, were condemned.

Of the XLVIII. Book.

The Censors took a review and tax of the city, wherein were reckoned three hundred four and twenty thousand polls of citizens. The causes of a third Punic war be here record'd. Upon a report that there was a right puissant army of Numidians upon the borders of the Carthaginians, conducted by Artabazanes the nephew of Syphax, M. Porcius Cato perswaded in an oration to proclaim war against the Carthaginians, for that they intertained such a power within their frontiers under a colour against Masaniſſa, the enemy raised against the Romans: howbeit Publius Cornelius Nasica gain said him and dissuaded the matter. Whereupon ordained it was, that Embassadors should be sent to Carthage in official so observe what they did, and whereabout they went. Who after they had given the Carthaginians

Senat a check and rebuke, for that against the covenants of the league, they maintained forces, and were provided of timber and other stuff for a navy, they were unwilling to countenance such a project. Masaniissa and them: so as Masaniissa should forge and part with the land in question. But Gisco the son of Amilcar, a bold and seditious man; who then was sovereign Magistrate (and withstanding their Senate promised to be ruled by the award of the said Embassadors) incited them so by his persuasive remonstrances to war upon the Romans, that the Embassadors made shift to flee and save themselves, or else they had come to a mischief. When they related these news at Rome, the Senat already set and bent against the Carthaginians, were now by his words provoked much more. M. Porcius Cato performed the funerals of his son, deceased in his Pretorship, with exceeding small charges, according to his ability; for he was not poor. One Andronicus, who stoutly made the world believe, that he was the son of Perseus the King of Macedony, was sent to Rome. M. Emilius Lepidus, nine six times chosen President of the Senat by the Censors, gave his son in straight charge before he died, to carry him forth to be buried in a couch without linnen clothes and a purple pall, and not to bestow in other obsequies above one denier: saying, that the funerals of the greatest and best personages are wont to be ennobled and honoured with the show of images and titles, and not with sumptuous expenses. An inquisition there was about the practise of poisoning and forgery. Publilia and Licinia, who were endited for making away their husbands, put in sureties before the Pretor, to be bound in goods, lands, and body for them, and after judicial process passed, and their cause heard, by a decree of their kinsfolk suffered death. Gulusa the son of Masaniissa gave intelligence, that at Carthage there was mustering and levying of soldiers, rigging and providing of a fleet, all preparations no doubt for war: and Publius Cornelius Nasica replied against, that no thing was to be done inconsiderately, without advise. Thought good it was to send ten Embassadors, for to see the truth of all, and upon their knowledge to certify. L. Licinius Lucullus and A. Posthumus Albinus the Consuls, when they took musters with severity and rigour, and would not for favour spare any one, but press all, were commended by the Tribuns of the commons, who for their friends could obtain at their hands no release and immunity of souldiery. By occasion of the wars in Spain, which many times had been untowardly and unfortunately managed, when the City of Rome was so dismayed and daunted that there could not be found any one who would so much as accept of a martial Tribuneship, or was willing to go in quality of Lieutenant: P. Cornelius Emilianus stepped forth, made offer and professed, that he would undertake any kind of military service whatsoever should be laid upon him: and by his own example stirred up all the rest to the love of warfare. L. Lucullus the Consul, when Claudius Marcellus (after whom he succeeded) was thought to have quieted all the states and nations of Celtiberia, subdued the Vacceans, Cantabrians, and other regions and nations as yet unknown in Spain. P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Emilianus, the son of L. Paulus, and the nephew of Africanus by adoption, being there a martial Colonel, slew a Barbarian challenger that defied him. But in the winning of the City Interetia, he adventured a more dangerous enterprise: For he was the first of all other that scaled and mounted over the wall. Servius Sulpicius Galba the Pretor shed but badly in a battle against the Portugals. When the Embassadors were returned out of Africk, together with the Carthaginian Orators, and Gulusa the son of Masaniissa, bringing word, That they found at Carthage both an army and also an armada: thought good it was, to put to question and debate the matter in the Senat: where Cato and other principal Senators were of opinion and gave advice, to transport an army presently into Africk: but because C. Nasica opined and said, That he saw as yet no just and sufficient cause of war, agreed it was to forbear all hostility and force of arms, in case the Carthaginians would burn their navy and discharge their army: if not, then agreed it was, that the Consuls next following in place of government should propose as touching the Punick war. When the Theatre was built, which by the Censors had been put forth to no known to frame, and set up at a price, through the means of Pub. Cornelius Nasica, who inferred, that it was a piece of work unprofitable, yea, and hurtful to the manners generally of the citizens: by vertue of an act of Senat demolished it was and pulled down: so as the people for a long time stood on their feet to behold the publick plaies. The Carthaginians at that time took arms contrary to the league, and warred upon Masaniissa. But vanquished they were in field by him (who notwithstanding he now was fourscore year old and twelve, yet he used to eat his meat simply without any dainty sauce, yea, and to chew his bare bread still) and over and besides they deserved to draw upon their head the Roman war.

Of the XLIX. Book.

The beginning of the third Punick war, in the six hundredth and one year from the Cities foundation, which within 5 years after it began, came to a full and finall end. Much diversity there was in opinion between M. Porcius Cato whom they reputed for the wisest, and Scipio Nasica, who by the Senat was judged the best and honestest man in the City. Cato was altogether for the wars, and advised to destroy Carthage quite: Nasica contrariwise dissuaded what he could. Nevertheless, in the end ordained it was. That because against covenant and accord they kept a navy at sea, and had led forth an army out of their borders: also for that they entered into arms and levied war upon Masaniissa, a friend and confederat to the people of Rome, and received not into their Town, Gulusa his son, who was in the company of the Roman Embassadors: war should be proclaimed against them. But before that any forces were embarked and had taken the sea, the Embassadors of Utica repaired to Rome, resending themselves and all that they had. That embassy, as a special presage to the issue and event of the war, was acceptable and pleasing to the Lords of the Senat, but heavy and grievous to the Carthaginians. In Terentium [a place it was in Campus Martius, whereupon the pastimes Terentins took their name] were plaies exhibited

exhibited to Father Dis the infernal God, according to the direction of the books of Sibylla. These had been set out one hundred years before in the first Punic war, and in the five hundredth year and one, after the City was founded. Thirty Embassadors came to Rome, by whom the Carthaginians presented their submission. But the sentence of Cato imported and prevailed, to hold still their former determination, and that the Consuls with all speed should set forward in their journey to the war. Who having passed the sea and arrived in Africa, received of them three hundred hostages, whom they had required and demanded; and also took into their hands all their armor and weapons, and what furniture of war soever they found at Carthage. They proceeded moreover after all this to command them by warrant and authority from the L.L. of the Senat to build them a new Town for to inhabit in some other place, so that it were ten miles at least remote from the Sea: by which indignity offered, they provoked the Carthaginians to rise and take arms again. L. Martins and M. Manilius the Consuls, began to besiege and assault Carthage: during which siege and assault, it fortuned that two Colonels unadvisedly adventured to break into the City with their cohorts, as one part thereof where the walls were neglected, and when by the Townsmen they were sore beaten and killed, by the means of Scipio Africanus they were rescued: by whom also a certain sence and sort of the Romans, which the enemies by night assailed, with the help of a few horsemen was delivered. Moreover, he saved the camp, against which the Carthaginians sallied forth of their City to give the assaults at once upon it with all their forces: by which service he above the rest won great honor. Over and besides, when as the Consul (for the other was gone to Rome to hold the election of Magistrats) seeing the siege and assaults of Carthage took no better effect, minded to lead the army against Adrubal, who with another power of men kept the narrow streights of a certain passage, he counselled the said Cons. first, not to give battel in a place of such disadvantage: but afterwards overweighed and born down by the opinions of the greater number (who envied as well his wisdom as virtue) he also entered into the same streights. And when the Roman army, according as he foretold, was discomfited and put to flight, and two cohorts beset round and invested by the enemies, he with certain small cornets of horse returned into those streights, rescued them, and brought them away in safety. Which valour of his, even Cato, (a man otherwise more ready of his tongue to find faults) so recommended in the Senato, that in these terms he gave out, and said, "That all the best who were employed in the wars of Africa, served as shadows and dead men, but Cato had true honour and spirit indeed. The people of Rome besides cast such a favour and good liking to him, that at the next election, most of the tribes pricked him for to be Consul, notwithstanding he was by law under age. When L. Scribonius a Tribune of the Commons had promulged a law, That all the Portugals (who according to covenant and composition, yielded to the people of Rome, and yet by S. Galba were sold in France) should be restored to their freedom: M. Cato most earnestly pleaded in the behalf of that law, and maintained it. His Oration is extant to be seen, included within his Annals. Q. Fulvius Nobilior, albeit he was by him shaken up and well checked in the Senat, answered in the behalf of Galba. Then, and Galba also, seeing himself at the point to be condemned, took in his arms and embraced his own two sons: being * Prætextati, and a son of C. Sulpicius whose Guardian he was, and made such piteous and risal move, all the while he spake in his own cause, that the fore said law was revoked and cancelled. Three Orations of his there are to be seen: two against Libo a Tribune of the Commons and his proposed laws, as touching the Portugals; and one against L. Cornelius Cethegus, in which he confesseth and avoweth the killing of the Portugals, encamped near unto him: for that he knew certainly that they after their manner had sacrificed an horse and a man, and under a colour of peace, intended to set upon and charge his army. Andronicus one of base birth and the most abject lowest condition, who made the world believe that he was King Perseus his son, and thereupon changed his name and was called Philip, having made an escape and fled secretly from Rome (whither Demetrius King of Syria had sent him in regard of this his notorious lie) had many men come flocking unto him, embracing a forged and counterfeit fable of his, as if it had been a true fume and report: by which means he gathered an army together, and either with the good will of the inhabitants, or by force of arms, seized all Macedony and held it in his hands. Now had he devised and framed this pageant in this wise, That Perseus the King had begotten him (forsooth) of a concubine: that he was committed to one Cythela to be fostered and brought up: to the end that if ought should fall out but well unto the K. in that war which he waged with the Romans, there might be yet some seed as it were and issue remaining of the Kings blood and royal race. When Perseus was deceased, he had his education at Adramyttium until he was 12 years old, supposing him to be his natural father who fostered and kept him, and wist not at all from what stock he was descended. Now it fell out (saith he) that the said foster father of mine lay very sick; and being at the point of death, bewailed at length my birth and parentage. Moreover, that there was a little book given to my supposed mother, sealed with the sign manual of King Perseus which she was to deliver unto me when I came once to ripe age, and to be 14 years old: charging her most streightly of all loves, to conceal the whole matter until that time were come: and when I was grown to that age aforesaid, then the book was given me, wherein mention was made of two chests of treasure left for me by my father. Then the woman, who knew full well that I was no child of hers, but only so reputed, bewailed my birth unto me, who was aforesaid ignorant of of mine own descent: also the woman laid great wait upon me to depart out of those quarters before that Eumenes, a professed enemy to Perseus, came to the knowledge thereof, for fear to be murdered. In which respect I being affrighted and hoping withal to find some aid at the hands of Demetrius, went into Syria: and there first I took heart unto me, and dared openly to profess who I was, and never before. [Thus much of Andronicus this counterfeit Kings son.]

* He alludeth here to this verse of Homer, ὁ δὲ Πάριος τὰ τοῦ δὲ οὐκ ἀνέγνω.

* i. under 17 years of age.

Or, * Cræta, euidam, i. to one in Cræta.

Of the L. Book.

Theffaly at what time as the for said counterfet Philip would have invaded and kept it by force of arms, was by the means of the Roman Embassadors, together with the aid of the Achæans defended. Prusias King of Bithynia, a favourer of the basest persons and lowdest vices, was by his own son Nicomedes murdered with the help of Attalus King of Pergamus. Another son he had, who in stead of the upper row and course of distinct teeth, is reported to have had one entire bone for all, growing out at his gums. When the Romans had sent their Embassadors to conclude a peace between Nicomedes and Prusias; of which Embassadors, the one had his head full of many scars, the other was troubled with the gout in the feet, and the third reputed but blockish of spirit by nature, and none of the wisest: Cato said, That there was an embassage head-lesse, foot-lesse, and heart-lesse. In Syria, which at that time had for their King, one indeed of the line and race of Perseus K. of Macedony, but another Prusias up and down, for cowardise, idleness, and base mind; it so fell out, that while he haunted taverns, stews, and brothel-houses, and lay there altogether, Ammonius swaid the Scepter and raigned as King: by whose practise the Kings friends, also Laodice the Queen, and Antigonus the son of Demetrius came to their end and were killed. Masanissa King of Numidia, a man above four score and ten years old, a famous Prince and every way excellent, yielded to nature and died. Among other youthful parts which he performed to his dying day, this is one, That in this old age of his he was so lusty, that after the four score and sixth year of his life he got a boy. Among his three sons, Mycipsia (the eldest) Gulusia and Manastabal, who also had knowledge in the Greek tongue, Publius Scipio Æmilianus divided the administration of the Kingdom: for their father had left it in common for them all, and had given order to part it at the discretion of the same Scipio. Likewise, he perswaded Phamias the commander under Himilco of the Carthaginian Cavalry, (a valiant warrior, and whom the Carthaginians employed most of all others in service) to revolt with his men of arms and to turn Roman. Of those three Embassadors above said who were sent to Masanissa, Claudius Marcellus was cast away in a tempest upon the sea, and swallowed up of the waves in a gulf. The Carthaginians murdered in their Council-chamber Aldrubal nephew of Masanissa, and their Pretor for the time being, upon suspicion of treason. This jealousy of theirs arose hereupon, for that he was near in kindred and blood to Gulusia, who friended and succoured the Romans. Publius Scipio Æmilianus, when he sued to be Edile, was by the people propounded and nominated for Consul: and when as by law he might not for his young years be created Consul, hard hold there was about him: whilest he common laboured with might and main for him, and the nobles and Lords of the Senat gain-said it a good while: but in fine, he was dispensed with, notwithstanding the law in that behalf, and created Consul. Marcus Manilius (Pro-consul) forced certain Cities situate about Carthage. Counterfet Philip, after he had slain M. Juventius the Pretor and Q. Cælius, and together with them defeated the army, was in Macedony vanquished himself and taken prisoner, and so Macedony was recovered again which had been lost before.

* The law Annalis made by Lucius Villius Annalis, whereby no man was capable of a Consulship, under 43 years of age, and this Scipio was now but 37.
* Pseudo-phlippus.

Of the L I. Book.

Carthage, which took up in circuit the compass of four and twenty miles, was with exceeding pain and travail besieged and won by piece-meal: first, under the conduct of Mancinus the Lieutenant; afterwards of Scipio the Consul, unto whom without lot the province of Africk was extraordinarily granted. The Carthaginians having made a new peer, (for that the old haven was choked and stopped up by Scipio) and gathered secretly in a small time a good fleet, fought a battail at Sea unfortunately. Moreover, the camp of Aldrubal their General, pitched in a place of most difficult access near the Town Nephertis, was forced, and his army defeated by Scipio: who also in the end won the very City of Carthage, in the seven hundred year after it was first founded. The greatest part of the spoil and pillage there found, was restored to the Sicilians, from whom it had been taken. In the utmost extremity and final destruction of that City, when Aldrubal had yielded and submitted to Scipio: his wife (who some daies before could not obtain at her husbands hands to abandon the Town and flie to the conqueror) cast her self with her two children headlong from the Castle into the mids of the flaming fire, where with the City burned. Scipio, following the example of his father Æmilius Paulus who had conquered Macedony, set forth certain solemn plaies and pastimes: wherein the renegats and fugitives he presented and objected to savage beasts. The causes of the Achæan war be here reported. The Roman Embassadors who had been beaten and ill intreated by the Achæans, were sent unto Corinth, to sever and disjoin those cities (which had been under the seignory of Philip) from the general diet and parliament of the Achæans.

Of the L II. Book.

Quintus Cæcilius Metellus fought a battail at Thermopylæ with the Achæans, that had to aid them the Eriotians and Chalcidians: who being overcome, Critolaus their chief Captain shortened his own life by poison: and in his place * Drachus the first author of the troubles in Achæa, was by the Achæans chosen General of the field, and by L. Mummius the Consul vanquished near to Ithmus: who having received all Achæa by surrender, rased and destroyed wretchedly Corinth, by an Act and commission directed out of the Senat; because the Roman Embassadors were there abused. Thebes also and Chalcis which had aided the Achæans, were overthrow and pulled down. Mummius for his own part, bare himself

* Or rather Diæus. Paufen in Achæa.

himself most abstinent and uncorrupt: for of all that wealth, and those goods and ornaments wherewith Corinth was mightily enriched, there came not one parcel into his house. Quintus Cæcilius Metellus triumphed for the conquest of Andrus, and Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus Æmilianus likewise over Carthage and Adornbal. Viriatus in Spain, first of an herdsman became an hunter, and of a hunter proved to be a very thief and robber: and within a while after, was chosen General of a complete and main army, and seized to his own use all Portugal. He took prisoner M. Virgilius the Pretor, when he had first discomfited his host in the field. After whom C. Plautius the Pretor sped no better in fight. This enemy so terrified the Romans, that to make head against him they found it necessary to employ a full consular army, and a Consul Commander. Moreover, in this book be recorded the trouble of Syria and the wars between the Kings. Alexander an obscure person and base born, having slain (as is before said) Demetrius the King, reigned in Syria. His Demetrius (the son of Demetrius) flew by the help of Ptolemaeus King of Egypt, whose daughter Cleopatra he had espoused and married. This Demetrius in times past had been sent out of the way into Gnidos by his father, fearing the doubtful chances of the war: and he entered upon this action by reason of the contemptible sort and cowardise of the said Alexander. Ptolemaeus was grievously wounded in the head: and in the cure, whiles the Chirurgians went about to trypanize the bones of his skull, died under their hand. And in his stead Ptolemaeus his younger brother who reigned in Cyrene, succeeded and took upon him the crown. Demetrius for his cruelty which he exercised upon his people by racking and other torments, was vanquished in battail by Diodorus, one of his own subjects: who made claim to the Kingdom in the right and title of Alexanders son, a young child hardly two years old: whereupon he fled to Seleucia. Lucius Mummius triumphed over the Acheans, in which solemnity he carried in pompous show sundry images as well of brass as marble, besides pictures and painted Tables.

* According to he is called by the

* To perorate and bore with an instrument called reu-
ray or reu-
nary.

Of the LIII. Book.

Publius Claudius the Consul subdued the Salustians, an nation inhabiting the Alps. A second Philip there was in Macedony, who by L. Tremellius the treasurer was with his army defeated and slain. Q. Cæcilius Metellus the Proconsul gave the Celtiberians an overthrow. The most part of Portugal was regained by Q. Fabius the Proconsul, and many Cities thereof by assault forced. C. Julius a Senator by calling, wrote the Roman History in the Greek tongue.

* Pseudo phil-
ppus.

Of the LIV. Book.

Quintus Pompeius the Consul subdued the Tarracini in Spain: with whom verily as also with the Numantines by occasion of his infirmity and sickness, he concluded peace. A review and numbering of the citizens was taken by the Consuls: wherein were enrolled four hundred twenty eight thousand three hundred forty two polls. At what time as the Macedonian Embassadors came to complain of D. Junius Syllanus, the Lord Deputy over them, for that he took their money, and nevertheless made an havoc of the Province, and thereupon the Senat was willing to have the hearing of their complaint: T. Manlius Torquatus the father of Syllanus, exhibited a request, and obtained, that the inquiry and decision of such a matter as this might be referred over and committed unto him. And after he had sitten upon this commission at home in his mansion, and found his son guilty, he both condemned him and put him to death: when afterwards he had hanged himself, for that was his end, he would not be so much as to see at his funeral, but according to his ordinary manner and customs, sat in his house, attending all clients, and commending him for counsel. Q. Fabius the Proconsul, after he had managed the war in Spain rather prosperously, married all with this foul blot and spot of dishonor, in that he contracted a peace with Viriatus upon even and equal conditions. Thus Viriatus by a practise contrived by Servilius Cæpio, was treacherously murdered by traitors, and of his own army was much bewailed. At his death he was rung out of this world with a notable peal of farewell, and right honorably entred: an excellent man, and most brave Captain for the space of thirteen years, during which time he warred with the Romans, and ever for the most part went away with the winning hand.

* Or iachet
318342.

* Adieu, adieu.

Of the LV. Book.

When P. Cornelius Nafica, who by way of mockery was surnamed Serapio, by scoffing Curatius a Tribune of the Commons, and D. Junius Brutus the Consul took the musters, there hapned in the very sight of the arm and a soldier an occurrence of great consequence, and for example sake exceeding profitable. For C. Marius was judicially accused before the Tribunes of the Commons, for that he had abandoned and forsaken his own army in Spain, whereupon he being convicted was condemned and branded along while with rods, carrying a forked cross upon his shoulders, and in the end sold as a slave for a small piece of silver of three half pence fetching cue. The Tribunes of the Commons, because they might be allowed to exempt from with any servile condition soldiers a piece, whom it pleased them to choose, commanded the Consul to prison. Inn. Brutus the Consul, while he was in Spain, engaged those soldiers who had served under Viriatus with land and living, and gave them a Town to inhabit called Valentia. M. Popilius, together with his army was foiled and put to the rout by the Numantines, with whom the peace that was concluded, the Senat had passed an act that it should not stand in force. The occasion was this:

* Section num-
mo, the fourth
part of Dena-
rius.

this: As C. Mancinus the Consul was devoutly sacrificing the sacred chickens cranted to the army out of their cage or coop. Afterwards, as he was about to take Sea and go a shipboard for to pass over into Spain, there hapned a voice to be heard, saying, Stay, Stay Mancinus. These proved in the effect to be unfortunat and heavy presages unto Mancinus, for he received an overthrow at the Numantian battle, and was turned clean out of his camp. And seeing no hope esse to save his army, he entered into a dishonorable peace with them, but the Senate expressly revoked and annulled the same. 30000 Romans were defeated by 4000 Numantians & no more. D. Iulius made a general conquest of all Portugal, even as far as to the Ocean, by forcing and sackings their Cities and strong Towns: and when his soldiers were like to pass over the river *Oblivio, he caught up a banner from the port-enemy, and carried it over with him, and by this means perswaded them to go through. Alexander's son, King of Syria, a child not above ten years old at the most, was treacherously murdered by Diodorus his guardian or protector, furnished Tryphon. There were Physicians by corruption bribed and suborned to give it out and bear the people in hand most falsly, that the young Prince pined away with the pain of the stone in the bladder, and whilst they would seem to cut him for it, they killed him out of hand in the very section.

* A river in Spain, called sometime Limma, or Leibe, and at this day Limb.

Of the LVI. Book.

Decius Iunius Brutus had good fortune in the farther Provinces of Spain, fighting with the Gallians. But M. Aemilius Lepidus, Pro-consul, fell for a heroism in his wars against the Vaccei, and suffered the like overthrow to that other received from the Numantians. When Mancinus the author and maker of the accord with the Numantians, was delivered up in person to the Numantians, for to assill the people of Rome, and discharge them in conscience for cancelling the said covenant, they received him not, and would none of him. The people was numbred and taxed by the Censors, in which survey and account taken, there were entred into their books 323000 Roman citizens. Fulvius Flaccus the Cos. brought the Vardeans in Illyricum under subjection. M. Cosconius the Pretor fought in Thracia with the Scordiscians, and won the better. When by the default and error of the Captains and Commanders, the Numantin war continued still, not without the publick shame and dishonor of the state: the Senate and people of Rome conferred the Consulship upon Scipio Africanus, without any suit or seeking of his part. And when he was unwilling to accept thereof, by reason of a law forbidding expressly, *that any man should be created Cos. the second time, he had a dispensation, and was freed from the law in that behalf, like as from the *other in his former Consulship. There was an insurrection of bondslaves arose in Sicily: and when it could not be suppressed by the Pretors and Lord Governors, C. Fulvius had the charge of that Province and service. This war began by occasion of one Eunus a bondslave and a Syrian born: who having assembled together a power of rustical peasants and country slaves broken prison and houses of correction, came to have a full and complete army. Moreover, Cleon also another notable slave, raised up the number of 70000 villains like himself: and they both joining their forces together waged war many times against the people of Rome and their army in those parts.

* The text is here corrupt, for there were 32 years between this time and his former Consulship, & therefore it is not meant, de lege Decennali, but of another law lately made, ne quis iterum Consul fieret, and according to the place corrected by Sigonius I have translated it.

* Petrus, viri-
bus magistra-
tum virgii, Pli.

Of the LVII. Book.

Scipio Africanus laid siege to Numantia: and whereas the army was grown to be corrupted through dissolute riot and loose life, he reclaimed the same, and reduced it unto a most streight and severe kind of military discipline. For he cut off all the means and occasions of delishsome pleasures: he sent packing away two thousand whores and trulls that followed the camp: he held the soldiers hard to work every day: he forced each one to carry on his shoulders corn for thirty dayes and seven good stakes besides for a pallasado. If he spied one of them to go heavily under his load, he would say thus under him, Sirra, while you have the skill to empale your self with your sword's point, then cease to carry palls: but not before. When he saw another practise to wield very nimbly a little light buckler, he commanded him to bear a target of a bigger size and weightier than ordinary, as finding fault that he knew better how to hold his shield for defence of his own body, than to handle his sword for offence of the enemy. Next he with a soldier out of his rank and file? If he were a Roman, up he went and war well beat and swailed with vine-wine by the centurion: if a stranger, swunged and jerked he was with [birchen]* rods by the Leaders. And verily, all the pack-horses and other labouring beasts he caused to be sold: because they should not ease the soldiers of their carriage. Well, many a time he bare himself worthily in fight, and had a fortunate hand against the enemies that sallied forth against him. The Vacceans were streightly besoyed: and when they had killed their wives and children, they flew their own selves upon them. Scipio, at what time as Antiochus King of Syria had sent unto him most rich and stately presents: whereas other Generals of the field were wont to conceal the gifts of KK. he avowed the accepting of them in open sight of all men, even at the very Tribunal seat. And when he had so done, he commanded his treasurer to receive all, and enter in his book of receipts for the state: promising out of that stock to reward the hardiest men and most valiant knights. When he had blocked and invested Numantia on every side, and saw the enemies driven to great distress for hunger, he forbade expressly to kill any of them that went forth of the Town to forage and purvey victuals, saying, That the more they were in number, the sooner they would consume and spend up the corn which they had.

Of the LVIII. Book.

Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, a Tribune of the Commons, when he promulged an Agrarian law, that no man should hold and occupy above five hundred arpens or acres of the City lands, setting the Senate and orders of Gentlemen to storm against it, grew into such an heat of choler and furious rage, that presently by an old made, he deprived of Tribunitian power M. Octavius his Collegue, for maintaining the cause of the adverse part: and withal, created himself, his brother C. Gracchus, and App. Claudius his own wives father, Triumvirs or commissaries for dividing of the said lands. He proposed also and published another Agrarian law, by virtue whereof if any man encroached farther, and went above that stint and proportion, the same Triumvirs and none but they should set down and determine, how far forth the common grounds and the private lands should reach. Afterwards, when they fell out to be less ground than could be divided, he protested that without the offence of the common people (because terrible he had stirred up their appetite to hope for great matters) he would prefer a law, That amongst all them, who by virtue of the law Sempronian ought to receive lands, the money which belonged sometime to King Attalus should be divided. Now this Attalus the King of Pergamus and son of Eumenes, had left behind him, the people of Rome his full heir of all that he had. The Senate upon these so many indignities offered by Gracchus, was highly displeased, and Pub. Mucius the Consul above the rest: who after he had inveighed in the Senate against him, was by him hated forth before the people, and accused unto the Commons, howbeit he declaimed against him, once again openly from the Rostra. When Gracchus would have been chosen Tribune of the Commons a second time, by the advice and procurement of P. Cornelius Nasica, the chief peers and nobles slew him in the Capitol. He caught his first knock with the broken pieces of the Tribunes puer. And he among others slain in that sedition garb, was never committed to the earth, but thrown into the river. Moreover, this book contains the battles in Sicily, fought against the fugitive slaves with variable fortune and event.

Of the LIX. Book.

THE Numantines forced by great extremities, and of famine especially, murdered themselves in confusion by turns. After the City was won, Scipio Africanus raised and destroyed it utterly: and over it triumphed, in the fourteenth year after the ruin of Carthage. P. Attilius the Consul dispatched and ended the war in Sicily, with the foresaid fugitives. Aristonicus the son of King Eumenes, invaded Asia and held it to his own use: whereat by the last will and testament of King Attalus, it was bequeathed to a legacy unto the people of Rome, and ought to have been freed. Against him, P. Licinius Crassus the Consul and Archbishop besides (a thing never done or seen before) took a journey with an army out of Italy, and in a battle was overthrown and lost his life. M. Perperna the Consul overcame Aristonicus, and received him by surrender. Q. Pomponius and Q. Metellus were elected Censors, the first Commissioners that ever both together attained to that dignity. A review was taken by the Censors, wherein were numbered 368823 citizens, besides orphans and widows. Q. Metellus the Censor gave his advice and opinion, that all men should be compelled to take wives, for the breeding of children. His Oration to that purpose is extant, which Augustus Caesar, at what time as he went in hand to joy in marriage, all the three states and degrees of the City rehearsed in the Senate, as if it had been penned to fit these times wherein we now live. C. Attilius Laber, a Tribune of Commons, commanded Q. Metellus the Censor (who in the review and new choice of the Senators did him that disgrace as to leave him out) to be pitched the halloo from the rock Tarpeia, whither the rest of the Tribunes assisted the Censor all that ever they could, that this commandment should not be executed. When Carbo, a Tribune of the Com. proposed a bill, that it might be lawful to create the same man Trib. of the Commons so often as one would: P. Africanus dissuaded this law in a most grave and pithy Oration wherein he used these words especially, That he judged Tib. Gracchus to have been justly slain for his deserts. Gracchus on the other side maintained the law, and pleaded that it might pass. Tib. Scipio imported and prevailed in the end. In this book were related the wars between Antiochus king of Syria, and Phraates king of the Parthians: as also strivings of Egypt, which stood thus in no better terms, Ptolemeus surnamed Evergetes. for his exceeding cruelty grew hateful and odious to his own subjects: and when the people had set on fire and burned his royal palace, he fled by stealth into Cyprus: and when the kingdom was by the people made wholly over to his sister Cleopatra, whom (after he had deflowered by force her daughter, a virgin, and so taken her to wife) he had turned away in great a pleasure and malice unto her: he killed that son he had by her, in Cyprus, and sent unto the mother the head, hands and feet. Certain seditions were raised by the Triumvirs, Fulvius Flaccus, C. Gracchus, and L. Carbo, who were created for the decision of land. Against whom P. Scipio Africanus made resistance: but being in perfect health, strong and lusty, by next hour to his house as it might be day, and was found dead in his bed-chamber the next morning. His wife Sempronius was deeply suspected to have given him a cup of poison: he resposd chiefly, because she was sister to the Gracchi, between whom and Africanus there was a grudge and enmity. Howbeit, there was no question and freights enquiry made how he came to his death. When his body was next laid the Triumvirs and seditions before said, broke forth into a light and hot fire. C. Sempronius the Consul fought against the lapid. first unfortunately, but soon after he made amends for that loss received, with a victory achieved by the special valor of C. Innus Brutus, the same man who before had conquered Portugal.

Of the LXI. Book.

Aurelius the Consul subdued the Sardiens. Fulvius Placcus was the first man that vanquished in fight the Ligurians beyond the Alps, being sent to attack the Massilians against the French Salyes, who lay sore upon the borders of the Massilians; and Spurius Lucius Opimius the Pretor received under his subjection the Fregeians who had revolted, and destroyed the Town Fregeia. Here is reported a pestilence in Africk, by an exceeding multitude of locusts; killed and lying dead afterwards upon the ground. A survey was taken of the City by the Consuls, wherein were numbered 398736 inhabitants. C. Gracchus, brother of Tiberius, a Tribune of the Commons, but of the most witty eloquent, preferred certain dangerous laws: and among the rest, one touching grain, namely, that the Commons should be served in the market, at the rate of one half, and a third part of * *Alfo*, a Motion; another concerning division of lands the same which his brother before him had published, and a third (whereby he meant to corrupt the order of Gentlemen, which then accorded with the degree of Senators) namely, that from out of the Gentlemen, 600 should be taken into the Senat: and forasmuch as in those dayes, there were but 300 Senators, those 600 Gentlemen should be entering in with the said three hundred, that is to say, that the order of Gentlemen should be double in number to the Senators, and twice as strong. This Gracchus having continued his Tribuneship another year, by proposing still the Agrarian laws, procured, that many Colonies more should be planted in Italy, and one besides, upon the very plot of ground where Carthage lately destroyed, had stood: and there himself (chosen Triumvir therefor) erected a Colony. Moreover, this book containeth the exploits of Q. Metellus against those Baleare Islands, which the Greeks call Gymnætz, because the people go naked all the summer time. But Baleares they be named either of * *stinging darts*, or of *Baleus* the companion of Hercules, whom he left behind there, at what time, as he sailed to Geryon. Also, the troubles in Syria be here reported, wherein Cleopatra first with her husband Demetrius and his son Seleucus; taking great indignation, that when his father was by her killed, he without her warrant had taken the diadem upon him.

Of the LXI. Book.

Caius Sextius the Pro-consul, after he had conquered the nation of the Salyes, built the Colony Aquæ Sextiz, so called of his plentiful abundance of waters, by reason of springs both hot and cold, and also of his own name. C. Cominius the Pro-consul fought successfully against the * *Allobroges*, near the Town * *Vindalium*. The cause why he levied war against them was, for that they had received aid relieved by all means they could, from the King of the * *Salvi* when he fled unto them, and had wasted also the territories of the * *Helvæti*, who were the allies of the people of Rome. C. Gracchus, after he had born his Tribuneship with much sedition, and kept the Aventine Hill with a multitude of the Commons in arms, was by L. Opimius the Consul (who by virtue of an act of Senat had put the people in arms) disarmed of his hold and slain, and together with him Fulvius Placcus a Consular man, his nephew and companion in this furious outrage. Q. Fabius Maximus the Consul, and nephew of Paulus, was in field of the Allobroges, and Bituricus King of the Arveti. Of Bituricus his army were slain a hundred and twenty thousand. And when himself in person was gone to Rome to satisfy the Senate, he was committed inward in Alba, for that it seemed dangerous and hurtful, he should go forth to find him back by the way into France. Also there passed a decree, that Conganiatus his son should be apprehended and sent to Rome. The Allobroges submitted and were received. L. Opimius being accused before the body of the people by Q. Decius a Tribune of the Commons, for imprisoning certain citizens unadvisedly, was acquitted.

Of the LXII. Book.

Caius Marius the Consul vanquished the Stenii, a people dwelling upon the Alpes, Midipia King of the Numidians died, and left the Kingdom unto his three sons, Adherbal, Hyempsal, and Jugurtha his brother's son, whom he had adopted for his own child. L. Cæcilius Metellus subdued the Dalmatians. Jugurtha levied war upon Hyempsal his brother, overcame him in fight, and slew him. Adherbal his third brother, he drove out of the realm, but by the Senat of Rome restored home again. L. Cæcilius Metellus, and Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, the Consuls, deposed 32 Senators of their place and dignity. Besides, this book containeth the troubles of the Syrian Kings.

Of the LXIII. Book.

Caius Porcius the Cos. fought with the * *Scordisci* in Thracia, and took the field. The Consuls took a survey of the City, in which were enrolled 394336 inhabitants. *Romulus Licinus*, and Marcia, three vestal virgins were convicted and condemned for incest. The manner how the their sin was committed, detected, judged, and punished, is here set down. The * *Encheiræ*, an hard and mighty nation, invaded Illyricum and put it to the waste: by whom Papius Carbo the Consul was feared, both he and his army. Livius Drusus the Consul, warred in Thracia upon the Scordisci, (a people descended from the Gauls) and won much honour.

* Ob.

* Bal. a
dirt, and
fallen to
dying.* Savoy, Schu-
de, Damphinois,
Maritano &
aluis.
* Pons Sulge,
Paradino, or
Pons Trallia,
Scaligero,
* Salyes.
* Burgogni-
ans.

* Bisuacbi.

* Iuliantery.

Of the LXIV. Book.

Adherbal warred upon by Jugurtha, was within the City Circa besieged, and by him slain. *standing the commandment of the Senate to the contrary.* For which cause war was proclaimed against Jugurtha himself. *Calpurnius Bestia had the commission and charge to manage this war: who made peace with Jugurtha, without warrant from the people and Senate. Jugurtha being cited and called forth under safe conduct, to approach and devour the authors of his plots and designs, for that the voice went, that he had bribed and corrupted with sums of money many of the Senate, came to Rome: where he was in trouble and jeopardy for a murder committed upon the person of a certain Prince, called Mithra, (who seeing him to be loved of the Romans, sought for his kingdom whom he slew at Rome. Being commanded to answer for his life in regard of this murder, he secretly fled, and as he departed from the City, entered (by report) these words, O corrupt City and set to sale, how soon will it perish, if it may meet with a champion.* A. Posthumus, Lieutenant General, after he had likewise sought an unfortunate battell against Jugurtha, amended the matter full well by making an ignominious and dishonourable peace with him, which the Senate judged not meet to be observed and kept.

Of the LXV. Book.

Quintus Cæcilius Metellus the Cof. in two battels discomfited Jugurtha and over-ran all Numidia. M. Jun. Syllanus the Cof. sped unluckily in a battell fought against the Cimbrians: whose crosses and demands of the Senate a place of habitation and lands to occupy were denied. M. Minutius Pro-Cof. had good success in fight against the Thracians. L. Cassius the Cof. together with his best, was defeated and cut in pieces in the borders of the Allobrogians by the French Tigurini, a country of the Helvetians, who had divided themselves and were departed from the rest of the State. The soldiers remaining alive after that overthrow, capitulated with the enemies for safety of their lives, to give in pledges for to part with the one moiety of all that ever they had unto them.

Of the LXVI. Book.

Jugurtha driven out of Numidia by C. Marius, had the help and aid of Bocchus King of the Moors: but when the power of Bocchus also was defeated in battell, and himself unwilling to maintain the war any longer (so unfortunately begun) Jugurtha was overcome, and delivered up to C. Marius. In which exploit the service of L. cornelius Sylla treasurer unto Marius, was singular above the rest.

Of the LXVII. Book.

Aurelius Scaurus lieutenant to the Cof. was with his army overthrown by the Cimbrians, and himself taken prisoner. When by them he was called forth to council (at what time as they intended a voyage into Italy) in which he seemed to fright them for passing over the Alps, saying, That the Romans might not possibly be overcome; he was by Bolus their King, a proud and fierce prince, killed. At the same time his hands Cn. Manlius Cof. and Q. Serv. Cæpio, Pro-consul, received an overthrow in the field, and lost both their camps. Slain there were 80000 soldiers of porters, scullions, launders, and such followers of the camp besides 40000. By the verdict and censure of the people of Rome, Cæpio (through whose rashness this loss and overthrow hapned) was condemned; and he was the first after K. Tarquin whose goods were confiscated; and finally, deprived he was of his government. In the triumph of C. Marius, Jugurtha with his two sons was led before his chariot: and afterwards murdered in prison. Marius entered into the Senate with his triumphant mantle of estates, which never any man before him had done, and for fear of the Cimbrians war he continued in his Magistracy many years together. To his second and third Consulship he was chosen absent, and he attained to be Consul the fourth time: which he gaped for, albeit he dissembled the contrary. C. Domitius was by the suffrages of the people created the chief Pontiffe. The Cimbrians having laid waste all the parts about the river Rhodanus and the mountain Pyrenæus, passed over into Spain through the streights: where after they had spoiled many places, they were by the Celtiberians chased away: and being returned into France, they joyned with the Tectosages, a warlike nation.

Of the LXVIII.

Marcus Antonius the Prætor persecuted the rovers at sea, and chased them as far as into Cilicia. Cn. Manlius the Consul manfully defended the camp, assailed with all most forcible means by the Tectosages and Ambroses. Afterwards in two battels one after another about Aquæ Sextiæ, he utterly defeated his enemies: where (by report) were slain 100000, and 90000 taken prisoners. Marius in his absence was created Consul now the fifth time: and when a triumph was offered unto him, he deferred and put it off, until he had made a full and small conquest also of the Cimbrians. The Cimbrians repelled and drove from the Alps Q. Catulus the Pro-consul, who had beset the narrow gullet of the Alps, and kept a Castle highly mounted over the river Athesia, which he now abandoned: and when by their valour they had cleared the passage, they pursued the Pro-consul with his army, and passed over into Italy, where in battell they were overthrown by the same Catulus and C. Marius, who had joyned their forces together: In which (they say) 140000 men were slain, and 60000 taken prisoners. Marius was honourably received at his return with a generall accord of the whole City: and whereat two triumphs were offered unto him, he was content with one. The principal preys and nobles of the City, who along time before had envied him as a man newly risen, and advanced to so great honours, confessed now that the common-weal by him was preserved. Publicius Metellus for murdering his own mother, with the first man forced up in a leather bag and so thrown into the sea. Here is recorded how the sacred shield Ancilla stored of themselves with a great rustling noise before the Cimbrians war was finished. Finally this book comprehendeth the wars between the two Kings of Syria.

Of Zurich.
Switzerland

Notwith-
standing a
law to the coti-
tary.

The Dutch
or Easterlings

Amerlander
dis. Polli

Of the LXX Book.

Cneus Apuleius Saturninus, by the help of C. Marius, and by occasion that S. Norinus his competitor and concurrent was by his soldiers slain, was by force of arms created Tribune of the commons, and bore the Tribuneship as violently as he got it. And when he had procured an Agrarian law and passed it by force, he arrested Metellus Numidicus to answer at a day, for that he had not followed and sworn to the said law: who being maintained and defended by the Citizens of the same sort, he left he would give no occasion of necessity debates and civil contentions, went in voluntary exile to Rhodes: and there he employed his time in reading of books, and giving audience to great and famous men. After he was departed, C. Marius the captain and author of that sedition, who now had purchased a sixth Consulship by a largesse of money scumbled among the tribes, proclaimed him a common enemy and interdicted from fire and water like an outlaw. The same Apuleius Saturninus, Tribune of the commons, then C. Memmius in his white gown standing to be Cof. for that he feared him above all other, to cross his proceedings: whereupon the Senate was exceedingly moved in the cause and behalf of C. Memmius: and when C. Marius a man by nature mutable and in his counsell variable, one who ever loved to be on the better side of the hedge and to band with the mightier, was not able to bear him out and protect him, he said Saturninus together with Glancia the Prator and other his complices in that outrage, was slain by one Rabirius. Q. Cæcilius Metellus was recalled out of banishment with exceeding great love and favour of the whole City. Manius Aquilius the Pro-cof. dispatched and ended the flaver-war raised in Sicily.

Of the LXXI. Book.

When Manius Aquilius should plead his own defence, or answer in case of extortion, he would not himself intreat and crave the favour of the jury. But M. Antonius his advocat who pleaded for him at the bar, sit his coat down along his breast, to show the honourable scars received in the forefront of his body: which being by the Judges seen, they made no doubt, but acquit him. Of this thing Cicero is the only author. Didius the Pro-cof. managed his wars against the Getiberians happily. Ptolemaeus K. of Cyrene, surnamed Apion, when he died, left the people of Rome his heir: and the Senate decreed that the cities of his realm should be free. Ariobarzanes was restored to his kingdom of Cappadocia, by L. Cornelius Sylla. The Parthian ambassadors sent from their K. Artaces came unto Sylla, to treat and sue for amity with the people of Rome. P. Rutilius a man of uncorrupt and innocent life, who (being lieutenant under L. Mucius the Pro-cof.) had defended Asia from the wrongfull dealings of the Publicans or common farmers (being odious to the order of knight-hood or gentlemen of Rome, who now as Judges had the jurisdiction in their hands) was condemned for extortion and banished. C. Geminius the Prator fought unawares against the Thracians. The Senate would no longer abide the uncurbed and wilfull abuses committed by the gentlemen in exercising of their jurisdiction, and therefore began by all means possible to endeavour for to reduce and translate their prerogative again to themselves: in which enterprise M. Livius Drusus a Tribune of the commons stood in their behalf: who to gain more strength to the cause, raised the commons by proposing unto them a pernicious hope of a largesse. Moreover in this book are comprised the stirr and troubles of the Kings in Syria.

Of the LXXI. Book.

Marcus Livius Drusus, a Tribune of the commons, for the better maintenance of the Senate's cause, which he had undertaken, solicited the allies and the nations of Italy, upon hope to be enfranchised citizens of Rome: by whose assistance having gone through by strong hand, with the Agrarian and Frumentarian laws, he obtained also the fore-said law Judicialis, in this manner. That all judgments should pass indifferently and equally by Senate and Gentlemen. After this, when the freedom of Rome promised to the allies could not be compassed and performed, the Italians in a chafe and heat of choler began to complot how to revolt: whose conventicles, conspiracies, and orations delivered in the assemblies and diets of their Princes, are in this book reported: In regard whereof, Livius Drusus became hateful even to the Senate, as the author of a social war, and in his own house was murdered, but by whom God knoweth.

Of the LXXII. Book.

The Italian states revolt, namely, the Picents, Vestins, Marsians, Pelignians, Marrucians, Lucans, and Samnites. The Picents first entered into arms and began the war. Quintus Servilius the Pro-cof. was slain in Asculum, together with all the Roman citizens which were in that town: whereupon the whole people of Rome put on arms and soldiers coats. Servius Galba being surprised by the Lucans, escaped captivity by the means of one woman, in whose house he took up his lodging. Esernia and Alba, two Colonies, were by the Italians besieged. After this, here are reported the aids of the Latines and other forraign nations sent unto the people of Rome: moreover, the expeditions and alternative winning of cities, as well by the one side as the other.

Of the LXXIII. Book.

Lucius Cæsar the Cof. in a battell against the Samnites went down and had the worse. Nola the colony fell into the hands of the Samnites, together with L. Posthumus the Prator who there was slain. Many more nations revolted to the enemies, for that P. Rutilius the Consul had fought with loss against the Marsians, and lost his life in the battell. C. Marius his lieutenant had a better conflict with the enemies in the end and upshot. Servius Sulpitius vanquished the Pelignians. Q. Cæpio, another lieutenant of Rutilius, who having been by the enemies besieged, had sallied forth upon the enemies and got the upper hand: for this good success he was made equal in government and command with C. Marius. But hereupon he grew to be too rash, and being over-taken by an ambush of the enemies was slain, and the army defeated. L. Cæsar the Consul won a field of the Samnites: for which victory the soldiers coats were laid off again at Rome. Yet because the fortune of the field would shew her self variable, the colony Eser-

nia

Of the LXXIX. Book.

Lucius Cornelius Cinna, at what time as by force and arms he published dangerous Libels there-
upon by his Collegue Cn. Octavius driven out of the City with six Tribunes of the commons by sides
and being thus deprived of his rule and authority, he became commander of Ap. Claudius his army by
corruption: employing with C. Marius and other trusted persons, one of Africk he marched in the
winter against the City of Rome. In which war, it fortuned that two brethren, the sons of Pompeius
his army, and the other of Cinna, encountered in fight and here met one another. Now when the combat
was in disposing and spoiling him, when he had done the few what he had done, and took knowledge
that it was his brother: whereupon he fell into an exceeding passion fit of maling and lamentation: made
a funeral fire for his brothers corps, flaked himself through his horsemans, and in the same fire was burnt
and consumed to ashes. Now whereas these could never might have been suppressed in his beginning: such
was the fraudulent dealing of Cn. Pompeius who striving to maintain both parties and strength in Cin-
na, and set not to his helping hand before that the Nobles side went down: such also was the faithfulness
and coldness of the Consul, that Cinna and Marius took force and grew strong: and so with four armies,
whereof two were committed to the conduct of Q. Sertorius, and C. Carbo, they invested the City of
Rome. Marius was by force the Colony Ostia, and most cruelly ransacked it, and a great number of

Of the LXXX. Book.

The Italian cities were by the same city abolished, and obtained the freedom of Rome. The same
time was only continued in arms, headed again with Cinna and Marius. By whom was Plancius
Ratin and his army defeated. Cinna and Marius together with Carbo and Sertorius were possessed of Is-
taurum, and having discomfited and repelled by Octavius the Consul, retired and departed. Marius pul-
led and laid desolate Anagninum, Ardea, and Lavinium three Colonies. When at this the nobility and Lords
of the Senate had no hopes at all left to withstand the contrary factions, by reason of the weakness and
weakness as well of soldiers as leaders, when upon expectation either would not fight at all, or else was
over to the adverse part: Cinna and Marius were received into Rome: when as if it had been an enemy
City forced by assault, made havock of it with sack and massacre. In this garb Cn. Octavius
the Consul lost his life, and all the nobility of the other side were murdered: and among the rest, M. An-
tonius most eloquent Orator, and C. Cælar: whose heads were set upon the Pulvis Rostre. Young Cra-
sus the son was by the horsemen of Fimbria killed: and Crassus the father, because he would not endure
any indignity whereby his virtue fell upon his own sword. Without any assembly or election at all,
Cinna and C. Marius declared themselves Consuls for the next year: and the same day whereon they en-
tered into their Magistracy, Marius caused Sex. Licinius a Senator to be thrown down the rock Tarpeia
and after many wicked and heinous crimes committed upon the Ides of January, he departed one of this
world: a man whose name (if they were weighed together with his virtues) hardly could it be determi-
ned whether he were in war a better soldier, or in peace a more dangerous Citizen. For the Commem-
orial which he in his armour saved, the same in his long gown he overthrew, first, with all manner of
consequence and deceit: and last, by plain hostility and force of arms.

Of the LXXXI. Book.

Lucius Sulla straightly beleaguered Athens, which Archelais a governor under King Mithridates
held with a garrison: and after much toil and labour won it. To the City he granted their liberty a-
gain, and restored unto the Citizens all that was their own. Magnesia the only City in Asia that remai-
ned true and loyal was most valiantly defended against Mithridates. Over and besides, here ye shall read
the exploits performed by the Thracians in Macedony.

Of the LXXXII. Book.

Sylla vanquished in battle the power of King Mithridates which being kept Macedony in subjection,
was now come into Thracia. He slew one hundred thousand enemies, and was Master of the Camp. Af-
terwards, when the war was renewed, he discomfited and defeated quite the Kings whole army. Archelais
together with the Kings fleet yielded to Sylla. L. Valerius Flaccus the Consul and companion in govern-
ment with Cinna, being sent to succeed Sylla, was (for his covetousness) so odious unto his army, that he
was slain by C. Fimbria his own lieutenant, a most audacious and desperate person: and so the conduct
and command of the army was transferred to Fimbria. Moreover, here is recorded what Cæsar in Asia
Mithridates won: how cruelly he spoiled and vexed the Province: and how the Thracians made roids
andursions into Macedony.

Of the LXXXIII. Book.

Caius Fimbria after he had discomfited certain forces of Mithridates won the City Pergamum, be-
sieged the King there, and missed but a little of taking him prisoner. The City Ilion, which stood out
and reserved it self to the behoof and devotion of Sylla, he forced and destroyed, and the greatest part of As-
ia he recovered. Sylla in many battles defeated the Thracians. When L. Cinna and C. Papirius Carbo
who for two years together were Consuls of their own making, prepared war against Sylla (by the means
of L. Valerius Flaccus the President of the Senate (who made an Oration in the Councill-house) and those
who loved coward and sought for unity, effected it was in the end, that Embassadors should be sent unto
Sylla to treat about a peace. Cinna was murdered by his own soldiers, whom he forced against their will
to be embarked and to take a voyage against Sylla: by which occasion Carbo alone bare the Consulship.
Sylla being passed over into Asia, made peace with Mithridates upon this capitulation, That the King
should quit these Provinces, namely, Asia, Bithynia, and Cappadocia. Fimbria being forsaken of his own
army, which revolted unto Sylla, gave himself a sore wound, and yielding his neck unto his own bondslave,
obtained his favour at his hands, as to dispatch him on righs.

Of the LXXXIV. Book.

Sylla returned: his answer was the Embassadors flew unto him from the Senate: That he would be ordered by them, in case these Quirites who (upon the burden of age of Cinna) stood unto him, might be restored. The Senate thought that a reasonable condition and just demand: but by means of Carbo and that faction, who made reckoning that war would be more commodious unto them, there ensued no agreement and accord. The same Carbo, whom he was intended to equal his power of all the towns and colonies of Italy, thereby to bind them upon their allegiance against Sylla, was by a general consent of the Senate crossed and inhibited. The same embassadors Carbo, by virtue of an act by the Senate granted, were followed the privileges of their suffrages and money: Q. Metellus Pius, who had sided with the nobility, whilst he lived in Africa, was by C. Fabius the Praetor disarmed: and by the faction of Carbo and those that followed the party of Marius, an act of Senate passed: That all armies and forces wheresoever should be called and discharged. The Libertines were distributed indifferently throughout the five and thirty tribes. Besides all this, there is specified the preparation of war which was made against Sylla.

Of the LXXXV. Book.

Sylla crossed the sea with an army over into Italy: and when these Embassadors which he sent to treat for peace were by the Consul C. Norbanus well entertained, he overcame the said Norbanus in a battle. And when he was about to assault the camp of L. Scipio the other Consul, with whom he had travelled and assayed all means to conclude peace, and could not compass it: the whole army of the Consul in general, being solicited by soldiers whom Sylla had sent out under-hand to that purpose, turned their engines unto him, and followed his standard, Scipio, whom he might have been killed was let go. Cn. Pompeius, the son of that C. Cicerus who won Asculum, enrolled an army of volunteers, and came unto Sylla with three legions: unto whom also the nobility all and whole ranged themselves, so as abandoning the City they repaired to the camp. Finally, in this book report is made of the expeditions performed by Captains of both sides throughout all Italy.

Of the LXXXVI. Book.

This year wherein C. Marius (the son of C. Marius) was by forcible means and strong hands created Consul before he was twenty years of age: C. Fabius in Africa was burnt quick in his own pavilion for his bloody cruelty and greedy avarice. L. Philippus, lieutenant unto Sylla, subdued Sardinia, after he had disarmed and slain Q. Antonius the Praetor. Sylla contracted a league with the States of Italy, to put them out of fear that he would not bereave them of their freedom of Rome and liberty of suffrages lately granted unto them. In like manner, upon assured confidence (that he had already) of undoubted victory, he commanded all those that were in suits and resorted unto him for jurisdiction, to adjourn their appearance in Court, and to appear at Rome. Whilst the City yet was divided and distressed two ways, L. Damasippus the Praetor, having according to the will and pleasure of C. Marius the Consul, gathered the Senate together, massacred all the nobility of the City. One of which number Q. Marcius Scaevola the arch Pontifex, as he stood, was in the very porch and entry of Vesta's Temple murdered. Besides this book containeth the war renewed by L. Murena against Mithridates in Asia.

Of the LXXXVII. Book.

Sylla after he had disarmed and overthrown the army of C. Marius, near a place called Sacripontis, besieged him within the town Praeneste. The City of Rome he recovered out of the hands of his enemies: and when Marius made an offer to sell forth he repelled him. Moreover, this book containeth the exploits achieved by his Lieutenants, with the like fortunes of that side in all places.

Of the LXXXVIII. Book.

Sylla after that he had defeated and put to the sword the army of Carbo at Clusium, Faventia, and Fidentia, chased him forth of Italy. With the Samnites, who alone of all the Italian nations had not yet laid down arms, he fought one small battle, and vanquished them near the City of Rome, even before the gate Collina: and thus having recovered and got into his hand the absolute managing of the state, he polluted and stained this most goodly and beautiful victory with the foulest cruelty that ever man committed. He cut the throats of 8000 in the great hostility called Villa Publica, even those that had yielded themselves. He set up the table of prescription and outlawry. The City of Rome and all Italy throughout filled with massacres. Amongst these he caused all the Praenestians, disarmed as they were, to be slain. Marius, a Senator by calling, he killed in this manner, by breaking his arms and legs, by cropping his ears, and digging out his eyes. Cn. Marius he besieged within Praeneste by Lucretius Aella and that side with Sylla: when he sought means of escape by a mine under the ground, seeing how he was environed by the army, flew himself within the said mine for perceiving that he could not escape, he and Pontius Telesinus, that accompanied him in this flight ran one at the other with their drawn naked swords: and when he had killed him, and was himself hurt, he found so much kindness at his slaves hands as to make an end of him quite.

Of the LXXXIX. Book.

Lucius Butus sent from Cn. Papyrius Carbo, who was arrived at Corcyra in a sifter boat to Lilybaeum, in special to see whether Pompey were there: being compassed and hemmed in round about by those vessels which Pompey had sent, overgrew his sword points to his body, and for the punishment against a feat within the boat, and so bending forward with the poise of his body was pierced through and died. Cn. Pompeius sent by the Senate with full commission of rate and command took Cn. Carbo prisoner, who was arrived to the Island Cosluta, and slew him, who lay a pining and weeping, like a woman, when he should die. Sylla became Dictator, and then which never any man had done besides him, kept his port abroad with 34,000 men or thereabouts going before him with their rods and axes. He altered the Style,

2 471750 lib.

and in that innovation established it. The Tribunes of the Commons be abridged of their authority, and wholly deprived them of their power to prefer and establish laws. The College of the Pontifices and Augurs be amplified and augmented to the number of 23. The body of the Senate be supplied out of the order of Gentlemen. The children of those whom he had proscribed and outlawed be disabled for being eligible to any honorable office, and of their goods made great sales, whereof at first he seized much by violence and had it away. A mighty mass of money he raised thereby, amounting to a hundred and fifty millions of Sesterces. He commanded Q. Lucetius Gellius to be killed in the very Forum of Rome for that he presumed without his leave and licence to sue for a Consulship; and when the people of Rome were highly offended at this indignity, he assembled them to a public audience, and before them avowed the fact and took it upon him. Cn. Pompeius in Africa, inquisit and slain in battle Cn. Domitius, one of the proscribed outlaws; and Hiarbas King of the Numidians, who prepared to lay war. He being but four and twenty years of age, and no better at yet than a gentleman of Rome (a thing that never any man attained unto) triumphed over Africa. C. Norbanus, a man who had been Consul, and now proscribed and outlawed, was apprehended in the City of Rhodes, and thereupon slew himself. Mutius likewise one of them, but were outlawed and out of protection, being come privately disguised with his head covered to the back door of Bassia his wives house, was not let in; for that she said he was an outlaw: whereupon he took the stab at his own hands; and with his own hands blood besprinkled the door of his wives house. Sylla recovered and won again Nola in Samnium. He brought seven and forty legions into the lands conquered from the enemies, planted them therein, and divided the grounds amongst them. He besieged the town Volaterræ, which yet stood out and bare arms; and at length upon surrender got it. Mytilene also, the only City in Asia, (which after that Mithridates was subdued maintained war) was fired and raised down to the ground.

Of the XC. Book.

* cisalpine
Gallia.

Sylla departed this life, and this honour was done unto him by the Senate, that he was entered in Mæstfield. M. Lepidus going about to cancell and abolish the acts of Sylla, raised new war: and by Q. Catulus (his companion in government) was driven out of Italy: and when he prepared to wage war (but to no effect) in Sardinia, there he perished and came to his death. M. Brutus who held * Lumbardy, was by Cn. Pompeius slain. Q. Sertorius, another proscribed outlaw, fought a great war in the netherlands of Spain. Lucius Manlius the Pro-Consul, and M. Domitius a Lieutenant, were in fight overcome by Hercules the treasurer. Moreover, this book containeth the acts performed by P. Servilius the Pro-Consul against the Cilicians.

Of the XCII. Book.

Cn. Pompeius, being as yet but a gentleman of Rome, was sent with full commission of Consul to command against Sertorius. Certain Cities had Sertorius won by assault, and brought under many States to be at his devotion. Ap. Claudius the Pro-Consul overcame the Thracians in divers and sundry battles. Q. Metellus the Pro-Consul defeated and slew L. Hirtius the treasurer of Sertorius, with all his army.

Of the XCIII. Book.

Cn. Pompeius hitherto fought with Sertorius in doubtful combats, so as of both parts, one of the wings and points of the battell had the better hand. Q. Sertorius overthrow in fight Metellus and Perperna with two armies. Pompeius desirous to carry away his part in that victory, entered into the field, but made no forcing game of it. Afterwards Sertorius was besieged within Calagurium, by daily and continuall sallies forth, gave the enemies that lay in siege within as good as they brought. Over and besides, herein are contained the deeds achieved by Curio the Pro-Consul in Thrace against those Dardaniens, together with sundry cruel and bloody parts played by Q. Sertorius, even with those of his own side. For many of his own friends, and such as were with him outlawed, upon imputations of treason pretended against them, he put to death.

Of the XCIV. Book.

Plutarch other-
wise in Sertor-
ius.

P. Servilius, the Pro-Consul in Cilicia, subdued the Isaurians, and won certain towns of the Pirates. Nicomedes King of Bithynia at his death made the people of Rome his full heirs, and his kingdom was reduced into the form of a Province. Mithridates contracted a league with Sertorius, and waged war against the people of Rome. Herein is shewed the great preparation of war that the King made as well by land as sea, and how he seized upon Bithynia. M. Aurelius Cotta the Consul was in battle vanquished by the King at Chalcedon. Moreover, this book containeth the exploits of Pompeius and Metellus against Sertorius, who in all warlike feats and martiall prowess was equal unto them, whom also he raised from the siege before the town Calagurium, and compelled to go into divers countries, Pompeius into the farther Province of Spain, and Pompeius into Gallia.

Of the XCV. Book.

Lucius Lucullus the Consul fought against Mithridates, and in horse-service had the better hand of him. Certain rades he made with good success; and when his soldiers called hard upon him for battle, he said them from mutiny. Deiotarus, a seararch of Gallogracia, defeated the captains of K. Mithridates who waged war in Phrygia. Moreover, this book containeth the fortunate achievements of Pompeius against Sertorius in Spain.

Of the XCVI. Book.

Caius Curio the Pro-Consul vanquished and subdued the Dardaniens in Thrace. Threescore and fourteen sword-plaiers of Capua fled out of the fers-school of Lentulus at Capua: who having gathered together a number of slaves, and hired hands, raised war under the leading of Chrysis and Spartacus.

tacus, and vanquished in plain field, Cl. Pulcher a lieutenant, and P. Vatinius the Prator. L. Lucullus the Pro-Consul with the famine and the sword together tamed and subdued the host of Mithridates at the City Cizicus: and when they had chased him out of Bithynia, after many overthrows in war, and misfortunes of shipwrack at sea, wherewith his heart was quailed, he compelled him to flee into Pontus.

Of the XCVI. Book.

Quintus Arrius the Prator defeated and slew Chrysus the captain of the fugitives, and with him Calus Lenculus the Consul received a foil and overthrow at the hands of Spartacus. He also overcame in fight Lu. Gellius the Consul and Quintus Arrius. Sertorius was at a banquet slain by Manius Antonius and M. Perpenna with other conspirators in the eight year of his dukedom. A captain and brave warrior he was. He fought with Pompeius and Metellus, two famous Generals and Commanders. Many a time he saved his own, but more often he went away winner, howbeit, in the end he was abandoned and betrayed. The sovereignty command of that side was made over to Marcus [Perpenna,] whom Cn. Pompeius vanquished, took prisoner, and slew: so about the tenth year after the war began, he recovered Spain. C. Cassius the Pro-Consul, and Cneus Manlius the Prator were foiled by Spartacus in the field, and that war was committed over to the managing and conduct of M. Crassus the Prator.

Of the XCVII. Book.

Marcus Crassus the Prator first fought with a power of the fugitives aforesaid, consisting of Frenchmen and Germans, and won the better: for he slew 35000 enemies, and their captain Granicus. After that he warred against Spartacus, killed him also and 40000 with him. Manius Antonius the Prator maintained war unfortunately against the Cretensians, and by his death it took an end. M. Lucullus the Pro-Consul brought the Thracians under subjection. L. Lucullus had the upper hand in a battell of Mithridates in Pontus, and slew above 60000 enemies. M. Crassus and Cn. Pompeius were created Coss. and at Crassus immediately out of his Pratorship stepped to that dignity, so Pompey was of a gentleman of Rome and no better advanced thereunto, even before he had born the office of Treasurer. They restored again the Tribunes power and authority, by the means of Aurelius Cotta, the preeminence of judges also was transferred unto the Gentlemen of Rome. Mithridates seeing his own estate lying in despair, fled unto Tigranes King of Armenia for succour.

Of the XCVIII. Book.

Machabes the son of Mithridates, King of Bosphorus, was by L. Lucullus received into amity. Cn. L. Bennulus and L. Gellius the Censors administered their office with great severity and rigour, and deposed 60 from Senators dignity: they also held a review and purged the City. Enrolled there were 450000 Citizens of Rome. L. Metellus the Prator in Sicily fought fortunately against the pirates and rovers. The Temple of Jupiter in the Capitoll, which by fire had been consumed, was re-edified by Q. Catulus, and dedicated anew. L. Lucullus in Armenia discomfited in many battells Mithridates and Tigranes, with a mighty power of both Kings. Q. Metellus the Pro-Consul having the charge of the war against the Cantabrigians, besieged the City Cydonia. C. Triarius, a lieutenant under Lucullus received a foil of Mithridates in fight. Lucullus was impeached and staid for pursuing Mithridates and Tigranes, that he could not accomplish his victory, by occasion of a mutiny among his own souldiers, who would not follow, because the Valerian Lexion forbode Lucullus, alledging that they had served their time fully out.

Of the XCIX. Book.

Quintus Metellus the Pro-Consul forced by assault Gnosos, Lycus, Cydonia, and many other Cities [in Crete] L. Roscius a Trib. of the Com. published a law, that the gentlemen of Rome should be allowed the 14 next seats in the scaffolds of the Theatre, to behold the games and plater. Cn. Pompeius being commanded by a law promulged unto the people for to pursue the rovers aforesaid, who had debarred and cut off all commerce for corn and victuals, within 74 daies rid the sea of them quite, and after the war with them finished in Cilicia, he received them upon submission, and gave them Cities and lands to possess. Moreover, this book contains the worthy exploits of Q. Metellus against the Cretensians. The letters also of Metellus and Cn. Pompeius, sent from the one to the other: in which Metellus, complaineth that Pompeius by sending his own lieutenant into Crete, to receive the surrender and homage of the Cities there, annulled and passed by the glory of those acts which he had achieved, Pompeius again rendereth a reason thereof, and alledges that so he ought to do.

Of the C. Book.

Caius Manilius, a Trib. of the Com. preferred a bill, to the exceeding displeasure and indignation of the nobles, that the war against Mithridates should be assigned to Pompey. His speech to the people imported and was effectual. Q. Metellus having subdued the Cretensians, gave laws unto that Island which until that time enjoyed freedom of State. Cn. Pompeius went his journey for to levy war against Mithridates, and with Phraates, King of the Parthians, he renewed the league. In a battell performed by horse-service he overcame Mithridates. Also herein is contained the war, first between Phraates King of the Parthians, and Tigranes King of the Armenians: afterwards between Tigranes the son and his father.

Of the C I. Book.

* Or Bosporus. **C**neus Pompeius vanquished Mithridates in a battell fought by night, and compelled him to flee Phoenicia, and Cilicia, he gave him again the kingdom of Armenia. Their conspiracy, who having been condemned for the inordinat and ambitious suit of the Consulship, were confederate to kill the Consul, was surprised and dash'd. Cn. Pompeius following the chase after Mithridates, entered into for new conquests, and unknown nations. The * Iberians and Albans who would not grant him passage, he overcame in battell. Over and besides this book sheweth how Mithridates fled by Colchus and Heniochus, and what his atts were in Bosporus.

* Georgians at this day.

Of the C II. Book.

* He had so ordinarily used a notable Antidote or preservative, called now Mithridate, that the poison would not work. **C**neus Pompeius reduced the realm of Pontus into the form of a Province. Pharnaces the son of Mithridates made war upon his own father, by whom Mithridates was beheaded within his own royall Court and Palace. Whereupon he drank poison, and seeing it was not * effectfull and strong enough to dispatch him, he was killed by a French souldier, named Bitocna, whose helping hand he requested for to rid him out of the world. Cn. Pompeius subdued the Jews: their famous Temple of Jerusalem, which until that day never had suffered abuse and violence, he forced and won. Catiline by occasion that he had twice suffered a repulse in suing to be Consul, conspired together with Lentulus the Praetor, Cethegus, and many others, to massacre the Consul and the Senat, to set the City on fire, and to subvert and overthrow the State of the Common-wealth, and to this purpose had levied an army in Tuscany. This treason and conspiracy was by the industry of M. Tullius Cicero detected and found out. Catiline was banished the City. The rest of his complices and adherents every one suffered death accordingly.

Of the C III. Book.

* Of the goddess Roma. **C**atiline, together with his army was by C. Antonius the Pro-Consul defeated and slain. P. Clodius was accused for entering (in the habit and apparel of a woman) but * Chappot which was not lawful for a man to go into, and notwithstanding he had committed adultery with the archpontifices wife, yet he was acquit and went clear away. Cn. Pompeius the Praetor vanquished at Solone the Allobroges, who had rebelled. P. Clodius left the nobility, and ranged himself with the Com. G. Caesar subdued the Portugals. At what time as he was in election to be Cof. and went about to invade and make havoc of the C.W. there arose a conspiracy among three of the most principal personages of the City, Cn. Pompeius, M. Crassus, and C. Caesar. The * Marian law were by Caesar the Cof. published with great strife and contention: the Senat was unwilling thereto; but by the other Cof. M. Bibulus they passed. C. Antonius Pro-Consul in Thracia, fled but badly in his war-affairs. M. Cicero was banished the City by vertue of an act promulg'd by P. Clodius Tribune of the Commons, for that he had put to death certain Roman Citizens uncondemned. Caesar made a voyage into the Province of Gaul, where he subdued the Helvetians, a vagrant and wandering nation in those daies, who seeking a place to inhabit, intended through the Province of Caesar to travell into * Narbo. Moreover, it continueth the situation of France. Pompeius triumphed over the children of Mithridates, also over Tigranes and his sons, and by one voice and generall consent of the whole assembly was saluted by the name of * Magnus.

* Narbone.

* Great.

Of the C IV. Book.

The forepart of this book compriseth the site and description, together with the manners of Germany, C. Caesar at what time as he led his army against the Germans, at the request of the Hedyans and Segna-ians, whose territory by them was possessed, and who under the conduct of Ariovistus were come down into France, by an Oration to his army shaid the timorous disposition of the souldiers, which arose upon the fear they had of new and strange enemies: vanquished the Germans in plain fight, and drove them clean out of France. M. Cicero, by means of Pompeius (who among others made an Oration in his behalf) and of T. Annius Milo, a Tribune of the Commons, who likewise pleaded his cause, was with the exceeding joy of the Senat and all Italy called home from exile. Cn. Pompeius had commission for five year space to look unto the provision of corn and * fruits. Caesar overcame in fight the Ambians, Sueffians, Viromanduan, Atrebares (nations all of * Belgæ) of whom there was an exceeding multitude, and received them upon yielding to his protection. Afterwards he fought with passing great hazard and jeopardy against the Nervii, one of the foresaid States, and in fine utterly destroyed and extinguished their whole generation: for they had waged war so long, untill of 60000 armed men there remained but 300, and of 95 of their Noblemen three only escaped and no more. There passed a law for to reduce Cyprus into the form of a Province and to confiscate the Kings treasure: by vertue whereof, the managing of that affair was committed to C. Caro. Ptolemæus King of Egypt suffered many wrongs and injuries at his own subjects hands, and being by them expelled out of his kingdom came to Rome. C. Caesar in a battell at sea vanquished the Venetians, a State and City seated in the very Ocean. Last of all, it reporteth exploits by his Lieutenants performed with like good fortunes.

OF

Of the CV. Book.

At what time as the assembly for election of Magistrates might be holden, by reason of the negotiations and inhibitions of C. Cato a Trib. of the Com. the Senate generally in token of sorrow put on mourning weeds. M. Cato in his suit for a Priestship suffered a repulse, and Vatinius was preferred before him. The same Vatinius whom he would have impeached the law whereby were granted to the Consuls the Provinces for five years, was Pompey the governor of both Spains, and Crassus Syria and the Parthian war, and was Caesar France and Germany, was by C. Trebonius a Tribune of the Commons, and the first maker of the said law, committed to prison. M. Gabinius the Pro-Consul of Achaia, after he had vanquished and put to sword the Germans in France, crossed over the Rhene, and subdued that part of Germany which is next thereto: which done, he sailed over into Britain with much trouble and damage, by reason of the cross and contrary winds: whither he was as soon as he fled little better when he was there: but when he had slain a mighty great number of men, he brought into subjection the rest of the Island.

Of the CVI. Book.

Iulia daughter to Caesar and sister Pompeius departed this life, and had this surpassing honour done unto her by the people, as to be entombed in Mars field. Many of the States of France revolted by the leading of Ambiorix a Duke of the Ebdomas, by whom Cotta and T. Aurunculeius the lieutenants of Caesar were by an ambuscade surprised and overthrown, and by means thereof they made the armies whereof they had the conduct were put to the sword. And at what time as the camp of the other legions also was besieged, assailed, and with difficulty defended, did among them Q. Cicero, who was Lord President of the Treviras: the enemies were by Caesar himself in person overthrown in fight, M. Crassus intending to war upon the Parthians passed over a river Euphrates, and being vanquished in battle, wherein his son was slain, after he had rallied the broken ends of his army, and retired them to a little hill, he was traitorously slain by the enemies (whose Captain was Surenas) in a garley and treachery of peace, and thereupon attached: but because he would not suffer any indignity and villany alive, he made resistance, and in that struggling of his was slain, and there was end of him.

Of the CVII. Book.

Claude Caesar having vanquished the Treviras in Gaul, passed over the second time into Germany: where finding an ambuscade to meet him, returned into France, where the Ebdomas and other Cities which had conspired, he overcame, put their R. Ambiorix to flight, and followed him in chase. The body of P. Clodius slain in the high way Appia near Boville by T. Annius Milo a competitor of the Consulship, the Commons of Rome bore in a funeral fire within the Curia [Hortilia]. By occasion of a sedition variance between two Candidates for a Consulship, namely, Hyppien Scipio, and Milo, who with force and arms tried the issue by the sword: C. Pompeius was sent out of the Senate to suppress such pernicious debates. Crassus Consul he was the third time in his office, and which prerogative no man ever had: alone without Collegue, a commission was granted for him to suppress the death of Pub. Clodius, by virtue whereof Milo was judicially condemned, and had his judgment to be banished. A bill was proposed, that C. Caesar notwithstanding he was absent should be accepted of in the election of Consuls, albeit M. Cato was unwilling thereto, and gain said it. Moreover, this book containeth the warlike acts achieved by C. Caesar against the Gauls (who generally in manner revolted) under the leading of Vercingetorix the Arvernian: also the painful sieges of certain Cities, and namely, of *Avaricum in Bituriges, and *Gergovia in Avergne.

Of the CVIII. Book.

Claude Caesar vanquished the Gauls at *Alexia, and received all the Childe in France which had been in arms, into his protection upon their submission. C. Cassius the treasurer of M. Crassus, put the Parthians to the sword, who had passed over into Syria. M. Cato sued to be Consul, and had the repulse, and Ser. Sulpitius with M. Marcellus were created Consuls: C. Caesar subdued the *Bellovaci, with other States and Cities in France. Also is contained the strife and debate between the Consuls about sending of a successor to C. Caesar. For M. Marcellus the Consul was earnest in the Senate, that C. Caesar should come to stand for a Consulship, considering that he by a law made in that behalf was to govern his provinces unto that time of his Consulship. End of all, the warlike deeds of Mar. Bibulus in Syria are here reported.

Of the CIX. Book.

The causes of the civil war and their beginnings be here set down. The continuance likewise about a successor to be sent in lieu of Caesar, who disputed flatly to dismiss the armies, unless Pompey also discharged.

* Bourges.
* In Berry.
* Clermont.

Ege.

* Reconnais.

charged his forces. Moreover, this book treateth of the actions preferred by C. Curio, a Tribune of the Commons, first against Caesar, and afterwards for him. When there passed an act of the Senate, that one or other without fail should be employed to succeed Caesar, M. Antonius and Q. Cassius, two other Tribunes (for that by their negative and inhibitions they seemed to cross and stay that act) were expelled the City: and a commission was directed by the Senate to the Consuls, and to Cn. Pompeius, in this form, To see that the Common-wealth sustained no damage: C. Caesar intending to persecute his adversary, came with his army into Italy. Cornutus together with La Domitius and L. Lentulus he took prisoner, and led them go again: but Cn. Pompeius, and the rest of his side he neverly chased forth of Italy.

Of the CX. Book.

Cains Caesar besieged Massilia, which had shut the gates against him: who leaving C. Trebonius and D. Brutus in the siege, took a journey into Spain, where he received upon submission La Afranius and C. Petreius, two lieutenants of Pompeius, together with seven legions. He dismissed them all with no harm done unto them. Varrus also a lieutenant of Pompeius, together with his army came under his obsequies. The Gauls and he were reconciled and gave the City unto him. The Massilians after two overthrowes in sea-fight, and a long siege which they had endured, submitted at last and were at the devotion of Caesar. C. Antonius a lieutenant of Caesar fought an unfortunate battle against the Pompeians, and in Illyricum was taken prisoner: during which war the inhabitants of * Opitergium, beyond the river of Padus (who were the auxiliaries of Caesar) seeing their chained bridge of boats and lighters lacked up and fast upon within the enemies ships, rather than themselves should fall into the hands of their enemies, ran one upon another, and died every one. C. Curio, a lieutenant of Caesar in Affricke, after he had fought against Varrus a captain of the Pompeians, and together with his army defeated him, and cut in pieces by his hands the King of * Mauritania. C. Caesar passed the sea into Greece.

Of the CXI. Book.

Cains Cecilius Rufus the Prator going about to raise commotions and seditions all that ever he could within the City, and having solicited the commons upon the hope of cancelling all debts, was first deposed from his Magistracy, and after driven out of the City. Then he banded with Milo a banished person, who had levied a power of fugitive and lawless: but both of them in this preparation of war came short of their purpose and were slain. Cleopatra queen of Egypt was by her brother Ptolomæus expelled out of her kingdom. By reason of the avarice and cruelty of Q. Catulus the Prator, the * Celtæ, dubians in Spain, together with two Varian legions, revolted from Caesar and his side: Cn. Pompeius was besieged by Caesar at Brundisium: but having won his fences with the guards thereto belonging, and that with great loss of the adverse part, he was delivered from the siege. But after the war was translated into Thessaly, he was at Pharsalia in a battle overthrowen. There remained still within the camp of Cæsar, who by nature framed for nothing more wise than war, Caesar pardoned all those of the adverse part, who after his victory submitted themselves to his mercy.

Of the CXII. Book.

Herein is related the fearful condition of the side which was vanquished, and how they fled in sundry parts of the world. Cn. Pompeius being arrived in Egypt, by the commandment of Ptolomæus the King, as yet an infant under age, and by his son of Theodorus his mother and seducer, who might of all other over-rule the King, also of one Pthotinus, was killed by the hands of Achilla, who had a warrant to execute that feat, even in the very barge before he was landed. But Cornelia his wife, and Sextus Pompeius his son fled back into Cyprus. Caesar three daies after the foresaid victory, pursued Pompeius: and when Theodorus presented unto him his head and finger of his finger, he was displeased in his heart and wept withall. He entered Alexandria without any danger, notwithstanding the troubles and hariburly therein. Caesar was created Dictator. He restored Cleopatra unto the kingdom of Egypt: and when Ptolomæus made war by their advice and himself, who moved him to murder Pompeius, Caesar vanquished him, with great perill and hazard of himself. As Ptolomæus fled, his vessel wherein he was embarked ran a ground in Nilus, and there stuck fast. Besides, this book sheweth the painful and toilsome journey of Marcus Cato with his legions, in Affricke through the desert wilderness: and the war which Cn. Domitius fortantly managed against Phraates the Parthian King.

Of the CXIII. Book.

When the side of Pompeius had gathered heart and strength in Affricke, the sovereign command thereof was committed to P. Scipio, for M. Cato, who before had equal power and commission with him, gave place and yielded his right. Now when it was debated in council as touching the subversion and utter ruin of Utica, for that the City was so inclined and favourable to Caesar: while M. Cato stood stiffly in this point, that it should not be destroyed: and Juba (the King) was earnest to have it raised: the guard and keeping thereof was committed unto Cato. The son of Pompey the great, having levied forces in Spain (the conduct and leading whereof, neither Afranius nor Petreius were willing to undertake) made fresh war upon Caesar. Pharnaces King of Pontus and son of Mithridates, endured no time of war,

but was soon overcome. At what time as P. Dolabella a Tribune of the com. raised seditions in Rome, by means of a law by him published in the behalf of bankrupts. That the old debts should be stricken off, and new order taken with the creditors: upon which occasion there ensued a commotion of the commons. M. Antonius, General of the Cavalry, entered the City with a strength of souldiers: and eight hundred of the commons lost their lives. Cæsar discharged all his old souldiers, who in a mutiny demanded the sume, and having sailed into Affrick, he fought against the power of R. Juba with exceeding great jeopardy.

Of the CXIV. Book.

Cælius Bassus a gentleman of Rome, and one of Pompeys side, leaved war in Syria. Sextus Cæsar was forsaken by the legion which revolted, and went to Bassus, and also slain. Cæsar vanquished Scipio the Prætor, Afranius, and Juba, near Taplos, and forced their camp. Cato hearing thereof, wounded himself at Utica: and when his son came between and staid his hand, his hurt was dressed, but in the very cure, as the wound was newly lanced again, he yielded up his vitall breath and died, in the 49 year of his age. Petreius killed Juba and himself. P. Scipio in his ship was beset round, and at his death, which he took manfully, he uttered a brave speech: for when the enemies made search and enquiry what was become of the General, The General quoth he is well. Faustus and Afranius were slain. Cato's son had his pardon. Brutus, a lieutenant of Cæsar vanquished the Bellovaci in France that rebelled.

Of the CXV. Book.

Cæsar rode in four triumphs over France, Egypt, Pontus, and Africa. A solemn feast he made, and exhibited unto the people (beins of all sorts) unto M. Marcellus a man of Consular dignity, at the request of the Senat he granted leave to returne, which Marcellus could not enjoy, the benefit of this grace and favour, by reason that he was murdered at Athens by Cn. Magius Chilo, his own client and vassall. Cæsar also held a review of the City, wherein were enrolled 150000 Citizens, whereas before there had been numbered 400000. See the calamity of civill war. He took a voyage into Spain against Sex. Pompeius: and after many rodes and expeditions on both sides made, and some cities forced, in the end he attained one small victory for all before the City Munda, but with exceeding perill and danger. Sex. Pompeius escaped and fled.

Of the CXVI. Book.

Caius Cæsar triumphed a fift time over Spain. When many honours and those right excellent, were by the Senat ordained for him, and namely, among the rest, to be called Pater Patriæ: to be sacrosanct and inviolable: and withall to be Dictator for ever: he gave occasion to be envied and maliced: first in that when the Senat bestowed upon him these honourable titles, at what time as he sat before the Temple of Venus Genetrix, he rose not up nor did reverence unto them: second, for that when M. Antonius the Cos. and his Collegues ran among the Luperæ, he laid upon his ivory chair of estate the wreath or diadem which was by him set upon his head: thirdly, because he deprived from their authority Epi- dius Marullus and Cæcilius Flavius, two Tribunes of the Commons, who went about to bring him into hatred, as if he affected and sought to be King. Upon these causes, a conspiracy was contrived against him, whereof the principall heads were M. Brutus, C. Trebonius, and C. Cassius, also one of his own side D. Brutus: by whom he was massacred in the court of Pompeius, and received 23 wounds: and by these murderers was the Capitoll seized and held. But after that the Senat had passed a decree to forget this murder, the conspirators aforesaid, having received for their security the children of Antonius and Lepidus, as hostages, came down from the Capitol. By the last will and testament of Cæsar, C. Octavius (his sisters son) was made his half heir, and adopted into his own name. The body of Cæsar being brought into Mars field, was by the Com. burnt in a funeral fire before the Rostre. The honour and dignity of Dictatorship was ever abolished. Chameces a person of most vile and base condition, avowed himself to be the son of C. Marius: and whiles he raised a sedition among the credulous common people, was cut off and killed.

Of the CXVII. Book.

Caius Octavius from out of Epirus repaired to Rome: for Cæsar had sent him thither before, when he minded to make war in Macedony, where he was received with good tokens and fortunate presages, and withall took upon him the name of Cæsar. In this confusion of state and tumultuous trouble of all things, Lepidus attained by stealth to the highest pontificall dignity. But when M. Antonius the Consul demeaned himself most lordly and proudly in his place, and by force published a law as touching the exchange of the Provinces: and withal offered much wrong and abuse to Cæsar, when he made request that he would assist and stand with him in revenge of those that murdered his uncle: Cæsar, to the end that he might make both himself and the common-weal strong against him, raised and excited the old souldiers whom he had before placed in Colonies. The fourth legion also, and that called Marcia, fell from Antonius and turned their ensignes to Cæsar. After this more besides (by occasion that many through the cruelty of A. Antonius were murdered every where in their tents) because they were once suspected, revolted from him and ranged to Cæsar. D. Brutus purposing to stop Antonius as he should passe into Lombardy, seized upon Mutina with an army. Finally, this book declareth the running to and fro of those on both parts, to be possessed first of the Provinces, and the preparation for war.

For as he entered the City, the circle of the sun gathered about it an Halo round like a rainbow or garland, even over his head.

Of the CXVIII. Book.

Marcus Brutus in Greece (under a pretence of maintaining the state, and enterprising war against Antonius) possessed himself of the army wherof Ventus had the conduct together with the Province. But Cæsar, who first took arms in defence of the C. M. the government and command of a Pre-Prætor was granted, with the Prætorian ornaments and ensigns thereto belonging, and withall he had this addition to be reputed Pre-Prætor. M. Antonius besieged D. Brutus in Mutina. Certain Embassadors were sent unto him from the Senat as concerning peace, but little availed they in the treaty and conclusion thereof. The people of Rome generally betook them to arms and soldiers haue Brutus in Epirus subdued C. Antonius the Prætor together with his army.

Of the CXIX. Book.

Cneus Trebonius was by the guilfull practice of P. Dolabella, slain in Asia: for which fall Dolabella was by the Senat judged an enemy to the State. When Pansa the Cof. was at the point to lose the field against Antonius, A. Hirtius the other Cof. came with his army to the rescue, discomfited the forces of M. Antonius, and so made the fortune of both parts alike and equal. Afterwards, Antonius being vanquished by Hirtius and Cæsar, fled into France, and joyned unto him M. Lepidus with the legions which were under him. Both he and all they who were within his holds in garrison, were by the Senat attainted. Aulus Hirtius, who after his victory was slain within the camp of the enemies, and L. Pansa, who died of a wound received in an unfortunate fight were both buried in Mars field. To C. Cæsar the only Captain of the three now remaining alive, the Senat was not so kind as they ought to have been: for having ordained that D. Brutus (who by Cæsar had been delivered from the siege at Mutina) should triumph, they made no thankful remembrance of Cæsar and his soldiers, as was meet and requisite. For which discourtesies C. Cæsar (being reconciled to M. Antonius by the means and mediation of M. Lepidus) came to Rome with an army: and when they were sore dismayed at his coming, who had before intreated him so unkindly, created Consul he was [with Q. Pædinus] being but nineteen years of age, or not full twenty, for he wanted one day, as Velleius Paterculus saith.

Of the CXX. Book.

Cæsar now Consul, proposed a law for an inquisition to be made of them by whose means his father Cæsar was killed. and by vertue of that law, M. Brutus, C. Cassius, and D. Brutus were endured, restrained and condemned in their absence. When together with M. Antonius, A. P. Pollio also, and Magnatius Plancius had joyned their arms, and thereby much strengthened and augmented their forces, D. Brutus whom the Senat had sent with commission to pursue Antonius, being now forlorn of his obligations and fled, was at the commandment of Antonius (into whose hands he fell) killed by one Capennus a Burgonian. Caius Cæsar contracted a peace with Antonius and Lepidus, wherein it was capitulated between them that those three should for five years have the sovereignty over all, only to set in order and establish the state of the common-weal: to wit, himself, Lepidus, and Antonius, and each of them prescribe and outlaw their own adversaries and enemies. In which proscription were contained the names of very many Gentlemen of Rome, and one hundred and thirty Senators, and amongst the rest were L. Pansa the brother of M. Lepidus, L. Cæsar the uncle of Antonius by the Mother, and M. Cicero, slain by Popilius, a legionary soldier, in the 63 year of his age, whose head and hands was set upon the Rostra. Moreover, this book sheweth the deeds by M. Brutus achieved in Greece.

Of the CXXI. Book.

Cassius, who had in commission from the Senat, to pursue by force of arms Dolabella, judged an enemy to the Common-weal, being born out by the authority and warrant of the State, possessed himself of Syria, and became Master of three armies which were in that Province. He besieged Dolabella within the City of Laodicea, and put him to death. C. Antonius was likewise taken prisoner, and by commandment from M. Brutus slain.

Of the CXXII. Book.

Marcus Brutus had but bad success in fight against the Thracians. After that all the Provinces beyond sea, and the armies, were under his hands and Caius Cassius: they completed but together at Smyrna, what course to take for the future war. Publicola the brother of M. Messala they vanquished, and yet by common consent they pardoned him.

Of the CXXIII. Book.

Sextus Pompeius the son of Magnus, assembled together out of Epirus a number of outlaws and banished persons, and having a long time with his army robbed only by way of prey, and seized as yet upon the possession of no piece upon the land, first seized Messana, a town in Sicily, and afterwards the

the whole Province. And after that A. Pompeius Rhodius the Prator there, was by Pompey slain: he the said Pompey in a battell at sea vanquished Q. Salvidienus, a Lieutenant of Caesar. Caesar and Antony with their armies sailed over to Cyprus: and thence to wage war against Brutus and Cassius. Quintus Cornificius in Africk was slain by the T. Sallius, the Captain of the Cassian faction.

Of the CXXII. Book.

Caesar and Antony fought a Philipp with variable fortune against Brutus and Cassius. In the right of both battles the latter, and each of them won the other's camp. But the death of Cassius was it that turned the ballance and made the difference: who being in that point that revolved and went down, supposed that the whole army and main battell was discomfited, and so killed himself. In another conflict after wards, M. Brutus also was overcome, and there ended his life: for he increased Strato (that accompanied him in his flight) to set his sword point to his throat, and so he was slain. The same did send forth more of the principall Romans: among whom was Q. Hortensius likewise slain.

Of the CXXV. Book.

Caesar left Antony (for to his share fell the Empire of some Provinces beyond sea) and returned into Italy. He divided lands among his old soldiers. The mutinies of his own army by occasion that the soldiers were seduced by Fulvia the wife of M. Antonius and rose against their Generall, he repressed with exceeding danger and jeopardy. L. Antonius the Consul and brother to M. Antonius, by the suggestions counsell and persuasion of the said Fulvia, made war upon Caesar: and having procured those nations to side and take part with him, whose lands had been made over and assigned to the old soldiers, and so he had discomfited M. Lepidus, who with an army had the government and guard of the City, and so he was driven by way of his flight into Rome.

Of the CXXVI. Book.

Caesar when he was but three and twenty years of age, besieged L. Antonius in the town Perusia: and when he made sundry offers to sally out and break forth, he repelled and chased him back, yea, and for very hunger forced him to yield and take under his obedience. As for Antony himself and all his soldiers, he pardoned, but Perusia he rased and destroyed. Finally, after he had brought all the armies of the adverse side to submit and to stand to his mercy, he finished the war without effusion of any blood.

Of the CXXVII. Book.

The Parthians, under the conduct of Labianus, who had taken part with Pompey, and then fled into Syria: overcame Odius Sabinus, a Lieutenant of M. Antonius, and held all that Province in their power. M. Antonius being solicited by the instigation of his wife, Fulvia, to make war against Caesar, yet he was hindered, because he should have no less hindrance to the accord and agreement of the three rulers in their Triumvirate. Then made he a peace with Caesar, and took to wife his sister Octavia. Q. Salvidienus who completed mischief against Caesar, he slew and betrayed: who being thereupon condemned, wrought his own death. Ventidius a Lieutenant under Antonius, overcame the Parthians in a small, and chased them forth of Syria, having before slain their Leader Labianus. When at Sextus Pompeius held Sicily, and being a great enemy and ill neighbour to Italy, stood there supporting of arms and tumults by sea: upon request Caesar and Antony made peace with him for this consideration, that he should govern Sicily and his Province. Also herein are set forth the troubles and wars of Africk.

Of the CXXVIII.

When Sext. Pompeius infested the sea again with rovery, and piracy, and would not make good, and maintain that peace, which he had wrought of Caesar, he was forced upon necessity to undertake war against him, and in two naval battels fought with doubtfull event. L. Ventidius a Lieutenant of M. Antonius, vanquished the Parthians in Syria and slew their King. The Jews also were by Antonius Lieutenant subdued. Herein besides is set down the preparation for the Sicilian war.

Of the CXXIX. Book.

Sundry battels were fought at sea against Sext. Pompeius with variable issue: so as, of Caesars two fleets, the one which was conducted by Agrippa, got the better hand: but the other led by Caesar himself, had the overthrow: and the soldiers being set a fire, were in exceeding great danger. But afterwards Pompeius was defeated and banished into Sicily. Marcus Lepidus crossed the sea from Rome of Africk, and so he took part with Caesar in his wars against Sea Pompeius. But when Caesar turned upon him also, he was abandoned of his army, and being content to resign up the honour and dignity of the Triumvirate, obtained of M. Agrippa was by Caesar rewarded with a new crown, an honour to no man ever granted before him.

Of the CXXX. Book.

Marcus Antonius, in his rising times with Cleopatra, turned into the Province of Media, with three hundred legions, and sixteen thousand horsemen, to fight against the Parthians, and a few days left two of his legions, seeing nothing prosper well on his side, he retired back. But still the Parthians followed him in chase: whereupon in exceeding great haste, and great peril of the whole army, he returned into Armenia: so as in 27 daies he fled three hundred miles. About 8000 men he lost by tempestuous weather. But he was himself the occasion that he suffered this dangerous tempest, ever and when the Parthian war which unfortunately he entered, he might have avoided in Armenia, for he had made to his love Cleopatra.

Of the CXXXI. Book.

Ser. Pompeius having once submitted, while he was in the protection of M. Antonius, went down to Syria against him in Asia: but by his Lieutenants he was surprised and slain. Cleopatra had the victory of the old soldiers, which with great mischief was begun: he subdued the Iapides, the Dalmatians and Pannonians. Antonius having upon his word and promise of safety and protection trained unto him Artabazides the King of Armenia, commanded him to be laid up fast in Irom, and gave the kingdom of Armenia to his own son, which he had by Cleopatra: for now by this time he began to adore her as his wife, upon whom long before he was enamoured and doted in love.

Of the CXXXII. Book.

Caisar subdued the Dalmatians in Illyricum. When M. Antonius for the love of Cleopatra (who bore him two sons, Philadelphus and Alexander) would never return to the City of Rome, nor after the time of the Triumvirat expired, resign up that dignity and government, but prepared for war which he meant to levy against Rome and Italy: and thereto had raised a mighty power, as well of forces as of land: and with all had renewed the marriage with Octavia, Caesar's sister, and sent her a letter of divorcement, and so put her away: Caesar thereupon, with an army sailed into Epirus. The battles were afterwards, and the horse fought, wherein Caesar had the upper hand, he here retired.

Of the CXXXIII. Book.

Marcus Antonius was with his fleet overcome at Actium, and thereupon fled to Alexandria, where being by Caesar besieged, and in utter despair of recovering his former state, but moved especially upon a false rumour that was spread, how Cleopatra was killed, he slew himself. When Caesar was now Master of Alexandria, Cleopatra like wise because she would not fall into the hands of the conqueror, willingly procured her own death. Caesar upon his return to the City of Rome, had the honour of three triumphs: the one over Illyricum, another for the victory at Actium, and the third in regard of Cleopatra. Then when he had finished all civil wars which had continued 21 years, M. Lepidus, the son of Lepidus the Triumvir, conspired against Caesar, and while he was about to make war, was prevented and slain.

Of the CXXXIV. Book.

Caisar having for the State in good order, and reduced all Provinces into one certain form, was surnamed also Augustus, and the month Sextilis to honour his name was likewise called. While he sat in a situation at Narbonne, he took a review of the three Provinces of Gaul, which his father (Caesar) had conquered. The war which M. Crassus made against the Bactrians, Indians, and other nations, is here reported.

Of the CXXXV. Book.

The war which M. Crassus levied against the Thracians, as also which Caesar made upon the Sarmatians is here set down. Likewise how the Salassi, a people inhabiting the Alps, were utterly subdued.

Of the CXXXVI. Book.

Rhetia was conquered by Tiberius Nero, and Drusus his nephew's son. Agrippa Caesar's son in law died: and by Drusus was the generall review and tax taken.

Of the CXXXVII. Book.

The Cities of Germany situated on either side the Rhene, were by Drusus besieged and assailed. There was a revolt and insurrection which arose in France, by reason of the foolish review of the Gauls, which was suppressed. An altar was erected unto Divus Caesar at the confluence of the two rivers, Arar and Rhodanus: and a Priest was created to offer thereupon pro C. Julius Vercondaridubus an Helvet.

Of the CXXXVIII. Book.

Here is shewed how the Thracians were by L. Pison tamed. Likewise how the Therufci, Temachate-
sthe Catti, and other nations of Germany beyond the Rhene, were subdued and brought under
by Drusus. Octavia the sister of Augustus departed this life, having buried before, her son Marcellus:
whose monuments still remain, namely, the Theatre and gallery bearing his name, as if they had been de-
dicated by Marcellus.

Of the CXXXIX. Book.

The war which Drusus managed against the nations beyond Rhene is here reported. In which war
the chief persons that fought were Senecius and Ancilius, Tribunes of the Nervian State. Nero
the brother of Drusus subdued the Dalmatians and Pannonians. Peace was contracted with the Par-
thians: and upon capitulation the military ensigns were delivered up again to their King, which first
under the conduct of Crassus, and afterwards of Antonius were lost, and by them taken.

Of the CXL. Book.

In this book is related the war which Drusus fought against the Cities and States of Germany be-
yond the Rhene. Himself fell from his horse and brake his leg, by reason that his horse fell thereon:
upon which fracture he died thirty daies after. His corps was by his brother Nero (who being sent for
upon the news of his sickness rode in post) brought through to Rome, and bestowed in the tomb of C. Ju-
lius. Praised he was by Caesar Augustus his father in law, and at his funerals for a small farewell, he was
entitled with many honourable names.

To the Reader.

The history of *Titus Livius*, as it was by him passing well penned otherwise, and none
thereto in Latine comparable: so in the calculation and date of times, which they call
Chronology (a singular light to give direction in a story) he is somewhat defective and
unlike himself, so as he cannot be praised without exception. But if a man consider the
huge volumes which he wrote, and namely, in his declining age; the variety and disagreement
of former authors, whom he followed, who before him faulted also in this point: and whereof he
much complaineth; he is to be pitied and pardoned, if his memory failed somewhat in this behalf.
For where shall we find a man that is *in parva rebus, omnique ex parte beatus*? And indeed, if we
weigh the thing aright, as it was a profession by it self, and required a whole man: so many tra-
velled therein alone, and they that performed well but it only, deserved high thanks and com-
mendation. And to let many others pass, how worthily is *T. Pomponius Atticus* praised by *Cicero*
his friend, for digesting the head Magistrates of 700 years in one book? As for *Verrius Flaccus*,
who lived in the time of *Augustus Caesar*, he collected a catalogue and register of the chief Rulers
of *Rome*, how they were chosen successively, and how they governed from time to time: which as
he caused to be cut and engraven in a marble wall within the Capitol for a perpetuall memory to
posterity; so thereby he deserved also to have his own statue erected near the Temple of *Vesta*, for
an everlasting memorial of so great a benefit. But what is there so durable, that time wasteth not?
What so conspicuous and evident, but troublesome daies may overwhelm and hide in oblivion?
Thus amidst that havock which the Goths and Vandals made in *Italy*, there remained not one
fourth part extant of *Livius* story: thus in that generall confusion of *Rome*, these records of *Verrius*
Flaccus were defaced, broken, and buried deep under the ruins of the Capitoll and other stately e-
difices. But the revolution of times, as it hath brought to light again some reliques of *Livy*: so it
hath discovered also those marbles of *Verrius*: for in the time of *Paul the third*, Pope of *Rome*, the
fragments of the said stones were digged out of the ground between the Roman Forum and the
broad street *Via Sacra*; brought forth also & laid abroad in the Capitol to the view of the world.
To which, as the true touch-stone, certain learned men of late daies have laid to their own labors
in that kind, namely, *Bartholomew Marliani* of *Millain*, *Onuphrius Panvinus* of *Verona*, *Charles Si-*
gonius of *Modena*, and *Francis Robertellus* of *Udine*: and comparing the same as also the annals ga-
thered by *Henry Glareanus* before time, with the foresaid antiquities of *Verrius* late found, have
recovered much light to the history of *Livy*, and supplied his wants in that behalf. I thought it
not amiss therefore to gratifie my countrymen in some measure this way also, and deliver the
same in English which I found annexed to the best editions in Latine, as followeth.

A CHRONOLOGIE TO THE HISTORY OF TITUS LIVIUS,

Compiled according to the Tables and Records of *Verrius Flaccus* in the Capitoll, and set out with most profitable Notes, shewing the variety and disagreement of Authors about the names of the Roman Consuls.

The causes of dissent and repugnance in Historiographers, as touching the computation and relating of the years from the foundation of the City of Rome.



Ince we intend to set forth a Kalender or Register of the Consuls mentioned in the History of *Livius*, which by reason of uncertainty, obscurity, and discordance of the times, is so dark and intricate, that not only the learned and most experienced Historians of our age, but the best writers of the Roman story in ancient time very often complained thereof; we think it not impertinent to our purpose, briefly to search into the causes of this dissent: which being once known, we may follow that account of the times, which seemeth to accord best with the Historiall truth, and to be grounded upon the authority and testimony of the most authentick and approved writers. For seeing that an History (as *Cicero* hath most truly said) is the witness of times; what is more unfitting for it, than to mis and want that which is the chiefeest point therein, and without due and diligent reckoning made, to be ignorant what was first and what was last done? It seemeth therefore, that of this diversity in the account and computation of the Roman Consuls, there be three especiall causes.

The first is, for that the year in which the first Consuls entred into that Magistracy, is by the Roman Historiographers, not after one sort but diversly set down. For *Dionysius* (a most diligent writer of the Acts of Romans) in his first book, in the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth, reporteth, that the KK. reigned 244 years: which also is collected out of the yearly computation gathered by *Varro* and approved by the authority of others. For *Messala* reporteth, how upon the expulsion of the KK. which hapned in the 244 year after the foundation of the City, the Romans were ruled under the yearly government of Consuls. To which opinion *Livy* also subscribeth in the end of his first book, saying, that the regiment of KK. continued 244 years from the foundation of the City, unto the freedom and liberty thereof. But *Eutropius* in his first book writeth that the seven Kings reigned in Rome 243 years: which account agreeth with *Sex. Rufus* in his abridgement. In which variety this is to be observed, that these two last named reckon the years only of every Kings reign, and out of the whole and gross sum leave out the year of the interreign, which *Dionysius*, *Livius*, *Messala*, and the rest insert between, and that right truly and upon good reason: for after the death of *Romulus*, the interreign continued one year. Consider then and examine the thing diligently, and ye shall find, that in reckoning the years of every Kings reign in severall, *Eutropius* and *Senatus Rufus* both, attribute as many years to the Kings government, as *Denis. Livy*, and the rest: so that this difference is not much. But others there be (as *Eusebius* hath delivered in his Chronicles) who write, that the KK. reigned but 243 years, and take the interregency withall: whose judgment, *Orosius*, *Iornandes*, and *Beda* seem to follow. For *Orosius* in the first chapter of his second book recordeth, that *Brutus* the Consul in that very year, namely the 244, put his own sons to death. The Kings reigned not precisely so many years just, but, for that some (and namely, *Romulus*) went over some months and daies, *Dionysius* and *Livius* reckoned them for a full year, and laid it to *Tarquinius Priscus*: but the other above-named, together with *Eusebius*, left out those odd months and daies (because they made not up a compleat year) and assigned but only seven and thirty years to the reign of King *Priscus*. To this may be added another reason of the like nature: namely, that as divers authors have doubtfully reported the year, so they are no more certain of the month and day on which the first Consuls began their government. For *Plutarch* in his Problems writeth, that they entred upon the first day of *January*: but *Macrobius* in the first book of his *Saturnalia* and seventh chapter, seemeth to imply that they took their Consuls place the first of *June*, saying, (according to the opinion of others) That *June* took the name of *Junius Brutus*: for that in this month, and namely, upon the first day thereof (according to a vow whereto he was obliged by the banishment of *Tarquin*) he solemnized a sacrifice to the goddess *Cernea* upon mount *Calvus*.

Othres

Others again write, how this hapned the 24 of February; grounding herein upon the old antiquities and records of stone, together with the testimony of Ovid, who in the second book of his Kalender thus writeth:

King Tarquin with his sons then fled: The Consuls yearly bear

The sovereign rule at Rome: since that, no King ever reign'd there.

Some there are besides of opinion, that they entred the first day of July: and of their mind seemeth *Joachimus Perionius* to be, in his third book of the Greek Magistrates. In this repugnancy therefore of opinions, very doubtfull it is which to follow. As for that of *Plutarch*, it hath long since been clearly and learnedly confuted by two great and excellent clarks, *Omphrius Panvinus*, and *Sigonius*: since it is plain that it was the six hundred year from the foundation of the City, and not before, that the Consuls began their government the first of January. But in setting down the certain day, they themselves are not well agreed. For *Sigonius* after *Marlianus* inclineth this way and saith, That the first day of the Consuls government was the six and twentieth day of May. But *Panvinus* thinketh that the first Consuls were created the 26 day of February. And this diversity is found not only in the day when the first Consuls took their government, but also in the time after ensuing. What was the usuall day of any month whereon the Consuls were wont to begin their Magistracy, a man can hardly find any certainty before the six hundred year from the Cities foundation. In the four and fortieth year verily after the Kings were exiled the first day of July, as *Livy* writeth, was the ordinary day for yearly Magistrates to take their place: but how many years following, that order continued, or at what time it was changed, he shewed not before he cometh to the three hundred and two year, and then he saith in his third book. That the thirteenth of May was the ordinary day for Magistrates to begin their government. Thus much at leastwise we may collect by him (when he saith that this time was solemn) that he meant not two or three years only, but many. For that is properly called solemn, which is by law usually observed. Again, we read a little after the beginning of the fift book, that this time also was altered: for whereas the first day of December was the usuall time that Magistrates began to execute their office, he saith, that it was changed, in these words, The principall Nobles and Lords of the Senat, were it upon the default or the infortunity of their Generals (that is shamefull an overthrow was received) Jopined and advised, not to expect and stay for the ordinary time of the election, but presently to create new military Tribunes in Consuls authority, who should enter into their government the first day of October, &c. Which opinion of theirs imported, and the whole house accorded to it: whereupon the other Tribunes gain said it. But *Sergius* and *Urginius* withstood this Act of the Senat, and denied flatly to resign up their dignity before the eleventh of December, the ordinary day of taking their oath and beginning their Magistracy. And a little after, within one page, he sheweth that the usuall day of entrance into government was altered from the eleventh of December to the first of September, saying, When this speech was received with a generall applause of all men, and that the Nobles and Lords of the Senat &c. But this day was kept but a few years. For about six years after, he saith, by occasion that both Consuls lay sick it was ordained that the first of July should be the ordinary day. And this also I find was changed to another, whatsoever it was, for named it is not: and therefore uncertain. But this hapned in the four hundred and thirteenth year after the Cities foundation: as *Livy* about the beginning of the eighth book sheweth in these words: And when the Consuls were commanded to resign up their Magistracy before the time, to the end that new Consuls might the sooner be created, against so great troubles of war, &c. For in these words [The sooner, &c.] he declareth that the usuall day of entrie into government was then changed. But as it is not certainly set down what day this was; so the other was as well known: for soon after, and namely, the eighth year following it was appointed, to wit, the first day of July. Immediately therefore (quoth he) the new Consuls, *L. Aemilius Mamercus*, and *Cn. Plautius* were enjoyed that day (even the first of July) on which they began their office, to agree and part between themselves their Provinces. As for the month, wherein for the most part the assembly for election of Magistrates was holden, we read it was February; like as the thirteenth of March was ordinary for them to begin their government. For this day held alwaies, during the second Punic war and the Macedonian, and longer than so. Thus *Livy* testifieth in many places, which to quote is needless) as in the six book of the second Punic war, and in the beginning of the first book as touching the Macedonian. By which, who seeth nor that there is great variety in the month and day both, whereupon the Magistrates were wont to begin their rule? But whereas all the certainty in computation and account of the time dependeth upon a precise, exact, firm, and settled reckoning of years, months, and dates; and seeing that in *Livy*'s story it is neither expressly shewed, what year, month, or day, the Magistrates began their government, nor precisely noted when the reckoning altered; considering also that nothing therein is more wavering and inconstantly delivered, than the very usuall day of entrie into Magistracy: what marvel is there, if authors dissent so much about the computation of the times? whiles one beginneth at this month, another at that: whiles some, I say, ascribe these Magistrates created to this year, others attribute the same to another.

Thirdly, there being great difference between *Dionysius* and *Livy*, as well about the reckoning of the times and years, as the acts and affairs that therein passed; all seemeth to have risen hereupon, that the purpose of *Livy* was not to deliver exactly the acts and occurrents of greatest antiquity which hapned in the State of the people of Rome: and which by many writers aforetime had

been most diligently set down and penned to posterity: but to record and write those things especially, which from the time a little before the second Punic war had been achieved by the people of Rome, unto the age wherein himself lived. But because (as *Polybius* most wisely and pitifully writeth) a generall story cannot be understood by particular registers: and for that an Historiographer study & endeavour ought to be employed rather in an universall treatise, than in particular discourses: therefore, left so great a piece of work as his, wanting a beginning, should seem maimed & imperfect; in the formost 20 books he slightly & briefly ran over the deeds of the people of Rome from the foundation of the City, unto the beginning of the second Punic war. But *Dionysius* professing purposely to describe the ancient monuments of the Romans, thought it his part to overpass and omit nothing worthy of remembrance, but most curiously and exactly hath delivered all things pertinent, either to the calculation of the times or discourse of affairs, in so much as those things whereof *Livy* hath scantily made 3 books, he hath declared at large in eleven. Hereupon, if a man read in *Dionysius*, the ancient beginning and original of the Roman Empire, and examine wel the times how they are by him digested & compare the same with the brevity in *Livy*, no doubt he will prefer the diligence of the former before the overhastiness of the later. But if the indifferent reader consider the purpose and intent of them both, he will yield unto either of them their due praise; & whereas *Livy* making haste to other matters, hath either let pass or more slightly handled some things, he will judge him worthy rather to be excused than reproved for it.

To these three causes above rehearsed, others also might be adjoynd; namely, the ordering of the years by *Romulus*, and the variety as touching that year wherein Rome was founded: but it may suffice only to touch these & point unto them with the finger. Howbeit, this we think good to advertise and admonish the reader by the way; that albeit in the digesting and reckoning of the Coss, we have let before our eyes to follow the marble tables and monuments of *Verrinus Flaccus*, and according thereunto have framed and applied the computation of the years: yet that year before the 250. as also the other, which *Verrinus* rejected, we have inserted with the rest, that our account might fall out just with the sum of the years, as they are collected by *Varro*. Which, before us, *Onuphrius Panvinus* a most learned man hath done in his Kalender, thinking that the year which *Verrinus* and they that followed him rased out was the 423. and therefore he hath put it to the rest without Consuls, according to the Capitoline records.

Of the computation of times usually observed by the Romans, and of the year of the Cities foundation.

THe calculation of years was taken and observed by men in old time divers and sundry waies. The Achæans (as we read) received it from the revolution of the stars: the Argives from their women Priests: as for example, if *Chrysis* such a year were chief Priest to offer sacrifices, they counted the number of years from the said *Chrysis*. But many have derived and fetched the course and consequence of their acts and affairs, from the years before *Troy* was built, or else after the winning thereof. Howbeit, from the 408 year after the captivity thereof, by occasion of the Olympian games, which *Hercules* first instituted in the honour of his great grandfire by the mothers side, and which by his son *Iphiclus* (or *Iphitus*, as some will have it) were renewed that year from that time (I say) they began to number the years by the Olympiads, especially among the Grecians, whose story (as *Ensebius* affirmeth) is not of any credit but from the time of the first Olympias. The Hebrews (like as other nations in the East) received the denomination and reckoning of the years from their KK. The Athenians, from their Eponymi (as they called them) but that in their *Archæresia*, [that is, the election of their Magistrates] which were wont to hold for certain daies about the beginning of the year, they counted in this wise, *ἐν ἀρχῇ ἀγορεύουσιν* *ἐν ἀρχῇ ἀγορεύουσιν*, i. e. the tenth or eleventh of the first Prytania. And hereof it seemeth, that the name cometh τῷ ἀγορεύουσιν; as it from thence, their acts received both the time and also the name. After the example of the Athenians and others, the Romans reckoned their daies, made their Kalender, and registred their acts by such and such Consuls: noting thereto otherwhiles the year from the Cities foundation. But about it there is much more diversity in authors, than about that wherein the first Consuls took their government. And seeing the clearing and declaration of that point is not impertinent to this place, briefly we will rehearse the opinions of authors as touching the time when the City of Rome was founded.

To begin therefore at them, who (according to the common received opinion of others) have written longer ago and further off, *Timæus Siculus* (I know not upon what reason induced) hath recorded, how the City was built by *Romulus* much about the time that *Carthage* in *Africa* by the Tyrians, namely, in the 38 year before the first Olympias.

L. Cincius (a Senator of Rome by calling) saith it was in the fourth year of the twelfth Olympias. *Q. Fabius Pictor* (a most ancient writer of the Roman story and of greatest credit) attributeth it to the first year of the eighth Olympias.

Polybius Megapolitanus, and *Diodorus Siculus*, quote the second year of the 7 Olympias. *Appollodorus*, *Q. Lutatius Catulus*, *C. Cornelius Nepos*, *Eratosthenes*, *M. Porcius Cato*, *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*, and *Theophilus Antiochenus*, name the first year of the 7 Olympias.

M. Verrinus Flaccus, (the voucher of the Capitoline Rome-records) *T. Livius*, *C. Julius Solinus*, *Clæmus Alexandrinus*, and others, will have it to be the fourth year of the 6 Olympias.

L. Taruntinus

L. Taruntius Firmianus, M. Terentius Vatro, T. Pomponius Atticus, M. Tullius Cicero, Augustus Caesar, C. Plinius Secundus, Plutarchus Charonianus, Domitianus Caesar Augustus, P. Cornel. Tacitus, Cassius Dio, A. Gellius, L. Septimius Severus Augustus, Censorinus, M. Julius Philippus Augustus, Eusebius Pamphilus, Casariensis, Eutropius, Paulus Orosius, Paulus Diaconus Longobardus: and after the time of C. Caesar Dictator, the common opinion of the people of Rome (which we also go by) will have the City to be founded the third year of the sixt Olympias.

But by what motives and reasons each one of these authors is induced, & whereby they would seem to confirm their severall opinions, needles it is in this place for to declare: both because the speculation hereof pertaineth properly to another profession, and also for that (besides *Plutarch* in *Romulus*, *Solinus* in the 1. chapter of his *Polyhistor*, and *Camerus* in his annotation thereupon) the question hath been so thoroughly handled by *Onuphrius Panvinus* in the first book of his *Calender*, that the thing requireth no further examination.

Now for the day on which the foundation of the City of *Rome* was laid by *Romulus*, it was the eleventh day before the Calends of *May*, called *Parilia* or *Palilia*. Now was this a festival day to *Pales* the goddess of shepherds, celebrated by the said shepherds upon the eleventh Calends of *May*, in the fields and country villages, for the chasing away of wolves, for the preservation of their sheep and cattell from diseases, or for the safe yeanning and bringing forth their young: whereupon they were called *Parilia*. Of this matter writeth *Propertius* in his fourth book, in this wise:

A feast there was, Palilia, our fathers did it call,

And on that day they first began, for Rome to build a wall.

Ovid also in the fourth book of his *Fasts*:

A time full meet they chose, with pough the plot to mark,

Dame Pales was hand, and so began the work.

The same is avouched by *M. Tullius*, *Plutarch*, *Solinus* and others. And that these *Palilia* were solemnized ordinarily the eleventh day before the Calends of *May*, appeareth as well by the old marble Calenders, as also by the same authors before rehearsed.

Of the first sovereign Magistrates of the City of Rome, namely, of the KK, who were in number seven.

ALl sorts of policies and governments in a Common-weal which are set down and named by ancient Writers, the City of *Rome* (were it by the fatal course of destiny, or upon some troubles in the State) hath received and endured every one: so as no Common-weal in manner there can be found, wherein they succeeded so one after another, as they did in the very City of *Rome*. For in the beginning, the KK ruled it; but when they for their excessive outrage, and inordinate lust exercised upon their Citizens and subjects, were deposed and expelled, the Coss. (and after them the Tribunes military in Coss. authority) held the sovereignty. But in process of time, when this frame and form of Common-weal (simply the best) was by the outrage of the two *Gracchi* (*Saturninus* and *Drusus* Tribunes of the Commons) put out of joynt and troubled, untill such time as their power and authority was by *Sylla* rent in twain, and the Commons disseized of their lands and killed: then the administration of the Common-weal was restored again to the Nobles and principal persons of the City. But at length, when it was oppressed again by the civill war of *Pompey* and *Caesar*, the sovereign rule of the State was devolved upon the Empire of *Caesar* alone: wherein, being first shaken a few years before, through the wicked infolency and lust of the three Triumvirs, it continued untill the time that it fell to utter ruin. We therefore will briefly go through all these sorts of governments, in that successive order as they followed one after another, and first begin with the KK.

37

Romulus the first King of the Romans, reigned 37 years.

R*omulus*, the founder of the City, reigned 37 years: for so many *Livy* assigneth unto him. Likewise *Dionysius* in the first book, which he repeateth also in the second: and *Plutarch* in *Numa* dissenteth not from them, howsoever in *Romulus*, he writeth, that he departed this world in the 37 year of his age. *Solinus* in like manner rehearsing his worthy acts, attributeth unto his reign 37 years. Only *Eutropius* (1. book 4. chap.) alloweth unto him 39 years: but *Cassius* thinketh very well that the Copy is corrupt. This Prince having reigned (according to the more common received opinion of au-

thors) 37 years; in which time, he laid the first ground-work of the Roman Empire, with excellent laws and ordinances, and established both civill and also military discipline, departed this life upon the Nones of *July*, which day was called afterwards, *Nonæ Caprotinæ*: by occasion that he in mustering and reviewing his army at the lake of *Capra*, was conveyed out of mens sight: whereupon the people fled as amazed at the sudden death of their King; as *Plutarch* & *Dionysius* do witness. This *Romulus* after his deification was named *Quirinus*, of these reasons.

Sive

Apotheosis.
Fest. 1.

Some read
thus,
* Latinis.
* Arma.
* Romanus vi-
cerat, but cor-
ruptly.

*Sive quod hasta quiriti, prisca est dicta * Sabina:
Bellum a solo, venit in * Astra * Deus:
Sive suo regi nomen posuere Quirites,
Seu quia * Romanus jungeret ille Cures.*

A spear, old Sabins *Quir* call'd, which *Romulus* us'd in
fight:

This martial man a god became, and so *Quirinus* high,
Quirites eke his subjects liege, their King this name
might give:

Or els the Cures, whom he brought with Romans
for to live.

That he was base born, and could not avouch
his own father, beside other writers, *Plutarch*
especially affirmeth in his *Theseus*. Howbeit,
the old opinion went currant, that he was by
Mars begot in stealth of a vestall virgin, *Ilia*,
Rhea, or *Sylvia*, for so many names there go of
her: and that first he was called *Romus*, of *Ruma*,
which signifieth a teat or pap, and afterwards
by way of flattery, *Romulus*.

I

Interregents.

FOR one year after the death of *Romulus* the
nobles fell to variance & strove who should
be K, but by reason, that no one person excelled
above the rest in that state so newly founded,
there grew severall factions & debates in their
head-corporations. They who were descended
from the Sabins (because after the death of *Tar-
tius* none of them reigned with *Romulus* in e-
quall society) were desirous to have a K, crea-
ted out of their body, because they would not
forgo their hold and possession in the Empire.
But the old Romans could not away with a
stranger King. Howbeit, as different as they
were in affections, all were willing to set up a K,
as having not tasted yet the sweetness of liber-
ty. The Peers moreover mightily feared (by rea-
son that the neighbour States bordering round
about were provoked against them) lest some
forraign force might assail their City lest thus
without sovereign government, and the army
without a leader. Whereupon the two hundred
Nobles agreed among themselves to enter into
an association of rule, and made ten Decuries:
and in every Decury created one to have the
soverignty over the rest. These Senators were
then 100 in number, as *Livy* saith, and accord-
ing to *Plutarch* a hundred and fifty. But *Dionysius*
writeth, that there were two hundred of
the Sabins & as many Romans. After this they
cast lots: and their Decury unto whom the lot-
tery first fell ruled the City: howbeit, not all of
them at once, but one alone had the regall or-
naments, and the Lictors going before him.
Five daies he governed and no longer: and so
by this order in course the nobles of every De-
cury governed the City fifty daies. For after
five daies determined, he whose lot was first to
govern in that Decury, delivered up unto the
second the imperiall dignity together with the
ensigns thereof: and he again, when his five
daies were expired, unto a third, and so to the
tenth. Thus when these ten first Interregents
had passed one 50 daies a second Decury of Se-
nators in like manner ruled the City other 50
daies; and thus they went round through all

untill they had fulfilled a years space in this re-
gency. This government was of the thing it self
called *Interregnum*, which name it still retained
afterwards, and the men likewise were named
Interreges. In this year therefore was the Magi-
stracy of the Interregents first devised among
the Romans. And not only after the death of
Romulus the State was ruled by Interregency,
but also after the decease of *Numa*, *Tullius*, and
Anius Kings. In like manner during the time of
the free State and Common-weal, after the time
of yearly Magistrates expired, the said govern-
ment took place very often before the creation
of new: for they held the assembly for elections,
wherein new governors were by the people
created. Now the office and charge of this In-
terregent was, during the time of his regency
(which ordinarily passed not five daies) to ex-
ecute all those functions in the City which be-
longed either to KK, or Coss, namely, to mini-
ster justice, to rule the Common-weal, to hold
a Senat, and there to propound the affairs of
State, and lastly, to summon the generall assem-
bly for choosing new Magistrates. As touching
the beginning of Interregents, *Dionysius* in his
second book, *Livy* in his first, *Plutarch* in *Numa*,
Sext. Rufus, *Eusebius* and other old writers,
have written at large.

43

Numa Pompilius the second K. reigned 43 years.

ONE year of Interregency being thus ac-
complished, the people of *Rome* thought
this grievous and heavy manner of govern-
ment; and the Commons grumbled that their
servitude was manifold more than before, as
having two hundred Lords over them instead
of one. Which when the Senators perceived,
they agreed at last upon this point, That the
old Senators should create a King, whom they
would, so he were not one of their own body
and degree. Whereupon *Numa Pompilius* (for
that in justice & wisdom he excelled all other)
was called out of *Cures*, a City of the Sabins, to
be their King. That he reigned three and forty
years, all accord, save *Entropius*, *Eusebius*, and
Cassiodorus (late writers) who let down but one
and forty, as *Onasphrius* and *Sigonius* have ob-
served. Of this K. *Dionysius* in the second book,
Livy in his first, *Solinus* in his second chapter,
Plutarch, *Pliny*, and *Entropius* in his life; in like
sort, *Valerius Maximus* have delivered much in
record. He died not much above the age of 80
years, as *Plutarch* writeth; for born he was (as
he testifieth) the same day whereon *Romulus*
laid the first foundation of the City, namely, the
twelfth Calends of May. Now for the name of
Numa, some say it was the forename of *Pompi-
lius*. But out of *Sextus Pompeius* it appeareth,
that neither *Tullius* nor *Numa* were fore-
names, as also by this conjecture, for that the
sons of *Numa* are by *Dionysius* called by other
sundry names, divers from the family. Some
thought therefore that *Numa*, *Anius*, *Arant*,
Volusus, *Drusus*, *Fanstus*, *Julus*, *Manimurinus*, and
certain other surnames, were at first forenames,
as *Mark-anne* in his Annals hath very well so-
ted.

[illegible]

THese abovenamed (as *Livy* reporteth) were
Tribunes military in Consule authority this
year. *Diodorus* leaveth out their surnames; and
L. Herulius full and whole.

[illegible]

C. Semprenius Astratus. Q. Fabius Vibulans
The Confess this year created was according
 to **Lucius** and **Collindorus**; **C. Semprenius Astratus**
 and **Q. Fabius Vibulans** [**Diander** is
 verpaid of whom **Lucy** reporteth to have
 created: first government, upon the Ides of **De-**
cember. Of **C. Semprenius Astratus** Confess, **Val-**
erius writeth six book, esp. 7. whom he fore-
 nameth **Lucius**; but in the third book and second
 chapter, he speaketh of both, although untruly;
 for **Q. Fabius**, he nameth **Q. Cassius**.

L. Manlius Capitolinus, Tribune military in
Q. Antonius Merenda, Tribune military in
P. Sulpicius Magnus, Tribune military in
L. Scipio, Tribune military in
 The consuls being offended with the very names
 of the Tribunes for the hatred they bore to *Sem-
 pronius*, commanded Tribune military to be cre-
 ated with Consuls authority. And these then
 were, *L. Manlius Capitolinus*, *Q. Antonius Me-
 rendus*, and *P. Sulpicius Magnus*. Thus march *L.
 27*, in whole they did same is missing of the

fourth, to wit, L. Serranus Serranus, who in
the year 877, is found engraved in the Capitol
House in Rome military dress and time. Of
these, Diogenes hath not a word; in a fragment
of the Capitoline marble, there is to be seen the
formance of M. Caelius being given to L. Papi-
rius Vindex, anno 80, &c. &c.

333

T. Quintus Capitolinus N. Publius

Not only *Levy*, but *Cassiodorus* also recordeth that the Cons. this year were *N. Fabius Valens* and *T. Quinctius Capitolinus*. *Diodorus* over-passed them; but so do up the Sicilian registers. In a fragment of the Capitol marbles, we find engraven *T. Quinctius Capitolinus Barbatus* and *N. Fabius*. This *Fabius* was the son of *Q. Fabius* the Decemvir, who after the 300 *Fabii* slain in *Corbora*; survived and was the first of all that kindred and family surname *Nummici*; as *Valerius Maximus* in his 6th book, and *Sen. Pompeius* do report. As for *T. Quinctius* no *Quintus* in *Levy* writeth; so that *Capitolinus* who was Consul six times.

When the greater part of the year was spent in troubles and contentions, between the new Trib. of the Commons and certain Interregents, while the Tribunes one while would not suffer the Patricii to go together about the declaring of an interregent, and another while impeached the Interregent that he could not possesse enact of the Spain for the election of Consuls in length *L. Papirius Murgillanus* the Interregent, by rebuking as well the Senators as the Tribunes of the Commons, prevailed, that an assembly should be holden for choosing of Tribunes consular. So there were created Tribunes military with Consuls authority, and all Patricii, *T. Quinctius Cincinnatus* the third time, *L. Furius Medullinus*, *M. Manlius*, *L. Sempronius Atratinus*. Thus much Livy.

A. Menenius Lænatius } Trib. military in Cos.
P. Lucretius Tricipitinus } authority.
Sp. Nautius }
C. Servilius }

Military Tribuns with Consuls authority for this year, are set down by Livy Agrippa Menenius Lanatus, P. Lucretius Tricipitinus, and P. Nautilus; for the name of the fourth is wanting; and that was C. Servilius, son of Quintus and nephew of Cato, surnamed Asellus; who the year following, in the Capitol caught is quartered among the Tribunes consular with the numeral note of II. So as it must needs be, that this was the first time in the year, for as much as no other fit void place left for him Diodorus nameth Sp. Furcius.

336
L. Sergius Fidenus Tribune militum
M. Papirius Arvirgatus Consul
C. Servilius Priscus Consul

For Tribunes Consul this year, *Livy* nameth these. This *C. Servilius*, is by *Verrinus* named *Arvirgatus*. *Diodorus* calleth them *L. Sergius*, *M. Servilius*, and *M. Papirius*. Now this *M. Papirius* was son to *L. Papirius Mugillanus* the Censor.

337
Agrippa Memmius Lanius, *L. Servilius Strabon*,
P. Lucius Tricipitinus, *Sp. Nesterius Crassus*

All these are recorded by *Livy*, for Trib. military this year. Of these *L. Servilius Strabon* was the first time in the 332 year, but left out in *Livy* through fault of those that wrote the copies. *Diodorus* hath the same Tribune besides the surnames, and *L. Servilius*, whom he called *Cainus*. In a Capitoline table their names are thus cut *P. Lucius* son of *Hostus*, *Agrippa Memmius* son of *T.* nephew of *Agrippa*.

338

A. Sempronius Atratinus III
Sp. Nautius Rutilius II.

Papirius Mugillanus

Only these are by *Livy* recorded: but that the pen-men who wrote out the books left out the fourth Tribune of this year *Quintus Fabius* son of *Quintus* nephew of *Marcus* (named also *Arvirgatus*) the Capitol stones and *Diodorus* do testify. *Livy* himself also doth shew the same, who writeth that *Quintus Fabius* was Tribune military the second time, in the year three hundred and forty: but in what year he was first, it appeareth not. Moreover, *A. Sempronius* is by *Verrinus* named the son of *Lucius* and nephew of *Anlus*. *Diodorus* reckoneth all four, but he concealeth their surnames.

339

P. Cornelius Cossus, *Q. Cincinnatus*
C. Valerius Potius, *N. Fabius Vibulanus*

These doth *Livy* deliver unto us for Tribunes military in Consuls authority. *Diodorus* in this wise, *P. Cornelius*, *Cainus*, *Q. Fabius*. The table of the Capitol thus, *P. Cornelius*, *F.* nephew of *P. C. Valerius*, son of *L.* nephew of *Volusus*, the forename of *Quintus* is unknown.

340

Cn. Cornelius Cossus, *L. Valerius Potius*,
Q. Fabius Vibulanus II. *Posthumius Regillensis*

These declareth *Livy* for this year: but *Diodorus*, *Titus Posthumius*, *Quintus Cornelius*, *C. Valerius*, and *Cato Fabius*. But *Verrinus* Flaccus nameth *P. Posthumius* son of *A.* nephew also of *Anlus*; whom *Livy* writeth to have been

stoned to death by his own army for his cruelty.

341
Q. Cornelius Cossus, *C. Furius Medullinus*

Then the Nobles and *Livy* of the Senate reported; that there should be Consuls created in the Centuriat assembly, which *Q. Fabius* held. And the Consuls were *M. Cornelius Cossus*, and *L. Furius Medullinus*. The surnames are named by *Diodorus*, and *Cassiodorus*, but that they leave out their surnames. The Greek records have *Cossus* and *Medullinus*.

342
Q. Fabius Ambustus, *C. Furius Pacifer*

Livy and *Cassiodorus* name these for Consuls; *Diodorus*, suppresseth their surnames.

343

M. Papirius, *C. Nautius Rutilius*

Both *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* report for this year Consuls, *M. Papirius* and *C. Nautius Rutilius*. *Diodorus* hath not a word for the surnames. *Cassiodorus* book setteth them down by the surnames only *Mugillanus* and *Rutilius*.

344

M. Emilius, *C. Valerius*

Livy and *Cassiodorus* call these Consuls, *M. Emilius* and *C. Valerius*. *Diodorus* in stead of *M.* hath *M. M.* *Maximus*. This *Emilius* in the table of the Capitol, named in his first and third Tribuneship, *M. Baebius* son of *Manius*, nephew of *M.* and surname *Manius*.

345

Cn. Cornelius Cossus, *L. Furius Medullinus*

Livy putteth these down for the Consuls of this year. *Cassiodorus* passeth over their surnames and the numeral note of two. *Diodorus* hath *L. Furius* and *Cn. Pompeius*, but he is to be written *Cn. Cornelius*, out of the end of a broken fragment in the Capitol; and the other *L. Furius*, by his Tribuneship, testified in the Capitol records.

346

C. Julius Julius, Tribune militaria
P. Cornelius Cossus, Cin Consuls authority
C. Servilius Ahala, Scy.

These are set down for Tribunes military this year by *T. Livius*. *Diodorus* saith nothing of their surnames, which the Capitoline tables exhibit unto us. *C. Servilius* is written in the second Tribuneship (after the Capitol records) the son of *Pub.* and nephew of *Q.* (named *Ahala*).

347

L. Furius Medullinus II. *C. Valerius Potius* II.
N. Fabius Vibulanus II. *C. Servilius Ahala* II.

Livy

Livy reporteth, that the four Tribunes consular were all Patritii this year, & had born that dignity once before, to wit, *L. Furius Medullinus*, *C. Valerius Potitus*, *N. Fabius Vibulanus* and *C. Servilius Ahala*; and then this man last named was chosen again and continued in his place still this year with the former, as well in regard of other vertues as for the fresh favour and late grace gotten by his singular moderation and rare carriage in his government. *Diodorus* hath *C. Furius*, *C. Servilius*, *C. Valerius*, and *N. Fabius*. In the Capitoline tables, two are written short, *Potitus* & *Valerius* II and *Medullinus*, the other two at full; whereby it doth appear (as *Onuphrius* reporteth that *Livy* was deceived. For *Medullinus* was not this year Tribune the second time, but the first: who had been twice Consul before, and after this year, will be no lesse then seven times Tribune military.

348

P. Cornelius Cossus. *N. Fabius Ambustus*.
Cn. Cornelius Cossus. *L. Valerius Potitus*.

Of these four Tribunes military, *L. Valerius Potitus* and *N. Fabius Ambustus* stand upon record in the Capitoline tables; the other two, as appeareth by a fragment thereof, by *Livy* also and *Cassiodorus*, were *Pub. Cornelius*, son of *Anulus*, nephew of *M. Rutilius Cossus*, so written by his dictatorship. *Diodorus* reckoneth *T. Terentius Maximus* for the fourth Tribune.

349

T. Quintius Capitolinus. *A. Manlius*.
Q. Quintius Cincinnatus. *L. Furius Medullinus* III
C. Iulius Iulus. II. *M. Aemilius Mamercus*.

Diodorus saith, that this year six Tribunes were created, but he nameth but three, *T. Quintius Capitolinus*, *C. Iulius*, and *An. Manlius*. *Livy* rehearseth them all as here they be set down. The Capitoline stone hath *Iulus*. II. *Capitolinus Barbatus*, *Cincinnatus*, and the other three. And this was the first year that had six Tribunes military, notwithstanding that the law permitted it before, at what time as first it was granted that Tribunes should be created: and in this year began the siege first before *Veii*.

350

C. Valerius Potitus. III. *Cn. Cornelius Cossus*.
M. Sergius Fidenas. *K. Fabius Ambustus*.
P. Cornelius Maluginensis. *Sp. Nautius Rutilus*. II

The same Tribunes that *Livy* nameth, *Diodorus* also rehearseth, but that he leaveth out the surnames, and corruptly calleth *Cn. Cornelius* by the name of *Junius Lucullus*. In the Capitoline stones they are written, *Maluginensis*, *Cossus*, II. *Ambustus*; and the other three fully out. *Nautius Rutilus* *Livy* nameth the second time, but *Verrius Flaccus* the third time.

351

M. Aemilius Mamercus. II. *M. Quintius Varus*
L. Valerius Potitus. III. *L. Iulius Iulus*.
App. Claudius Crassus. *M. Posthumius*.
M. Furius Camillus. *M. Posthumius Albinus*.

Livy writeth that the number of Tribunes military were by the Romans augmented, and eight of them created, which were more then ever any time before, whose names we have set down. In *Diodorus* they are thus named, *Manius Claudius*, *Mar. Quintilius*, *Lu. Iulius*, *M. Furius*, *L. Valerius*. And albeit there be wanting in him some Tribunes, yet *Onuphrius* thinketh, and so doth *Sigonius*, that himself by his own writing delivered not eight, but six: which *Verrius Flaccus* also observed in the Capitoline tables.

352

C. Servilius Ahala. III. *Q. Sulpitius*.
Q. Servilius. *A. Manlius*.
L. Virginus. *M. Sergius*. II.

IN *Livy* the Tribunes military in Consuls authority are *C. Servilius Ahala* the third time *Quin. Servilius*, and *Lu. Virginus*; the rest as in the tables of the Capitol, but only the forenames. *Livy* nameth *Qu. Servilius Fidenas* in the other six Tribunships following, which he shall bear. To *Lucius Virginus*, *Onuphrius* addeth *Tricostrus*, a surname usually in that house. *Diodorus* squarseth not out of this range, but as *Sigonius* noteth, he doth fault in the name, κλαυδίου μενέστρατος. In the fragment of the Capitol, they are thus named, *Q. Sulpitius* the son of *Servius*, *N. Camerinus Cornanius*, *An. Manlius*, son of *Anulus*, nephew of *C. Volsus Capitolinus* the second time, *M. Sergius* son of *Lucius*, nephew of *Lucius*, surnamed *Fidenas*, the second time,

353

L. Valerius Potitus. IV. *Cn. Cornelius Cossus*.
M. Furius Camillus. *K. Fabius Ambustus*.
M. Aem. Mamercinus. III. *L. Iulius Iulus*.

Livy reckoneth all these Tribunes this year. *Diodorus* putteth down *Lu. Iulius*, *M. Furius*, *Aemilius Mamercus*, *Cains Cornelius Cossus*, *K. Fabius* surnamed *victorios*, but amisse. In the fragments of the Capitol, they are thus named, *Lucius Iulius* son of *Lucius*, nephew of *Vopiscus* surnamed *Iulus*. *Marcus Aemilius*, son of *Manius*, nephew of *Mar. Mamercus*. *K. Fabius* son of *Marcus*, nephew of *Qu. Ambustus* the second time. These were commanded to enter into government upon the first day of *October* (whereas the thirteenth of *December* was the usual day beforetime) by reason of an overthrow received the former year at *Veii* by *M. Sergius Camillus* made an expedition in the *Faliscians* countrey, *Cornelius* to the *Capenates*, *Valerius* to the *Volscians* for the recovery of *Anagnin*, *Aemilius* and *Fabius* to besiege *Veii*.

354

354

P. Licinius Calvus. *P. Manius.*
T. Titinius. *P. Malius.*
L. Furius Medullinus. *L. Publius Valsus.*

THele by *T. Livius* are this year named the Tribunes military. But *Diodorus* rehearseth only three, namely, *P. Melius*, *Sp. Manius*, and *L. Furius*. But *Onuphrius* thinketh that he is to be read, not *L. Furius* but *Sp. Furius*. The same author hath put to *P. Licinius*, the surname of *Calvus*, whom *Livy* writeth to have been the first man of the commonalty chosen Tribune military, only to take possession of the said right and interest.

355

M. Veturius. *M. Pomponius.*
C. Duilius. *Volero Publilius.*
Cn. Genucius. *L. Atilius.*

THele *Diodorus* sheweth for Tribunes. But *Livy* letteth down *Marcus Veturius* to have been the only Patritian, and the rest commoners, namely, *M. Pomponius*, *C. Duilius*, *Volero Publilius*, *Cn. Genucius*, *L. Atilius*, *Cuspinian* his book, who every year delivereth the names only of two Tribunes, hath *Angurinus* and *Longus*, surnames of *Genucius* & *Atilius*.

356

L. Valerius Potitus. *V. L. Furius Medullinus.*
M. Valerius Max. *Q. Servilius Fidenus.* *II.*
M. Furius Camillus. *II.* *Q. Sulpitius Camerinus.*

Al these Tribunes military for this year created were Patritii, as *Livy* writeth: neither differeth *Diodorus* although he recite two names corruptly, to wit, *κλαυδιος υγιων* & *χρυσιδιος αππιος*. *Plutarch* in the life of *Camillus* maketh mention, of the said *Camillus*, the second time Tribune military; and the Capitoline Stone of *Medullinus* the third time.

357

L. Julius Iulus. *A. Posth. Regillensis.*
L. Furius Medullinus. *IV.* *P. Cor. Maluginensis.*
L. Sergius Fidenus. *A. Manlius.*

In this wise *Livy* reckoneth them, but *Diodorus* *L. Sergius*, *A. Posthumius*, *P. Cornelius* *σεξτον λευσιον*, *Q. Manlius* *αγυριον καμινδν*. But in those two Greek-written names, as *Sigonius* & *Onuphrius*, observeth there is a foul error.

358

P. Licinius. *P. F. Calvus.* *L. Titinius.* *II.*
P. Manius. *II.* *P. Melius.* *II.*
Cn. Genucius. *II.* *L. Atilius.* *II.*

IN this manner are these Tribunes military delivered us unto by *Livy*. But *Diodorus* names them thus, *L. Titinius*, *P. Licinius*, *P. Malius*, *Q. Manius*, *Cn. Genucius*, and *L. Atilius*. All these, but *L. Licinius* the son of *Publius* (as *Livy* saith) bare the dignity of Tribuneship a little before: who writeth moreover, that *Genucius* was slain in a battle against the Faliscians.

359

P. Cornelius Cossus. *P. Cornelius Scipio.*
L. Fabius Ambustus. *IV.* *L. Furius Medullinus.* *IV.*
M. Valerius Max. *II.* *Q. Servilius.* *III.*

After the winning of *Vesii*, this year had for Tribunes military in Consuls authority, those above-named: *Diodorus* calleth *P.* and *Ser. Cornelius* both, *Cossi*: in the rest, saving that he concealeth their surnames, he agreeth.

360

L. Furius Medullinus. *VI.* *Sp. Posthumius.*
C. Aemilius. *P. Cornelius.* *II.*
L. Valerius Poplicola. *M. Furius Camillus.*

Livy nameth these in this year. *Diodorus*, *M. Furius Aemilius*, *κατλον βιγον*, but *Camillus* now is the third time. *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* think, that by *P. Cornelius* we must understand *Scipio*, and not *Cossus*. This year *Camillus* Tribune military, by his just dealing reduced the Faliscians to the obedience of the people of Rome; in that he sent back unto them, that schoolmaster who betrayed their children: as *Livy* and *Plutarch* write. *Valerius* (not without some suspicion of error) writeth in his sixth book, that *Camillus* did this being Consul: whereas *Plutarch* saith, he was never Consul.

361

L. Lucretius Flavius. *Serv. Sulpitius Camerinus.*
After fifteen years (saith *Livy*) Coss. were created again *L. Lucretius Flavius*, & *Serv. Sulpitius Camerinus*, *Diodorus* and *Cassiodorus* passe over the surnames. The Sicilian registers do shew, *Flavius*, and *Camerinus*.

362

L. Valerius Potitus. *M. Manlius Capitolinus.*
L named afterwards *Capitolinus*, are by *Livy* reported Consuls this year. *Dionysius* in his first book maketh mention of these Consuls, naming them *L. Valerius Potitus*, and *T. Manlius Capitolinus*. *Cassiodorus* delivereth them by the names of *L. Valerius* and *M. Manlius*. *Diodorus*, of *L. Valerius* and *A. Manlius*: but the Sicilian registers, of *Potitus* and *Capitolinus*.

363

L. Lucretius. *L. Furius Medullinus.* *VII.*
Serv. Sulpitius. *Agrippa Furius.*
M. Aemilius. *C. Aemilius.* *II.*

By occasion that the Coss. lay sick, though good it was, to renew the government by means of an interregency: therefore after they had deposed the Coss. by an act of the Senate, six Trib. military were created with Consular authority, by the Interregent: who upon the first day of July began their magistracy, as *Livy* saith. *Diodorus* mentioneth but four, namely, *L. Lucretius*, *Serv. Sulpitius*, *C. Aemilius*, and *L. Furius*. As for *Sulpitius*, *Zonaras* calleth him *Rufus*; which surname *Onuphrius* also hath put unto him.

364
Q. Fabius Ambustus, *Q. Sulpicius Longus*,
 The brethren of *Q. Servilius IIII*.
Fabius Ambustus, *Servilius Cor. Maluginensis*

These are by *T. Livius* recorded for Tribunes military in Consuls authority: but *Diodorus* reckoneth the three *Fabii*, *Q. Kic* & *C.* and the other three, besides *Plutarch* in *Camillus*, *Gellius* out of *Verrinus Flaccus*, in his 5 book and 17 chapter; *Macrobius* also in his first book of *Saturnalia*, make report of *Quintus Sulpicius* a Tribune military.

365
L. Valerius Poplicola II, *A. Manlius*,
L. Virginus, *L. Aemilius*,
P. Cornelius, *L. Posthumus*.

According to *Livy*, these were created Tribunes military after the winning of the City: but by *Diodorus*, they were *Pub. Cornelius*, *L. Virginus*, *Valerius*, *A. Manlius*, and *L. Posthumus*. Of these Tribunes, *Macrobius* speaketh in his first book of *Saturnalia*.

366
T. Quintus Cincinnatus, *L. Aquilius Corvus*,
Q. Servilius Fidenas V, *L. Lucet. Tricipitinus*,
L. Julius Iulus, *Ser. Sulpicius Rufus*.

These Tribunes military in Consuls authority for this year, *Livy* thus declareth unto us. *Diodorus* hath these Tribunes, *Tunc Quintus*, *L. Servilius*, *L. Julius Aquilius*, *L. Lucetius* & *Servius Sulpicius*.

367
L. Papirius, *C. Sergius*,
L. Aemilius II, *C. Cornelius*,
L. Menenius, *L. Valerius Poplicola III*.

These, *Livy* reporteth for Tribunes military in Consuls authority this year. But *Diodorus* hath *L. Papirius*, *C. Cornelius*, *L. Menenius*, *C. Servilius*, *A. Valerius*, and *Q. Fabius*. Howbeit, there is wanting in *Livy* the name of the fix Tribune, whom (out of *Diodorus*) *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* have set to the rest, by the name of *C. Cornelius*. *Diodorus* also for *Sergius* hath *Servilius*, and *Aemilius* for *Fabius*.

368
M. Furius Camillus, *L. Horatius Pulvillus*,
S. Corn. Maluginensis, *L. Quint. Cincinnatus*,
Q. Servil. Fidenas VI, *P. Valerius*.

The Common-weal came to be governed again by *Camillus*, a Tribune military in Cons. authority, and for Collegues were added unto him these 5 here named. But *Diodorus* saith there were 4 created, *M. Cornelius*, *Q. Servilius*, *M. Furius*, and *L. Quintus*. In this year, when the Dictatorship was offered unto *Camillus*, he said there was no need thereof: and he, together with the Tribunes his Collegues, vanquished the Volscians, Antiots, & Tuscans which rebelled.

369
A. Manlius, *P. Cornelius*,
L. Quintus Capitolinus, *L. Papirius Cursor II*,
T. Quintus Capitolinus, *C. Sergius II*.

These hath *Livy*: but *Diodorus* saith, that four only were created, namely, *L. Papirius*, *Q. T.* and *L. all Quintii*. But of those six, *A. Manlius* having been Tribune military in the year 365, and who shall be a third time in the year 375, must now verily be the second time.

370
S. Corn. Maluginen. IV, *P. Valerius Potitus II*,
M. Furius Camillus V, *Ser. Sulpicius Rufus II*,
C. Papirius Crassus, *T. Quint. Cincinnatus II*.

These Tribunes military in Cons. authority, in this manner be delivered unto us by *Livy*: but *Diodorus* (as his manner is) putteth down four: *Serv. Sulpicius*, *L. Papirius*, *Mar. Cornelius*, and *T. Quintus*. In this year, *M. Manlius* attainted and condemned for aspiring to be K. was thrown down headlong from the rock *Tarpeia*: *Liv.* *Plutarch*, and *Valer.*

371
L. Valerius IV, *L. Lucetius*,
A. Manlius III, *L. Aemilius*,
Ser. Sulpicius III, *M. Tribonius*.

Livy rangeth these in this year, *Diodorus* nameth four: *L. Valerius*, *Crispus*, (which is the name of *Tribonius*) *Au. Manlius*, and *Serv. Sulpicius*. *Crispus* some call *Flavus*.

372
Sp. Papirius, *Q. Servilius*,
L. Papirius, *C. Sulpicius*,
Ser. Cornelius IV, *L. Aemilius IV*.

According to *Livy*, these were created Tribunes military in Consuls authority. The surname of *Cornelius* (as we saw before) was *Maluginensis*. *Diodorus* writeth four: *Q. Servilius*, *Sp. Papirius*, *Cornelius*, & *Sp. A.*, but not truly.

373
M. Furius Camillus VI, *L. Furius*,
A. Posthumus Regillensis, *L. Lucetius*,
L. Posthumus Regillensis, *M. Fabius Ambustus*.

Livy nameth these as we have placed them: but *Diodorus* in this wise; *M.* and *L.* both *Furii*, *A. Posthumus*, *L. Lucetius*, *M. Fabius*, and *L. Posthumus*. *Plutarch* also nameth *Camillus* Tribune military this year, wherein he vanquished the *Preneestins*, the *Volscians*, and the *Tusculans* also, against whom war was proclaimed, because they had served in the field under the *Preneestins*.

374
L. Valerius V, *L. Menenius II*,
L. Valerius III, *P. Papirius*,
C. Sergius III, *Ser. Corn. Maluginensis*.

These six are set down by *Livy*; but *Diodorus* reckoneth eight, namely, *L.* and *P.* both

Valerius, C. Terentius, L. Menenius, C. Sulpitius, T. Papirius, L. Emilius, M. Fabius.

P. Manlius.

C. Sextilius.

C. Manlius.

M. Albinus.

L. Julius.

L. Antistius.

After this, was the generall assembly holden for the election of military Tribunes in Consuls authority, wherein were as many created of the Commons as of the Patritii; namely, *P.* and *C.* both *Manlii*, with *L. Julius*, Patritians: and out of the Commons, *C. Sextilius*, *M. Albinus*, and *L. Antistius*. But *Diodorus* exhibiteth eight, and so these above rehearsed, he addeth *C. Herennius*, and *P. Trebonius*. *Sextilius* also he calleth *Sextius*.

376.

S. Furius.

P. Clodius.

Q. Servilius P.

M. Horatius.

C. Licinius.

L. Geganus.

Livy reporteth these for Tribunes military in Consuls authority this year: but in *Livy*, for *L. Menenius* the third time, you must read *C. Licinius*, as *Sigonius* hath shewed in his *Scholia* upon *Livy*: which *Onuphrius* also in his *Kalendar* approveth. But *Diodorus* speaketh of no more than four: *Q. Servilius*, *C. Licinius*, *L. Furius*, *P. Clodius*.

377.

L. Emilius.

Ser. Sulpitius.

P. Valerius IV.

L. Quintus Cincinnatus.

C. Veturius.

C. Quintus Cincinnatus.

These Tribunes military, the Consuls (being forced by the might and strong hand of the great men of the City) chose all Patritians, as *Livy* witnesseth. The same also are named by *Diodorus* excepting only *C. Quintus* who is called by him *C. Cornelius*. As for *Ser. Sulpitius* he was surnamed *Prætextatus*. *Zonaras* nameth him *Rufus*.

378. 379. 380. 381. 382.

C. Licinius Stolo.

S. Tribunes of the Commons five years.

In this year hapned the fourth change of the Roman government: for the administration of the weal publike, fell from Tribunes military in consuls authority, to the Tribunes of the commons. The authors that procured this mutation, were (as *Livy* reporteth) *C. Licinius Stolo* and *L. Sextius*, Tribunes of the commons, who in the former year having promulged three laws in favour of the commons and against the power of the Patritii, the first for redressing of debts; a second for a stint of lands and possessions; & the third, that there should be no more elections of Tribunes military and that one of the consuls should necessarily be chosen a commoner: seeing they could not go through with these laws, by reason of their

own fellows oppositions (whom of purpose the Nobles had made for themselves) fell into anger, and would suffer no more Magistrates of State to be created, nor any elections to be holden, but only of *Ediles* and *Tribunes*, both of commons. This desolate estate, and want of Magistrates (whiles the commons made the same Tribunes still, who with incessant and invincible persistence never gave over to cross the election of Tribunes military) continued in the city for the space of five years, as *Livy* saith. This want of Magistrates, *Diodorus* calleth *anarchy*, and casteth it upon the former year. But *Sext. Rufus*, *Entropius*, *Cassiodorus*, and *Zonaras* write that they ruled the state not five years, but four only. *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* in his *Kalendar*, follow *Livy* & his *Annals* seemeth that the capitoline writers go by. *Pliny* also in the sixteenth book, and four and fortieth chapter, maketh mention of the year three hundred seventy nine from the foundation of the city, in which year he saith that at Rome

383.

L. Furius.

Ser. Cornelius.

A. Manlius.

P. Valerius.

Ser. Sulpitius.

C. Valerius.

When *C. Licinius* and *L. Sextius* the Tribunes gave over their opposition and the liberty of their negative voice, whereby the Interregent called and held an assembly for the election of Magistrates, the abovenamed Tribunes military, were (as *Livy* saith) created for this year. *Diodorus* nameth them thus, *L. Papirius*, *L. Menenius*, *Ser. Cornelius*, and *Ser. Sulpitius*, who writeth also, that after them there was another Anarchy, and when that was overpast and gone, then were created *A. Manlius*, *L. Furius*, *Ser. Sulpitius*, and *Ser. Cornelius*. But in his story, as well through his own default, as the negligence of the writers that copied out same, there is a confusion of yearly Magistrates.

384.

Q. Servilius.

M. Cornelius.

C. Veturius, II.

Q. Quintus.

A. Cornelius.

M. Fabius.

This year also, as *Livy* writeth, had these for Tribunes military in Consuls authority. But *Diodorus* hath *Q. Servilius*, *C. Veturius*, *A. Cornelius*, *M. Cornelius*, and *M. Fabius*: as for *Quintus*, *Sigonius* calleth him rather *Cincinnatus* than *Capitolinus*. The rest have their warrant out of the Capitoline fragments, wherein it is thus found *Cossus* . . . *Maluginensis* . . . *Cincinnatus* . . . *M. Fabius Ambustus*. This is that *M. Fabius Ambustus*, who had bestowed his two daughters in marriage, the one to *C. Licinius Stolo*, the other to *Ser. Sulpitius Prætextatus*; as *Livy* writeth.

385

L. Quinctius
Serv. Sulpicius
L. Papirius

Sen. Cornelius
Sp. Servilius
L. Titinius

Livy declared these six for Tribunes military this year. *Dionysius* saith but three, namely, *T. Quinctius*, *Servilius Cornelius*, and *Servius Sulpicius*. What surnames all these carried, and with what numerall notes (signifying how often they had born the office) they are to be marked, the Capitoline fragments do shew; wherein they stand thus, *Capitolinus*; . . . *Maluginensis*, . . . *Prætextatus*, . . . *Sp. Servilius Struatus*, *L. Papirius Crassus*, *L. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus*.

386

Two Dictators without any curule Magistrats of State besides.

Presently in the very beginning of the year, they proceeded to put it to the trial of a final issue, what should become of the foresaid laws proposed by *Licinius* and *Sextius*. When the tribes were called to give their voices, and the publishers of the laws were not hindered by the negatives of their Colleagues coming between; the Nobles began then to quake for fear, and in all haste betook them to their two last helps and means of refuge, the sovereign and absolute government, and the principal Citizen and greatest man of all others. Resolve they did to nominate a Dictator, and *Marcus Furius Camillus* was the man; who took unto him for General of the horsemen *L. Emilius*. But when the Captains and ring-leaders of the Commons dealt very bitterly and roughly against *Camillus* he (as *Livy* writeth) resigned up his Dictatorship. *Plutarch* also testifieth the same: who liketh well avoucheth the cause thereof, which *Livy* goeth about to disprove. But both *Livy* and *Plutarch* do affirm, that in the room of *Camillus* thus giving over his place, there was a second Dictator created. *Livy* saith, it was *P. Manlius*. *Plutarch* suppresseth his name: but they agree both, that *C. Licinius* was the General of the horse. Howbeit they mean not both one and the self-same man. For *Livy* saith and that truly, that it was he who had been Tribune military in Consuls authority before: But *Plutarch* nameth him, who was the author of the sedition and of the new laws: wherein he faulteth. For the Captain of the foresaid sedition, was this year also made Tribune of the Com. and General of the horse at one time he could not be. And therefore *Omnibrium* thinketh him to have been the son of *P. Licinius Calvus* military Tribune, and who had to his grandfather that *Pub. Licinius* who of the Com. was the first Tribune military. Of this, see more in his *Valerius*.

387

A. Cornelius
L. Veturius
Julius P. Manlius

M. Cæcilius
M. Geganius
P. Valerius

Livy addith to these Trib. military before named for this year, whom *Dionysius* overpasseth. Their surnames, together with the notes signifying how often they had born this honourable dignity, are thus expressed in the Capitoline fragments, *Cossus* II. . . . *Maluginensis* II. . . . *Macerinus*, *L. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus* II. . . . *P. Valerius Petrus Poplicæ* II. *P. Manlius Capitolinus* II.

388

When *L. Sextius* and *C. Licinius* Trib. of the Com. now chosen the tenth time, were more and more eager and instant in the publishing of their laws, in the end the authority both of Dictator and Senat, was conquered by the strong hand of the Tribunes. For they prevailed, notwithstanding all the Nobility was against it, that there should be holden a solemn assembly for election of Consuls: and that, (by vertue of their laws which they carried clear before them) the one of the Consuls should be a Commoner. By which meant, *L. Sextius* was the first Consul created from out of the Commons. But when the nobles denied flatly to approve the same by their assent, inasmuch as the Commons were at the point of insurrection and ready to leave the City: the discord & dissension was at length taken up and appealed by the mediation of the Dictator: and as the nobility was content to yield unto the commonalty a Consul, so the Commons granted unto the nobles one Pretor or Lord chief Justice within the City, and him to be created from out of the Nobility. Granted also unto them now first it was, that two *Ediles Curule* should be chosen out of the *Patritii*. The Commons conferred the Consulship upon *D. Sextius* (by whose law it was first obtained) and for companion in government he had *L. Emilius Mamercus*. Thus much *Livy* and *Plutarch*: who altogether with *Cassiodorus* put down for *Cossus*, *L. Emilius* a *Patritius*, and *L. Sextius* a Commoner. The same *Dionysius* nameth *L. Emilius Mamercus*, and *L. Læteranus*. Now this *Læteranus* is the surname of *Sextius*, as appeareth in a table of record in the Capitoll: wherein the consuls are thus to be seen, *Mamercinus* & *L. Sextius Sextinus Læteranus*: as also in the Sicilian registers they are called *Mamercinus* and *Læteranus*. In the book entituled *De viris Illustribus* of famous men, we find written that it was not *L. Sextius*, but *C. Licinius Stolo*, who was the first consul chosen out of the commonalty.

389

Diodorus, *Livy*, and *Cassiodorus* shew unto us for consuls, *L. Genucius* and *Q. Servilius*. Of whom *Orosius* also and *Europius* make mention. According to the records of the Capitoll the colon his first consulship is thus written, *Q. Servilius* son of *Q. nepos* of *Quintus Abudus* together

together with *L. Genucius*, but in the second, the son of *M. nephew of C.* surnamed *Amentinensis*. In the Sicilian registers they be written *Genucius* and *Corrinus*; but corruptly, as *Sigonius* thinketh,

C. Sulpitius Petrus, *C. Licinius Stolo*.

These be the Consuls reported by *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*. *Diodorus* concealeth their surnames. *Valerius Maximus* in his second book and first chapter maketh mention of them, and so doth *Plutarch* in his problems. But he whom all other writers name *Stolo*, the Capitoline records nominate *Calvus*; as also the Sicilian, which deliver their surnames *Petrus* and *Calvus*.

L. Aemilius Mamercus II., *Cn. Genucius*.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* declare these for Consuls: whom *Diodorus* in his sixteenth book nameth *Cn. Genucius* and *L. Aemilius*. In the Capitoline tables in this manner they be set down. *Mamercinus II.* and *Cn. Genucius* son of *M.* and nephew of *M. Amentinensis*. But in the Sicilian registers, *Mamercinus* and *Stolo*.

Q. Servilius Ahala II., *L. Genucius II.*

Diodorus nameth the Consuls of this year, *Q. Servilius* and *Q. Genucius*. The Sicilian registers, *Ahala* and *Genucius*. *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*, *Q. Servilius Ahala* and *L. Genucius*. These are they who three years before were matched together in the same government.

C. Sulpitius, *C. Licinius Calvus*.

These are by *Livy* recorded Consuls this year. *Cassiodorus* writeth them thus, *C. Sulpitius II.* and *C. Licinius*. *Diodorus* in this wise, *C. Sulpitius* and *C. Licinius*. *Sigonius* supposeth they be the same, who three years before were Collegues. The Sicilian registers give unto *Licinius* the surname, not of *Calvus* as before, but of *Stolo*; and *Sulpitius* they surname *Petrus*.

C. Petilius Libo, *M. Fabius Ambustus*.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* write the Consuls for this year were, *C. Petilius Balbus* and *M. Fabius Ambustus*. But *Diodorus*, *M. Fabius* and *C. Petilius*; corruptly for *petilius*. The Capitoline writers give them surnames divers from *Livy*: for they call *Libo*, *Psulus*; but he, *Balbus*. And the Sicilian registers go with those of the Capitoline.

M. Popilius Lanus, *Cn. Manlius*.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* name this year Consuls in this sort: but *Diodorus* collecteth them, *M. Popilius Lanus*, and *Cn. Manlius Imperiosus*. This

was the first man of the *Popilii*, surnamed *Lanus*. The reason of which name *Cassiodorus* readeth in his book *Byzantine*, saying, *M. Popilius* being Consul, and at the same time offering sacrifice in his robe called *Lana*, for that he was *Flamin* to *Carmenta*, upon news brought unto him that the commons were up and risen in a commotion against the Nobles, came in that attire and habit as he was into the assembly; and what with his authority of countenance, and what with his eloquence of speech, appeased the sedition.

C. Fabius, *C. Plautius*.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* have these above-named for the Consuls this year: but in *Diodorus* they are named *M. Fabius* and *C. Plautius*. In the Capitoline records, *Ambustus* and *C. Plautius Proculus*.

C. Martius, *Cn. Manlius*.

Diodorus, *Livy*, and *Cassiodorus* name the Consuls of this year, *C. Martius* and *Cn. Manlius*. This *Cn. Manlius* was Consul the first time, two years before. *Cassianus* book and the Greek records have *Rutilius* and *Capitolinus*.

M. Fabius Ambustus II., *M. Popilius Lanus II.*

This years Consuls are with these names entitled by *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*. *Diodorus* leaveth out their surnames and the numerall notes. *Cassianus* book and the Greek records, set them thus down, *Ambustus II.* and *Lanus*.

C. Sulpitius Petrus III., *M. Valerius Publicola*.

In the four hundred year from the foundation of the City, and the thirty five after that it was by the Gauls won, the commons after eleven years did forgo their hold of the Consulship; and upon an Interregency, both Consuls of the *Patres* entered into government to wit, *C. Sulpitius Petrus III.* and *M. Valerius Publicola*, as *Livy* saith. The same Consuls *Diodorus*, *Cassiodorus* and the Sicilian registers do report. But why the account of time made by *Livy*, disagreeeth from this reckoning, *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* in his *Calendar* do give a reason.

M. Fab. Ambustus III., *T. Quinctius*, *M. Popilius*.

In this year also, according to *Livy*, both Consuls were *Patres*, namely, *M. Fabius Ambustus* the third time, with *T. Quinctius*; although he writeth, that in some Annals instead of *T. Quinctius*, he found *Marcus Popilius* Consul. With *Livy* accordeth *Diodorus* and *Cassiodorus*, *Solinus* also, who in his forty one chapter out of *Cornelius Nepos* writeth, that *Alexander* was born when *M. Fabius Ambustus* and *T. Quinctius*

the Capitoline were Consuls. Cuspianus took
seventh from Amulius and Capitolinus. But
these Consuls and those that follow are in the
Sicilian registers concealed.

401

C. Sulpitius Peticus, H. H. M. Valer. Poplicola III.

Both Consuls created this year were Patri-
tius, and namely, those who are here set
down, after Livy and Cassiodorus. Diodorus omit-
teth both their surnames, and also the numeral
notes, and setteth after the former Consuls, M.
Valerius and C. Sulpitius.

P. Valerius Poplicola, C. Martius Rutilus.

To L. Valerius Poplicola was given in fel-
lowship of government this year, C. Mar-
tius Rutilus of the commons, as Livy saith. These
Cassiodorus calleth P. Valerius and C. Martius
Rutilus the second time, Diodorus nameth them
M. Fabius and P. Valerius. The Sicilian registers
intermingle them confusedly with those of the
next year, marching Rutilus and Pennus toge-
ther.

C. Sulpit. Peticus. T. or K. or C. Quint. Pennus.

The Coss. for this year created were C. Sul-
pitius Peticus, and T. Quint. Pennus. Some
put to Quintus the name Cajo, others Caius. Li-
vy and Cassiodorus name them thus, C. Sulpitius
Peticus, and T. Quintus Pennus: but Diodorus
C. Sulpitius and C. Quintus.

404

M. Popilius Lanus, L. Cornelius Scipio.

Livy writeth, that for Consuls this year the
commons yielded M. Popilius Lanus, and
the nobles L. Cornelius Scipio. Cassiodorus setteth
them forth under the name of M. Popilius
Lanus the third time, and L. Cornelius Scipio.
Diodorus nameth them, C. Cornelius and M. Po-
pilius: and the Sicilian registers barely Scipio
and Lanus.

405

L. Furius Camillus, P. Claudius Crassus.

L. Furius Camillus the Dictator restored
the nobles again to their former possession
of the Consulship: and being himself for that
good demerit created Consul, with the great
love and hearty affection of the nobles, nomi-
nated for his Colleague, Publius Claudius Cras-
sus. Thus saith Livy. The same Consuls are set
down by Cassiodorus. But Diodorus, nameth
them Amylius and T. Quintus. The Sicilian
registers, Camillus and Crassus. Cicero in Cato
maketh mention of these Consuls, saying, that
Plato came to Tarentum, when L. Camillus and
P. Claudius were Consuls. Livy likewise
Book 11 chapter,

406

M. Valerius Corvus, M. Popilius Lanus, III.

M. Aulus Manlius being Dictator,
declared for Consul with the exceeding
favour of the people, M. Valerius Corvus (for
that was his surname afterwards) in his absence,
and being but three and twenty years old.
This Corvus had joyned with him in the Con-
sulship from out of the commons, M. Popilius
Lanus the third time, as saith Livy and Cassio-
dorus. But Diodorus three years after nominateth
M. Valerius and M. Popilius. In the fragment of
the Capitoll thus only it is found, M. Valerius,
M. P. M. N. Corvus Consul. In the Sicilian re-
gisters Corvinus and Lanus.

407

T. Manlius Torquatus, C. Plantius.

Livy and Cassiodorus nameth them for Cori-
nians this year. Cuspianus Kalender and the
Sicilian records, Torquatus and Vennio. In a frag-
ment of the Capitoll there is to be read the
surname of Manlius, Imperiosus Torquatus.

408

M. Valerius Corvus II, C. Patellius.

These are named Consuls by Livy, and Cas-
siodorus: but Cuspianus Kalender and the
registers of Sicily shew for Consuls, Corvinus
and Libo. As for the name C. Patellius, it is de-
scribed by his Dictatorship, which (according
to the Capitoll evidences) he bare in the year
440: for in a fragment (testifying his Consul-
ship) there appeareth no more but one of his
surnames, Esulus.

409

M. Fabius Dorso, Ser. Sulpitius Camerinus.

These were the Consuls created for this
year, as Livy and Cassiodorus write. Diodo-
rus also (although not in the right place) allea-
geth M. Fabius and Ser. Sulpitius Consuls. The
Sicilian registers, Dorso and Camerinus. Both
these Consuls were Patritii, which Livy omit-
ted.

410

C. Mart. Rutilus III, T. Manlius Torquatus II.

Livy and Cassiodorus avow these for Coss.
this year. Diodorus likewise delivereth unto
us, C. Martius and T. Manlius Torquatus. The
Sicilian registers, Rutilus and Torquatus. Fronti-
nus also in his second book of Stratagemis spea-
keth of them.

411

M. Valerius Corvus III, A. Cornelius Cossus.

Livy and Cassiodorus both together report,
that these were chosen Coss. for this year.
Diodorus, Cicero in his book of Divination, and
Frontinus, nameth them, M. Valerius and A. Cor-
nelius. The Sicilian registers, Valerius and Cossus:
both of them are Patritii. But he that hath
written of famous men, calleth them, Valerius
Mans, and Cornelius Cossus.

413

C. Marius Rutilus IV. Q. Servilius.

Livy and Cassiodorus declare Coss. for this year, C. Marius and Q. Servilius. Diodorus, Q. Servilius and Marius Rutilus. The Sicilian registers, Abala and Rutilus. This is that Q. Servilius Abala who was Master of the horse in the 403 year.

413

C. Plantius II. L. Aemilius Mamercinus.

The Consuls that followed were C. Plantius the second time, and L. Aemilius Mamercinus, as witness Livy and Cassiodorus: but L. Aemilius & C. Plantius, as testifieth Diodorus and as the Sicilian registers say, Venno and Mamercinus. Cuspinian's Kalender set forth for this year, Venno the second time, and Mamercinus.

414

T. Manlius Torquatus III. P. Decius Mus.

Titus Manlius Torquatus the third time, and P. Decius Mus, bare the Consulship this year, as Livy and Cassiodorus report. Diodorus nameth them, T. Manlius Torquatus and P. Decius. The Sicilian registers, Torquatus and Mus. Zonaras, Torquatus the third time, and Decius. Of the same Consuls Pliny speaketh in his 22 book and 5 chap. Valerius also in his 1 book and 5 chap. besides others.

415

T. Aemilius Mamercinus. Q. Publilius Philo.

Titus Aemilius Mamercinus, and Q. Publilius Philo, are by Livy reckoned Coss. for this year, Diodorus passeth over their surnames. The Greek records shew unto us, Mamercinus and Philo. As for Philo, he is described out of the tables of the Capitoll,

416

L. Furius Camillus. C. Menius.

Thus say Livy and Cassiodorus. Diodorus hath L. Furius and Camillus, but corruptly The Sicilian registers, Camillus and Menius. The Capitoll monuments of triumphs, L. Furius Camillus, and C. Menius. Pliny in his 34 book and 5 cha. maketh mention of Caius Menius, Consul,

417

C. Sulpitius Longus. P. Elius Patus.

Livy and Cassiodorus write, that these Coss. followed. Diodorus putteth down C. Sulpitius, and L. Papirius. The Sicilian registers, have Longus and Patus.

418

L. Papirius Crassus. K. Dintius.

Lucius Papirius Crassus, and K. Dintius, were this years Coss. as witness Livy, Cassiodorus, and Diodorus also, but for leaving out the sur-

name Crassus. In the Sicilian registers they are named, Crassus and Dintius. As touching these Consuls, Cicero in his Epistle to Plinius writeth thus, L. Papirius Crassus, four years after he was Dictator, was made Consul with K. Dintius.

419

M. Valerius Corvus III. M. Atilius Regulus.

This year, when the Aunones that inhabited the City Citer, took arms and combated with the Sidicins, M. Valerius Corvus, a right noble General, was created Consul the fourth time, having to his Collegis (as Livy writeth) M. Atilius Regulus. Cassiodorus likewise declareth the same for Consuls; and so doth Diodorus, but that he leaveth out their surnames: which appear extant in the Sicilian registers.

420

T. Veturius. Sp. Posthumius.

The Dictator held an assembly for the election of Consuls, wherein were created (according to Livy) these above-named. So say Cassiodorus also and Diodorus. Zonaras nameth them Tiber. Calvinus, and Sp. Posthumius: and right well, as Sigonius thinketh: for Tiberius was the fore-name of the Veturii. The Greek records, and Cuspinian's book, have Albinus and Calvinus.

421

Interregens, all one year.

Sigonius and Onuphrius insert this one year without Consuls, besides the account of the years, according to the Capitoll monuments, albeit they see neither in Livy, nor in any other, mention thereof; and all to make up the totall sum collected by Varro. And that the said year should at this time especially be interposed, the tables of the Capitoline records do shew. For whereas in them thus engraven it is, M. Valerius Corvus Consul the fourth time, in the year of the City 419, and again L. Aemilius and C. Plantius, in the year 414: to the end that these records might agree one with another, of necessity there must be put a year between. For leave out that, then both L. Aemilius the Consul should fall upon the year 414, and the totall sum of the year in Varro and the Capitoline tables be overthrown. That this odd year was now above all other times to be cast between, Gregory Halaander (who left in writing a Chronology of the Consuls) saw long before them: for he over-passed this year wholly, noted without Consuls. But Sigonius and Onuphrius are of opinion, that this year there was an Anarchy, and the Common-weal without Consuls, or other Magistrats of state, by occasion of the pestilence, whereof Livy writeth.

422

M. Cornelius II. Cn. Domitius.

Marcus Cornelius the second time Cof. with Cn. Domitius is by Livy, and Cassiodorus set down

down, *Diodorus* nameth them *A. Cornelius* and *C. Domitius*. The Sicilian registers, *Calvinus* and *Cossus*.

M. Claudius Marcellus, and *C. Valerius*.

After this, were created Consuls, *M. Claudius Marcellus* and *C. Valerius*, as *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* report. In *Diodorus* also they be set down by the name of *C. Valerius* and *M. Clodius*. *Livy* saith, that he findeth in the Annals, the surnames of *Valerius* diversly put down, namely, *Flaccus* and *Potitus*. *Orosius* calleth these Consuls, *Claudius Marcellus*, and *Valerius Flaccus*. The Sicilian registers, *Potitus* and *Marcellus*. *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* retain their surnames, that it may seem, how to the old surname *Potitus* of the House *Valeria*, this new surname of *Flaccus* is a later addition.

L. Papyrius Crassus II. *L. Plantius Venno*.

These Consuls are by *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* recited this year. *Diodorus* concealeth their surnames. The Sicilian registers, make them known by the names of *Crassus* and *Venno*.

L. Emilius Mamercinus. *C. Plautius*.

Next to them (according to *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*) were *L. Emilius Mamercus*, and *C. Plautius* created Consuls. *Diodorus* nominateth *L. Papyrius* with *L. Plotius*. The Sicilian registers, *Mamercinus* and *Decianus*. How both these are to be described, their triumphs upon record in the Capitol do evidently shew. These Consuls entered upon their government the first day of July.

P. Plautius Proculus. *P. Cornelius Scapula*.

L*ivy* and *Cassiodorus* put down [for Consuls] *P. Plautius Proculus*, and *P. Cornelius Scapula*. *Diodorus*, *P. Cornelius* and *A. Posthumus*. The Sicilian registers, *Venno* and *Scipio*. *Onuphrius* thinketh this *Plautius* ought to be forenamed not *Publius* but *cainus*: who in his Consulship which he bare afterwards with *Appius Cacus*, was surnamed *Venno* (as *Frontinus* supposeth) for finding certain springs and veins of water within the earth.

C. Plautius Proculus. *Q. Publilius Philo II.*

L*ivy* and *Cassiodorus* march together in the Consulship for this year, *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Q. Publilius Philo*. *Diodorus* *L. Cornelius* and *Q. Publilius*. The Sicilian registers, *Lentulus* and *Philo*.

L. Papyrius Mugillanus *Cursor*. *C. Papius*.

C*onstituted consuls this year, C. Papius*

the third time, and *L. Papyrius Mugillanus*, by *Cassiodorus*. *Solinus* maketh mention of these Consuls in his five and thirtieth chapter. As for *Papyrius*, *Livy* indeed surnameth him here *Mugillanus*, but he saith that he findeth him in other Annals by the name of *Cursor*. In the Greek seconds they be *Liko* and *Cursor*. Now as touching *C. Papius*, he is to be written with the numerall note *II.* and not *III.* as *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* do admonish. For it is not the same man who was Consul in the 393 year, but his son.

L. Furius Camillus II. *Junius Brutus Scaeva*.

L*ivy* and *Cassiodorus* put down for consuls, *L. Furius Camillus* the second time, and *Junius Brutus Scaeva*. *Diodorus*, *L. Furius*, and *D. Junius*. The Sicilian registers, *Camillus* and *Brutus*.

Lucius Furius, unto whom the charge of

Samnium fell by lot, forinued by occasion of sickness to forgo the war there, and was commanded to nominate for the managing of martiall affairs a Dictator: whereupon he pronounced *L. Papyrius Cursor*, the bravest warrior in those daies; by whom *Q. Fabius Rullianus* was named great Master of the horse. Afterwards *Cursor* turned him out of that Mastership of horse, because without his warrant he had fought (although it were fortunately) against the Samnites when himself was out of the way and gone to Rome for to take the Auspices anew: and in his room he substituted *L. Papyrius Crassus*. Thus write *Livy*, *Enstropius*, and *Valerius*, in the second book.

C. Sulpitius Longus II. *Q. Emilius [L. Aulius]*

L*ivy* and *Cassiodorus* deliver unto us for Consuls this year, *Q. Fabius* and *L. Fulvius*: whom the Capitol records of the triumphs name *Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus*, and *D. Fulvius Corvus*. Marvell it is therefore, that in the Sicilian registers they are put down, *Cursor* and *Sylla*.

Q. Fabius. *L. Fulvius*.

L*ivy* and *Cassiodorus* deliver unto us for Consuls this year, *Q. Fabius* and *L. Fulvius*: whom the Capitol records of the triumphs name *Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus*, and *D. Fulvius Corvus*. Marvell it is therefore, that in the Sicilian registers they are put down, *Cursor* and *Sylla*.

T. Verrinus Calvinus. *Sp. Posthumus*.

This year *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* set forth for Consuls, *T. Verrinus Calvinus* and *Sp. Posthumus*. *Cicero* in his third book of Offices writeth, that they were twice Consuls.

calleth the one of them *T. Calpurnius*, by a familiar forename unto that house and kindred of the *Veturii*. The Greek records exhibit unto us *Calpurnius* and *Albinus*. Of these consuls as also of the Caudine peace, *Cicero* in his book of old age; *Pliny* also in his book of famous men; *Gellius* in his 17 book and 21 chap. *Florus* in his 1 book and 16 chap. and *Orosius* in his 3 book and 15 chap. do make mention.

434

L. Papyrius Cursor II. C. Publius Philo.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* shew for this years Consuls, *Q. Publius Philo* and *L. Papyrius Cursor*, the second time. The Sicilian registers, *Cursor* and *Philo*. But that this *Philo* should now be third time Consul, his Consulships do plainly shew.

435

L. Papyrius Cursor, or Mugillanus. Q. Annius Cerretanus II.

Livy saith, there is some doubt, whether *L. Papyrius Cursor* were this year created Consul the third time, with *Q. Annius Cerretanus* the second time: and for his good service in war at *Luceria*, continued still in government: or rather *L. Papyrius Mugillanus*, and so the surname was mistaken. *Cassiodorus* delivereth unto us *L. Papyrius* and *Q. Annius Cerretanus*. The Sicilian registers, *Papyrius* and *Cerretanus*. The monument of his triumph in the Capitoll, alloweth of *cursor* and not *Mugillanus*. The author of that book which *Cyprianus* hath set forth, following other Annals, setteth down *Mugillanus*.

436

M. Fostius Flaccinator. L. Plantius Venno.

Seeing that for twelve years next ensuing, we have the Capitoline tables whole and sound, the less trouble we need to be at in reforming and redressing the names of the Magistrats. Both they, and also *Livy* with *Cassiodorus* represent unto us for this years Consuls, *M. Fostius Flaccinator* and *L. Plantius Venno*. *Diodorus* calleth them, *L. Plotius* and *publi*. The Sicilian registers, *Venno* and *Flaccus*.

437

C. Junius Bubulcus. Q. Emilius Barbula.

Cassiodorus putteth down *C. Junius* and *Q. Emilius Barbula* for Consuls. *Livy*, *C. Junius Bubulcus*, and *Quintus Emilius Barbula*. A stone in the Capitoll, *Q. Emilius Barbula*, and *C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus*.

438

Sp. Nautius. M. Popilius.

Next follow in order *Sp. Nautius* and *M. Popilius* Consuls, according to *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*. *Rutilus* and *Lana* their surnames, are by *Sigonius* restored unto them: and the same also are to be seen in the Sicilian books of record.

L. Papyrius Cursor III. Q. Publius Philo III.

The Consuls names of this year, through the default of the writers that copied forth *Livies* books, are there left out: namely, *L. Papyrius Cursor* the fourth time, and *Q. Publius Philo* likewise the fourth times as it is written in *Cassiodorus*, in the Capitoll tables, and in *Cassiodorus* book, wherein they are named *cursor* and *Philo*. Howbeit, in the Sicilian registers they are called *cursor* and *Lana*.

440

M. Paetelins. C. Sulpitius.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* report for Consuls this year, *C. Sulpitius* and *M. Paetelins*. But *Diodorus* hath *C. Sulpitius* and *judex* corruptly for *paetelins*. The Capitoline writers, have *M. Paetelins Libo* and *C. Sulpitius Longus* the third time. The Sicilian registers, *Longus* and *paetelins*, but there is a fault, as *Sigonius* truly thinketh.

441

L. Papirius Cursor V. C. Junius Bubulcus.

Diodorus putteth down for Consuls this year *L. Papirius* fifth time, and *C. Junius*. The Sicilian registers, *Cursor* and *Bubulcus*. But *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*, *L. Papirius Cursor V.* and *C. Junius Bubulcus II.* *Festus* maketh mention also of these Consuls in his 18 book.

442

M. Valerius. C. Decius.

Livy writeth that there followed consuls *M. Valerius Max.* and *P. Decius*: but *Cassiodorus*, saith *M. Valerius* and *P. Decius*. *Frontinus* in his book of water-conduits, speaketh of these Consuls: whom he writeth to have been thirty years after the beginning of the Samnite war. As for *P. Decius*, *Livy* afterwards calleth *Max*. The Sicilian registers have *Max.* and *Max*.

443

C. Junius Bubulcus III. Q. Emilius Barbula II.

We find in *Livy* for Consuls this year, *C. Junius Bubulcus* the third time, and *Q. Emilius Barbula* the second time: likewise in *Cassiodorus*. But *Diodorus* nameth them *C. Junius* and *Q. Emilius*. In the Sicilian registers, *Bubulcus* and *Barbula*. The same names are also in the Capitoll monuments, which be in *Livy*.

444

C. Martius Rutilus. Q. Fabius.

C. Aius Martius Rutilus and *Q. Fabius* be this years Consuls in *Livy*. But in *Cassiodorus*, *C. Martius Rutilus* and *Q. Fabius* the second time. *Diodorus* hath *C. Martius* and *Q. Fabius* the second time. The Sicilian registers shew *Rutus* and

and *Rutilus*. The Capitol monuments, *Q. Fabius*, *Max. Rutilius*, the second time, and *C. Marius*, who afterwards in his second Censorship in the 498 year, is surnamed *Censorinus*.

A year without Consul P. Durini Dist. 11.

Verrinus Flaccus interposeth this year also without Consuls, wherein he reporteth *L. Papius* Dictator the 2. time, with *C. Junius Bubulenus Bruns*, the Master of the horse. This year *Diodorus*, *Livy*, the Greek records, *Cuspinians* book and *Cassiodorus* do overlap. For *Livy* writeth that *L. Papius* *Ensur* was nominated by the consul Dictator, and by him *C. Junius Bubulenus* named Master of the horse: upon occasion that *C. Marius* the Cos. had no good fortune in his conduct of the wars in *Samnium*. This inserting of one year *Onuphris* hath approved, that the computation of the years gathered by *Varro* might stand in force, which to the Capitoll tables putteth one year, whose judgment we also are willing to follow.

446 *Q. Fabius*. *P. Decius*.

Livy writeth, that *Fabius* continued Consul this year also, for his singular good service in subduing and taming *Hetruria*: and that he had for his companion in government *Decius*. *Cassiodorus* acknowledgeth for *Cons. Q. Fabius* the third time, and *P. Decius* the second time. *Diodorus*, *P. Decius*: and *Q. Fabius*. The Sicilian registers *Mus* and *Rullus*, The Capiroline tables, *P. Decius Mus* 17. and *Q. Fabius Max. Rullianus* the third time.

447
App. Clandius. et L. Voluminus.

Livy saith, that immediately there followed Consuls, *App. Claudius* and *L. Volturnius*, *Cassiodorus* and *Diodorus*, *Appius* and *Violens*. The Sicilian registers, *App. Claudius Cacus*, and *L. Volturnius*. The Capitoline monuments have *Flamma* and *Violens*. Now whether one of these Consuls turn out to be *Violens* or *Violensius*, *Onuphrius* adviseth us to consider. For the Capitoline Stone hath it alwaies written *Violens*. But the Greek words have *Appius* and *Βιολέντιος* as if the name were *Violensius*.

Q. Martinus Tramelus, P. Cornelius Arvina.

Livy, **Cassiodorus** register for the Consuls
of this year, Q. **Marius Tremulus**; with a
College: as disposed unto him **Diodorus** saith Q.
Marius And P. **Cornelius**. The Sicilian records,
Tremulus and **Petrina**. M. has was a great sig-
nified, M. has was old; the Capitol book the
M. Q. to hold it 449. With this first history
of **Rome**. **The Roman** & **Latinus** were re-
ported consuls by **Diodorus**, **Livy** and **Cassio-**

Calpurnius book sheweth *Magellus* and *Aufidius*. These Cons. doth *L. Pl.* put down for to succeed *Q. Fabius* and *P. Decius*, leaving out those two years wherein we have let down *Isid.* writeth) that *Claudius* with *Plautinus*, and *Cornelius* with *Martius* were consuls. Whether his memory failed him in digesting of the annals, or of purpose he supposed that those two couple of Consuls were not truly recorded, and therefore overleapt them, I know not. A fragment there is of the Capitoline stone, which sheweth for this year, *Magellus* to be the surname of *Posthumius*, *Tiberius* the forename of *Minucius*, and *M.* of *Fulvius*. Now the surnames of *Fulvius* were *curvus* and *Patinus*, as it appeareth written in his triumph.

450
P. Sempronius Sophus. P. Sulpitius Saverrio.

THe Consuls next following were *P. Sulpitius Saverrio*, and *P. Sempronius Sophus*, according to *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*. In *Diodorus* they are written *P. Sulpitius* and *P. Sempronius*. In the Greek registers, they stand *Sempronius* and *Saverrio*. *Pliny* writeth of these Consuls in his 33 book: but *Sempronius* he calleth *Longus*. Both of them are described thus by their triumphs, appearing upon record in the Capitoll, for in their Consulship there is no more to be seen but *Sophus* and *Publius*.

411
D. Gonninus. Sir. Cornelius.

Diodorus, Livy and Cassiodorus report for Coss. this year, *L. Genucius*, and *Servius Cornelius*. The Sicilian registers have *Aventinus* and *Leunius*. The Capitoline writers put unto *Cornelius* the surname of *Leunius*.

452
M. Moins Denter. M. Amylins.

Livy nameth for Consuls this year M. Livius and C. Aemilius. Cassiodorus, M. Livius and L. Aemilius. Diodorus, M. Livius and M. Aemilius. As for the forename to Aemilius, Sigonius and Onuphrius do think that more credit is to be given unto Diodorus, than others: especially, seeing that in Livy there is mention made the year following of M. Aemilius Paulus Generall of the horsemen, whom they all think to be the same man that this Consul, M. Livius is written Denter in the Capitoll records, which surname Livy in another place addeth to the Livii. Cuspinianus book in like manner setteth down Denter and Paulus as the surnames of these Consuls. The Sicilian registers, Denter and Aemilius.

453
Two Dictators, and no Consul.

THis year also of two Dictators without Consuls, *Omphrius* inserteth in his Kalender, howbeit directed thereto by evidence of the Capitoll fragments: to the end that the calculation of *Varro* might agree in all respects which.

which, if this year were over-slipped should be wholly overthrow: although *Diadart*, *Livy*, and *Cassiodorus* dissent therefrom, and leave out this year altogether. Whereof see *Omphrius* more at large in his Kalender upon this year 453.

454 *M. Valerius*, *Q. Apuleius Pansa*.

Immediately after *M. Livius* and *M. Aemilius*, *Livy*, and *Cassiodorus* letteth pass the year of two Dictators without Consuls, bring in *M. Valerius* and *Q. Apuleius Pansa* for Consuls. The Greek records shew *Corvinus* and *Pansa*. It seemeth that *Livy* by *Marcus Valerius* meaneth *Maximus*, for that he saith that presently upon his Dictatorship he was made Col. Now that *Mar. Valerius Max.* was Dictator the year before, he writeth plainly.

455 *M. Fulvius Patrus*, *T. Manlius Torquatus*.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* declare for Consuls this year, *M. Fulvius Patrus* and *T. Manlius Torquatus*. The Sicilian registers have *Patrinus* and *Torquatus*. *Livy* saith that *Q. Fabius* refused the Consulship offered unto him without any suit of his. But *T. Manlius* the Consul, was by lot appointed to levy war against *Heiruria*, which took arms and prepared for war against the truce accorded upon. Now was he scarce well entred into the enemies confines, but as he exercised among men of arms, and chanced to turn about his horse upon a full carrier, he was cast from his back: whereupon (for the present) he lay for dead, and within three daies after the said fall ended his life. Then all the Centuries in general by their suffrages chose *M. Valerius* Col, whom the Senat. purposed to have made Dictator. Thus much *Livy*. By *M. Valerius* he meaneth *Corvus*, whom *Cicero* writeth in his book of old age, and *Valerius Max.* in his 7 book and 48 chap. to have been Col. now the sixt time, and that between this and the first there were 46 years, although *Plutarch* in the life of *C. Marius* saith they were but 45. Howbeit all of them call him *Corvinus* and not *Corvus*.

456 *L. Cornelius Scipio*, *Cn. Fulvius*.

Cn. Fulvius and *L. Cornelius Scipio* are recorded Consuls by *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*; but *Scipio* and *Centumalus*, by *Cyprianus* book: *Scipio* and *Maximus* by the Greek records.

457 *Q. Fabius Max. IV.*, *P. Decius Mus III.*

Livy and *Cassiodorus* alledge for Cons. this year, *Q. Fabius Max.* the fourth time, and *P. Decius Mus* thrice. The same Cons. *Cyprianus* book and the Greek records delivered unto us. The author that writeth of famous men, and *Frontinus* in his book of Stratagems, speak of *P. Decius* thrice Consul.

458 *L. Postumius Megellus*, *M. Atilius Regulus*.

L. Postumius of noble blood, were created Cons. this year: even the same men who in their former Consulship were matched together as *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* write: but in the Sicilian registers they are found written, *Claudius* and *Volturnus*. Howbeit, *Cicero* in his book entitled *Ca-* re reporteth, that between the two Consulships of *Postumius* were ten years.

459 *Q. Fabius V.*, *P. Decius IV.*

Livy and *Cassiodorus* both witness, that the Cons. next following, were *Q. Fabius* the fift time, and *P. Decius* the 4 time, who had been companions together already in 2 Consulats and in one Censorship. The Sicilian registers have *Rullus* and *Mus*: of which Consuls *Cicero* speaketh very often; *Valer. Max.* likewise, *Petrarchus* also, *Plutarch*, *Frontinus* in his book of Stratagems, the author of the book of famous men, *Entropius*, *Orosius*, and others: who all report, that the Cons. *P. Decius*, following the example of his father, offered himself to die for the Roman legions, and by his death purchased a notable victory to the people of Rome.

460 *L. Postumius Megellus*, *M. Atilius Regulus*.

The Cons. next following, were *L. Postumius Megellus*, and *M. Atilius Regulus*, as *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* write. In the Sicilian records, their surnames are *Megellus* and *Regulus*.

461 *L. Papirius Cursor*, *Sp. Carvilius*.

After *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*, in the Cons. this year were *L. Papirius Cursor* and *Sp. Carvilius*. After the Sicilian registers, *Cursor* & *Max.* A stone in the Capitol maketh mention of *Papirius* the son of *Is*, nephew of *P.* surnamed *Cursor*, whom *Livy* writeth to be the son of *Papirius* 5 times Cons. Of these Cons. *Pliny* of *Verona* maketh mention in his 7 book and 60 chap. *Val. Max.* likewise in his 7 book and 1 chap. *Frontinus* in his 2 book: and the same *Livy* in the year 456.

462 *Q. Fabius Gurgus Max.*, *Decius Junius Brutus*, son of *Struvalius*.

The year following had Consuls, *Q. Fabius Gurgus*, and *Decius Junius Brutus* Sons, as witnesses *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*. *Zonaras* matcheth them, *Junius Brutus* and *Q. Fabius Max.* *Cyprianus* Kalender, *Maximus* and *Severus*. The Sicilian registers, *Brutus* and *Maximus*. *Livy*, *Pliny* in his 7 book, the Capitol tables, and *Zonaras*, have delivered, that this *Fabius* was the son of *Q. Max. Rullianus*, who had been 3 times Cons. before. And here an end of the Consuls for the first 40 books.

463

L. Postumius. C. Junius.

Since that after this Consularship, ten books of *Livy* next ensuing be lost, whom hitherto we have had for the most sufficient witness of this story, so as now we are in manner destitute and deprived of the best helps of Annals, namely *Diodorus*, *Dionysius*, and *Livy* from hence forward we will use principally in digesting and reckoning the years by the Consuls, the authority and testimony of *Cassiodorus*, the Sicilian records, and *Cuspinianus* book: yet will we not in the mean while reject what help soever shall be ministered unto us by others. For this year therefore *Cassiodorus* writeth, that *L. Postumius* and *C. Junius*, were created Cons. whose surnames, *Megellus*, and *Babulcius*, have not been left out so much as in *Cassiodorus* Kalender, nor in the Sicilian records. *Livy* also maketh mention of them in his 28 book, saying thus, *Luc. Postumius Megellus* the Interregent, was created Cons. with *C. Babulcius*, by that very court and assembly which himself called and held.

464

P. Cornelius Rufinus. M. Curius Dentatus

The Cons. this year are recorded by *Cassiodorus*, *Pub. Cornelius Rufinus*, and *M. Curius Dentatus* for whom in the Sicilian registers, appear *Maximus* the third time, and *Mus* the six time. But of those forenamed Cons. *Cicero* maketh mention in his book, entituled *Cato*; *Paterculus* in his first book, *Valerius Max.* in his six book and 3 chap. *Pliny* also in his 7 book and 50 chap. Now this *M. Curius* was called *Dentatus*, as *Pliny* writeth in his 6 book and 16 chap. for that he came into the world with teeth.

465

M. Valerius. Q. Cadius.

Arcus Valerius and *Q. Cadius* were afterwards Cons. as saith *Cassiodorus*. The old book of *Cuspinianus* putteth to them the surnames of *Cominus* and *Noctus*: which in the Sicilian registers, are overpassed. The Greek records shew unto us, *Maximus* and *Mus*: for *Maximus* was a surname also of the *Valerii Corvini*.

466

Q. Martius. P. Cornelius.

Cassiodorus this year delivereth for Consuls, *Q. Martius* and *P. Cornelius*, *Cuspinianus* book and the Greek records add their surnames, *Tremulus II.* and *Arvius II.* who had been Consuls together once before.

467

M. Marcellus. Sp. Nautius.

Cassiodorus avoucheth Consuls this year, *M. Marcellus* and *Cn. Nautius*. The Greek records and *Cuspinianus* book, have *Marcellus* and *Rutilius*.

468

M. Valerius. C. Aelius.

Arcus Valerius and *C. Aelius* are ranged in this year for Cons. by *Cassiodorus*, *Cuspinianus* book putteth forth, *Maximus* and *Papus*: but the Greek records, *Pomus* and *Parnus*. Now you must think, that both *Maximus* and *Parnus* are the surnames of the *Valerii*.

469

C. Claudius. M. Aemilius.

For this years Cons. *Cassiodorus* hath *C. Claudius* and *M. Aemilius*. The Greek records and *Cuspinianus* book, *Canida* & *Lepidus*: where of the former is the surname of *Claudius*, the latter of *Aemilius*.

470

C. Servilius. L. Caelius.

By *Cassiodorus*, *C. Servilius* and *L. Caelius* *Mecellus* are placed Cons. in this year: for whereas in some copies of *Cassiodorus*, instead of *L. Caelius*, is written *Calus* that is a fault: as *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* have noted. To *Servilius* this Consul, the Greek records add the surname of *Turca*, whom they put down Cons. with *Dentus*, they would say *Dentus*, as both *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* suppose. For *Dentus* is a surname also given to the *Caelius*, as appeareth by *Livy*.

471

P. Cornelius Dolabella. Cn. Domitius.

Cassiodorus interreth *P. Corn. Dolabella*, and *Cn. Domitius* for Cons. *Cuspinianus* Kalender hath *Dolabella* and *Calvus*. The Sicilian registers, *Dolabella Maximus*. And some think that *Maximus* was the surname of *Dolabella*, which he seemeth to have acquired by the honour that he had won in the war against the Gauls.

472

C. Fabricius. Q. Aemilius.

Cassiodorus bringeth in for Cons. *C. Fabricius* and *Q. Aemilius*: but the Sicilian registers, *Luscinus* and *Papus*. Of them *Cicero* in his book *Leius*, maketh mention in this manner: We see that *Papus Aemilius* was familiarly acquainted with *C. Luscinus*: for so we have heard our fathers say that they were two Cons. together, and companions in the censorship. Moreover, *Valerius* in his chap. where he treateth of Poverty, maketh mention of *C. Fabricius*, and *Q. Aemilius Papus*. This *Aemilius*, *Plutarch* in his *Parallels* calleth corruptly by the name of *Paulus*.

473

L. Aemilius. Q. Martius.

Here followed cons. as *Cassiodorus* sheweth, *L. Aemilius* & *Q. Martius*, unto whom *Cuspinianus* book and the Greek records give also their surnames, *Barbula* and *Philippus*: and the same also is evident by the records in the Capitol of their triumphs:

474

474

P. Valerius. T. Cornucaninus.

Pub. Valerius and T. Cornucaninus are by Cassiodorus placed in this year for Cons. The Greek records, Cuspinian's book, Florus, Orosius, and Eutropius, give to Valerius the surname of *Levinus*. And Plinarch hath assigned for *Levinus* for 474.

475

P. Sulpitius. P. Decius.

Next after those, Cassiodorus putteth down P. Sulpitius Consul with P. Decius. The Sicilian registers, have *Savennio* and *Man. Cicero* in his 2 book, entituled *De Fin.* and in his Tusculan disputations, saith, That this *Pub. Decius* was the son of that P. Decius who vowed himself to death in the Samnits and Gauls war.

476

C. Fabricius. Q. Aemilius.

Cassiodorus delivereth unto us for Consuls C. Fabricius and Q. Aemilius: whom Cuspinian's book and the Greek records, call *Lusitanus* the second time, and *Papus*. That these were fellows together once before in the Consulship, Cicero writeth in his book *Lalins*, Plinarch in *Pyrrhus*, Gellius 3 book, chap. 8. Eutropius, and Zonaras, make report of the same.

477

P. Cornelius. C. Junius.

Pub. Cornelius, and C. Junius, are rehearsed for Consuls this year by Cassiodorus. Cuspinian's book hath *Rufinus* the second time, and *Brutus*. The Greek records, *Rufinus* and *Babulcus*. Zonaras hath *Rufinus* & *Junius*. Of P. Rufinus twice Cons. Cic. in his 2. book Of a perfect Orator, *Valer. Max.* in his 3. book, and 4. chap. Gellius in his 4 book, and 8 chap. in his 17 book likewise and 21 chap. and last of all, *Frontinus* in his book of Stratagems, make mention.

478

Q. Fabius. C. Genucius.

Cassiodorus reporteth Q. Fabius and C. Genucius Consuls. The Sicilians registers have *Gurges* and *Clepsina*. Of these Cons. Orosius maketh mention in this wise: When *Fabius Gurges* was the second time Cons. with C. Genucius *Clepsina*, a grievous pestilence reigned both in the City, and also in the territory about it.

479

M. Curius. L. Lentulus.

Cassiodorus and Eutropius deliver unto us for Cons. M. Curius and L. Lentulus. The Sicilian registers, *Dentatus* and *Lentulus*. This is the third Consulship of M. Curius, which together with *Lentulus* Consulship, is drawn out of the Capitoll records of triumph this year.

480

Serv. Cornelius. M. Curius.

Cassiodorus setteth for this years Cons. Servius Cornelius and M. Curius. Cuspinian's book and the Greek records, *Merenda* & *Dentatus* the third time. This M. Curius is now Cons. the fourth time, for, thrice he was before. Concerning this *Serv. Cornelius Merenda*, Plinarch relateth and writeth, that he received a princely cotoner of gold at the hands of L. Lentulus the Cons. of the former year, for winning a town of the Samnits.

481

C. Fabricius. C. Claudius.

Cassiodorus setteth down, C. Fabricius and C. Claudius Consuls: the Sicilian records, *Licinius* and *Canina*. Cuspinian's Kalender, *Licinius* and *Cinna*. Eutropius, *Licinius* and *C. Claudius Canina*. Pilleius, *Fabius Dorso* and *Claudius Canina*. Whereby it may be understood, that these Consuls were called, C. Fabius Dorso *Licinius*, and *Caius Claudius Canina*: for *Dorso* was an old name of the *Fabii*.

482

L. Papirius Cursor. Sp. Carvilius.

Next after them, Cassiodorus nominateth for Cons. Sp. Carvilius and L. Papirius Cursor. The records both of Sicily and Cuspinian, have *Cursor* and *Maximus*. Both these were now Cons. the second time as appeareth by their triumphs upon record in the Capitoll. *Frontinus* speaketh of them in his book Of water-conduits, and *Livy* in his 24 book.

483

C. Quintus. L. Genucius.

It is reported by Cassiodorus, that C. Quintus and L. Genucius were Consuls. Cuspinian's book and the Greek records, set to their surnames, *Claudius* and *Clepsina*. *Livy* in his 7 book speaketh of one *Tit. Quintus* lame of one leg, from whom haply this surname is drawn.

484

C. Genucius. Cn. Cornelius.

Reported there are for Consuls this year by Cassiodorus, C. Genucius and Cn. Cornelius: whose surnames were *Clepsina* and *Blasio*, as it appeareth in Cuspinian's book. This *Caius Genucius* is the same, who before-time was Consul. As for C. *Blasio*, he is described by his Consulship standing upon record in the Capitoll. The Greek records over-pass them both.

485

P. Sempronius. } or after } Q. Ogulphius
App. Claudius. } some, } Fabius Pictor

After Cornelius and Genucius Consuls, Cassiodorus bringeth in Pub. Sempronius, and App.

App. Claudius, and of purpose over-skipeth *Q. Gule* and *Fabius Pictor*. *Zonaras*, *Q. Gallus* and *C. Fabius*. Of them speaketh *Europius*, saying: When *Q. Gule* and *Fabius Pictor* were Consuls, the Picentes raised war; and by the Consuls next following, to wit, *P. Sempronius* and *App. Claudius*, they were vanquished. *Pliny* also in his 33 book and 3 chap. When *Q. Fabius* (quoth he) was Consul, silver was coined and stamped for money, five years before the [second] Punic war. These Consuls, *Valerius* also reckoneth in his first book. But *Sigismus* and *Onuphrius* advertise us, that the book of *Europius* is very faulty in one of these Consuls, and that in lieu of *Q. Gule*, it should be read *Q. Ogulvius*: for of this *Gule*, there is in no place besides any mention: so as they would have, that it should be *Q. Ogulvius*, son of *L. nephew* of *A.* surnamed *Gallus*, who a litle before was sent in embassage to *Propercius*. And it falleth out passing well, that they should match *Ogulvius* a commoner, with *Fabius* a Patrician. Also *Onuphrius* testifieth, that in the most ancient hand-written books of *Europius*, the name is found of *Ogulvius*. And, as both the Greek records, and also *Zonaras*, together with the more ancient and perfect copies of *Europius*, agree to this his judgment: so *Hubertus Goltzius* likewise in his Catalogue of Consuls, embraceth the same: and that which maketh most for the purpose, the old antiquities of coin witness as much. But in the mean while this is worth the observation, that oftentimes in the most ancient pieces of money, the letter *C* is written for *G*: as for example here, *Ocul. Cal.* for *Ogul. Calba*.

286

*P. Sempronius.**App. Claudius.*

Being that we settle the Consulship of the former year, in *Ogulvius* and *Fabius Pictor*, and that upon the authority of *Europius*, the Greek records, *Cuspinianus*, *Zonaras*, *Onuphrius*, and others; we will set down for this years Consuls, *P. Sempronius* and *App. Claudius*, whom *Velleius* in his first book calleth, *Sempronius Sophus*, and *Appius* the son of *Cacilius*. The Greek records, *Sempronius Rufus Sophus*: and *Cuspinianus* book *Rufus*. Moreover, this also *Goltzius* giveth us to understand, that the surname of this *Sempronius* is in old peeces of coin found written without an aspiration [*Sopus*] which is no rare thing to be seen in such antiquities: for we read in others of them, *Philippus*, *Tampilus*, *Gracchus*, *Pulcher*, *Triumpus*, for *Philippus*, *Tampibilus*, *Gracchus*, *Pulcher*, *Triumphus*, and such like.

487

*M. Attilius.**L. Julius Libo.*

Europius putteth down for Consuls, *M. Attilius* and *L. Julius Libo*. The Sicilian registers, *Rogatus* and *Libo*. *Cassiodorus*, *M. Attilius* and *L. Julius*. And both of them are taken forth of the records of capitol triumphs.

488

*D. Iunius.**N. Fabius.*

Cassiodorus reporteth for Cons. this year, *D. Iunius* and *N. Fabius*: the Sicilian registers *Pars* and *Pictor*: the capitol records at triumphs, *D. Iunius* son of *D.* nephew of *D.* surnamed *Pars*, and *N. Fabius* son of *C.* nephew of *M.* surnamed *Pictor*. Upon what occasion these *Fabii* took the surname of *Pictor*, *Pliny* sheweth in his 35 book chap. 4. *Valer. Max.* in his 4 book and 3 chap. seemeth to note and signify, that *Fabius Gurgus* and *N. Fab. Pictor*, lived at one and the same time.

489

Q. Fabius Maximus. *L. Mamilius Vulturnus.*

This year also *Cassiodorus* passeth over. The Greek records shew, *Maximus* and *Vulturnus*, *Zonaras*, *Q. Fabius*, and *Emilius* (no doubt) for *Mamilius* by some error and fault of the copies. *Cuspinian* out of some old books delivereth unto us for Consuls, *Q. Fab. Maximus* and *L. Mamilius*. *Onuphrius* thinketh, that *Q. Fab. Maximus Gurgus* was now thrice Consul.

490

App. Claudius. *M. Fulvius.*

Besides the capitol monuments, *Polybius* in his first book maketh mention of these Consuls. *Gellius* also, who calleth them thus; *App. Claudius* brother of *Cacilius* surnamed *Caudex*, and *Mar. Fulvius Flaccus*. In like manner *Livy*, *Paterculus*, and *Pliny* in his book of famous men: as also *Appianus*, *Florus*, *Frontinus* in his 1 book of Stratagems, *Europius*, *Orosius*, and *Cassiodorus*.

491

*M. Valerius.**M. Otacilius.*

Cassiodorus and *Europius* shew unto us, that *M. Valerius* and *M. Otacilius* were Cons. *Zonaras* nameth *Valerius Max.* and *Otacilius Crassus*. *Cuspinianus* Kalender and the Sicilian records, *Max. Messala* and *Crassus*. Of these Consuls, *Ver. Flaccus*, *Polybius*, *Cassiodorus*, *Europius*, and *Macrobius* out of *Varro* make report. As for *Macrobius*, he rendereth a reason, why *M. Valerius* was in this government of his named *Messala*: and *Pliny* likewise, in his sixth book and five and thirtieth chapter.

492

*L. Posthumus.**Q. Mamilius.*

Cassiodorus and *Polybius* put down for next Consuls, *L. Posthumus* and *Q. Mamilius*. *Zonaras* nameth them, *Posthumus Albinus* and *Quintus Mamilius*. The Sicilian registers, *Albinus* and *Vulturnus*: but the capitol monuments, *L. Posthumus* son of *Lucius*, nephew of *Lucius*, surnamed *Megetus*, and *Q. Mamilius* son of *Q.* nephew of *M.* surnamed *Vulturnus*.

Vvvv

493

384

493

L. Valerius.

T. Otacilius.

Polybius and Cassiodorus match together in the Consul for this year L. Valerius and T. Otacilius: the surname of Valerius is Flaccus; and of Otacilius, Crassus, as it appeareth upon the capitol and Sicilian records.

494

Cn. Cornelius.

C. Duilius.

Cassiodorus and Zonaras bring in for Coss. Cn. Cornelius and C. Duilius. In like manner also Polybius, but only that in lieu of Duilius he hath Cn. The Sicilian Registers shew Scipio and Duilius. Cn. Cornelius Scipio is intimated also *Asina*, by the capital writers Orosius, Eutropius, and Valerius in his six book chap. 10. of which surname Macrobius writeth thus in his first book of Saturnalia: The surname of *Asina* (qd. he) was given to the Cornelius for that the first of the House Cornelii having either bought land, or given his daughter in marriage, when (after the solemn manner) he was required to put in good sureties for security, brought into the open market place a she ass laden with money, and pawned down that presently in stead of pledges.

495

C. Aquilius son of M. L. Cornelius son of L.

There are nominated by Cassiodorus for Consuls, C. Aquilius and L. Cornetius. The Sicilian registers, Florus and Scipio. Zonaras, C. Florus and L. Scipio. Eutropius and Orosius, L. Cornelius Scipio, and C. Aquilius Florus. Polybius leaveth them out. The Capitoline monuments agree with the Annals of Eutropius and Orosius.

496

A. Atilius Calatinus, Q. Sulpicius.

Polybius avoucheth for this years Consuls, A. Atilius and C. Sulpicius. Cassiodorus, A. Atilius Calatinus, and C. Sulpicius. The Sicilian Registers and Cuspinians Kalender, Calatinus and Paterculus. The capitol monuments, A. Atilius Calatinus and C. Sulpicius Paterculus. Zonaras, Atilius Calatinus, and Caius Sulpicius. Of these Consuls, Polybius, Cicero, Valerius, Florus, Frontinus in his Stratagems, Pliny the younger, Gellius, Eutropius, and Cassiodorus make mention. But concerning the forename of Sulpicius Paterculus, the Capitoline tables disagree one from another: to wit, those that carry the records of the triumphs, from those that shew the Consulships and other magistracies: for in these latter monuments he is called Quintus, in the former Caius. Whereby Goltzius doth conjecture, that one man was not the author of both those records, namely, the Triumphal and the Consular.

497

Cn. Cornelius.

C. Atilius.

Cassiodorus sheweth unto us, Cn. Cornelius, and C. Atilius Serranus, for Consul: but Polybius, C. Atilius. The capitol tables, C. Atilius Regulus. Cuspinians Kalender and the Sicilian registers, have Regulus and Blase the second time. But how Atilius should come by his surname Serranus, Pliny sheweth in his 8 book, saying: In these daies the fields were tilled by the very hands of the Generals themselves, and a man verily would believe thereby, that the ground joyed in a laureat ploughshare and a triumphant plowman. Him they found sowing, unto him they presented those honorable dignities, and so took he his surname Serranus. As concerning Blase, all authors well need besides, approve the judgement of Cuspinians: but Goltzius supposeth, that he was not the same man that was Consul before: and therefore he writeth him the son of C. nephew of L. without putting to the numeral note II.

498

Q. Cadius, L. Manlius.

The next Consuls that succeeded, were (by Cassiodorus his saying) Q. Cadius and L. Manlius. The Sicilian registers name them, Vulso and Cadius. Zonaras, M. Regulus and L. Manlius. Eutropius, M. Atilius Regulus and L. Manlius Vulso: and Polybius, M. Atilius and L. Manlius. Insenus in his 4 book maketh mention of these Consuls. But ye must understand, that Q. Cadius died while he was in office, and M. Atilius was substituted in his room, and made Consul the second time: as appeareth evidently by the capitol tables, wherein it standeth thus upon record, *L. Manlius Vulso Longus*: and in stead of Q. Cadius, *M. Atilius Regulus* the second time: as also, by Cuspinians book, wherein is written, *Longus* and *Regulus*.

499

M. Aemilius Paulus, Ser. Fulvius Nobilior.

Polybius sheweth for the Coss. this year, Ser. Fulvius and M. Aemilius. Cuspinians Kalender, Nobilior and Paulus. The Sicilian registers, Patinus and Paulus. Cassiodorus and Eutropius together with the Capitoline records have Ser. Fulvius Nobilior, and M. Aemilius Paulus.

500

Cn. Cornelius. A. Atilius.

Cassiodorus and Polybius report for this years Consuls, Cn. Cornelius and A. Atilius. The capitol authors write, A. Atilius Calatinus the second time, and Cn. Cornelius Scipio *Asina* likewise a second time. As touching Cn. Cornelius *Asina* twice Consul, thus writeth Valerius in his six book: Cn. Cornelius S. *Asina*, who being Consul, was taken prisoner by the Carthaginians at *Lipara* when he had by the law

new of arms lost what he had, he had recovered all again, and was made Consul the second time: so as of a Consul he became a captive, and of a captive twice Consul.

Cn. Servilius.

C. Sempronius.

Cassiodorus and Polybius put down for Consuls, Cn. Servilius and C. Sempronius. The Sicilian registers, Cato and Blacas. Zonaras, Servilius Cato and C. Sempronius. Eutropius and Orosius, Cn. Servilius Cato and C. Sempronius. Of the last Consuls, Lucius in his 30 book maketh mention, as also a stone of the Capitol.

C. Aurelius Cotta.

P. Servilius.

Cassiodorus bringeth in as Cons. C. Aurelius Cotta, and P. Geminus. The Sicilian registers, Cotta and Geminus: but those of the Capitol, C. Aurelius Cotta, and P. Servilius Geminus. Zonaras, Pub. Servilius and C. Aurelius. Cicero in his book, entitled *Lucullus*, writeth, that C. Cotta, together with P. Servilius Geminus, was twice Consul. Frontinus also in his fourth book of *Stratagemis*, and likewise Orosius, make mention of C. Cotta Consul in Sicily.

L. Caecilius Metellus. C. Furius.

Polybius setteth down for Consuls, L. Caecilius Metellus, and Cn. Furius. The Sicilian registers, Metellus and Pacilius. Zonaras, Caecilius Metellus, and C. Furius. Cassiodorus, L. Caecilius and C. Furius. Eutropius, Orosius, and a capitol stone; L. Caecilius Metellus, and Cn. Furius Pacilius. This is that L. Metellus, twice Consul and high priest, of whom Pliny writeth in his seventh book and three and fortieth chapter.

C. Asilius Regulus. L. Manlius.

Polybius placeth for this years Consuls, C. Asilius and L. Manlius. Cassiodorus, C. Asilius Regulus, and L. Manlius. Orosius and a capitol stone, have C. Asilius Regulus, and L. Manlius Vulso, both Cons. the second time. Zonaras, C. Asilius the brother of Regulus, and L. Manlius. The Sicilian records, Regulus and Vulso.

P. Claudius.

L. Junius.

Cassiodorus and Polybius inter for Consuls the next year, Pub. Claudius and L. Junius. Zonaras, L. Junius and C. Pulcher. Florus and Strabo in *Tiberius*, put to Claudius the surname of Pulcher: and Censorinus to Junius of Pulcher: which also are upon record in the Sicilian and capitoline tables. Thus P. Claudius, Cato in his books of *Divinatione*, and of the nature of *Animas*, telleth the son of App. Cato: but Pliny in his

book, and three and fortieth chapter, telleth the son of App. Cato. The capitoline tables take part with Cato. P. M. Maximus in his first book and fourth chapter, speaketh of the same Consuls.

P. Servilius.

C. Sempronius.

For Consuls this year, Cassiodorus putteth down P. Servilius and C. Sempronius. Cicero in his book *Lucullus*, telleth that there were twice Consuls. Which also is apparant by the capitoline and Sicilian tables: in which their surnames are to be seen, Geminus II. and C. Fall.

D. Caecilius.

N. Fabius.

It is recorded by Cassiodorus, that the Consuls of this year, were D. Caecilius and N. Fabius: but Zonaras nameth them, Caecilius Metellus, and Numerius Fabius. Cyprianus Kalendar and the Sicilian Registers, have them in this manner: Metellus II. and Bruto II. But the capitoline tables shew them thus, L. Caecilius Metellus II. N. Fabius Bruto II. Pliny also reporteth in his seventh book, that Metellus was twice Consul.

M. Fabius.

M. Opacilius.

Cassiodorus setteth down as Consuls, M. Fabius and M. Opacilius. The Sicilian Registers, Crassus and Licinius. Gellius in his tenth book and first chapter, hath P. Licinius and Opacilius Crassus. The capitol marble stones, M. Fabius Licinius, and M. Opacilius Crassus. Besides, Gellius in the place before alledged, Florus likewise in his 19 Breviary upon *Livius* maketh mention of these Consuls: as also Suetonius in *Tiberius*.

M. Fabius.

C. Asilius.

Cassiodorus reckoneth M. Fabius, and C. Asilius, Consuls for this year. The Sicilian tables, Bruto and Bulbus. But those of the capitol, M. Fabius Bruto, and C. Asilius Bulbus. Of Fabius the Consuls shipwrack, Florus speaketh out of the nineteenth book of *Livy*.

A. Manlius.

C. Sempronius.

For this years Consuls, Cassiodorus setteth forth unto us, A. Manlius and C. Sempronius. The Sicilian records, Torquatus and Blacas. Cyprianus book hath Asilius and Blacas. The capitoline tables shew A. Manlius Torquatus Asilius, and C. Sempronius Blacas II.

C. Fundanius.

C. Sulpicius.

Cassiodorus putteth down, P. Fundanius, and C. Sulpicius for Consuls. The Sicilian writers,

512 *Ennius* and *Gellius*. The Capitol monuments, *C. Fundanius Fundanus*, and *C. Salustius Gellius*. *Nona* besides make mention of them.

513 *C. Lucius Calpurnius*. *A. Postumius*.

Cassiodorus delivereth unto us for Consuls this year, *C. Lucius* and *A. Postumius*. The Sicilian records, *Calpurnius* and *Albinus*. *Entropius*, and the capitol marbles, *C. Lucius Calpurnius*, and *A. Postumius Albinus*.

513 *Q. Lucius Cereus*. *A. Manlius*.

Cassiodorus, *Entropius*, and *Orosius*, shew for consuls this year, *Q. Lucius*, and *A. Manlius*. The Sicilian records, *Cereus* and *Torquatus*. They of the capitol, *Q. Lucius Cereus*, and *A. Manlius Torquatus Ardens II*. Indeed *C. Lucius Cereus*, is named for an Ambassador by *Levy* in his 42 book.

514 *C. Claudius Centho*. *M. Sempronius*.

FOR this year there were Consuls, *C. Claudius Centho*, and *M. Sempronius Tuditanus*, according to *Cassiodorus* and the capitol writers. The Sicilian records testify also the same surnames. Of these consuls likewise, besides the capitol Writers, *Cicero* speaketh in his *Caes* and *Brutus*, where he calleth this year (according to the judgment of *Atticus*, whereto *Varro* also agreeth) the 514 year from the foundation of the city; as also in his first *Tusculan* question. So doth *Gellius* 17 book 21 chap. and *Cassiodorus*.

515 *C. Mamilius*. *Q. Valerius*.

NEXT there followed in consuls place, as witnesseth *Cassiodorus*, *C. Mamilius*, and *Q. Valerius*: but according to the Sicilian registers, *Turrianus* and *Falco*: and after the capitol records, *C. Mamilius Turrianus*, and *Q. Valerius Falco*. Besides, *Verrinus Flaccus* and *Cassiodorus*, *Gellius* also maketh mention of these Consuls, in his 17 book and 21 chapter. So doth *Cicero* in *Brutus* and the *Tusculan* questions, in which year they say, that *Ennius* the Poet was born.

516 *T. Sempronius*. *P. Valerius*.

FOR the year following, *Cassiodorus* hath consuls, *T. Sempronius* and *P. Valerius*. *Gracchus* and *Falco*, in *Cyprianus* Kalender and the Sicilian records. *Zonaras* avoucheth, *Semp. Gracchus*, and *P. Valerius*. The capitol writers, have *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, and *P. Valerius Falco*. *Orosius* speaketh of these consuls.

517 *L. Cornelius*. *Q. Fulvius*.

NEXT to them, *Cassiodorus* reporteth for consuls, *L. Cornelius* and *Q. Fulvius*. *Zo-*

nius, *L. Lentulus* and *Q. Flaccus*. *Entropius*, *L. Cornelius*, and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*. The capitol registers give to *Lentulus*, the surname *Candianus*; and therefore in *Cyprianus* Kalender, they stand by the names of *Candianus* and *Flaccus*. As for the Sicilian registers, they leave them out clean.

518 *C. Licinius*. *P. Cornelius*.

Cassiodorus putteth down for consuls, *C. Licinius* and *P. Cornelius*. *Zonaras*, *P. Licinius* and *Licinius Varus*. The capitoline writers, *C. Licinius Varus*, and *P. Cornelius Licinius Candianus*. In like manner *Censorinus*; who reckoneth this for the 518 year after the cities foundation; following herein the computation of *Varro*, *Cicero*, and *Pliny*. *Cyprianus* Kalender and the Sicilian registers, name them *Candianus* and *Varus*.

519 *T. Manlius Torquatus*. *C. Asilius*.

THIS year had for consuls, as *Cassiodorus* saith, *T. Manlius Torquatus*, and *C. Asilius*. The Sicilian records, shew *Torquatus* and *Bulbus*: but *Entropius*, *Orosius*, and the capitol Tables shew, *T. Manlius Torquatus*, and *C. Asilius Bulbus*: unto *Bulbus* the capitol records put to the numeral note II. When *T. Manlius Torquatus* and *C. Asilius Bulbus* the second time were consuls, according to *Verrinus Flaccus*, *Entropius*, *Orosius*, and *Cassiodorus*, and that there was peace throughout all the empire of Rome, the Temple of *Janus* was shut the second time, as *Plutarch* sheweth in *Numa*; as *Levy* also, *Velleius*, *Entropius*, and *Orosius*, do testify.

520 *L. Postumius*. *Sp. Carvilius*.

Cassiodorus nameth for consuls this year, *L. Postumius* and *Sp. Carvilius*. The Sicilian Registers have *Albinus* and *Ruga*. *Zonaras*, *Postumius Albinus*, and *Sp. Carvilius*. The capitol writers have *L. Postumius Albinus*, and *Sp. Carvilius Maximus*. That *Ruga* was a surname to the *Carvili*, appeareth out of *Gellius*, who maketh mention of *Sp. Carvilius Ruga*, who at this time was the first that divorced his wife.

521 *Q. Fabius*. *M. Pomponius*.

Cassiodorus putteth down for consuls, *Q. Fabius* and *M. Pomponius*. The Sicilian records *Maximus* and *Matro*. The capitoline writers have *Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus*, and *M. Pomponius Matro*. *Zonaras* hath *Q. Fabius Max.* and *M. Pomponius*. The surname of *Maximus*, this *Fabius* took of his grand-father, and was not himself the first of that name, whatsoever *Polibius* writeth in his third book.

Varro as he was called besides of a went upon his lip, at *Plutarch* wineflesh, and he that wrote the treatise of Famous men.

Capitol records represent *P. Valerius Flaccus*, and *M. Atilius Regulus*. *Gellius* writeth of them in his 4 book and 3 chapter.

522 *M. Lepidus.*

M. Poplicius.

Marcus *Lepidus* and *M. Poplicius* are reputed to be Consuls this year by *Cassiodorus*. The Sicilian registers have *Lepidus* and *Malleolus*. *Zonaras* hath *M. Malleolus* and *M. Emylius*. The Capitol tables shew *M. Emylius Lepidus* and *M. Poplicius*.

523 *C. Papirius.*

M. Pomponius.

Next after this were created Consuls, *C. Papirius* and *M. Pomponius* according to *Cassiodorus*, *Zonaras*, and *Dionysius* in his second book. The Sicilian registers shew *Maso* and *Maho*. But the Capitol records have *C. Papirius Maso* and *M. Pomponius Maho*. Of *C. Papirius*, son of *C.* surnamed *Maso*, a Pontify or Bishop, *Livy* speaketh in the year 540.

524 *M. Emylius.*

M. Junius.

Zonaras and *Cassiodorus* exhibit unto us for Consuls, *M. Emylius* and *M. Junius*. The Sicilian registers, *Barbula* and *Pera*. The Capitol records, *M. Emylius Barbula* and *M. Junius Pera*.

525 *L. Postumius.*

Cn. Fulvius.

Cassiodorus setteth down *L. Postumius* and *Cn. Fulvius* as Consuls. The Sicilian records *Albinus* and *Centumalus*. But those of the Capitol, and *Entropius*, present unto us *L. Postumius Albinus* and *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus*. *Polybius* nameth *Cn. Fulvius* and *A. Postumius*.

526 *Q. Fabius II.*

Sp. Carvilius.

There are by *Cassiodorus* nominated for Consuls this year; *Q. Fabius Maximus* the second time, and *Sp. Carvilius*. The Sicilian registers *Maximus* and *Ruga*. The Capitol writers set also unto *Carvilius Maximus* the mark and numeral note of a double Consulship. *Cicero* in his book entituled *Cato*, likewise in his second book of Rhetorical invention, maketh mention of these Consuls, and so doth *Valerius* in his chapter, discoursing of the kindnes and affectionate duty of children to their parents.

527 *P. Valerius.*

M. Atilius.

These are set down by *Cassiodorus* for Consuls this year, *P. Valerius* and *M. Atilius*. The Sicilian registers, have *Flaccus* and *Regulus*. The

528 *L. Apustius.*

M. Valerius.

Next after, *Cassiodorus* putteth *L. Apustius* and *M. Valerius* Consuls. The Sicilian tables *Maximus* and *Apustius*. The Capitol monuments *L. Apustius Fullo*, and *M. Valer. Messala*.

529 *C. Atilius.*

L. Aemilius.

Imediately followed Consuls, *C. Atilius* and *L. Aemilius*, as *Cassiodorus* and *Polybius* do witness: whom the Capitol writers call, *C. Atilius Regulus*, and *L. Aemilius Papus*. The Sicilian registers, *Regulus* and *Papus*. *Zonaras*, *Regulus* and *Emylius*. Of these Consuls alio *Orosius* maketh mention: and *Pliny* in his third book and twentieth chapter, where untruly men read *Paulus* for *Papus*.

530 *T. Manlius.*

Q. Fulvius II.

The year following had Consuls *T. Manlius* and *Q. Fulvius* the second time, according to *Cassiodorus* and *Polybius*, and as *Orosius* saith, *T. Manlius Torquatus* and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*. *Cuspinians* tables, together with the Capitoline, have *Torquatus* the second time, and *Flaccus* likewise the second time, shewing the surnames only of these Cons.

531 *C. Flaminius.*

P. Furius Philus.

Cassiodorus setteth down for Cons. *C. Flaminius* and *P. Furius*. So doth *Polybius*. *Zonaras* nameth them *Flaminius* and *Furius*. *Plutarch* likewise in *Marcellus*. The Sicilian tables name them *Flaminius* and *Philus*. But the Capitol records, *C. Flaminius*, and *P. Furius Philus*.

532 *M. Marcellus.*

Cn. Cornelius.

Cassiodorus nameth for the next Consuls, *M. Marcellus* and *Cn. Cornelius*. *Polybius*, *M. Claudius* and *Cn. Cornelius*. The Sicilian registers *Scipio* and *Marcellus*. *Zonaras*, *Claudius Marcellus* and *Cn. Scipio*. *Entropius*, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*. The Capitoll tables *M. Claudius Marcellus* and *Cn. Cornelius Scipio Calvus*. This is that *Marcellus*, who was five times Consul: and this is that *Scipio*, who afterwards with his brother *Scipio* was slain in Spain by *Asdrubal* the Carthaginian.

533 *P. Cornelius.*

M. Minutius.

Cassiodorus sheweth for this years Consuls, *C. Cornelius* and *M. Minutius*. So doth *Zonaras*.

ras. The Sicilian registers have *Scipio* and *Rufus*. *Entropius* hath *P. Cornelius* and *M. Minutius Rufus*. *Cuspinianus* book *Asina* and *Rufus*. *Sigornius* and *Onuphrius* both, do think that this *P. Cornelius Scipio Asina* was his son, who in the first Punick war was twice consul. And verily *Livy*, in the year 543 maketh mention of *P. Cornelius Asina*, an honorable Senator, and who had been consul.

534 *L. Veturius*, *C. Lutatius*.

Cassiodorus and *Zonaras* exhibit unto us for consuls, *L. Veturius* and *C. Lutatius*. The Sicilian registers *Philo* and *Catulus*. *Cuspinianus* book *Philo* and *Scaevola*.

535 *M. Livius*, *L. Aemilius*.

The consuls next following were *M. Livius* and *L. Aemilius*, as *Cassiodorus* witnesseth. *Cuspinianus* book and the Greek records shew *Salinator* and *Paulus*. *Zonaras*, *M. Livius* and *Aemilius Paulus*. *Pliny* maketh mention of these consuls in the 29 book and first chapter.

536 *P. Cornelius Scipio*, *T. Sempronius Longus*.

Cassiodorus and *Polybius* put down for consuls *P. Cornelius* and *T. Sempronius*. *Zonaras*, *Sempronius Longus* and *P. Scipio*. The Sicilian records, *Longus* and *Scipio*. *Livy*, *Entropius*, *Probus*, *Orosius*, and *Padianus*, name them *P. Cornelius Scipio*, and *T. Sempronius Longus*. While these were consuls, the second Punick war arose, as writers have delivered unto us in their chronicles.

537 *Cn. Servilius Geminus*, *C. Flaminius*.

Then followed consuls, as *Polybius*, *Cassiodorus*, and *Livy* write, *Cn. Servilius*, together with *C. Flaminius*. But the two last named, as also the Sicilian registers, have given to *Servilius* the surname of *Geminus*. *C. Flaminius* now second time consul, with like pride as heretofore, entered into his magistracy in the Ides of March: not at Rome but at *Ariminum*. The same man, in neglect and contempt of the Auspicia or signs of birds, at what time as he made head and went against *Annibal* coming into Italy, fought a battel at the lake *Thrasymenus*, where his army was wholly defeated and himself lost his life: into whose place *M. Atilius Regulus*, who had been consul before, was substituted. Thus much out of *Livy* and *Polybius*.

538 *C. Terentius Varro*, *L. Aemilius Paulus*.

Next to them *Polybius* bringeth in *L. Aemilius* and *C. Terentius* for consuls. The Sicilian registers, *Paulus* and *Varro*. *Plutarch* in *Paulus*,

Terentius Varro, and *Aemilius Paulus*. *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and others, *C. Terentius Varro*, and *L. Aemilius Paulus*. *Gellius* noteth, that the father of *C. Terentius Varro*, was one *Anlus*, a thing by others passed over.

539 *L. Posthumus Albinus*, III.

M. Claudius Marcellus, II.

Q. Fabius Maximus, III.

T. Sempronius Gracchus.

Livy reporteth that the consuls elect for this year, when *M. Junius* the Dictator held the solemn assembly for the election, were *Lucius Posthumus Albinus* the third time, who as then ruled the province of *Gaul*, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, who had been master of the horse-men: and that *Posthumus* before that he entered into government, was by *Annibal* in France environed and slain, in whose stead *M. Marcellus* was subrogated consul now the second time: who upon information given by the Augurs, that his creation was not good, resigned: and commonly the Nobles gave out and said, That the Gods were not well pleased, that two commoners were then first chosen consuls: whereupon in the room of *Marcellus*, *Quintus Fabius Maximus* was chosen consul the third time. Thus write *Livy* and *Plutarch*. And for this cause it is that *Cassiodorus*, *Orosius*, and *Entropius* do put down for this years consuls, *T. Sempronius* and *Q. Fabius*.

540 *Q. Fabius*, IV. *M. Claudius Marcellus*, III.

Livy, *Plutarch*, and *Cassiodorus*, set out for consuls this year, *Q. Fabius Maximus* the fourth time, and *M. Claudius Marcellus* the third time. Moreover, *Cicero* oftentimes and *Frontinus* in his second book of stratagems, make mention of these consuls.

541 *Q. Fabius Max. son of Verrucosus*, *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, II.

Against this year were both the consuls created in their absence, namely, *Q. Fab. Max.* the son of *Verrucosus*, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the second time: as *Livy* testifieth and *Cassiodorus*, together with the Sicilian registers. This *Fabius* had been Pretor the former year: and *Gracchus* consul two years before. These consuls *Gallius* nominateth out of *Quadrigarius*, the second book and second chapter. Likewise *Cicero* and *Valerius*,

542 *App. Claudius Pulcher*, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, III.

The consuls created for this year by the Dictator, were *Quintus Fulvius Flaccus* the third time, who then was master of the horse-men, and *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, who in his

his pretorship was L. deputy in Sicily, as *Livy*, *Plutarch* in *Fabius*, *Cassiodorus*, and *Festus* in his 17 book do witness.

543
C. Sulpitius Galba, Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.

Upon the receipt of certain letters, the Consuls agreed together, that *Claudius* should hold the election for magistrates and see it finished, while *Fulvius* remained still before *Capua*. *Claudius* created for consuls, Cn. *Fulvius Centumalus*, and P. *Sulpitius* son of *Servius*, and surnamed *Galba*, who before time had born no state-office of the chair. Thus writeth *Livy*. The same consuls also *Cassiodorus* doth deliver. *Orosius* likewise and *Festus* in his 17 book. The Sicilian records declare *Galba* and *Centumalus*. As for S. *Sulpitius*, he is named in his second consulship, as it appeareth upon record in the capitol, the son of *Servius*, nephew of *Publius* surnamed *Galba Maximus*.

544
M. Val. Lavinius. II. M. Claudius Marcellus. IV.

Livy, *Sextus Pompeius*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Plutarch*, *Florus*, *Entropius*, and *Orosius*, do present for consuls this year, M. *Claudius Marcellus* and M. *Valerius Lavinius*. Now this is *Marcellus* his fourth consulship, as *Plutarch* and *Livy* write: but *Cassiodorus* saith, that he was but the third time with M. *Valerius Lavinius*, leaving out that consulship which he bare not through, because of the error in his creation: and yet is it one of the five that he is reported to have born. *Livy* in the nine and twentieth and thirtieth books, writeth that M. *Valerius* was twice consul. In like manner, the book of *Cassian* hath for this year, *Marcellus* the fourth time, and *Lavinus* the second time. And therefore *Orosius* supposeth that his first consulat was in the year five hundred four-and-thirty: and his second, now. Of him *Polybius* and *Cicero* make mention.

545

Q. Fabius Maximus. V.
Q. Fulvius Flaccus. IV.

The consuls for this year created, were Q. *Fabius* the fifth time, and Q. *Fulvius Flaccus* the fourth time, the same man who being Dictator, held the assembly for that election: as *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* do witness. The Sicilian records set forth *Fabius* and *Flaccus*. While these were consuls, *Cicero* in his Oration against *Reblius*, saith that *Capua* was won: and yet *Livy* hath reported it two years before. Of these consuls *Valerius* also, together with *Plutarch*, *Entropius*, and *Orosius*, have made mention.

546

M. Claudius Marcellus. V.
T. Quintius Crispinus.

In the eleventh year of the Pubick war, there entered into their consulship, M. *Marcellus* the fifth time (so ye reckon that consulship which upon an error in the creation he kept not) and T. *Quintius Crispinus*. So saith *Livy*. *Plutarch* also nameth *Marcellus* the fifth time and *Crispinus*. But *Cassiodorus* reckoneth *Marcellus* but the fourth time with *Crispinus*, passing over that faulty consulat of his. Moreover these consuls are mentioned by *Cicero* *Valerius*, *Plinius* the younger, *Probus*, *Entropius*, and *Orosius*: who also report that they both were forelaid and intrapped in ambush by *Annibal*: in so much as *Marcellus* was presently slain in the place, and *Quintius* fled sore wounded.

547

C. Claudius Nero.
M. Livius Salinator.

When the LL. of the Senat cast about to see whom they should create consuls, behold, the most eminent and singular man above all others, was C. *Claudius Nero*: unto whom was joined as companion in government M. *Livius*, who many years before, upon a consulat that he had born, was by the judgment of the people condemned: and almost eight years after his condemnation was by *Marcus Marcellus*, and *Marcus Livius* then consuls, reduced into the city. In like manner, the Sicilian Registers name for consuls, *Nero* and *Salinator*. The capitol records shew *Caius Claudius Nero*, with M. *Livius Salinator*.

548
Q. Caelius Metellus.
L. Veturius Philo.

Livy, *Cassiodorus*, and the records of the capitol, exhibit unto us for consuls this year, L. *Veturius Philo*, and Q. *Caelius Metellus*. The Sicilian registers, *Metellus* and *Philo*. Over and besides, of these consuls *Cicero* many a time and often, *Valerius*, *Plutarch* in *Africanus*, *Appianus* in *Ibericus*, *Pliny* in his 7 book 43 chap. do make mention.

549

P. Cornelius Scipio.
P. Licinius Crassus.

Livius, *Veturius Philo* held the assembly for creation of Magistrate, wherein all the centuries in general, with exceeding great favour nominated *Publius Scipio* for consul, and to him was joined in government, P. *Licinius Crassus*, the supream pontify. Thus saith *Livy*. The Sicilian tables have *Scipio* with *Crassus*. The capitol records shew P. *Cornelius Scipio*.

Scipio, surnamed afterwards *Africanus*, with *P. Licinius Crassus* the rich, of whom *Cassiodorus* likewise and *Cicero* in *Brutus* do speak.

550

M. Cornelius Cethegus, *P. Sempr. Tuditanus*.

Livy, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol records do name for Consuls this year, *P. Sempronius Tuditanus*, and *M. Cornelius Cethegus*. The Sicilian registers, *Cethegus* and *Tuditanus*, of whom *Cicero* in *Brutus*, *Plutarch*, *Entropius* and *Cassiodorus* do often times make mention. In this year *P. Scipio Nasica*, judged by the Senate the best man in the city, received dame *Idas*.

551

Cn. Servilius Capio, *C. Servilius*.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* together, with the Sicilian records and capitol monuments, put unto us for Consuls, *Cn. Servilius Capio* and *C. Servilius*. Of which twain *Capio* had been Pretor in the year 548, and *Servilius* in 547. This year died *Q. Fabius Max.* and *Annibal* with a sad cheer and heavy heart departed out of *Italy* into *Africa* by commandment of certain delegate Embassadors, in the seventeenth year of the second Punick war.

552

Tib. Claudius Nero, *M. Servilius Geminus*.

M. Arcus Servilius Geminus, and *Tib. Claudius Nero* were Consuls this year according to *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol records, in which *Servilius* standeth surnamed *Pulex Geminus*. The Sicilian tables have *Nero* with *Servilius*. In these Consuls year, *Annibal* was in *Africa* by *Scipio* overthrown, and a second peace made with the Carthaginians, as *Polybius*, *Livy*, *Plutarch*, *Appian*, and *Entropius* do report.

553

Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, *P. Aelius Patrus*.

Against this year were created Consuls, as *Livy* writeth, *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *P. Aelius Patrus*. So saith *Cassiodorus* also and *Pliny* in his eighteenth book and eighteenth chapter. In a broken peece of marble in the Capitol, we find *Lentulus* and *P. Aelius*: in the Sicilian registers, *Lentulus* and *Patrus*. These two were Pretors both in the year 550.

554

P. Sulpitius Galba, *C. Aurelius Cotta*.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* put down for Consuls, *P. Sulpitius Galba*, and *C. Aurelius Cotta*. This *P. Sulpitius* in the year 542 was first Consul; and *C. Cotta* two years before, Pretor. These same Consuls are to be seen in the capitol tables, but *Galba* and *Cotta* in the Sicilian.

555

L. Cornelius Lentulus, *P. Villius Tappulus*.

This year had for Consuls, *L. Cornelius* and *P. Villius*, as *Cassiodorus* writeth: but according to *Livy* and the capitol monuments, *Lentulus* and *Tappulus*: after the Sicilian records, *L. Cornelius Lentulus* and *P. Villius Tappulus*. Of *P. Villius* Consul, *Plutarch* maketh mention in *Quintus*.

556

T. Quintus Flaminius, *Sext. Aelius Patrus*.

Livy, *Cassiodorus*, the capitol records, together with *Plutarch* in *Quintus*, report unto us for consuls this year, *T. Quintus Flaminius* and *Sext. Aelius Patrus*. The Sicilian tables, *Flaminius* and *Patrus*. *Pliny* in his book of famous men, saith (but not without some error) that this *Flaminius* was the son of that *C. Flaminius* who was slain at *Thrasymenus*. Whereas in deed this man was descended of the noble Patritian house of the *Quintii*, the other of the family of *Flaminius*, no better than commoners. Now this *Sext. Aelius Patrus* is the man of whom *Cicero* giveth this report out of the poet *Ennius*:

*This Sextus Aelius in records, Carus surnam'd ye see,
A worthy wight for wisdom rare, a discreet man was be.*

And therefore in the capitol tables he is called *Patrus Carus*.

557

C. Cornelius Cethegus, *Q. Minutius Rufus*.

In this year *C. Cornelius Cethegus*, and *Q. Minutius* were consuls, after *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol marbles. Their surnames only appear in the Sicilian registers. And *Cicero* speaketh of them in *Brutus*.

558

L. Furius Purpureo, *M. Claudius Marcellus*.

This year had for Consuls, *L. Furius Purpureo*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*, according to *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol records. The Sicilian annals deliver unto us *Porphyrus* and *Marcellus*.

559

M. Porcius Cato, *L. Valerius Flaccus*.

M. Porcius Cato and *L. Valerius* are ranged Consuls this year, by *Verrius Flaccus*, *Cicero* in many places, *Livy*, *Plutarch*, *Pliny*, *Valerius*, *Probus*, *Entropius*, *Orosius*, and *Cassiodorus*.

560

P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus, II,
T. Sempronius Longinus.

Livy, *Cassiodorus*, the monuments both of the capitol and Sicily, match Consuls together this year, *P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus* the second

second time, and *T. Sempronius Longus*. Of them *Cicero* maketh mention in the oration of *Cornelius* accused of felony, appeareth in *Padianus*.

561

L. Cornelius Murena, *Q. Minutius Thermus*.

Livy, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol authors, write that the Consuls chosen to succeed in this year were *L. Cornelius Murena*, and *Q. Minutius Thermus*. The said surnames are found in the Sicilian records. *Probus* speaketh of them in *Annibal*, and *Frontinus* in his book of stratagems.

562

L. Quinctius Flaminius, *C. Domitius Enobarbus*.

L. Quinctius Flaminius, and *C. Domitius Enobarbus* were this years Consuls, as *Livy*, *Cassiodorus* and the capitol records testify. The Sicilian registers also shew their surnames.

563

M. Acilius Glabrio, *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica*.

The Consuls created for this year, were *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica*, and *M. Acilius Glabrio*, son of *Cn.* as testify *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, the capitol records, *Plutarch* in *Quintus*, and *Appian* in his Syriack history. In the Sicilian registers, named they are *Glabrio* and *Nasica*. In these Consuls year the same authors report, that the war against *Antiochus* King of Syria, and against the *Etolians*, was proclaimed: which in the capitol monuments, in *Paterculus*, and *Macrobius*, is called the *Antiochian*, but by *Florus* and *Pliny* the younger in *Cato*, the Syrian war. This was the 562 year from the cities foundation, as *Macrobius* writeth in his first book of *Saturnals*.

564

L. Cornelius Scipio, *C. Laelius*.

Cassiodorus, *Livius*, and the capitol tables put down for Consuls this year, *L. Cornelius Scipio* and *C. Laelius*. The Sicilian registers have *Scipio* and *Laelius*. The same men *Gellius* in his sixteenth book and fourth chapter nameth *C. Laelius* son of *C.* and *L. Scipio*, son of *P.* To *Laelius Cassiodorus* only addeth the surname *Africanus*. This *L. Scipio* surnamed *Africanus*, was brother to *Africanus*.

565

C. Manlius Vulso, *M. Fulvius Nobilior*.

C. Manlius Vulso, and *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, are nominated Consuls for this year by *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and the tables both of the capitol and Sicily. *Manlius* was Pretor in this year 557 and *Fulvius* anno 560.

566

C. Livius Salinator, *M. Valerius Messala*.

The Consuls next following, were *M. Valerius Messala*, and *C. Livius Salinator*, as

Livy and *Cassiodorus* testify, together with the Sicilian and capitol tables.

M. Emilius Lepidus, *C. Flaminius*.

The next Consuls, were *M. Emilius Lepidus* and *C. Flaminius*, as witness *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, *Strabo* in his first book, the Sicilian and capitol tables. Of them *Valerius* maketh mention in his first book. This is that *Emilius*, who was the Arch-Magist, twice Consul, Censor, and President of the Senat six times chosen by the Censors. And this is that *C. Flaminius*, who afterward by *Cato* the Censor was displaced out of the Senat and disrobed.

568

Sp. Posthumius Albinus, *Q. Martius Philippus*.

Livy, *Cassiodorus*, *Strabo*, and the capitol tables report Consuls for this year, *Sp. Posthumius Albinus*, and *Q. Martius Philippus*. The Sicilian Registers name them barely, *Albinus* and *Philippus*. *Valerius* maketh mention of them in his first book and third chapter. Likewise *Pliny* in his 35 book and tenth chapter.

569

Ap. Claudius Pulcher, *M. Sempronius Tuditanus*.

For this years Consuls were *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, & *M. Sempronius Tuditanus*, as *Livy*, *Cassiodorus* and the capitol records do testify. They stand in the Sicilian records by the names of *Pulcher* and *Tuditanus*.

570

F. Claudius Pulcher, *L. Porcius Cicinius*.

The Consuls that followed for this year, were *L. Porcius Cicinius* & *P. Claudius Pulcher*: witness *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol tables. *Pulcher* and *Cicinius* they be called in the Sicilian records.

571

Q. Fabius Labeo, *M. Claudius Marcellus*.

Against this year were created Consuls, *M. Claudius Marcellus* and *Q. Fabius Labeo*, according to *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, & the capitol marble stones. Their surnames be found also in the Sicilian tables. Whiles these were consuls, *Asinius* wrote that *Annibal* died, as *Probus* maketh report in *Annibal*.

572

L. Emilius Paulus, *Cn. Babius Tamphilus*.

C. Natus Babius Tamphilus and *L. Emilius Paulus* were created Consuls for this year, as *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, the capitol, yea, and the Sicilian tables do testify, although these last have regard only of their surnames. This *L. Emilius* is the son of that *L. Emilius*, who was slain at *Cannae*, as *Plutarch* and *Velleius* do witness.

573

P. Cornelius Cethegus, M. Babinus Tamphilus.

Publius Cornelius Cethegus and M. Babinus Tamphilus succeeded Consuls this year, after *Livy, Cassiodorus* and the capitol tables. *Cethegus* and *Tamphilus* they be called in the Sicilian records. Of *P. Cornelius* and *M. Babinus* consuls *Plutarch* made mention in *Numeri*. *Q. Fabius Cunctator* and *M. Babinus Tamphilus* *Valerius* speaketh in his first book and first chapter. Of *P. Cornelius* *Livy* and *M. Babinus Tamphilus* in 11 book and first chapter. But *Livy* in his 13 book and 13 chapter calleth the one *P. Cornelius Cethegus*, son of *Lucius*; and the other *M. Babinus* son of *Q.* (surnamed *Tamphilus*).

574

A. Posthumius Albinus, C. Calpurnius Piso.

Livy, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol monuments exhibit unto us for this year Consuls: *A. Posthumius Albinus*, and *C. Calpurnius Piso*. The Sicilian tables, *Albinus* and *Piso* anno 567. *Pretor* in the year 567. And *Albinus* anno 568. But when as a pestilence had reigned now three years, so as it dispeopled the City of *Rome* and all *Italy*, it happened that *C. Calpurnius* died, not without suspicion that he was murdered by *Q. Hortensius*; in whose room *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* his father in law, or mothers husband, was declared Consul.

575

L. Manlius Acidinus, Q. Fulvius Flaccus.

Livy, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol records shew for Consuls this year, *L. Manlius Acidinus* and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*. The Sicilian tables, *Acidinus* with *Flaccus*. *Cicero* maketh mention of *Acidinus* Consul, in his second book of a perfect orator. Also observed it is in the capitol monuments, that these Consuls were german brethren: and the same hath *Valleius* in his second book reported. And thereby it cometh to pass, that in the capitol tables *L. Manlius Acidinus*, is surnamed also *Fulvianus* after the manner of those that are adopted.

576

M. Junius Brutus, A. Manlius Vulsus.

Next Consuls created, were *M. Junius Brutus* and *A. Manlius Vulsus*: as *Livy, Cassiodorus*, and the capitol records do testify. *Brutus* and *Vulsus* they be named in the Sicilian monuments. This *Brutus* was *Pretor* in the year 562, and *Vulsus* in 571.

577

C. Claudius Pulcher, T. Sempronius Gracchus.

Claudius *Pulcher* and *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, the twelfth Consuls this year by *Plutarch*, *Livy*, and *Cassiodorus*. Of this *T. Gracchus* *Cicero* speaketh in his first book of divination, and *Frontinus* in his first of strategem,

C. Cornelius Scipio Africanus,
Q. Perillius,
C. Valerius Lavinius.

Livy, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol records exhibit unto us for Consuls, *C. Cornelius Scipio Africanus* and *Q. Perillius*. The Sicilian records, *Scipio* and *Perillius*. But when as *Scipio* returned out of the town of *Ardea*, full of wounds, *Q. Perillius* and *M. Babinus Tamphilus* whereupon he went to the Capitol *Capitolium*, where, by reason that his disease grew upon him, he departed this life; *Q. Perillius* the other Consul, created for his companion to enter presently upon the government, *C. Valerius Lavinius*. Thus saith *Livy*.

579

P. Minus Scævola, M. Aemilius Lepidus II.

O *Rufus* putteth down for Consuls, *P. Minus Scævola* and *M. Aemilius Lepidus II.* The Sicilian tables, *Lepidus* and *P. Minus*. The capitol monuments, *P. Minus Scævola* and *M. Aemilius Lepidus II.* The election of the Consuls this year is lost in *Livy*. *Cicero* likewise writeth in his discourse of *Provinces*. *Fulvius* also in his first book and first chapter, that this *M. Aemilius Lepidus* was twice Consul.

Sp. Posthumius Albinus, Q. Minus Scævola.

Cassiodorus setteth down for Consuls, *Sp. Posthumius Albinus* and *Q. Minus*. The capitol records, *Sp. Posthumius Albinus* *Paulus*, and *Q. Minus Scævola*. *Cicero* maketh mention of these in his second book and 21 chapter. The election of the Consuls this year is lost in *Livy*.

581

L. Posthumius Albinus, M. Popilius Lanus.

The Consuls for this year created, were *L. Posthumius Albinus* and *M. Popilius Lanus*, as *Livy, Cassiodorus*, and the capitol monuments do testify. *Albinus* and *Lanus* are put down in the Sicilian records. Whiles these were consuls, the feast *Floralia* was instituted first, as *Ovid* sheweth in his first book of his *Kalendar*.

582

C. Popilius Lanus, P. Aelius Ligus.

This year had for Consuls, *C. Popilius Lanus*, and *P. Aelius Ligus*; as *Livy, Cassiodorus*, and the capitol records do testify. The Sicilian registers name them *Lanus* and *Aelius*. To this day had no Consul in one year been married together both commoners: and this was the first time, that both consuls were created out of the commons, as is observed in the capitol monuments. After this, you shall never find the consuls both *Patricii* commoners ye shall have them both twain, many a time and often: but most of all, a commoner and a *Patrician*, one with another.

583

583
P. Licinius Crassus, C. Cassius Longinus.

The Consuls next ensuing for this year, were P. Licinius Crassus, and C. Cassius Longinus, as it appeareth in Livy, Cassiodorus, Orosius, and the capitol tables. For in the Sicilian records, they are named no otherwise than Crassus and Longinus. Of the very same Consuls Pliny maketh mention in his seventh book. Gellius also in his ninth book and fourth chapter. Whiles these were Consuls the people of Rome began war against Perseus King of the Macedonians, son of Philip: which Florus and Eutropius, together with Orosius, call the second Macedonian war: whereof Livy and Plutarch write more at large.

584
A. Hostilius Mancinus. A. Atilius Serranus.

Cassiodorus setteth next after for Consuls, C. Hostilius Mancinus, and C. Atilius. The Sicilian registers, Mancinus and Serranus. The capitol monuments, A. Atilius Mancinus, and A. Atilius Serranus. As well the election of these Consuls as their acts, are missing in the Annals of Livy.

585
Q. Martius Philippus, II. Cn. Servilius Capio.

Livy, Cassiodorus, and the capitol tables match together in the Consulship of this year Q. Martius Philippus the second time, and Cn. Servilius Capio. The Sicilian catalogue hath barely Philip and Capio. Cicero in his books entituled Brutus and Cato, writeth that Ennius the Poet died in their Consulship.

586
L. Aemilius Paulus, II. C. Licinius Crassus.

The Consuls that next succeeded were L. Aemilius Paulus the second time (seventeen years after his first Consulship) and Cains Licinius Crassus: witness Livy, Cassiodorus, and the capitol monuments. In like manner they are named in the Sicilian registers Paulus and Crassus. As touching this second Consulship of L. Paulus, Plutarch, Velleius, Orosius, Eutropius, Florus, and Justinus in his 33 book do write, Plutarch addeth thus much and saith, That Paulus was threescore years of age, when he was chosen Consul the second time.

587
Q. Elius Petus. M. Junius.

Livy bringeth in for Consuls next after, Q. Aemilius and M. Junius. The Sicilian records Paulus and Pennus. Obsequens and Cassiodorus Q. Elius Petus, and M. Junius Pennus. Cicero likewise in Brutus speaketh of Mar. Junius Pennus Consul with Q. Elius. Now from this year forward, we want the compleat story penned by Livy.

588
M. Marcellus. C. Sulpitius.

Livy and the capitol monuments shew for this years Consuls, M. Claudius Marcellus, and C. Sulpitius Gallus. Obsequens, and the title prefixed before the comedy Aspidia in Turenus, exhibit Mar. Marcellus and C. Sulpitius. This is that Marcellus, who, after he had been thrice Consul, perished in the sea. Nephew he was of that M. Marcellus, who had been five times Consul, as Padianus reporteth. Of these Consuls, Justinus, Pliny in his second book, and many other have made mention.

589
Cn. Octavius. T. Manlius.

Cassiodorus and Obsequens infer Consuls this year, Cn. Octavius and T. Manlius. The Sicilian tables, Octavius and Torquatus. The capitol stones, Cn. Octavius and T. Manlius Torquatus. Mention there is made of these consuls in the title set before Hecyra in Terence. Cicero in his first book of Final ends, and likewise in many other places, speaketh of T. Torquatus, Consul with Cn. Octavius.

590
A. Manlius. Q. Cassius.

Cassiodorus matcheth together consuls in this year, A. Manlius and Q. Cassius. The Sicilian catalogue hath Torquatus and Longinus. The capitol records, A. Manlius Torquatus and Q. Cassius Longinus, who died in his consulship. These also had been companions together in their Pretorship, anno 586, as Livy beareth witness.

591
T. Sempronius. M. Inventius.

Cassiodorus saith, that the consuls this year were T. Sempronius and M. Inventius. Obsequens nameth them, T. Gracchus, and M. Inventius. The capitol monuments shew T. Sempronius Gracchus the second time, and M. Inventius Thalna. In the Sicilian registers, Dolabella and Thalna, but not well as it is to be doubted. Cicero, Valerius, and Plutarch have made mention of Tib. Gracchus twice consul. And that M. Inventius died whiles he was consul, Pliny in his seventh book, and Valerius also do report.

592
P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica. C. Martius.

Cicero in his first and second book of the nature of Gods, Verrius Flaccus, Obsequens and Cassiodorus, report for consuls P. Cornel. Scipio Nasica and C. Martius Figulus. But for that there was an error committed in their creation, and thereupon they resigned up their place, as the foresaid authors witness together with Valerius Plutarch and Pliny: P. Corn. Lentulus, and Cn. Domitius Enobarbus, entred in their stead.

593
M. Messala.

C. Fannius.

Cassiodorus putteth down for Consuls, M. Messala and C. Fannius. The Sicilian Catalogue Messala and Strabo. The capitol records, and the title before Phormio in Terence represent unto us, M. Valerius Messala and Caius Fannius Strabo. Of these Consuls Suetonius maketh mention in his book of excellent Rhetoricians. Likewise in Cicero in Brutus, Pliny in his ninth book and fiftieth chapter, and Gelius in his second book.

594
L. Anicius. M. Cornelius Cethegus.

Cassiodorus and the title set before the Comedy *Adelphi* in Terence avouch for Cons. L. Anicius and M. Cornelius. The Sicilian and capitol records put surnames unto them, Gallus and Cethegus. Of Anicius the Consul, Cicero speaketh in Brutus; and of Cethegus, the six and fortieth Epitome or Breviary of Florus. In their year, it is for certain held, that L. Pactus who conquered Persens, died.

595
Cn. Cornelius Dolabella. M. Fulvius.

The year next following had Consuls, as witnesseth Cassiodorus, Cn. Cornelius Dolabella and M. Fulvius. The Sicilian registers shew Dolabella and Fulvius. The capitol monuments, Cn. Cornelius Dolabella and Mar. Fulvius Nobilior. The same is to be seen in the life of Terence the poet, for there it is written, that in their year he died.

596
N. Emylius. C. Popilius.

The Consuls next succeeding, were Marcus Emylius and C. Popilius, as Cassiodorus saith. The Sicilian catalogue sheweth Lepidus and Lanus. The capitol records have M. Emylius Lepidus and C. Popilius Lanus the second time. Of the same, Suetonius maketh mention in his chapter of distinction of ages.

597
Sex. Julius. L. Aurelius.

Cassiodorus reporteth, that the next Consuls were Sex. Julius and L. Aurelius. The Sicilian and capitol tables yeeld surnames unto them, Caesar to Julius, and Orestes to Aurelius. Pliny writeth of them in his 33 book.

598
L. Lentulus. C. Martius.

Obssequens and Cassiodorus record for this years Consuls L. Lentulus and C. Martius. The Sicilian catalogue Lentulus and Figulus. The capitol monuments, L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus, and C. Martius Figulus the second time.

Cicero in Brutus speaketh of them both. And as touching Figulus twice Consul, Valerius writeth in his chapter of Wrath.

599
P. Scipio Nasica. M. Claudius.

Publius Scipio and M. Claudius are by Cassiodorus set down for Cons. The Sicilian registers have Nasica and Marcellus. The capitol records, P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica the second time, and M. Claudius Marcellus likewise the second time. Padianus writeth, that this Marcellus was thrice Consul. And that Pub. Scipio Nasica, surnamed also Corculum, was twice Consul and Censor besides, Cicero writeth in his Brutus.

600
L. Posthumus. Q. Opimius.

This year had Consuls, L. Posthumus and Q. Opimius, as Cassiodorus and Obssequens do witness. The Sicilian tables shew Opimius and Albinus. But the capitol records Q. Opimius, and L. Posthumus Albinus. Mention there is made of this Q. Opimius, Consul, by Cicero in his Brutus; also in the Epitome of the seven and fortieth book. Moreover, that Posthumus died in his magistracy, besides Verrinus Flaccus, Obssequens also sheweth: in whose stead Man. Acilius Glabrio was chosen.

601
Q. Fulvius. T. Annius.

The Consuls next following, as Cassiodorus writeth, were Q. Fulvius and T. Annius. In the capitol fragments they are named Nobilior and T. Annius. In the Sicilian registers, Nobilior and Luscius. Cicero in his Brutus saith, that Q. Nobilior son of Marcus, and T. Annius Luscius were Consuls. The Greek records and Cyprian's book shew Nobilior and Luscius.

602
M. Marcellus. L. Valerius.

This year had for Consuls, M. Marcellus and L. Valerius as Cassiodorus witnesseth. The Sicilian catalogue representeth Marcellus and Flaccus. Obssequens exhibiteth unto us M. Claudius Marcellus and L. Valerius Flaccus. This Marcellus was thrice Consul, as Padian saith upon the Oration for Scannus, and Cicero in his book of divination and destiny.

603
L. Licinius Lucullus. A. Postumius Albinus.

Cassiodorus putteth down for Consuls, L. Lucullus and A. Postumius. The Sicilian tables, Lucullus and Albinus. The broken marbles of the capitol, Lucullus and A. Postumius son of Anus, Orosius and the Epitome 48, shew L. Licinius Lucullus and A. Post. Albinus. Cicero in his Brutus, and Lucullus both, maketh mention of the same.

604

T. Quintius. M. Acilius.

THis year had for Consuls, *L. Quintius* and *M. Acilius*, as *Cassiodorus* testifieth in whom *Pliny* in his 7 book & 36 chap. calleth *C. Quintius* and *M. Acilius*. *Cicero* in his book *Cato*, and the 12 book of his *Epistles* to *Atticus* nameth *T. Flaminius* and *M. Acilius*, and saith that they were created Consuls in the 19 year after the death of *Ennius*. The Sicilian tables have *Flaminius* and *M. Acilius Balbus*.

605

L. Martius. M. Manilius.

C*assiodorus* avoucheth for the Consuls of this year, *L. Martius* and *M. Manilius*: likewise the 49 *Epitome*. *Cicero* in *Lucullus* maketh mention of *Censorinus* and *M. Manilius*: of *Censorinus* and *Manilius* in his twelfth book of *epistles* to *Atticus*. The same Consuls, *Appianus* in *Libya* nameth *L. Martius Censorinus* and *M. Manilius*. In like sort *Censorinus* in his treatise of *Nativity* or *Birth-day*. The Sicilian tables have *Censorinus* and *Manilius*. The capitol fragments shew *Censorinus* and *M. Manilius*, son of *Publius*, nephew of *Pub.* Whiles they were Consuls, there arose a third war between the State of *Rome* and the *Carthaginians*, as *Florus* in the 49 *Epitome*, besides *Verrinus Flaccus* do testify: likewise *Sallustius*, but that he saith with *Verrinus Flaccus*, that it was the year 64. *Cicero* also in his eleventh *Philippick*, and lastly *Entropius*, with *Orosius*.

606

Sp. Postumius. L. Piso.

Then were Consuls created, *Sp. Postumius* and *L. Piso*, according to *Cassiodorus* and *Obsequens*. In the capitol fragments they are named *A. Magnus*, and *Lu. Calpurnius*, son of *Caius*, nephew of *Caius*, surnamed *Piso* (*Casinius*). In *Cicero's* *Kalender*, *Magnus* and *Casinius*, in the Sicilian catalogue *Albinus* and *Piso*. As for *Magnus* and *Albinus*, they be the surnames of *Postumius*: like as *Casinius* and *Piso*, of *Calpurnius*. In this year the people of *Rome*, entred into arms against *Andriscus*, otherwise termed *Pseudo-Philippus*, which they call the third *Macedonian* war, after *Florus* and *Entropius*.

607

P. Africanus. C. Livius.

O*bssequens* and *Cassiodorus* set forth for consuls this year *P. Africanus* and *C. Livius*. In the Sicilian catalogue they are registered *Scipio* and *Drusus*: in the capitol fragments *Africanus* *Emylianus*, and *C. Livius*; the one son of *M. Emilius*, nephew of *Marcus*, the other surnamed *Drusus*. This *Pub. Cornelius* was the natural son of that *Publius* that vanquished *Perseus* King of the *Macedonians*, and adopted

by *P. Cornelius* the son of *Scipio Africanus*. Whereupon he was called *Pub. Cornelius*, son of *Publius*, nephew of *P. Scipio Africanus* the younger, and *Emylianus*, as *Velleius* and others do witness. His two last surnames are in the capitol records, out of which, the complete name of *M. Livius Drusus*, with his addition, was framed. Of these Consuls *Cicero* speaketh after: likewise *Valerius*, *Pacronius*, *Appian*, *Plutarch*, *Florus*, both *Plinius*, *Entropius* and *Orosius*.

608

C. Cornelius. L. Mummius.

NExt consuls following, were *Cn. Cornelius* and *L. Mummius*, as witnesseth *Cassiodorus*: and according to *Orosius*, *Velleius*, *Censorinus*, and *Cicero* in the thirteenth book of *epistles* to *Atticus*, *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* and *L. Mummius* they are named. In the Sicilian registers *Lentulus* and *Mummius*. In the fragments of the capitol, *Lentulus* and *L. Mummius*, nephew of *Lucius*. *Lu. Mummius* in this magistracy acquired the surname of *Achaicus*, upon a victory achieved by him in *Achaia*, as *Plutarch* in *Marus*, and *Velleius* do testify.

609

Q. Fabius Maximus. L. Hostilius.

C*assiodorus* this year delivereth unto us for Consuls, *Q. Fabius Maximus*, together with *L. Hostilius*. *Cicero* in *Laelius*, and *Pliny* in his five and thirtieth book and fourth chapter, nameth them *Qu. Maximus*, brother of *Scipio*, and *L. Mancinus*. Of this *Q. Fabius Maximus Emilius*, *Valerius* writeth in his second book and first chapter. This *Q. Fabius* was the son of *P. Emilius*, adopted by *Q. Fab. Max.* the son of *Verrucosus*, as *Appianus* writeth in *Hispanensis*: and therefore in the fragment of a capitol table there is to be seen the second surname *Emilius*. *Pliny* was deceived, who in his 31 book 11 chapter calleth him *Qu. Allobrogicus*, brother of *Scipio*, who was the son of this *Fabius*.

610

Ser. Galba. L. Aurelius.

THis year had for Consuls, *Ser. Galba* and *Lu. Aurelius*, according to *Cassiodorus*: those, *Valerius* in his sixth book nameth *S. Sulpitius Galba*, and *Lu. Aurelius Cotta*, whom the Sicilian catalogue sheweth under the bare names of *Galba* and *Cotta*. But the capitol fragments have *Galba* and *L. Valerius Cotta*. This is that *Sulp. Galba*, who being *Pretor*, as *Smetonius* writeth, stirred up the war before against *Viridius*, for he was a vehement *Orator*, of whom *Cicero* speaketh many times. And as for *L. Cotta*, he it was whom afterwards being accused by *Africanus*, *Qu. Metellus Macedonicus* defended, *Cicero* in *Brutus*, for *Murena* and against *Verrus*, maketh mention of him. Likewise *Frontinus* of them both, in his first book of *water-conduits*.

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611

611

Ap. Claudius. Q. Metellus.

Cassiodorus nameth for this years Consuls Appius Claudius and Q. Metellus. Orofius, App. Claudius and Q. Caelius Maellus. The Sicilian registers have Claudius and Metellus. The capitol fragments shew Pulcher and Q. Caelius Macedonius. Of the same, Erominus speaketh in his book of water-conduits, and Valerius in his seventh book. Now this Metellus is he who being Pretor, subdued the Macedonians and Achaens, whereupon he was surnamed Macedonius: whom Plinius 7 book sheweth to be the son of L. and nephew of Q. M.

612

L. Metellus. Q. Maximus.

Cassiodorus putteth down for Consuls, L. Metellus and Q. Maximus. The Sicilian records, Me. ellus and Maximus. Orofius, L. Caelius Metellus and Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus. In like manner the capitol fragments Calvus and Servilianus. This Servilianus is the brother german of Q. Servilius Capius, the Consul two years after (as witnesseth Appian) and the adopted son of Q. Fabius Emylianus; for they were both adopted by Q. Fabius Max. the son of Verrucosus, the one out of the house Emylia, the other of Servilia. L. Metellus is the brother of Q. Metellus Macedonius, as writeth Valerius in his treatise of Witnesses.

613

Cn. Capius. Q. Pompeius.

Cneus Capius and Q. Pompeius are recounted Consuls by Cassiodorus. Velleius in his second book saith thus: Whether there were two or three houses of the Pompeies, the first of that name was Consul with Cn. Servilius. Of this Q. Pompeius, Cicero maketh mention oftentimes, writing that he was of base and obscure parentage. Him Valerius in his chapter of witnesses nameth Aufidius, but corruptly through the fault of the copiers, in stead of A. F. i. the son of Aulus. In the same sort Appianus in Hispanensis nameth him Q. Pompeius Aulus for A. Filius. Cicero in his Orations against Verres, and in that for Fonteius, Valerius also in his chapter of Witnesses, sheweth that there were two brethren named Cneus and Quintus, both Servilii Capiones.

614

Q. Capius. C. Lalius.

After this were Consuls made, Q. Capius and C. Lalius, my authors are Cassiodorus and Obsequens together with the Sicilian tables, and Frontinus in his treatise of water-conduits. This Lalius as Cicero in his eleventh Philippick, and Velleius do report, was the son of Lalius the the Consul, anno 564, whom as Cicero in his second book of Duties and in Lalius, was the first that was surnamed Wise, whereof Plutarch in Gracchi yeeldeth a reason.

615

Cn. Piso. M. Popilius.

Cassiodorus sheweth for this years Consuls, Cn. Piso with M. Popilius. Appianus and the Epitomit have M. Popilius Lanas; but they be named M. Popilius Lanas and L. Calpurnius by Valerius in his first book, writing thus, That Cornelius Hispanus, Lord chief justice for strangers, when M. Popilius Lanas and L. Calpurnius were Consuls, by an edict commanded all the Chaldean [Astrologers] to depart out of Rome and Italy within ten daies next ensuing.

616

P. Scipio. D. Brutus.

Publius Scipio and D. Brutus are named for this years Cons. by Cassiodorus. Florus in his 55 Epitome; P. Cornelius Nasica (surnamed Serapion in mockery by C. Curianus a Trib. of the Com.) and D. Junius Brutus Cass. levied and mustered souldiers, &c. This Scipio was son of that Nasica who was surnamed Corculum, and twice was he Consul and Censor also; nephew to that Nasica, who by the Senat was deemed the best man in the City, and father to him that warred upon Jugurtha, as Velleius saith. This Decius Brutus, Cicero in his Brutus calleth the son of Marcus, who bare the Consulship in the year five hundred ninety seven, and in the capitol tables is called Pennus. Moreover, of these Consuls Cicero speaketh very oft, Valerius also in his 3 book, chap. 7. 3 book, chap. 3. 9 book, chap. 15: Likewise, Pliny in his 21 book, and lastly, Frantinus.

617

M. Emylius. C. Hostilius Mancinus.

Cassiodorus and Obsequens match together in the consulship this year, M. Emylius, and C. Hostilius Mancinus. The Sicilian registers Lepidus and Mancinus. Orofius and Appian, M. Emylius Lepidus and C. Hostilius Mancinus. Of this Consul Mancinus there remain yet some tokens to be seen in broken marbles of the capitol. Cicero maketh mention oftentimes of Lepidus, as well in other places as in Brutus. Likewise, Valerius, Florus, Paterculus, and Pliny in his treatise of Famous men.

618

P. Furius. Sex. Attilius Serranus.

Cassiodorus putteth down for Consuls, P. Furius and Sex. Attilius Serranus. Cicero in his third book of Duties, L. Furius and Sex. Attilius. Obsequens, L. Furius and Attilius Serranus. The Sicilian registers Philus and Serranus. Of this Furius, Cicero writeth thus in his Brutus: L. Furius Philus, was reputed for a man of very good language, and to have spoken more learnedly than others. In the capitol fragments there appeareth yet some shew of Serranus the Consul.

619

619

Ser. Fulvius. C. Calpurnius.

The next consuls are set down by *Cassiodorus* and *Obsequens*, Ser. Fulvius and C. Calpurnius. The Sicilian catalogue hath Flaccus and Piso, *Orosius* nameth S. Fulvius Flaccus and C. Calpurnius Piso. The capitol fragments shew Piso as for Fulvius Flaccus the Consul, mention there is made of him in the Epitome 36. *Appian* also in his *Illyrica* speaks of him, and in *Hispanensis* of Calp. Piso.

620

P. Africanus. C. Fulvius Flaccus.

The year following had P. Africanus and C. Fulvius Flaccus for Cons. as it is written in *Cassiodorus* and *Obsequens*; But *Scipio* and *Flaccus* in the Sicilian catalogue. The same Flaccus the Capitol fragments do shew. Of this C. Fulvius, mention there is made also in the 56 Epitome; and of Africanus twice Consul, by *Appian* in *Hispanensis*, by *Orosius*, *Florus*, and *Valerius* in his eight book.

621

P. Mucius. L. Calpurnius.

This year had consuls, P. Mucius, and Lu. Calpurnius, as witnesseth *Cassiodorus*. The Sicilian registers shew *Scavola* and *Calpurnius*. *Velleius* nameth P. Mucius Scavola and L. Calpurnius. Of these Consuls *Pedrianus* upon the Orations against *Verres*, maketh mention in these words: *Scavola* a right learned man in the Laws, was Consul with L. Piso, that year wherein *Tib. Gracchus* was killed. In the broken marbles of the capitol he standeth by the name of L. Calpurnius Piso, surnamed also *Frugi*, and that truly. For *Cicero* in one Oration against *Verres* and in another for *Fonteinus* writeth, that he was the first of the Pisones, called *Frugi*. This man, when he was Tribune or Provost of the Commons, made a law against the extortion of magistrates, when *Martius* and *Manilius* were consuls: he wrote also the annals of Rome, as *Cicero* testifieth in his book *Brutus*.

622

P. Popilius. P. Rupilius.

Against this year were consuls created, as *Cassiodorus* writeth, P. Popilius and P. Rupilius: after the Sicilian records *Lands* and *Rupilius*. *Cicero* maketh mention of them in his 13 book of Epistles to *Atticus*, and against *Verres*. Also in the capitol fragments we read of P. Popilius, son of *Caius*, and P. Rupilius son of P. and nephew of *Publius*. *Velleius* in his second book, nameth the consuls *Rupilius* and *Popilius*. *Cicero* in *Lalins* speaketh of *Rupilius* and *Lands*. And of P. *Rupilius* there is mention made in the Epitome or Breviary 59.

623

P. Crassus. L. Valerius.

Cassiodorus putteth down for consuls this year, Pub. Crassus and Lu. Valerius. Crassus and *Plinius* in the Sicilian catalogue. L. Valerius Flaccus and Pub. Licinius Crassus, according to *Cicero* in his eleventh Philippick against *Antony*. Of this Consul Pub. Licinius Crassus, all they have spoken, who wrote of the war of *Aristonicus*. This P. Crassus surnamed *Dives*, by *Cicero* in his books of a perfect Orator, and in *Brutus* is called the brother of *Scavola*: whereupon *Velleius* in his second book nameth him *Mutianus*, betokening thereby that he was adopted out of the house of *Mutius* into the family of the *Crassi*. This man *Gallius* writeth in his first book and 23 chapt. to have been of all others the richest man, the noblest personage, and the most eloquent Orator, the deepest lawyer, and the supreme Bishop withal.

624

C. Claudius. M. Perpenna.

Appian *Claudius* and *M. Perpenna* are matched in the Consulat together this year by *Obsequens* and *Cassiodorus*. *Cuspinians* book and the Greek records, shew *Lentulus* and *Perpenna*. This *Claudius* haply was adopted into the family of the *Cornelii*. Moreover, *Cicero* in his third book of Laws, and in the Oration for *Plancius*, calleth this man C. Claudius. This also is confirmed by an old table of stone commonly known, wherein is to be seen this inscription, C. Claudius and M. Perpenna Cons. Which evidence *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* following, named him C. Claudius and not *Appian*. Of this M. Perpenna as many as wrote the war of *Aristonicus*, have made mention, and namely, *Valerius* in his 3 book and 4 chapt. *Velleius*, *Strabo*, *Orosius*, and *Entropius*.

625

C. Sempronius. M. Aquilius.

This year had consuls, M. Aquilius and C. Sempronius, as witnesseth *Cassiodorus*. But *Aquilius* and *Tuditannus* according to the Sicilian registers. C. Sempronius *Tuditannus*, and M. Aquilius, after *Orosius*. *Cicero* speaketh of them in his book of the nature of gods, and to his brother *Quintus*. *Paterculus* also in his second book. *Strabo* in his 14 book. *Appian* in his first book. And both of them are taken out of the triumph records in the capitol.

626

Cn. Octavius. T. Annius.

Next followed as consuls Cn. Octavius and T. Annius, as *Cassiodorus* testifieth and none but he. For *Cuspinians* book and the Sicilian catalogue have *Octavius* and *Rufus*. *Plutarch* also writeth, that one T. Annius contended with *Tib. Gracchus* in a sedition. As for this C. Octavius,

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vins,

vinus, son he was to that *Cneus* who was Consul in the year five hundred eighty nine.

627
L. Cassius. L. Cinna.

Cassiodorus nameth for this years Consuls, L. Cassius and L. Cinna. The Sicilian records *Longinus* and *Cinna*. *Cassianus* books set out *Rulla*, corruptly for *Ravilla*, and *Cinna*. This L. Cassius was his son who bare the consulship in the year 590, and he was afterwards Censor in the year 629 surnamed *Ravilla* by *Frontinus*.

618
M. Emilius. L. Aurelius.

Cassiodorus and *Obsequens* reckon for Coss. this year, M. Emilius and L. Aurelius. The Sicilian catalogue sheweth *Lepidus* and *Orestes*. *Censorinus* hath M. Emilius *Lepidus*, and L. Aurelius *Orestes*. *Cicero* in *Brutus*, M. *Lepidus*, and L. *Orestes*.

629
M. Plautius. M. Fulvius.

Cassiodorus and *Obsequens* avouch Consuls this year, M. Plautius and M. Fulvius. The Sicilian registers, *Hypsus* and *Flaccus*. *Orosius* and *Frontinus* in his treatise of water-conduits, M. Plautius *Hypsus* and M. Fulvius *Flaccus*. *Valerius* also in his discourse of *Pride* maketh mention of them.

630
C. Cassius Longinus. C. Sextius.

Cassiodorus and *Obsequens* report, that the consuls following were C. Cassius Longinus, and C. Sextius. The Sicilian catalogue sheweth *Longinus* and *Calvinus*. *Velleius* writeth, that the colony *Fabrateria* was planted by Cassius and Calvinus. *Cicero* in *Brutus* speaketh of C. Sextius Calvinus. *Entropius* declareth for consuls, C. Cassius Longinus, and S. Domitius Calvinus, not without suspicion of a fault or error.

631
Q. Caelius. T. Quintius.

Cassiodorus nominateth for consuls this year, Q. Caelius and T. Quintius. The Sicilian records *Metellus* and *Flaminius*. *Entropius* and *Orosius*, Q. Caelius *Metellus* and T. Quintius *Flaminius*. *Cicero* in his Oration pleading for his house, calleth them T. Flaminius and Q. Metellus. This Q. Metellus was the eldest of the four sons of *Macedoniens*, whom *Plutarch* in his treatise of the Romans fortune, calleth Q. Metellus *Balearicus*, of the *Balears* whom in this magistracy he conquered.

632
Cn. Domitius. C. Fannius.

Cassiodorus and *Obsequens* join in fellowship of the consulate this year, Cn. Domitius and C. Fannius. The Sicilian records, *Enobarbus* and

Fannius. *Cicero* writeth of them in his *Brutus*, and *Pliny* in his second book and 32 chapter. Three moons (qd. he) appeared when Cn. Domitius and C. Fannius were Coss. which most men called the night-stars.

633
L. Opimius. Q. Maximus.

This year had for consuls, L. Opimius and Q. Maximus, as witnesseth *Cassiodorus*. The Sicilian catalogue sheweth *Opimius* and *Maximus*. But *Obsequens*, L. Opimius and Q. Fabius Maximus. *Pliny* speaketh of them in his second book, saying, About the sun there appeared an arch or bow, when L. Opimius and Q. Fabius were consuls. This Q. Fabius Maximus is by *Cicero* in *Brutus*, *Florus* in his *Epitome*, *Velleius* in his 2 book, and *Padianus* upon the Orations against *Verrus*, rightly named the nephew of *Paulus*, and son of F. Emilianus. And so may *Strabo*, *Appian*, and *Pliny* be well reproved, for making him and his father *Emilianus*, all one. The same man, as *Cicero* and *Pliny* testify, was surnamed *Allobrogicus*, upon a victory over the *Allobroges*. Of this L. Opimius consul, after whose name there was a wine called *Opimianum*, *Pliny* maketh mention in his 14 book and 4 chap. *Plutarch* also in C. *Gracchus*, and *Velleius* in his second book.

634
P. Manlius. C. Papyrius.

Cassiodorus inferreth for this years consuls, P. Manlius and C. Papyrius. The Sicilian records *Manlius* and *Carbo*. This is that *Caius Papyrius Carbo*, who being a Tribune of the commons when *Claudius* and *Perpenna* were Coss. was afterwards by C. *Gracchus* appointed for one of the *Triumvirs* to divide lands: who first took part with the commons, but afterwards ranged with the nobility: of whom *Cicero* in many other places, and namely, in his second book of a perfect Orator, maketh mention.

635
L. Caelius. L. Aurelius.

Cassiodorus and *Obsequens* put down for consuls, L. Caelius and L. Aurelius. The Sicilian catalogue, *Metellus* and *Cotta*. *Plutarch* in *Marius* speaketh of C. *Metellus* and *Cotta*, consuls. Which *Marius* he writeth to have born the Tribuneship of the commons, when these were consuls, and to have cast *Metellus* the consul into prison. This is that *Cotta*, in whose consular room *Velleius* reporteth, that C. *Caesar* *Flaminius* of *Jupiter*, was created.

636
M. Cato. Q. Martins.

This year had for consuls M. Cato and Q. Martins: witness *Cassiodorus* and *Obsequens*. Cato and Martins, according to the Sicilian registers. But *Entropius* nameth them M. *Porcius* Cato and Q. Martins. *Valerius* speaketh of

of them in his fift book, and *Pliny* in his second book 31 chap. *Gellius* also in his 13 book and 19 chap.

Consuls next ensuing by *Cassiodorus* his report were *L. Caelius* and *Q. Metellus*. After the Sicilian registers *Metellus* and *Scorilla* were by *Europius*, *L. Caelius*, *Metellus* and *Q. Metellus*. Now is this that *L. Caelius* *Metellus*, who after was upon subduing the *Dalmatians*, was surnamed *Dalmatius*, whom *Plutarch* in *Coriolanus* and in his book of the Roman fortune, nameth *Diadematus*, for that a long time he bound up his forehead with a wreath of wreath which they call a diadem, to hide an ulcer that he had there. Hereupon, when *Pompeius* bound up his leg with a white band or garter, it makes no matter, *qd. Plutarch*, in what part of the body a man wearth the diadem upbraiding and reproaching him for his Kinglike power, in terming a small chere of pece of cloth by that name. This is that *Q. Metellus* *Scorilla* the Augur, of whom *Cicero* in his book *Laelius*, and in the first book of an Orator maketh mention.

638

C. Licinius Geta, *Q. Maximus*.

Cassiodorus completh together in society of Consulship this year, *C. Licinius* and *Q. Maximus*. The Sicilian registers name them *Geta* and *Eburinus*. Of this *Q. Maximus* *Cicero* speaketh in his Oration for *Mar. Anna*. That this man was of the house of the *Fabii*, his surname *Eburinus* sheweth; of whom writeth *Festus* in this manner. *Qu. Fabius* was called *Pallus* *Jovis*, surnamed *Eburinus*, of whitenesse, for that his buttock was blasted with lightning. *Quintilian* in his third Declamation reporteth, that this *Fab. Eburinus* had a son unchast of his body, whom he examined at home in his house, and thereupon put him to death. The same man *Valerius* calleth *Qu. Fabius Servilius*. As for the name of this *Licinius* his father, obscure and unknown heretofore, *Gellius* out of an old antiquity of coin hath restored it, wherein, as he saith, was written plainly, *C. Licinius Geta* son of *Publius*.

639

M. Metellus, *M. Scaurus*.

The consuls next following by *Cassiodorus* his report, were *M. Metellus* and *M. Scaurus*. As for *Metellus*, the third son he was of *Macedonius*. But as touching *M. Scaurus*, whom the writer of the book entituled of famous persons, calleth *M. Emilius*, *Scaurus*, thus writeth *Valerius*, *M. Scaurus* (*qd. he*) was a Patrician indeed and of noble blood, but so, as the gentry of his house, for those descents before him lay obscure, for neither father, nor grandfire, by reason of their poor estate, and for want of putting forth themselves in the world, attained to

dignity in weal publick. Moreover, of him *Cicero* maketh mention oftentimes in his Oration for *Murena* and in *Brutus*. *Valerius* also in his 3 book and 8 chap. and *Pliny* likewise in his 2 book and 36 chap.

Cassiodorus setteth down for consuls this year, *M. Atilius Balbus* and *C. Cato*. The Sicilian catalogue *Balbus* and *Cato*. Obsequens *M. Atilius* and *C. Porcius*. Of the same consuls *Pliny* speaketh in the 2 book, chap. 29. and 58. *Plutarch* in *Marinus* giveth to *Atilius* the surname *Mantus*. This *C. Cato* is the brother of that *M. Cato*, who four years before was Consul, nephew to *M. Cato* *Conforinus*, and *Africani* sister son, as saith *Velleius*, *Cicero* against *Parricid*, and in *Brutus*.

C. Caelius, *Cn. Papyrius*.

Cassiodorus and Obsequens set down for next Consuls, *C. Caelius* and *Cn. Papyrius*. The Sicilian registers *Metellus* and *Carbo*. *Europius*, *C. Caelius* *Metellus*, and *Cn. Carbo*. The same men *Tacitus* in his book of the manners of Germans reported to have born the Consulship, anno 640 after the foundation of Rome: in which year, both he and Obsequens do report, that the people of Rome began first to war with the *Cimbrians* and the *Teutones*. This *C. Metellus* was the fourth son of *C. Metellus* the son of *Macedonius*: whom, when he died, he left a may of Pretors calling, and in suit and election for to be Consul. This man gat a surname by way of reproach, as *Cicero* testifieth in his second book of a perfect Orator. Now surnamed was he *Capriarius*, as *Plutarch* saith in the Life of the Romans.

642

M. Livius Drusus, *L. Piso*.

Cassiodorus exhibiteth unto us for this years Consuls, *M. Livius Drusus* and *L. Piso*. The Sicilian catalogue *Drusus* and *Piso*. *L. Piso* surnamed *Casarius* a man of Consular degree, was slain after by the *Tigurini*, when *Ln. Cassius* was Consul, as *Quintus* testifieth.

643

P. Scipio, *L. Calpurnius Bestia*.

Cassiodorus nameth this year for Consuls, *P. Scipio* and *L. Calpurnius Bestia*. The Sicilian records *Nasica* and *Bestia*. Obsequens, *Pub. Scipio* and *L. Calpurnius*. *Salustius*, *Europius*, and *Orosius*, *P. Scipio* *Nasica* and *L. Calpurnius* *Bestia*. Of these Consuls, *P. Nasica* *Scipio* and *L. Bestia*, *Valerius* likewise maketh report, lib. 1. chap. 6. Moreover, *Cicero* in his *Brutus* writeth that *P. Scipio* the son of *Pub. Scipio* surnamed *Serapion* and fellow Consul to *L. Bestia*, died in his Consulship. Of this *Bestia* there is some mention to be seen in a capitol fragment.

644
Sp. Posthumius. M. Minutius.

Cassiodorus setteth down for Consuls, Sp. Posthumius and M. Minutius. The Sicilian registers Albinus and Rufus. Salust, Sp. Albinus and Q. Minutius Rufus. Of M. Minutius, Velleius and the threecore and seventh Epitome make mention.

645
Q. Metellus. M. Silanus.

Cassiodorus saith that the Consuls next following were Q. Metellus and M. Silanus. The Sicilian catalogue sheweth Metellus and Silanus. Padiannus and Entropius; Q. Caelius Metellus Numidicus, and M. Junius Silanus. Of them also Cicero speaketh in Brutus. This Metellus was surnamed Numidicus for the conquest of Numidia, as witnesseth Velleius.

646
Ser. Galba. M. Scaurus.

Cassiodorus and Obsequens deliver for the Consuls of this year, Servius Galba and M. Scaurus. The Sicilian evidences, Salpustius and Scaurus. Cicero in the Oration for Rabirius, saith that S. Galba was a man of Consular degree, when Marius was the sixt time Consul. Of M. Scaurus the Consul, Velleius and Tacitus make mention. This is that M. Aurelius Scaurus, who being afterwards in embassage, was by the Cimbrians murdered, as appeareth in the threecore and seventh Epitome.

647
L. Cassius. C. Marius.

Cassiodorus joineth in the consulship this year, L. Cassius and C. Marius. Cuspinians book and the Sicilian records, Longinus and Marius. Pliny also maketh mention of them in his 10 book and 13 chap. Cicero in his oration for Plancius: Plutarch in Marius; and Cicero again in his third book of Duties, writeth, that C. Marius having taken the repulse twice for the office of Edileship, was created consul.

648
Q. Servilius Capio. C. Atilius.

Obsequens and Cassiodorus match consuls together this year, Q. Servilius Capio and C. Atilius Serranus. The Sicilian monuments Capio and Serranus. In this year upon the third day of January, M. Tullius Cicero was born, as Gellius in his fifteenth book and eight and twentieth chap. hath left written. Much mention there is made of these consuls in Cicero and other ancient writers.

649
P. Rutilius Rufus. C. Manilius.

Publius Rutilius Rufus and C. Manilius, are put down by Obsequens and Cassiodorus for this years consuls. This P. Rutilius, Cicero in Brutus, calleth the son of Marcus. About the other consul the Annals do vary and disagree; some forename him C. others Cnaeus. Some name him M. Manilius, others Mallius or Manlius. But all this controversy is decided by an old antiquity in Rome at Puerolis: the inscription whereof testifieth that P. Rutilius and C. Mallius were Consuls; as also the evidence of the Sicilian registers, wherein writeth it is Rufus and Mallius. Of this Mallius mention there is made in Cicero's Orations for Plancius and Marana: likewise in Valerius, Salust, Tacitus, Flarus, Entropius and Orosius. That he was not only a base man and of low birth but also without all vertue and win, in the course of his life also vile and contemptible, Cicero writeth in his Oration for Plancius: Whereby it easily appeareth, that the Mallii were a kindred different from the Manlii. For of Cn. Manlius a Patritian, and that of a most noble house, Cicero would never have spoken in such terms.

650
C. Marius II. C. Flavius Fimbria.

The next Consuls are set down by Cassiodorus, C. Marius the second time, and C. Flavius Fimbria: by Obsequens, C. Marius, and C. Flavius. By the Sicilian registers Marius and Fimbria: by Padiannus upon the Oration for Cornelius, C. Marius the second time, and C. Fimbria; Item, C. Marius and Caius Flavius. Besides, Cicero, Velleius, Valerius, Plutarch, and others speak often of these Cons.

651
C. Marius III. L. Aurelius Orestes.

Cassiodorus reporteth for this years Consuls, C. Marius the third time, and L. Aurelius Orestes. The Sicilian catalogue Marius and Orestes. Moreover, Marius even in his absence was elected Consul the third time, for fear of the Cimbrian war which was defeated, as Velleius, Entropius, the Breviary, and Cicero in his Oration concerning Provinces, do testify.

652
C. Marius IV. Q. Lutatius.

Next after them are put down for Consuls by Cassiodorus and Obsequens, C. Marius the fourth time, and Q. Lutatius. The Sicilian registers exhibit unto us Marius and Catulus, Plutarch and Entropius, Caius Marius the fourth time, and Q. Lutatius Catulus. Of these Consuls, Cicero and Pliny oftentimes make mention.

653
C. Marius. P. Aquilius.

Then succeeded in the Consulship by the testimony of Cassiodorus, C. Marius the first time, and P. Aquilius. Of this C. Marius five times now Consul, Plutarch and Florus give report. And Cicero in his second book of a perfect Orator, nameth M. Aquilius for the companion of C. Marius in his first consulship. Of whom Plutarch in Marius speaketh and calleth him Marius Aquilius, as also Appian in Mithridaticus. Now this Marius Aquilius a Cornelian man, is the same who afterwards being an Embassador, was by King Mithridates taken prisoner, and most villanously tormented and mangled.

654
C. Marius VI. L. Valerius Flaccus.

Cassiodorus and Obsequens shew unto us for this years consuls, C. Marius the sixth time, and L. Valerius Flaccus. The Sicilian records, Marius and Flaccus. This L. Flaccus (afterwards Censor) was President of the Senat, and matter of the horsemen under Sylla Dictator. Of these consuls Cicero speaketh very often, and namely, in his Brutus in his oration for Rabirius, against Calpurnius and Antonius; and also in the defence of Plancius. Pliny likewise in his second book, Fabius, and Padianus upon the oration against Piso. Moreover, Plutarch, and many authors besides. In this year (upon the twelfth day of July, then called Quintilis, as Macrobius witnesseth) was C. Caesar born, who afterwards was surnamed Dictator.

655
M. Antonius. A. Postumius.

Reported it is by Cassiodorus and Obsequens, that M. Antonius and A. Postumius were Consuls this year. The Sicilian registers, shew Albinus and Antonius. In a fragment also of the capitol marbles, mention there is of A. Postumius. Cuspinians book and the Greek records, have Antonius and Albinus. Of these Consuls, Cicero speaketh in his oration to the citizens of Rome, after his return out of exile. Likewise, Pliny in his 8 book and 7 chap. where he noteth this the 655 year. Also Gellius in his 4 book and 6 chap.

656
Q. Metellus. T. Didius.

Quintus Metellus, and T. Didius succeeded consuls next in this year, as Cassiodorus and Obsequens do write. And Padianus upon the oration for Cornelius, nameth them: Curio (saith he) accused Q. Metellus Nepos, son of Balearicus, and nephew of Macedonius, who was Consul with T. Didius. Cicero speaketh of the same man in his oration after his return.

657
Cn. Lentulus. P. Crassus.

Not only Cassiodorus, but the Sicilian registers also, do testify, that Cn. Lentulus and P. Crassus were Consuls this year: and Obsequens nameth them; Cn. Cornelius and P. Lentulus. Pliny writeth of them in his tenth book and first chape, also in his 33 book and second chapter.

658
Cn. Domitius. C. Cassius.

This year had for Consuls, Cn. Domitius and C. Cassius, as Cassiodorus and Obsequens do witness. Cuspinians annals and the Greek registers shew Enobarbus and Langius. A fragment of P. Flaccus his marbles, Enobarbus and C. Cassius son of Lucius. Padianus speaketh of them upon the oration for Cornelius.

659
L. Crassus. Q. Scavola.

Lucius Crassus and Q. Scavola were consuls next following, according to Cassiodorus and Obsequens. In a fragment of the capitol records as touching Consuls, is to be seen Crassus and Mutius. In Censorinus, we find L. Lucinius son of Lucius. Cicero in his Brutus writeth, that Crassus the orator bare all dignities of magistracy, together with Scavola the high-priest, except the Tribunat of commons and the Censorship: also that while they two were Consuls, Q. Hortensius pleaded the first cause that ever he undertook, at the bar, Padianus upon the oration of Cicero for Cornelius, maketh mention of L. Lucinius Crassus the Orator, and Q. Mutius Scavola the arch-bishop, an orator besides and a professed lawyer, both Consuls together.

660
C. Calpurnius. L. Domitius.

Cassiodorus and Obsequens declare for this years Consuls, C. Calpurnius and L. Domitius. The Sicilian registers, Calpurnius and Enobarbus. In a capitol fragment, they are Calpurnius and L. Domitius son of Cn. As for Calpurnius it is the surname of Calpurnius. For Velleius maketh mention of one C. Calpurnius, under Augustus. In like manner Cicero in his book entitled, The thing for a Consulship and in his oration for Murena: Also Padianus upon the oration for Cornelius. Again, Cicero in his Brutus, nameth them next before Herennius.

661
C. Valerius Flaccus. M. Herennius.

There are matched by Cassiodorus and Obsequens for consuls this year, C. Valerius Flaccus and M. Herennius. The Sicilian records, Flaccus and Herennius. A broken stone of the capitol, hath Flaccus and M. Herennius. Pliny in his 39 book and 3 chap. Cicero also in his Oration for Murena, and in Brutus, speaketh of them.

662
C. Claudius Pulcher. M. Perperna.

Consuls this year, were C. Claudius Pulcher, and M. Perperna, as witness Cassiodorus and Osegius. Likewise in a capitol broken monument, and in the Sicilian register, it is Pulcher and M. Perperna. Cicero maketh mention of this Claudius as Pretor of Sicily in the fourth Oration against Verres; and as Edile Curule in his second book of Offices. So doth Pliny in his 8 book.

663
L. Marius. Sex. Julius.

Cassiodorus and Osegius name for consuls this year, L. Marius and Sex. Julius. The Sicilian records, Philip and Caesar. Eutropius and Orosius Sex. Julius Caesar, and L. Marius Philippi. A capitol fragment, Philip and Sex. Julius son of Caius. Pliny speaketh of them in his 2 book 8 chapt. also in the 33 book and 3 chapt. In like manner Cicero many times, and Valerius.

664
L. Julius Caesar. P. Rufinus Lupus.

According to Cassiodorus and Osegius the Consuls this year were L. Julius Caesar, and P. Rufinus Lupus. And so it is in Padianus Felicius, and the 79 Epitome: as also in other authors who have written of the Marian war. In a fragment of the capitol they are seen written, Caesar, and P. Rufinus son of Rufus. In the Sicilian records Caesar and Lupus. Cicero in his book of Divination, speaketh of them both: and in his oration for Plancius he writeth, that L. Caesar, missing of an Edileship became a Consul.

665
L. Portius. Cn. Pompeius.

Cassiodorus setteth down for Consuls this year, L. Portius and Cn. Pompeius. Padianus upon the Oration for Cornelius surnamed Cn. Pompeius Serratus and L. Porcius Cato. The Capitol fragment shew no more but Serratus and Cato. Appian hath made mention of these consuls: so have Orosius and others that have penned the Marian war. This Cn. Pompeius was father to that Cn. Pompeius the Great: as Appian witnesseth, and Padian upon the Oration against Piso.

666
L. Sylla. Q. Pompeius.

Cassiodorus sheweth for this years Consuls, L. Sylla and Q. Pompeius: and the same is written in Osegius, Felicius, Eutropius Orosius, Appian Plutarch, and others. The Sicilian records have Sylla and Rutilius. Sylla after his victory in the civil war, would needs have himself surnamed Felix: and therefore Padian and the avouchers of the capitol monuments, in report-

ing this consulat, write thus: L. Sylla, who afterwards was called Felix. The same man in his second Consulship, (which appeareth upon record in the capitol) is named the son of Lucius, and nephew of P. Sestius. Moreover, of Q. Pompeius Serratus, Plutarch maketh mention in his Brutus.

667
L. Cornelius Cinna. Cn. Octavius.

Reported there are by Cassiodorus and the Sicilian registers for Consuls this year, L. Cinna and Cn. Octavius. Appian Plutarch, and others who have recorded the history of this time, name them L. Cornelius Cinna, and Cn. Octavius. Plutarch writeth, that L. Cinna being of the adverse faction to L. Sulla, was by him made consul, upon condition; that he should not cross nor stand against the proceeding of the said L. Sulla: and so soon as he was entred into place of government, he began to trouble and disquiet the present state of the common-weal, yea, and intended an action against Sulla, by the means of P. Valerius a Tribune of the commons. Howbeit Sulla contemning Valerius, made an expedition against Mithridates.

668
L. Cinna II. C. Marius VII.

At this time, were Consuls, L. Cinna the seventh time, and L. Cinna the second time, according to the records of Sicily, Cassiodorus, and those that wrote of the civil war. Plutarch saith, that Marius was the first man that was seven times consul of Rome. Moreover, as it is to be read in Appian, and in the Breviaries, L. Cinna and C. Marius, without any lawful assembly for Election, declared themselves Consuls against this year, and the very same day that they entred into their magistracy, Marius commanded Sex. Licinius a Senator, to be thrown down from the rock Tarpeia: who after he had committed many heinous crimes and outrages, ended his daies upon the Ides of January: in whose room was subordained, L. Val. Flaccus, even he (as men think) who before time was colleague to C. Marius in his first Consulship: of whom Plutarch maketh mention in his Oration for his son Flaccus.

669
L. Cinna III. Cn. Papirius.

Cassiodorus witnesseth that the Consuls succeeding in this year were L. Cinna the third time, and Cn. Papirius. The Sicilian records, have Cinna and Carbo. In the 83 Breviary it is written, that L. Cinna and Cn. Papirius Carbo, for two years together usurped the Consulship. Also in the book entituled, Of famous persons, we read that Cinna made himself Consul a second and third time. Of these Consuls Plutarch speaketh in Sulla, Appian in Mithridaticus, and in the first book of civil wars.

670
L. Cinna IV. Cn. Papirius II.

Next were Consuls, after Cassiodorus and the Epitomis, L. Cinna the fourth time, and

and *Cn. Papirius* the second time. *Cicero* in his Tusculan questions mentioneth *Cinna* four times Consul: so doth *Suetonius* in *Caesar*. And of *Cn. Papirius Carbo* twice Consul, the capitol tables do yeeld testimony. As for the Sicilian records, they put down for consul, (not without insinuation of error) *Carbo* and *Scribonius*.

671

L. Scipio.

C. Norbannus.

Besides the Sicilian tables, *Cassiodorus*, *Obsequens*, *Appian*, *Entropius*, *Florus*, and *Tacitus* in his nineteenth book do witness, that *L. Scipio*, and *C. Norbannus* were Consuls. In the capitol fragments it is written, *Lu. Cornelius* son of *Lucius*, nephew of *L. Scipio Asiaticus*.

672

M. Carinus.

Cn. Carbo III.

I Find in *Cassiodorus*, *Appianus*, *Velleius*, and others, the next consuls to have been, *C. Marcius* and *Cn. Carbo* the third time. This *C. Marcius* was the brothers son of *C. Marcius* seven times consul, according to *Appian*: but *Velleius*, *Paterculus*, *Plutarch*, *Entropius*, and others, say, that he was the son of that *C. Marcius*: and haply indeed he was adopted by *C. Marcius*. Certainly, in the capitol tables, he is called *C. Marcius*, son of *C.* and nephew of *C. Marcius*. *Cicero* speaketh of these Consuls, against *Rullus*: *Pliny* also in his 17 book, and they who have set down in writing the civil wars of *Sylla*.

673

M. Tullius.

Cn. Dolabella.

Next to those, *Cassiodorus* bringeth in for consuls, *M. Tullius* and *Cn. Dolabella*. The Sicilian records, have *Decula* and *Dolabella*. *Appian* also reporteth, that *Sylla* Dictator, to the end that the state and common-weal might seem to retain some shew yet of her ancient dignity, permitted *M. Tullius* and *Cornelius Dolabella* to be created consuls, whilst himself after the manner of *K. late* aloft in a throne above them. *Cicero* in his oration against *Rullus*, and *Gellius* in his 15 book and 33 chap. maketh mention of *M. Tullius* and *Cn. Cornelius* consuls. In a capitol fragment, this *M. Tullius*, son of *M.* nephew of *A.* is surnamed *Decula*.

674

L. Sylla II.

Q. Metellus.

Cassiodorus and the Sicilian registers, set down for Consuls, *L. Sylla* the second time, and *Q. Metellus*. *Appian* saith moreover, that *Sylla*, Dictator though he was, yet stood content and willing to be declared consul with *Q. Metellus Pius*, to the end that the common-weal might seem to have some likeness yet of a free state. Of these consuls, *Cicero* maketh mention in his Orations against *Verres*, and elsewhere. *Gellius* likewise in his 15 book and 28 chapter, together with *Cassiodorus*. This *Metellus* was surnamed *Pius*. He it is, who was by lot ap-

pointed to manage the wars in *Spain* and against *Sertorius*: and son he was to *Namidicus*.

675

P. Servilius.

App. Claudius.

THE next consuls, were *P. Servilius* and *App. Claudius*, as witnesseth *Cassiodorus*. In the Sicilian tables, it appeareth that their surnames were, *Vatia* and *Pulcher*: of whom *Appianus* writeth thus: The people of *Rome* in obsequious manner to court *Sylla* the Dictator, requested of him that he would continue consul still another year: But *Sylla* would none of that: and took order, that *Ser. Isauricus* and *Claudius Pulcher*, should be declared Cons. In a fragment of the capitol he is thus written: *Pub. Servilius Vatia*, called afterwards *Isauricus*: which surname he took of the *Isaurians*, a nation in *Cilicia* whom he subdued. My authors are, *Padianus* upon the Orations of *Cicero* against *Verres*; *Strabo* in his 14 book: *Marcellinus* likewise in his 14 book, with others.

676

M. Lepidus.

Q. Catulus.

M. Lepidus and *Q. Catulus*, are by *Cassiodorus* named Consuls for this year. *Plutarch* reporteth, that when *L. Sylla* had given up his Dictatorship, and restored again to the people of *Rome* the free liberty to dispose of consular dignities in their solemn assemblies for elections: *M. Lepidus* an enemy to *Sylla*, and an audacious person, was declared Consul before *Catulus*, and had the preeminence above him, by the earnest endeavour of *Cn. Pompeius*. Of these Consuls, *Pliny* maketh mention in his 36 book, wherein he saith, that they governed in the year 676. Likewise, *Cicero* in his Oration for *Cornelius*: *Florus* out of *Livy*: *Valerius* a book 3 chap. and *Entropius*.

677

M. Aemilius.

D. Brutus.

THIS year had for Consuls, by the testimony of *Cassiodorus* and *Obsequens*, *M. Aemilius* and *D. Brutus*. *Macrus*, a Tribune of the commons, speaketh of them in *Salust*, complaining that the commons were by the nobles oppressed. In like sort, *Cicero* in *Brutus*, and in his second book of *Deiis*, as also *Valerius* in the 7 book and 7 chap. This *M. Aemilius* was surnamed *Lepidus* and *Livianus*: for out of the family of *Livies* he was adopted by *M. Lepidus*, and therefore right well he is called, son of *M. Aemilius*.

678

Cn. Octavius.

C. Curio.

Verrius Flaccus setteth down for Consuls, *Cn. Octavius* son of *M.* nephew of *C.* and *C. Scribonius Curio*. The same doth *Cicero* report in *Brutus*. So do *Salust*, *Obsequens*, *Laetantius* in his first book, and *Pliny* in his second book and

and 35 chapter. *Cic.* in his *Brutus*, and *Pliny* in his 7 book and 41 chapt. make report of three *Caii Curions*, all Orators to wit, the father, the son, and the sons son or nephew.

679

L. Octavius. C. Cotta.

Cassiodorus putteth down for consuls this year, L. Octavius and C. Cotta. Obsequens, C. Aurelius and L. Octavius. *Pliny* in his second book and 35 chapt. *Cicero* likewise in his third and fifth Orations against *Verres*, maketh mention of L. Octavius, and C. Aurelius consuls. Upon the broken marbles of the capitol, they stand to be seen, L. Octavius son of Cn. nephew of Cn. and C. Aurelius. This year the Sicilian registers over-skip. *Padianus* writeth, that there were at this time three Cotta's brethren, and all of consular degree, namely, Caius, Marcus and Lucius.

680

L. Licinius Lucullus. M. Cotta.

For this years consuls, *Cassiodorus* registreth L. Lucullus, and M. Cotta. The Sicilian records, Lucullus and Cotta, *Entropius*, *Appianus* in *Mithridatica*, and *Plutarch* in *Lucullus*, nameth them, L. Licinius Lucullus, and M. Aurelius Cotta. Mention there is made of them by *Cicero* against *Verres*; and by *Florus* in the 93 and 94 Epitomes. This L. Lucullus had for his grand-father that Lucullus, who was consul with A. Albinus, as *Cicero* and *Plutarch* do testify.

681

M. Lucullus. C. Cassius.

This year (by the testimony of *Cassiodorus*.) had for consuls, M. Lucullus, and C. Cassius: but the Sicilian records, nominate *Marcellus* and *Cassius*: whom *Cicero* in an oration against *Verres*, nameth M. Terentius and C. Cassius: saying that the laws *Terentia* and *Cassia*, were by them promulged. For, so far forth as we may conjecture by the capitol fragments, M. Licinius Lucullus, was adopted by M. Terentius Varro, and therefore called M. Terentius Varro Lucullus. *Cicero* in *Lucullus*, and *Plutarch*, call L. Lucullus and M. Lucullus brethren, whom *Entropius* nameth cousin Germans by two sisters. That the surname of *Cassius* was *Varus*, appeareth both by a conduit pipe or waterspout of lead found in *Rome*, and also for that *Appian* in his fourth book, writeth that C. Cassius Varus, a man who had been Consul, was condemned and outlawed by the Triumvirs.

682

L. Gellius. Cn. Lentulus.

The consuls next following, by the report of *Cassiodorus*, were L. Gellius and Cn. Lentulus. In like sort *Cicero* maketh mention of them in his oration for *Balbus*, and elsewhere. *Plutarch* also in *Crassus*, with *Entropius* and *Orosius*. *Cuspinian's* book sheweth *Poplicola* and *Lentulus*. Now the surname of L. Gellius was *Poplicola*, as witnesseth *Onuphrius*.

683

Cn. Aufidius. P. Lentulus.

Cassiodorus setteth down for consuls this year, Cn. Aufidius, and P. Lentulus. The Sicilian registers have *Lentulus* and *Orestes*. *Entropius*, C. Lentulus and Cn. Aufidius *Orestes*. This Cn. Aufidius *Orestes*, when he went beside a Tribuneship of the commons, was chosen consul, as *Cicero* writeth in his oration for *Planinius*. This is that P. Lentulus surnamed *Sura*, who afterwards, being a man of consular calling, and who had been twice Pretor, was hanged and strangled to death when *Cicero* was consul, for that he had conspired with *Catilin*: whose grand-father was P. Lentulus President of the Senas, as *Cicero* saith, pleading for his house, and inveighing against *Catilin*: as also *Padianus*.

684

M. Crassus. Cn. Pompeius.

Next to them were Goss. M. Crassus and Cn. Pompeius, according to *Cassiodorus*, *Plutarch*, *Appian*, and the Sicilian records. Their surnames for certain, were *Dives* and *Magnus*. All the old writers speak much of this their first Consulship. *Plutarch* reporteth that L. Crassus attained to the Consular dignity, by the means of *Pompeius* the consul. Besides, *Cicero*, *Salust*, *Padian* writing upon the oration for *Cornelius*, and all other authors speak of these consuls.

685

Q. Metellus. Q. Hortensius.

Then followed consuls, Q. Metellus and Q. Hortensius, as *Cassiodorus* and the Sicilian catalogue do testify. *Padianus* matcheth Q. Metellus *Creticus* with Q. Hortensius that great Orator! Likewise, *Josephus* in his fourteenth book of Jewish antiquities. *Cicero* in *Brutus* calleth this Q. Hortensius, the son of Lucius. Q. Metellus afterwards upon the conquest made of *Crete* surnamed *Creticus*, was the son of L. Dalmaticus, as may be gathered out of *Padianus* upon the Oration of *Tully* [called *Divinatio*] against *Verres*.

686

L. Metellus. Q. Marcius.

Padianus writing upon *Tully's* Oration against *Piso*; *Dio* likewise and *Cassiodorus*, join together in the consulship this year, L. Cecilius Metellus, and Q. Marcius. The Greek records, *Marcius Rex*, and *Metellus*. This *Metellus*, *Dio* writeth to have died in the very beginning of his magistracy: that he also who was substituted in his room, left this life before he entered into the government: and thereupon it was not thought good to subelett any more: and by that means Q. Marcius bare that dignity alone: and him *Salust* enticureth with the surname of *Rex*. This L. Metellus was brother to Q. Creticus, as *Padian* witnesseth.

687

687

C. Piso. M. Glabrio.

Here succeeded Consuls, C. Piso and M. Glabrio, witness Cassiodore and the Sicilian records. And in Dio they follow immediately by the name of *Manius Acilius* and C. Piso. Cicero in his twelfth book of Epistles to Atticus, speaketh of C. Piso and M. Acilius Glabrio, men of Consular place and calling. Padian in his commentaries upon the oration for Cornelius maketh mention of C. Piso and the law Calpurnia by him made, as touching inordinate and indirect suite after dignities of state. Moreover, of them Valerius in his fourth book writeth.

688

M. Lepidus. L. Volcatius.

Cassiodore putteth down for Consuls, *Manius Lepidus*, and with him *L. Torquatus*, but untruly. The Greek records have *Volcatius Tullus*. Dio *Lucius Tullus*, and *Emilius Lepidus*. Salust in *Catiline*, *L. Tullus* and M. Lepidus. Padian upon the oration for Cornelius, M. Lepidus and *L. Volcatius*. Cicero in his oration for Sulla hath *L. Volcatius Tullus*: so as it appeareth it should be, M. *Emilius Lepidus*, and *L. Volcatius Tullus*.

689

L. Coita. L. Torquatus.

The Consuls elect, were *L. Antonius Patrus* (as it appeareth upon a monument of a triumph in the capitol, and not *Antonius*, as commonly it is read) and *P. Cornelius Sulla*: who being condemned for ambitious seeking after that office, and having therefore suffered condign punishment, their accusers stept into their place of government, namely, *L. Aurelius* son of *Marcus*, surnamed *Coita*; and *L. Manlius* son of *Lucius*, surnamed also *Torquatus*: as testify Salust, Dio, Padian upon the oration for Cornelius, and that which he made in his white robe: and lastly, *Tranquillus* in *Caesar*.

690

L. Caesar. C. Figulus.

The year next ensuing had for Consuls, by the testimony of Cassiodore, Padianus, and the Sicilian records, *L. Caesar* and *C. Figulus*, whom Dio calleth *Lucius Caesar*, and *Lucius Martius* son of *Caius*, surnamed *Figulus*. Cicero in his oration for Sulla, nameth them *L. Julius* and *C. Figulus*: so doth Salust in *Catilina*. This *L. Julius Caesar* is his son who was Consul in the Marian war.

691

M. Cicero. C. Antonius.

The Consuls this year, were *M. Tullius* son of *M.* surnamed *Cicero*, and *C. Antonius* son of *M.* as testify Dio in his seven and thirtieth book, Cassiodore, Salust in his *Catilinary* oration, Velleius in his second book, Joseph in his

Jewish antiquities 14 book 8 chapter. Pliny in his eight book and three and fiftieth chapter, *Tranquillus* in the life of *Augustus*, *Appian*, *Eutropius*, *Padian*, and others.

692

D. Silanus. L. Murana.

Here followed consuls next, *D. Silanus*, and *L. Murana*, as Cassiodorus, Salust, and the Sicilian records do witness. Dio calleth them *D. Junius* son of *M.* surnamed *Silanus*: and *L. Liscinius* son of *L.* surnamed *Murana*. Eutropius nameth them *D. Junius Silanus*, and *L. Liscinius*, son of that *L. Murana* who in quality of Pro-pretor triumphed over *Mithridates* (as Cicero saith) pleading for *Murana* himself, being accused and in trouble for unlawful seeking to be Cos. In this assembly for election of Cos. *L. Sergius Catilina* suffered the second repulse: for anger whereof, in a melancholy he brake out into a conspiracy, and practised against the state: and likewise *Servius Sulpicius Rufus* the lawyer, who afterwards accused *Murana* for the crime aforesaid.

693

M. Pupius. M. Valerius.

Cassiodorus setteth down for Consuls this year, *M. Pupius* and *M. Valerius*. The Sicilian registers, *Piso* and *Messala*. Dio, *M. Pupius*, son of *M.* surnamed *Piso*: and *M. Valerius* son of *M.* surnamed *Messala Niger*. Of this *Messala Niger*, there is also mention made by Padian upon the oration for *Scawrus*. Also of *M. Messala* and *M. Piso*, in *Plinies* seventh book, and six and twentieth chapter, seven and thirtieth book, cap. second, and the eight book, chap. six and twenty. And in *Caesars* first book of the Gauls war. Of *M. Piso* Padian likewise speaketh writing upon the oration against *Piso*.

694

Q. Metellus. Q. Afranius.

Cassiodorus and the Sicilian registers nominate for this years Consuls, *Q. Metellus* and *L. Africannus*. The like doth Obsequens and Cicero in his first book of Epistles to Atticus. Dio nameth them *L. Afranius* son of *L.* and *Q. Caecilius*, son of *Q.* surnamed *Metellus Celer*. Both of them were advanced to the Consulate (as Dio witnesseth) by the means of *Pompeius*, for they had been both twain his Lieutenants serving under him in *Affe*.

695

C. Caesar. M. Bibulus.

Cassiodorus, Suetonius, together with the Sicilian tables and the Breviaries, do march together for consuls this year, *C. Caesar* and *M. Bibulus*. Dio, *C. Julius* son of *C. Caesar*, and *M. Calpurnius*. Plutarch and Appian, *C. Julius Caesar*, and *C. Bibulus*. Albeit Appian, as also Eutropius and Orosius give *Bibulus* the forename of *Lucius*. Of *Caesar* and *Bibulus*, Cicero speaketh in his first book of Epistles, writing to *Lentulus*.

696

696

L. Piso. A. Gabinus.

Cassiodorus and the Sicilian records shew for Consuls this year, L. Piso and A. Gabinus. Dio, L. Calpurnius son of L. Piso: and A. Gabinus son of Aulus. Caesar, Cicero, Plutarch, and Cassiodorus, L. Piso, and A. Gabinus. Caesar writeth of them in his first book of the Gauls war, and Plutarch in the life of Cato the younger. Crevier also in his oration against Piso and for Sex-tius. This Piso the Consul Cicero and Padian surnamed Cesonius, for so his grand-father before him was called, as appeareth in the capitol records for the year 606.

697

P. Lentulus. Q. Metellus.

The Consuls following for this year, were by Cassiodorus and the Sicilian records, P. Lentulus and Q. Metellus. By Dio, Pub. Cornelius son of Publius, Lentulus Spinther: and Q. Caecilius son of Qu. Metellus Nepos. Of them speaketh Valerius in his ninth book, Lentulus (qd. he) and Metellus companions in the consulship were beheld and seen both upon the stage like players: but the one of them took the surname of Spinther: * one of the second sort of actors: the other, but that he had gotten the name of * Nepos already for his lewd behaviours, should have been called Pamphilus, after the name of * one of a third sort, whom for all the world he resembled. Of the same men, Cicero in his first book of Epistles, and in very many of his orations. Plutarch also in his seventh book and second chapter, Plutarch in the life of Cicero, and all other writers make much mention.

* Secundarium.

* A ruffian.

* Tertianum.

698

Cn. Lentulus. L. Philippus.

Cassiodorus putteth down for Consuls, Cn. Lentulus and L. Philippus. The Sicilian records, Marcellus and Philippus. Dio, Cn. Cornelianus son of Publius, Lentulus Marcellus: and L. Marius son of Lucius Philippus. Of Lentulus and M. Marcellus Consuls, Cicero speaketh in his Epistles to Lentulus, Plutarch also in the life of Cato, maketh mention of Marius Philippus now Consul. This Cn. Lentulus was the son of that P. Lentulus, as Cicero saith in his Brutus. And surnamed he was Marcellus, and not Claudius, that it might be known, of what family of the Claudii he was descended.

696

Cn. Pompeius. M. Crassus.

When as by the obstinate persistance of C. Cato Tribun of the commons, (who ever interposed his negative) there could be no ordinary assembly holden for the creation of magistrates, the whole degree of the Senators changed their weed in token of grief: so as upon an Interregency between, Cn. Pompeius was choien Consul, and with him M. Crassus the

second time, as Plutarch, Dio, and Appian do witnels. Lucius Domitius Aenobarbus, whom Cato and all good men accompanied and presented, was in the common place by violence thoroughly beaten, and Cato himself wounded. These Cons. Dio calleth Cn. Pompeius, son of Cn. Magnus the second time: and M. Licinius son of Publius Crassus, the second time. Of them Padian, Eutropius, the Sicilian registers and others make mention.

700

Ap. Claudius. L. Domitius.

Dio in his nine and thirtieth book, for the year after the cities foundation 700. following the computation of Varro, avoucheth Consuls, Appius Claudius, son of Appius Pulcher: and L. Domitius son of Cneus, Aenobarbus. Cassiodorus and Obsequens, name them, Ap. Claudius and L. Domitius, whom the Sicilian records call Pulcher and Aenobarbus: and Padian upon the Oration for Scantius, L. Domitius Aenobarbus, and Appius Claudius Pulcher. Of this L. Domitius, son of Cneus Aenobarbus, Calins speaketh in the eight book of Ciceros Epistles.

701

Cn. Domitius. M. Messala.

Against this year there stood in election and laboured with much earnestness and ambitious desire to be Consuls, Catus Maximus, Cn. Domitius, M. Messala and M. Scantius, as Cicero writeth to his brother Quintus. But at the last, even in the seventh month of this year there were created by means of an Interregency, M. Messala and Cn. Domitius. Neither had they been chosen then: but that Q. Pompeius Rufus a Tribun of the commons, who still opposed himself to hinder and debar all election, was by order from the Senate committed: and the Senate made countenance to do the like by the rest, as many as went about to cross the said election. Thus much Dio. But Appian saith, that the common-weal continued for eight months space in Anarchy without any sovereign magistrats of state. Plutarch writeth, that in this so great extremity of danger, Lucilius a Tribun of the commons, preferred a bill for the creating of Cneus Pompeius Dictator, who should redress all enormities and set upright the state again: but Cato gain-said it, and so nothing was effected. Dio saith moreover, that the Tribuns of the commons moved for the chusing not of a Dictator only, but also of military Tribuns in consuls authority: but through the earnest labour of Pompeius, Consuls were created, Messala and Calvinus, which surnames stand to be seen upon the Sicilian records. Also in the capitol monuments, written it is thus. Cn. Domitius Calvinus son of M. nephew of Marcus, anno 708 and 717.

701

705. *Q. Pompeius, Q. Marcellus, C. Claudius*

When by reason of the contentions among so mighty competitors, the Consuls could not be created by the Calends of January: there passed an Act of the Senate, according to the mind and advice of *Sulpicius*, by virtue whereof *Caesar* Pompeius was by the Interest of *Serpius Sulpicius* created Consul the third time, upon the five and twentieth of February, without a Collegue first, and presently entered upon the government. But afterwards to avoid the envy that might arise thereupon, he took unto him as companion in the Consulship for the five last months of the year behind, *Q. Caelius Pius Marcellus Scipio*, his wives father. Thus writeth *Plinius* upon the Oration of *Cicero* in defence of *M. P. Plurarch* likewise, *Sulpicius* and *Pio*. This *M. P. Plurarch* was also called *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica*, son of *Nasica Scipio*, who being adopted by *Q. Marcellus Pius*, is called by *Caelius* in the familiar Epistles of *Cicero*; *Q. Caelius* son of *Q. Marcellus Pius*, nephew of *Q. Marcellus Pius Scipio*.

Against this year were Consuls created *M. Marcellus*, and *Serpius Sulpicius*, as *Cassiodorus*, *Plinius*, and *Appian* witness. The Sicilian records call them *Rufus* and *Marcellus*; *Dion* methem *Serpius Sulpicius* son of *Q. sumamed Rufus*, and *M. Claudius* son of *M. sumamed* also *Marcellus*. Of these Consuls *Suetonius* also maketh mention in *Caesar*: likewise *Cicero* in his Epistles, and the Epitome 113. This *Marcellus* was the cousin german of this *Marcellus* who the year next following was Consul: and brother german to him who two years after bare the Consulship, as may be collected out of *Horatius Flaccus*, *Dion*, and *Suetonius*.

704. *L. Paulus, C. Marcellus*

Here succeeded Consuls, *L. Paulus* and *C. Marcellus*, witness *Cassiodorus*, *Dion Suetonius*, *Hirtius* in his 8 book, together with the Sicilian records. The one of these is by *Dion* named *Ep. Amyntius* son of *M. Amyntus*, surnamed *Paulus*; the other by *Cicero* in his Epistles, *C. Claudius* son of *C. Claudius Marcellus*. *Dion* writeth that this man by some was reported to be a brother of *Marcellus*, others a nephew, the brother of *Marcellus*, but *Suetonius* saith plainly, he was the brothers son, and was brother to *L. Paulus*.

Cassiodorus setteth down for Consuls this year *L. Lentulus* and *C. Marcellus*, as also *Appian*, *Plurarch*, *Hirtius*, *Florus*, and *Cicero* in his Epistles do testify. *Dion* calleth these Consuls

L. Cornelius, son of *Publius Lentulus*, and *C. Claudius* son of *Marcus Marcellus*. In the broken marbles of the Capitol it is to be seen thus, *C. Claudius* son of *Marcus*, nephew of *Marcus Marcellus*. This is that *Lucius Lentulus Cras*, who as *Cicero* testifieth in the former election took a repulse, and by *Cicero* is called in the Oration against *Plinius*, *Flamen Marcellus*.

706. *C. Caesar, P. Servilius*

When *C. Caesar* the Dictator held the solemn assembly for the election in the latter end of the former year, Consuls there were created *C. Julius*, son of *C. Caesar*, and *Pub. Servilius*, son of *Publius Isauricus*. For now was the year come, when as *Caesar* by the laws might be chosen Consul for so in the third book of his own Commentaries he saith himself, and so *Dion* in his one and fortieth book, *Plurarch*, *Tranquillus*, *Appianus*, and *Cassiodorus* do testify of him. But he meaneth that law which expressly forbade and debatted, that no man might be within ten years space chosen Consul twice. As for *Publius Servilius* he was the son of that *Publius Servilius* that first took the surname *Isauricus*, who this year bare his Consulship at Rome, while *Caesar* waited in Macedonia.

707. *Q. Fabius Caelenus, P. P. P. P. P.*

Dio saith, That the people of Rome having intelligence that *Pompeius* was murdered, endeavoured earnestly that there might pass as honourable decrees for *Caesar* the Conqueror as possible might be. And therefore they ordained, that he might be Consul five years together, and Dictator not for six months as beforetime, but a whole year: and ended with the Tribunes authority for ever. Now *Caesar*, albeit he was without Italy, immediately entered upon his Dictatorship, having sub-ordained under him for his General of the horse, *M. Antonius*, a man who yet had not been Praetor. This appeareth by the Capitol records, *Dion Plurarch*, and *Cicero* in his second *Philippica*. But under what pretence and colour *Caesar* took upon him this Dictatorship and the rest following, *Marcus Antonius* sheweth in his Oration of *Caesar* praise in *Dion* wherein he saith, that *Caesar* was created Dictator to make head against the enemies; and therefore the troubles and dissensions of war was the cause of this creation. But certain it is that *Caesar* became Dictator for another cause, namely, that by the means of that sovereign power, he might draw unto himself alone the whole managing and government of the State, which beforetime had been administered by many persons. But *Dion* addeth moreover and saith, that in the beginning of this year there were neither Praetors nor Consuls elected. For *Marcus Antonius* General of the horse, arrayed in his purple robes, with a Dictator, making way before him, resembled a

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certain

certain shew of the ancient liberty. But with in a while after he departed forth of the City, and that which never was before done by any Master of the horse, he left *Ln. Caesar* an aged man, Provost and governor of *Rome*. Howbeit, in the end of the year, after the recovery and conquest of *Egypt*, when King *Ptolemeus* was slain, and *Pharnaces* K. of *Pontus* vanquished: Consuls were created, *Q. Fufius*, son of *Quintus*, *Calenus*; and *Pub. Vatinius*, son of *Publius*. And these the Capitoll tables do shew, and *Cassiodorus* also. Of *Publius Vatinius* Consul, *Macrobius* in his second book maketh mention.

C. Caesar. M. Lepidus.

V *Errius* in his capitoll tables setteth forth Consuls of this year, only without ever a Dictator. The stone record of *Colatius*, whereof *Onuphrius* speaketh here, nameth *C. Julius Caesar* the third time, and *M. Emilius Lepidus*. But *Dio* in his three and fortieth book, The next year following (quoth he) he bare the Dictatorship and the Consul both, the third time, and took unto him for his Colleague in both Magistracies, *M. Emilius Lepidus*. Of the same mind seemeth *Tranquillus* to be in *Caesar*, chap. seventy six. Likewise *Hirtius* in the fift book. But *Onuphrius* supposeth that both *Tranquillus* and *Dio*, yea, and *Hirtius* also was in an error. For with the capitoll records, *Plutarch* and *Eutropius* agree: who write that *Caesar* this year was Consul the third time with *M. Lepidus* and Dictator the second time.

C. Caesar. Q. Maximus.

They who cut the capitoll marbles, do shew unto us that *Caesar* this year was third time Dictator with *M. Lepidus* General of the horse. From whom *Dio* differeth: who doth report that this year *Caesar* was Dictator the 4 time, and *Lepidus* second time Master of the horsemen: also that *Lepidus* fellow-Consul with *Caesar*, declareth himself against all law, Generall of the horse. Thus much of the Dictator. But as touching the Consuls this year, there is to be seen written in the Index or table of *Dio*, that the same year *Caesar* bare his fourth Dictatorship, and likewise his fourth Consul without Colleague. In that history also it appeareth, that *Caesar* presently entred upon his fourth Consulat, but bare it not throughout the whole year: and that so soon as he was returned to *Rome* out of *Spain*, he resigned and substituted in his place for the rest of the year, *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *Cn. Trebonius*. With *Dio*, the evidences agree that are written in the capitoll fragments: wherein it appeareth that *Caesar* was the fourth time Consul, and that without a Colleague: as *Sigonius* maketh interpretation. For *Cyprianus* Kalender, together with the Sicilian registers, do shew that *Caesar* was Consul now alone the fourth time. In like

manner, *Appian* and *Plutarch* make mention of *Caesar*, who being Consul elect from the fourth time led an army into *Spain*. As for *Q. Fabius*, *Suetonius* calleth him a three months Consul. *Dio* faith moreover, that *Caesar* upon the death of *Q. Fabius* the Consul, declared the very last day of the year, *C. Caninius* to be the Consul for those few hours that were behind. Whereof *Cicero* in his seventh book of Epistles, writing to *Centurius*, *Macrobius* in his second book of *Saturnalia*, *Macius* in his eighteenth book, *Pliny* in his seventh, and *Sextus* in his first do make mention.

Dio setteth down for this year *Caesar* Dictator the fift time, together with *M. Emilius Lepidus* Master of the horsemen. But the capitoll tables avouch him Dictator now the fourth time. *Dio* and *Appian* write that he created himself Consul together with *M. Antonius*. Likewise *Cassiodorus* and the Sicilian registers give record that *Caesar* was this year Consul the fift time, together with *M. Antonius*. And *Macrobius* in his first book speaketh of them. Moreover, written it is in the capitoll and *Colatian* tables, that *C. Caesar* was Consul the fift time, with *M. Antonius* son of *M*, and that in the room of *Caesar* there was chosen *P. Cornelius Dolabella*, whom *Caesar* himself (if he had lived) meant to have substituted in his own room. *Plutarch* writeth that *Caesar* Consul now the fift time took unto him for his companion in government *M. Antonius*. And when as he would have substituted *Dolabella* in his own stead, *Antony* gainstaid it in an oration: and afterwards, when *Caesar* a second time would have had *Dolabella* to be declared Consul, and still *Antony* crossed, and withstood it, *Caesar* gave over his enterprise. But after *Caesar* was murdered, *Antony* (as *Dio* writeth) fearing some insurrection and commotion if he should have rejected *Dolabella*, took him into the fellowship of government. *Appian* faith, that immediately after *Caesar* was killed, *Dolabella* entred into the Magistracy. So faith *Velleius* also. And this verily was the year, in which the conspiracy was contrived against *Caesar*, whereof the captains were *M. and Decimus* both *Brutus*, *C. Trebonius*, *C. Cassius*: and upon the fifteenth day of March, when he sat in Council together with the Senat in the court of *Pompey*, he was stabbed, and received in his body three and twenty wounds: which done, the murderers who had wrought the feat seized the capitoll. And *C. Octavius* his nephew or sisters son, whom *Caesar* had made in his will his half-her, and adopted to bear his own name, came out of *Epirus*, whither *Caesar* had sent him before, minding to make war upon the Parthians, and after all lucky and happy proceedings, took upon him the name of *Caesar*, according to his last will and testament.

711

C. Pansa. A. Hirtius.

Dio, Cassiodorus, and the rest, nominate Consuls for this year, C. Vibius Pansa Capronianus, and A. Hirtius, son of Anlus. Cuspinianus book sheweth Cresonianus and Hirtius. Whereby it may be understood, that Cresonianus was the surname of Pansa, but peradventure written for Capronianus. In the Colotian table they are named C. Vibius, son of Caius, and A. Hirtius son of Hirtius. This Hirtius was one of their sons who were out-lawed by Sulla, and whom Caesar (as Dio reporteth) advanced to honourable dignities. Both these, and the Consuls of the year following, were by Caesar elected and destined thereto, before he was slain. Dio, Appian, and others report, that of these two Consuls, Hirtius in the time of the civil war, in a battell before Modena against Antonius was slain; and Pansa some daies after, upon a hurt received in the same fight, died at Bononia. In the room of Pansa, C. Octavius was sub-elected Consul, the nineteenth of August in the same year, and he instead of Hirtius, took unto him for his Colleague Q. Pedius.

712

M. Lepidus. L. Plancus.

Cassiodorus and the Sicilian records put down for Consuls, M. Lepidus and L. Plancus. Dio, M. Amylius Lepidus the second time, and Lu. Munatius, son of Lucius, surnamed Plancus. Of these Consuls Suetonius speaketh in Tiberius, saying, That Tiberius was born after the battell of Philippi, when Mar. Amylius Lepidus was the second time Consul with Munatius Plancus. Now had there been before appointed Consuls against this year by Caesar, D. Brutus and Lu. Plancus. But by reason that Brutus the year before was by the law Pedia condemned and after killed, and so the three Triumvirs usurped the rule of the common-weal; agreed it was, that M. Lepidus one of the Triumvirs who beforetime also had been Consul with Caesar in his third Consulship, should together with Plancus, (who also taking part and siding with Antony, had revolted from the Common-weal) administer the Consular. Moreover, this Brutus was by Plutarch, Appian, Dio, and Zonaras, called also Albinus; I suppose, for that out of the race of the Bruti he was adopted and incorporated into the house of the Albini. In this year, during the civil war, Brutus and Cassius were slain in battell before Philippi, as Dio, Plutarch, Appian, and others write,

713

P. Servilius II. L. Antonius.

The Colotian tables, Dio, and Cassiodorus match Consuls together for this year, L. Antonius son of Marcus, surnamed Pietas, and P. Servilius, son of Publius, Isauricus, the second time. Of these Consuls, Suetonius writeth in

Tiberius. This P. Servilius was first Consul with Caesar in his second Consulship; whose father Isauricus died a little before, as Dio and Eusebius report. As for L. Antonius, named he is by Dio Pietas, for that being Consul, he together with Fulvia the wife of his brother Marcus, managed the affairs of state with that mind, as if his whole care had been for his brother the Triumvir, in regard of which brotherly and affectionate kindness, he challenged the surname of Pietas.

714

Cn. Domitius. C. Asinius.

A Colotian table, Dio, and Cassiodorus joyn in the Consulship of this year, Cneus Domitius son of Marcus, Calvinus, the second time; and C. Asinius, son of Cneus, Pollio. Of these, Josephus speaketh in his fourteenth book of the Jews antiquities and three and twenty chapter. Toward the end of this year, Dio writeth, that these Consuls gave up their place, and that other Consuls were substitute for those few daies that were to come; and one of them was L. Cornelius Balbus Gaditavus. And therefore in the Colotian table these subordinated Consuls stand under these names, L. Cornelius, son of Lucius, and P. Canidius, son of Lucius. Of Pub. Cornel. Balbus Consul, Pliny writeth in his seventh book and three and fortieth chapter, and Velleius in his second book.

715

L. Censorinus. L. Calvisius.

Cassiodorus inferred for the next Consuls, Lucius Censorinus and Caius Calvisius. The Sicilian records have Censorinus and Sabinus, Dio, L. Marius and C. Sabinus, C. Calvisius son of Caius, is named by Dio in the catalogue or table, Sabinus, although it be read there commonly, but amiss, Asinius.

716

Ap. Claudius. C. Norbanus.

Consuls that follow, were App. Claudius and C. Norbanus, as Cassiodorus saith. But as the Sicilian registers, purport, Censorinus and Sabinus: as Dio writeth, App. Claudius son of Caius, Pulcher; and C. Norbanus, son of Caius, Flaccus. As touching Tadius Afer the Consul elect, and substitute in the room of another, who before he entered into government, being terrified with the minatory threats of C. Caesar, threw himself down headlong, and so brake his neck, see Tranquillus in Augustus.

717

M. Agrippa. L. Caninius.

Cassiodorus putteth down for Consuls, M. Agrippa and Lu. Caninius. The Sicilian registers Agrippa and Gallus, Dio, M. Vipsanius, son of Lucius, Agrippa; and L. Caninius son of Lucius, Gallus. Josephus in his fifteenth book of Antiquities, avoucheth Consuls, Mar. Agrippa and C. Canidius Gallus. Nepos also in the life of Articus, calleth Vipsanius, Agrippa. In the capitol marbles

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marbles and in other old monuments of Rome his gentile name is passed over, and namely, in the forefront of the Temple, called *Pantheon*, wherein is engraven *M. Agrippa* son of *Lucius*, Consul the third time. *Tacitus* also in his first book mentioneth this *Agrippa*.

718

L. Gellius. M. Cocceius.

Cassiodorus nameth for Consuls this year, *L. Gellius* and *M. Cocceius*. The Sicilian records shew *Publicola* and *Nerva*: *Dio* hath *L. Gellius* son of *Lucius Poplicola*, and *M. Cocceius Nerva*. Out of the capitoll fragments it appeareth, that *L. Gellius* was the son of *Lucius*, and nephew of *Lucius*. By the report of *Dio*, this *L. Gellius* was brother to *M. Valerius Messala*. For it is the same man who was pardoned before by *M. Brutus*: whereby it may be understood, that *Poplicola* was his surname by way of adoption: for they were not the *Gellii* but the *Valerii*, that carried the surname of *Publicola*. The same fragments do shew, that the said *Gellius* left his place, and that another was put in his room. And haply it was *L. Munatius*, son of *Lucius*, nephew of *Lucius Plancus*: whom *Pliny* in his thirteenth book and third chapter, saith to have been twice Consul: but in what year he was the second time, a man cannot find, unless it were in this.

719

Sext. Pompeius. L. Cornificius.

Cassiodorus and the Sicilian records testifie, that this years Consuls were *Sext. Pompeius* and *L. Cornificius*. *Dio* *L. Cornificius* son of *Lucius*; and *Sextus Pompeius* son of *Sextus*. This year *Sext. Pompeius*, son of *Cneus* was slain.

720

M. Antonius. L. Scribonius Libo.

Cassiodorus putteth down for Consuls, *L. Scribonius* and *L. Atratinus*. The Sicilian catalogue *Antonius* and *Libo*. *Dio*, *M. Antonius* son of *Marcus* the second time, and *L. Scribonius*, son of *Lucius Libo*. The same *Dio* saith moreover, that *M. Antonius* the Triumvir, presently upon the very Calends of January gave over the Magistracy, and substituted in his own stead *Lu. Sempronius Atratinus*: and therefore many there be that affirm how it was not *Antonius* but *Atratinus* that was Consul this year with *Libo*. That Consuls also were sub-elected to bear out one part of the year, it is to be found in some authors that have set forth the Municipal Annals. And verily *Dio* maketh mention of *Paulus Emilius* Consul, for one part of the year, and that he built a stately porch or gallery at his own charges, and dedicated it in his Consulship.

721

C. Caesar. L. Volcatius.

Cassiodorus exhibiteth unto us for Consuls, *C. Caesar* and *L. Volcatius*. *Dio*, *Caesar* the

second time, and *L. Volcatius* son of *Lucius Tullus*. They who composed and digested the Sicilian registers, very unfully set down *Caesar* and *Cicero* for this years Consuls. Of this Consulship of *Caesar*, *Suetonius* and *Dio* speak, saying, that he held it very few hours, as *Antonius* also beforetime. In stead of *Caesar* was *L. Antonius* subrogated, and many other for one part or other of the year, who in the book entitled, *Old inscriptions*, are reckoned in this manner:

Emperor *Caesar II. L. Volcatius.*

Kal. Januarii. *L. Antonius.*

Kal. Maii. *L. Flavius.*

Kal. Iulii. *M. Asinius.*

C. Fonteius.

Kal. Sept. *L. Vinutius.*

Kal. Octob. *L. Antonius.*

Of *L. Flavius* made Consul by *M. Antonius*, and deposed, *Dio* likewise maketh mention.

722

Cn. Domitius. C. Sosius.

Cassiodorus nominateth for Consuls this year, *Cn. Domitius* and *C. Sosius*. The Sicilian records, *Enobarbus* and *Sosius*. *Dio*, *Cneus Domitius*, son of *Cneus*, nephew of *Cneus Enobarbus*; and *C. Sosius* son of *C.* nephew of *Caius Nepos* writeth, that *Atticus* died, when *Cn. Domitius* and *C. Sosius* were Consuls.

723

C. Caesar II. M. Messala.

Cassiodorus avoucheth Consuls this year, *C. Caesar* the second time, and *M. Messala*. The Sicilian registers, *Octavius* and *Corvinus*. *Dio*, *Caesar* the third time, and *M. Valerius*, son of *Marcus*, surnamed *Messala Corvinus*, and that right truly. For *Cassiodorus* maketh no reckoning of that Consulship of *Caesar*, which he bare with *Pedius*, because he was subordained in the place with another. But *Dio* and *Appian* do witness, that *Caesar* and *Antony* were marched together this year, both of them in their second Consulship; at what time as upon peace made with *Sextus Pompeius*, they were appointed Consuls beforehand for eight years next ensuing: howbeit, in the first year the people turned *Antony* out of his Consulship, and proclaimed war against him and *Cleopatra*, and so in his place was *Mar. Messala* declared Consul. As touching the Consuls this year subordained, thus we find written in the ancient inscriptions,

Emperour *Caesar III. M. Valerius.*

Kal. Maii. *M. Titius.*

Kal. Octobris. *Cn. Pompeius.*

724

C. Caesar III. M. Crassus.

Cassiodorus nameth for this years Consuls, *C. Caesar* the third time, and *M. Crassus*. The Sicilian records *Octavius* and *Crassus*. *Dio*, *Caesar* the fourth time, and *M. Licinius*, son of *Marcus Crassus*. He added moreover, and saith, *Caesar* in the midst of that water crossed the seas out of

of Macedonia into Italy, wherein he was the fourth time Consul with *M. Crassus*. *Orosius* likewise noteth, that *Caesar* called Emperor, was Consul the fourth time with *M. Livius Crassus*. Of other Consuls substituted after *M. Licinius*, this we find in the old inscriptions.

Emperor *Caesar IV. M. Licinius*.

Kal. Jul. C. *Antistius*.

Ibid. Septembr. *M. Tullius*.

Kal. Novembr. *L. Sanius*.

Of *M. Tullius* Consul with *Augustus*, *Dio* maketh mention in his story of this years acts. *Pliny* also in his 22 book and 6 chap. and *Plutarch* in *Cicero*. By *Velleius* and *Tacitus* it appeareth that *Antistius* had for addition the surname of *Vetus*, and *Sanius* of *Savinus*.

725

C. *Caesar III. Sext. Apuleius*.

IN *Cassiodorus* the Consuls be C. *Caesar* the fourth time, and *Sext. Apuleius*. In *Di. Caesar* the fifth time, and *Sext. Apuleius* son of *Sext.* In the Sicilian records, *Octavianus* and *Apuleius*: in the Antique inscriptions, Emperor *Caesar* the fifth time, and *Sext. Apuleius*. *Dio* saith, this was the year 725 from the foundation of the City. Of *Caesar* five times Consul, there is to be seen an old Epigram or inscription in this manner.

*Senatus Populusq; Romanus,
Imp. Caf. Divi Julii Fil. Caf. Quinc.
Caf. Desig. Sext. Imp. Sept.
Resp. conferata.*

That is,

The Senat and people of Rome. By Emperor *Caesar*, son of *Julius* of famous memory, Consul five times, elect Consul the sixth time, and Emperor the seventh, the Commonwealth saved.

726

C. *Caesar V. M. Agrippa II.*

Cassiodorus declareth for Consuls this year, *Caesar* the fifth time, and *M. Agrippa* the second time. *Orosius* and the Sicilian records, *Caesar* the sixth time, and *Agrippa* the second time. *Dio*, *Caesar* the sixth time, and *M. Vipsanius Agrippa* the third time: but it is to be read the second time, as *Sigonius* advertiseth, so as the next year it should be written the third time. And this plainly appeareth by the superscription of that Temple (which he erected and named *Pantheon*) in this form, [*M. Agrippa* son of *L.* third time Consul built it.] For *Dio* saith, that this Temple was finished two years after that he was Consul with *Caesar* the seventh time Consul, in which year himself bare his third Consulship, and not the fourth. For otherwise in the front of the said Temple, he would have written, [Consul the fourth time.]

727
C. *Caesar VI. M. Agrippa III.*

Cassiodorus saith, that the next Consuls were *Caesar* the sixth time, and *M. Agrippa* the

third time. But *Dio*, *Caesar* the seventh time, and *Agrippa* the fourth time. But what is to be thought of them both, is evident by that which hath been said before. In the Sicilian registers verily it is written, *Octavianus* the seventh time, and *Agrippa* the third time.

728

C. *Augustus Caesar VII. T. Statilius*.

Cassiodorus putteth down for Consuls, *Caesar Augustus* the seventh time, and *T. Statilius*. The Sicilian monuments, *Octavianus* the eighth time, and *Taurus*. *Dio*, *Caesar Augustus* the eighth time, and *Statilius Taurus* the second time. For he had been Consul first, for a part of the year, anno 727, and now is the second time: of whom *Suetonius* writeth thus in *Nero*; *Nero* took to wife *Statilia Messalina*, daughter (in the fourth descent) of *Taurus*, one who had been twice Consul, and also triumphant: he writeth also, that *Augustus* entred upon his eight and ninth Consul at *Tarracon*.

729

C. *Caesar Augustus VIII. M. Silanus*.

Cassiodorus sheweth for Consuls next, *Caesar Augustus* the eighth time, and *M. Silanus*. *Dio* and the Sicilian records, *Augustus* the ninth time, and *M. Silanus*. A fragment of the capitol, Emperor *Caesar Augustus* the ninth time, and *M. Junius Silanus*. This year *Augustus Caesar* was Emperor the eighth time, and shut up the Temple of *Janus* the fourth time now that ever it was shut: which he had set open before in regard of certain wars, as *Dio* reporteth.

730

C. *Caesar Augustus IX. C. Norbannus*.

Cassiodorus putteth down for this years Consuls, *Caesar Augustus* the ninth time, and *C. Norbannus*. The Sicilian registers, *Augustus* the tenth time, and *Flaccus*. *Dio*, and a fragment of the capitol marble, *Augustus* the tenth time, and *C. Norbannus Flaccus*. This *Norbannus* seemeth to be the son of *C. Norbannus* the Consul, anno 716, for he had not the numerall note testifying a second Consulship.

731

C. *Caesar Augustus X. Cn. Piso*.

Cassiodorus setteth down for Consuls, *Caesar Augustus* the tenth time, and *Cn. Piso*. The Sicilian records, *Augustus* the eleventh time, and *Piso*. And *Dio*, *Augustus* the eleventh time, with *Cn. Calpurnius*, son of *Cn. Piso*. By a fragment of the capitol stone it appeareth that *Augustus* entered the Consulship the eleventh time, together with *Annius Terentius Varro Murena*: also that *Murena* died in his Magistracy, in whose stead was elected *Cn. Calpurnius Piso*: and *Augustus* went out of his government. Of which matter *Dio* thus writeth: *Augustus* went to the Alban hill, and there resigned up

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the Consulship. For whereas both he himself and many others, ever since the time that the C.W. was set in frame and established, had born the yearly Magistrats, he thought that from thence forwards he was to forbear the same, to the end, that the honourable dignity of Consuls should be open to as many as might be. And this did he with but the City, because he would not be hindred and letted in the action; and therewith substituted in his place *Lucius Sestius*, a man that of all others most affected and loved *Brutus*: who also wrote of his praises and commendable parts.

732

M. Marcellus. L. Aruntius.

THis year had for Consuls, as saith *Cassiodorus*, *M. Marcellus* and *L. Aruntius*: as *Dio*, *M. Claudius* son of *Marcus Marcellus*, and *A. Sernius* son of *Lucius*. In the Capitoll stone these Consuls are thus set down, *L. Aruntius* son of *L.* nephew of *L.* and *M. Claudius* son of *Marcus*, nephew of *M.* Whereby it is given to understand, that in the Sicilian records the Consuls are not well put down to be *Octavianus* the twelfth time, and *Aruntius*. In this year, the conspiracy of *Fannius Capi* and *Vatro Murana* against *Augustus* was discovered: and the Temple of thundering *Jupiter* was dedicated, witness *Dio*.

733

M. Lollius. Q. Lepidus.

THe Colotian stone and *Cassiodorus* shew for this year Consuls, *Q. Emilius Lepidus* and *M. Lollius*. *Dio* writeth, when *Augustus* was in *Sicily*, and the people of *Rome* at the assembly for Consuls election, there arose a sedition and commotion. For *M. Lollius* only entered upon the government, by reason that the other place was reserved and kept for *Augustus*: but when he made refusal, *Q. Lepidus* was created. Of these Consuls *Horace* in his first book of *Epistles* writeth thus:

Me quater andenas sciat implevisse. Decembres;
Callegam Lepidum quo dixit Evallius anno.

Know he, that 40 winters old and four, I was that year,
At *Rome* when Consul *Lollius* chose *Lepidus* his peer.

734

M. Apuleius. P. Silius.

After *Cassiodorus*, the Consuls that followed for this year, were *M. Apuleius* and *P. Silius*. But in *Dio*, *M. Apuleius* son of *Sexus*, and *Publius Silius* son of *Publius Nerva*. In the Sicilian records, *Apuleius* and *Nerva*.

735

C. Sestius. Q. Lucretius.

THe Colotian Stone, *Ensebius* in his treatise of Times, *Dio* and *Cassiodorus* set forth as Consuls this year, *Caius Sestius*, son of *Caius*,

Saturninus, and *Quintus Lucretius* son of *Quintus Vespillo*. Of this years consuls thus writeth *Dio*, *Caius Sestius* was declared Consul: but for that there was to be given him a companion, and *Augustus* refused the second place of Consulship reserved for him, there arose a sedition, untill *Augustus* pronounced Consul *Quintus Lucretius* one of the Embassadors, whom the Senat had sent unto him about the appeasing of the foresaid sedition; notwithstanding he was a man in times past proscribed and outlawed. The same writeth *Velleius* in the second book. In the broken Colotian stone it is to be read, that the Consul elected instead of *Sestius Saturninus*, was *M. Vinicius* son of *Marcus Velleius*, unto *Vinicius* adjoyneth as Colleague, *Agrippa*. In this year, after the first ten years were expired, for which space *Augustus* together with *Agrippa* at the first received the Censorian authority and dignity, he was created a second time by the people over-seer of mens behaviour for the term of five years; and resumed the Censors power for the same time, and the Consular authority for ever. So as, at all times, and in all places, he might have twelve Lictors go before him with their bundles of rods, and be allowed to take his place and sit with the Consuls.

736

Cn. Lentulus. P. Lentulus.

Publius Cornelius son of *Publius*, *Lentulus Marcellinus*: and *Cn. Cornelius* son of *Lucius*, are set down for Consuls by the Colotian Stoneable; by *Dio* also and *Cassiodorus*. In this year *Marcus Agrippa* by the motion and authority of the Emperour *Caesar Augustus*, obtained of the Senat and people of *Rome* the Tribunitian power for five years.

737

C. Furnius. C. Silanus.

THere succeeded Consuls next, according to *Cassiodorus*, *C. Furnius* and *C. Silanus*. After *Dio*, *C. Furnius* son of *C.* and *C. Junius* son of *Caius Silanus*. But in the Colotian fragment *C. Furnius* son of *Caius*, and *C. Junius*. While *C. Furnius* and *C. Junius Silanus* were Consuls, the solemn plaies, called *Seculares* were now the fift time let out by *Augustus*, as *Consortinus* and *Diocetianus*.

738

L. Domitius. P. Scipio.

Cassiodorus nameth for Consuls, *Lucius Domitius* and *P. Scipio*. The Sicilian records, *Enobarbus* and *C. Crastinus*. *Dio*, *L. Domitius* son of *Lucius*, nephew of *Lucius*, a brother *bus* and *P. Cornelius* son of *P.* nephew of *Publius Scipio*. In like manner the Colotian table, wherein it standeth, that for *P. Cornelius* there was substituted *L. Ta.* i.e. *Tarius*: of whom *Pliny* in his eighteenth book and seventh chapter writeth thus, *L. Tarius Rufus*, a man most base for his

percentage,

parentage, deserved a Consul under Augustus
 of happy memory, only for his military
 service. In this Consul year was the Quinquen-
 nial solemnity performed, as writeth Dio, in me-
 moriall of the Empire of Augustus and Agrip-
 pa one of the Quindecenvirs, had the ordering
 and setting out thereof.

739

M. Drusus. L. Piso.

The Consuls next following, were M. Drus-
 us and L. Piso, as Cassiodorus saith. The Si-
 cilian registers name them Libo and Piso. Dio,
 M. Drusus son of Lucius, Drusus Libo; and L.
 Calpurnius son of Lucius Piso, M. Drusus son of
 Marcus. L. according to the Colotian
 fragment.)

740

Cn. Lentulus. M. Crassus.

This year next following had for Consuls,
 after Cassiodorus, and the Sicilian monu-
 ments, Cn. Lentulus and M. Crassus whom Dio
 calleth, M. Licinius son of Marcus Crassus; and
 Cn. Cornelius son of Cn. Lentulus. The Colo-
 tian fragment sheweth Marcus Licinius son of
 Marcus.

741

T. Nero. Q. Quintilius

Tiberius Nero, and P. Quintilius were Con-
 suls this year, as Cassiodorus reporteth.
 They are named Nero and Quintus in the Sicilian
 Catalogue. And Dio calleth them Tiberius Claudi-
 us son of Tiberius Nero; and P. Quintilius, son
 of Sextus Varius. The Colotian fragment, Tibe-
 rius Claudius son of T. Suetonius writeth, that
 Tiberius bare his first Consulship but a few
 daies. For this is that Tiberius Nero, Augustus
 Casars wives son, who after the death of Au-
 gustus, attained to the Empire, having been first
 by him adopted.

742

M. Messala. P. Sulpitius.

Cassiodorus putteth down for Consuls, Mes-
 sala and P. Sulpitius. The Sicilian records,
 Messala and Quirinus. Dio, M. Valerius, son of
 Marcus, Messala Barbaui; and P. Sulpitius son
 of Publius Quirinus: of whom Suetonius in
 Claudius, and Tacitus in his second book write.
 Moreover, this is that Sulpitius Quirinus, who
 by Josephus in the seventeenth book of anti-
 quities and first chapter, is said to have borne the
 Consular dignity, and was Lieutenant in Syria.
 At which time, our Lord Jesus Christ the Re-
 deemer and Saviour of mankind, was borne; of
 whom Saint Luke maketh mention saying, This
 was the first enrolment or taxation which was
 made by Quirinus, President and governor of
 Syria. After these Consuls, others were substi-
 tuted in their place, as the Colotian stone shew-
 eth, wherein it is thus read:

M. Valerius, M. F.

C. Volgius, C. F.

Suff. C. Caninius.

likewise in Cassiodorus his Catalogue these Con-
 suls are written with their surnames:

Messala Quirinus.

Rebulus Saturninus.

Maximus Tubero.

By which it appeareth that Rebulus and Satur-
 ninus were the surnames of Caninius & Volgius.
 By a fragment of the capitol marble, it is evi-
 dent, that the surnames of Valerius was Em-
 lianus; of Volgius, Rufus; and Rebulus of Can-
 ninus: and that as Rufus was put in the place of
 Valerius, so Rebulus instead of Rufus. There re-
 mainerh also the memoriall of Rebulus and Sa-
 turninus in the Sicilian records. In this year, Dio
 reporteth, that Augustus was a second time
 made over-seer for mens manners and demer-
 itours five years more: and that he resumed still
 the same authority by cities, as also the Empire,
 and therein Agrippa died.

743

P. Fabius. Q. Aelius.

Cassiodorus exhibiteth for this years Con-
 suls, Paulus Fabius and Q. Aelius. Dio,
 Paulus Fabius, son of Quintus Maximus and
 Tubero. Of Q. Aelius Tubero, and P. Fabius Max-
 imus Consuls, Frontinus speaketh of in his book
 of water-conduits: and Pliny in his eight book
 and seventh chapter, where he writeth, that
 the Theater of Marcellus was dedicated when
 Quintus Tubero and Fabius Max. were Con-
 suls.

Julius Antonius. Q. Fabius.

Cassiodorus nameth for Consuls this year;
 Julius Antonius Africanus and Q. Fabius.
 Dio, Jul. Antonius Africanus, and Q. Fabius son
 of Quintus Maximus. The Sicilian Catalogue
 and Calender of Cuspinian, shew Africanus and
 Maximus. Dio nameth Julius the son of Antony-
 us. Unto him Horace writeth in this manner

Pindarum quisquis fuderit amplexu

Iule, corat eque Dadales

Nisiue pennie, &c.

With wings deuis'd by Dadales

And glaw'd with war, they lica

Whoftrive (Q. Iule) with Pindarus

To match his Poetry.

And after

Touche (Antoni) quous is seen

Antoni

As he doth mount the clouds aloft.

744

745
Drusus Nero, Titus Quinctius,

There succeeded Coss according to Cassiodorus, Drusus Nero, and T. Quinctius: but after Dio, Nero Claudius, son of Tiberius Drusus; and T. Quinctius, son of Titus Crispinus. Drusus and Crispinus, by Cyprianus Calender and the Sicili-

an registers. This Drusus brother of Tiberius Nero was Augustus Caesars wives son: who being Consul, died in Germany, and both he and his children had the surname of Germanicus, as Dio writeth: which addition the Senat gave him first of that Province, as Eutropius saith. With the death of this Drusus endeth Livies histories: for thus it is written in the last Epitome, &c. Look in the said Breviary.

To the Reader.

I doubt not but many of them who shall take delight and pleasure in reading the Roman story above-written, will presently grow into a liking of the very place, which hath afforded so worthy persons and rare examples. The love whereof hath moved many a man to undertake a voyage to Rome, only to see the river Tyberis, those seven hills, and the monuments remaining of that famous City. The journey they have found, for way long and tedious: for expence of money heavy and chargeable: for hazard of religion, conscience and good manners, exceeding dangerous: so far degenerate are the inhabitants now from that ancient people, so devout, so vertuous and uncorrupt, in old time. To satisfy the Reader in this behalf, and to avoid the perill of that travell, I thought it not amiss to bring Rome (as it were) home to them, even to represent unto their eye the Topography thereof, that is to say, the description of the places, with the memorable edifices, or rather the ruins of those antique buildings, mentioned in the story aforesaid. And forasmuch as Bartholmew Marlian hath herein taken pains, and made a Treatise thereof, worthy in his conceit to be dedicated unto that noble Prince of famous memory, Francis the French King, the first (I take it) of that name: and for that those learned men, who last set Livy forth in print, have thought good to adjoyne thereto, as a necessary dependant, the foresaid Treatise: I for my part, having struggled with the difficulties of the Alps, and in some sort overcome them: crossed Rhodn, and the Po: passed over the hills Olympus and Aemus, and scrawled through the rough streights of Thetmopylae and Tempe, seem now I would not at my return to stick at the pleasant mount, Palatine, Capitoll, Aventin, &c. with the plains and valleys between, or the river Tyber and Mars field underneath them, beautified especially with such princely Temples, triumphant Arches, glorious Palaces, Theatres, Circuses, Colonnas, and Colosses, wonders of the world. And albeit I found Marlian far unlike himself, and the book that goeth in his name much corrupted in the print, yet by conference with other Authors, I have reformed the fault, and endeavoured that our English edition might in some measure be answerable to the Latine.

A Summary collected by John Bartholmew Marlianus, a Gentleman of Millain, touching the Topography of Rome in ancient time.

The First Book.

CHAP. I.

The situation of the City.

Before we enterpise to shew the edifices and buildings of the City of Rome, somewhat would be premised of the site thereof. Begin therefore we will at the very habitation of the immortal gods: with the invocation of whom, the Poets are wont in every hard and difficult work, to lay their first ground and make their entrance.

The Capitoll hill, where it is broadest, exceedeth not 800 foot: in length it lyeth out toward the Northwest 1500. It hath a point or wing on either side in fashion of a semicircle, and in compasse containeth well-near seven* furlongs.

* Stadia.

From this mount as it runneth out in length, the Palatine hill is divided by a valley of the same breadth, or somewhat more; making a square with four angles of unequall sides, containing 1200 paces. For the one of 600 foot bendeth upon the Capitoline hill: a second of seven hundred foot, bendeth to the Northeast: the third, being almost twice as long, looketh toward the Southeast and the mount Calvus: the fourth, which of all others is biggest, and comprehendeth the lists or shew-place, called Circus Maximus, directly regardeth the Aventine. On the second side thereof there is one plain, reaching from the head and top of the Forum Rom. to the utmost skirt of the hill Quirinalis, which bendeth toward the Suburra, and taketh up in breadth 500 foot: but it lieth out in length almost a mile from both fronts, between the Capitoll, the Forum Nervae, and the mount Calvus: in like manner from the said mount Calvus and Palatine, Suburra and the Esquilina, as far as to the Church of Saint Marcellus. A second plain there is, under

under the other point and top of the Capitol, near the Theatre of Marcellus, which stretcheth out 500 foot from the mount it self, as far as to the Tyber; and anon over against the valley from the crooked reach and course of the river, and the nook whereby the *Aventine* is divided from the *Palatine*, it spreadeth broader: but afterwards between the said hills it groweth narrow, untill ye come to *Calisius* and the very gate *Capena*, where the *Aventine* is parted from *Calisius* only by the breadth of the street or high way. The length of this plain is likewise a mile, having on the right hand, *Tyber* and the *Aventine*; on the left, *Capitoline* mount, the *Palatine*, and *Calisius*.

Then followeth the mount *Calisius* (separate from the *Palatine* by a plain) resembling a pyramidal form of a spire, so as the Bale thereof containeth 500 foot near to the Amphitheatre. Divided also from the same it is by the street *Appia*, fast by the grand Cirque, which reaching to the gate *Capena*, leaveth on the left hand a valley 600 foot broad, between *Calisius* and *Calisius* lying out in length 4 *Stadia*, and within a while to the wals which joyn close to the mount *Calisius*, as far as to the gate *Asinaria*. This hill then from thence lyeth along the City wall for 4 *Stadia*, toward the Northeast. From hence the wals meet afront for the space of two *Stadia*, even to the gate *Nevia*: from whence as they turn to the Northeast, it is parted from the *Esquilie* by the street *Laticlavia*: and anon shewing it self afront near *S. Marcellines*, it beareth forward as far as to the Amphitheatre. Thus keeping no certain form, it taketh in circuit about 2500 paces. Moreover, the *Calisius* is enclosed within the said valley, the street *Appia*, and all along Northeast and Southeast, with the City wals: and hath in compass well near a mile.

The *Aventine* seemeth to contain two hills: the broader part whereof toward the *Tyber*, and in like manner in length from *Tyber* along the wals, and anon near the gate *Hofstiensis*, is divided and cut with a crooked street-way which leadeth to the angle of the grand Cirque, and the mount *Calisius*: leaving the other part thereof, divided on the right hand from the mount *Calisius* by the street *Appia*, untill you come to the gate *Capena*. It had in compass 18 *Stadia*, as *Dionysius* also testifieth: and on the Southeast, a most spacious and large plain of 4 unequal sides: toward the South containing almost 6 *Stadia*, Westward five, somewhat less Eastward, but toward the *Tyber* not above four.

The *Esquilie* on the South part is divided with the street *Laticlavia*, on the Northwest, with the valley lying between *Calisius*, *Palatinus*, and it self: on the North the *Suburra*: and from the *Viminal* hill, the street called *Pontius* parteth it, untill a man come to the bath of *Dioclesian*. In circuit it containeth about 4 miles, and hath no certain form: inso much as *Varro* (not without good reason) thinketh it two hills, and curbeth it into many parts.

The *Viminal* hill on the West side regardeth the *Quirinal*, having about a furlong space the plain *Suburra* lying between: on the North it hath the valley *Quirinalis*. Between the same hills there lyeth as it were 4 *juga* in breadth, but about a quarter of a mile in length. And anon it joyneth to the *Quirinal* and *Esquilie* along the wall of the City, by a continuall row of many arches, whereby these mountains are made even. The compass thereof taketh up two miles and an half: the form thereof is longwise, and the breadth not in every part alike, but variable.

The *Quirinal* mount on the left hand, directly from the tower called [*Militarium*] for the space of 4 *Stadia*, over-looketh the levell plot of the City which lieth Westward: but on the right hand (as clearly appeareth by that which we have said) it is opposite to the *Viminalis*: on the third side Northward, for the space of 6 *Stadia*, it lieth to the hill called [*Hortulorum*]. It hath a valley lying between, in breadth 4 *juga*, reaching near to the gate *Salaria*: and in the whole compass it taketh almost three miles.

Next to it is the little hill *Hortulorum*, although it standeth without the old pomary of the city: for the space of 3 *Stadia* it beareth over the valley *Martia* lying between it and *Tyber*. It carrieth in length along the wall of the City, from the gate *Flumentana* to *Collina*, a full mile more than any other sides. The circumference thereof is much about 18 *Stadia*.

There remaineth now the mount *Janiculus*, on the other side of *Tyber*: the one half thereof, and not above, is contained within the wals: from the *Vatican* plain, for the space of 3 *Stadia*, whereas it stretcheth toward the South, it adjoyneth to the river: the other part thereof is enclosed within the wals, for the compass of five *Stadia*.

Moreover, above the *Vatican* plain, there is a little hill of the same nature, which putteth forth two points like horns: the one toward *Janiculum*, the other Northward, much like a bow full bent: the convexity or outward compass whereof containeth a mile.

Now will we run over the plain and base plot of the City: which beginning at the Capitol hill near the gate *Flaminia*, at this day on the Northeast side (or rather the North) comprehendeth a Diameter or race almost of 8 *Stadia*, environed with the hills *Quirinalis* and *Hortulorum*: but on the West side, the *Tyber* runneth by it, where along the banks thereof it beareth a greater space. Moreover, by a straight and direct line being drawn for two *Stadia* from the hill *Hortulorum*, and namely, where it over-looketh the Piere of *Damitian* called *Naumachia*: along the bank of *Tyber*, over against the *Pile Hadriani*, it maketh a quadrangle of four uneven sides, containing within it more than three miles: without which square is left the valley *Martia*, namely, as much as lieth between the hill *Hortulorum*, the wall of the City, and *Tyber*: so as the breadth draweth narrower still unto the gate *Flaminia*.

There resteth yet the Trans-Tyberin region, which together with the *Janiculum*, taketh in compass about three miles. This will be more easily observed and marked by the very channel of *Tyber*.

Tyberis; which entering into the city, keepeth his course directly on the right hand of the gate *Flaminia* through the vale *Martia*, and soon after by little and little turneth from the North, Westward, and representeth the form of a semicircle, in the convexity whereof is the *Vatican*, and within the concavity, the *Mars* field. Moreover, beneath the *Moles* or pile [*Hadriani*] returning to his former course, as far as to the utmost foot of the *Aventine*, winding somewhat crooked into the South, not far from the gate *Portuensis* it runneth forth of the city.

Thus much concerning the situation and form of *Rome*, and the plot wherein it standeth, which at this day is so far changed, that hardly a man may find any token or memoriall of it, as it was in old time.

CHAP. II.

Of the founders of the City of Rome, the KK, and Inhabitants thereof.

THE region (on which *Rome* was after built) West of *Tyber*, a hundred and forty furlongs distant from the sea, the *Sicilians* (by constant report) first inhabited. Afterwards, the *Aborigines* leaving *Arcadia*, by the conduct of *Oenotrius* the son of *Lycaon*, came into the said quarters: and being grown into a liking of the place for the fertility thereof, they expelled the *Sicilians*, and held it for their own use. In process of time the *Pelasgians*, a people of *Greece*, together with the *Thessalians*, who came to aid the *Aborigines* against the nations their neighbor borderers, remained also in these parts (with the good will and contentment of the said *Aborigines*) untill the *Trojan* war: but they all retained the name of the *Aborigines*, which prerogative they held because they were the first, that by arms conquered that seignory and kingdom. Long time after, *Saturn* being chased out of *Crete* by *Jupiter* his son, fled into *Italy*: where he taught *Janus* the King of the *Aborigines* the skill of planting vineyards, with the use thereof, and likewise the handling of the sickle: in regard of which good turn, he was freely seoffed by *Janus* in part of his realm, yea, and after the decease of *Janus* enjoyed the kingdom alone. After this, the *Arcadians*, who forsook the city *Palantium* (as weary of their own native country) and by the leading of *Evander*, seeking some other place of habitation, arrived at the place where now *Rome* standeth: received of *Faunus* the K. of the *Aborigines*, a portion of ground; built a fort upon a little hill not far from *Tyber*, and named it *Palantium*, in remembrance of their native city which they had abandoned. After all this, the *Peloponnesians*, *Phanetians*, and *Epians*, by reason that *Elis* their native country was wasted before by *Hercules*, were by him brought away into *Italy*, and they planted themselves upon the mount *Saturnine*. These men lived a long time according to their own laws and customs, untill they being vanquished and subdued by the *Aborigines*, were incorporated by them into one Commonalty. Then reigned *Latinus* the son of *Faunus*, untill such time as *Aeneas* the son of *Anchises*, after the overthrow and finall ruin of *Ilium*, after many adventures and much variety of fortune, which he had endured together with the *Trojans* his companions, came by the instinct of the destinies to K. *Latinus*. Whose daughter *Lavinia* he took to wife, and so was by *Latinus* admitted into the society and fellowship with him of the kingdom. When the *Aborigines* and the *Trojans* were thus linked and joyned together, he called both nations by the name of *Latines*. Then was *Aeneas* warred upon by *Turnus*: for that he had married *Lavinia*, who was espoused and affianced to him before. But *Aeneas* won the victory, and in single combat slew *Turnus*. At that time also *Latinus* died, and left his son in law *Aeneas* heir to the crown. certain years after was *Aeneas* killed by *Mezentius* K. of the *Tuscans*; and *Ascanius* his son succeeded in the kingdom. He built the towns *Lavinium* and *Alba*: and when he departed this life, made over the crown to his brother *Sylvius*. After him followed Kings, *Aeneas Sylvius*, *Latinus Sylvius*, *Alba*, *Atys*, *Cappys*, *Caperus*, *Tyberinus*, *Agrippa*, *Romulus*, *Aventinus*, *Procas*, and *Amulius*. This *Amulius* usurped the kingdom by fraud, which in right of eldership was due to his brother *Numitor*. And for fear least there might arise from his brothers off-spring, some one to make claim and recover the royall seat, and thereby himself be thrust out of his place, he consecrated *Rhea* the daughter of *Numitor* to *Vesta*, for to be a professed Nun. She being thus made a votary, and devoted to perpetuall virginity, happened to be with child by *Mars*, and was delivered of two boies, twins, namely, *Romulus* and *Remus*. *Amulius* advertised hereof, commanded both the babes to be cast forth to perish. Found they were by *Faustulus* a shepherd upon the bank of the river *Tyber*, and by his wife *Faustula* fostered and brought up among other shepherds. *Remus* being grown to mans estate, was taken by certain thieves and robbers, and brought to K. *Amulius* his great-uncle. Accused he was, for that he used to raise booties and drive away whole droves of *Numitor* his cattell. Whereupon delivered he was to *Numitor* for to be punished according to his discretion. But *Remus* after much discourse of speeches to and fro, was by certain tokens found and known to be *Numitor* his daughters son. And at the very time came *Romulus* also with *Faustulus* in place, purposing to rescue *Remus* his brother. Soon they expired into a conspiracy, and at unawares surprized and murdered *Amulius*: and so restored their grandsire *Numitor*. In the second year of *Numitor* his reign, *Romulus* and *Remus* built the City of *Rome*, in the very place where they had been laid forth to perish, which was the 432 year after the winning of *Troy*, and the twelfth day before the calends of *May*. Afterwards in a fray that arose between *Romulus* and *Remus* striving for the sovereignty, *Remus* came by his death, and then *Romulus* gave name both to the City and Citizens also of *Rome*.

CHAP.

CHAP. III

The form and bigness of the City of Romulus.

Romulus set out the City four square, as Plinarch witnesseth: whereupon of some it is called *Quadrata*. Others affirm, that the form and compass thereof is uncertain, and by reason of Antiquity unknown at this day. The hill *Palatinus* was by Romulus first fortified, because therein he was brought up: at the foot thereof began the *Pomerium*. Afterwards the Capitol and the Roman Forum were laid to it.

The City began to be marked and bounded out from the beast-market: from whence in certain places were stories pitched and set between, along the bottom of the mount *Palatinus* as far as to the altar of *Consus*: and so within a while to the old *Curia*: then, to the Chappell of the *Lares* and the Roman Forum the bounds were extended, untill a place was assigned for the walls, and a spacious plot to build the City upon.

Titus Tatius began the wall from the rock *Carmentalis*, and brought it to the way, which is not far from *Tyber*. From thence Southward unto the farthest part of the grand Circus: and so Northward he ranged it into the Forum of *Nerva*: and in the end joyned it to one of the points of the Capitol hill, and within it compassed both the Capitol itself, and also the *Palatine*. And finally, to enlarge the City, he set so to the hills *Quirinalis* and *Colinus*.

CHAP. III

The gates of Romulus his City.

Romulus when he died, left the City of Rome with three gates, namely, *Carmentalis*, *Roman*, and *Pandana*. Others add a fourth thereto, to wit, *Janualis*.

Carmentalis took the name of *Carmentis*, the mother of *Evander*, whose Chappel *Carmentalis* stood before the gate. This gate stood under the Capitol on the right hand, between the cliff *Tarpieus* and the *Tyber*, over-against the Church now of *S. Katharine*, toward the shew-place *Flamininus*. This was afterwards named *Scelerata*, for that without this gate, in the Temple of *Janus*, the act of *Senat* passed for the sending of the three hundred *Fabii* to *Cremora*, who went forth at this gate, and were slain every one at *Cremora*.

Roman was so called of *Romulus*: built it was where now the gardens are belonging to the new Church of *S. Mary* not far from the angle of the mount *Palatinus* in the bottom of the cliff of *Vulturna*. Some affirm that this gate was afterwards called *Mugonia*, of the lowing of kine and oxen: others name it *Trigonis*, of three corners that it had.

Pandana was so named, because it stood open for things to be brought through it into the City. The same also was called *Libera*, or *Romulida*. The place for it they assigned where the gate *Satur-nalis* stood, bearing the name of the old City so called and after destroyed.

Janualis carried the name of the Temple *Janus*, which is not far off. It stood sometime at the very foot of the hill *Viminalis*.

CHAP. V

The variety of the compass and walls of the City.

When the Romans one while made war upon their neighbor nations of *Italy*, and other-whiles defended themselves against their violence, it hapned for the most part that they got the upper hand, and ever as they vanquished any and subdued them under their subjection, in the end made them Citizens of Rome: by which occasion, the City built by *Romulus*, was not sufficient to receive so great a multitude. *Tullius* therefore after his conquest of the Sabins and *Albans* laid to the City the mountain *Colinus* and the *Esquilia*, and so enlarged it. Afterwards, when *Politorium* was won, and a number of the inhabitants translated to Rome, *Ancus* made a second enlargement of the City, and granted these new comers the mount *Aventinus* to inhabit. The old Romans therefore dwelt in *Palatinus*: the Sabins in *Capitolium*: the Albans in *Colinus*: and this new come multitude in *Aventine*. But after the Latines also were received into the City, they joyned *Janiculum* also to the city by a wooden bridge made over the *Tyber*: and cast a trench called *Fossa Quirinalis*, about the low and level places of the city. So the Trans-*tyberine* quarter was united to the city, and made it more spacious and stately: last of all, *Servius Tullius* by adjoyning the hills *Viminalis* and *Quirinalis* to the five abovenamed, amplified the city. And as before it was mounded about with rubbish, and the same rudely laid, *Tarquin* the proud was the first that enclosed it with a wall of good ashler stone. And the very same walls, which stand at this day, were by the posterity that followed, repaired and reedified upon the old foundations. But the city in old time, when as it flourished in greatest glory, extended far more in bounds and compass. For in *Plinius* time the circuit thereof within the wall contained about 20 miles. But in these daies hardly 12. And the whole compass of the city, with the suburbs and buildings about and without the walls (which although they spread far, were comprehended yet under the name of city) in the said *Plinius* time, was 30 miles.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The Pomary of the City.

That void space of ground within and without the walls, which might not lawfully be either ploughed or inhabited, is called *Pomary*. And sometime it is put for the circuit of the whole City. This *Pomary* was oftentimes let out farther, and altered by the Roman Emperors. But none had power granted so to do, save only they that either conquered somewhat to the Roman dominion, or endowed the City with some singular and especial benefit: as the Emperor *Claudius* and many more. And like as the Romans had no certain limits of their Empire, so no set bounds confined either the City or the *Pomary*.

CHAP. VII.

The gates of old Rome, which at this day are not to be seen: those also that are now extant.

Even as the bounds of the City and *Pomary* were many times altered, so the gates also: some were left within the City, by occasion that the walls were farther let out and lost their names: others in time were so old, that they fell down, and albeit their name remain, yet the place where they stood is not known. Some again were made new, and took either new names, or else kept their old: others changed the place, and held their old name: and finally, there were some that had two names: and others, more. And these in manner were all the names of the gates:

Flumentana, or *Flaminia*.

Quirinalis, *Agonenfis*, or *Collina*.

Nomentana, or *Viminalis*.

Janualis, or *Sabias*, leading into the Sabins country.

Esquilina, or *Taurina*.

Navia, or *Laticlana*.

Capena, or *Appia*.

Calimontana, or *Asinaria*.

Tergemina, or *Hofienfis*.

Portuensis, or *Navalis*.

Ratumena, or *Vientana*.

Triumphalis, or *Patricana*.

Carmenalis, *Maronia*, *Pandana*, *Querquetulana*, *Raduscula*, *Saginati*, *Saucnalis*, *Collatina*, *Interagares*, *Tiburtina*, *Gabinfa*, *Latina*, *Aurelia*, *Calatiana*, *Laurentia*, *Fontinalis*, *Lavinialis*, *Ferentina*, *Minutina*, *Salutaria*, *Mutia*, *Piccularis*, *Preneftina*, *Libitinenfis*, *Valeria*, and *Tarpeia*.

Flumentana took name of the river *Tiberis*: for it stood at the first upon the bank of that river, not far from the bridge of *Xystus*, in the end of the Broad street, and at the head of the way, or street *Flaminia*: but afterwards, translated it was to the place where now it standeth. In time following, it was called *Flaminia*, of the cauley of *Flaminius*: at this day it is named, The peoples gate, and is situate in the hill *Hortulorum*.

Collatina bare the name of *Collatia*, a town not far from *Rome*: now it is *Pinciana*, of one *Pincus*, a Senator, whose name it keepeth. This also standeth in the hill *Hortulorum*: between it and *Flumentana* is a mile space.

Quirinalis took name of the Chappel of *Quirinus*: or because in old time the way lay through it, for them that went to the hill *Quirinalis*. It seemeth to be called *Agonenfis*, quasi *Agony*, i.e. without a corner; afterwards, *Collina*: and at the last, *Salaria*: for that by it salt was carried into the City. This name it holdeth still, and standeth 6 *Stadia* from *Collatina*.

Viminalis is from *Quirinalis* distant 5 *Stadia*; so named, as they say, of a wood of *Ofiers*, which (as it is supposed) sometime grew thereby: or else of a Chappel of *Jup. Viminis*. This also then called *Figulensis*, of the potters works made without it: but now they name it the gate of *S. Agnes*, and *Nomentana*.

Interagares standeth in the Plain *Viminalis*, between the gate *Viminalis* and *Esquilina*: it had the denomination of *Tarquinius* his mures and banks, among which it was built.

Tiburtina stood between *Esquilina* and *Nomentana*, so as it was 12 *Stadia* distant from *Esquilina*, upon the plain of *Esquilie* in the very place where the conduit is of the *Mary* water.

Esquilina took that name of the hill *Esquilie*, the same in ancient time was called *Taurina*, of a bulls head there found: for many a day, after, was the said bulls head seen painted in the inner front of the said gate. At this day, *S. Laurence* gate.

Navia drew the name of certain groves or woods near adjoining. In times past *Laticlana*, and now *Major*. An arch there was so called, and erected in the same place by the old Romans.

Calimontana, standing from *Navia* 8 *Stadia*, seemeth by a finity of name to be so called of the hill *Calus*, in the edge whereof it standeth: and *Asinaria* it was called, of the *Asses* which were wont to be sent out to *Naples*, by that gate. At this time they call it *S. Johns* gate.

Gabinfa, built close to the mount *Calus*, South-east: which seemeth by all likelihood to take the name of the City *Gabii*, which it directly regardeth. It carried the name also *Morodium*, of measuring, and is situate from *Calimontana*, as it were 5 *Stadia*.

Latina is 5 *Stadia* likewise from *Gabinfa*, seated not far from the Church of *S. John Baptist*: so called, for that men go forth of it into *Latium*.

Capena is so named of the *Capenas*, a Latin nation, against which it lyeth. This also is called still *Camana*, of a grove and Chappel of the *Muses*, built just before the same gate. *Appia* likewise, of the high-way *Appia*; which *Appius* the Centor paved, and so it bare his name. They call it also

* *Nemoribus*.

also *Triumphalis*, for that in triumph the pomp is that way carried with state. Of some it is named *Pontialis*, for the plenty of springs there. At this day *S. Sebastian's* gate.

Tergemina took that name of an old gate so called, at which the 3 twins *Romulus* went forth against their enemies, and gave the first name to it. Some shew remaineth yet of this gate to be seen, near the *Salina*.

Hostiensis, was in ancient daies so called, for that it led to the City *Hostia*: now *S. Paul's* gate: situate it is from *Capena* well near 8 *Stadia*.

Portuensis is a gate beyond the *Tyber*, within half a *Stadium* of the said river: so called, for that it leadeth to the haven of *Hostia*. Now a daies men call it, *Porta ripa*, i. The bank gate.

Aurelia, looketh toward *Janiculum*: distant from the former almost 7 *Stadia*. In this age they call it *S. Pancrace* gate.

Aelia, was built by *Elivus Hadrianus*, of whom it took that name.

Septimiana, bare the name of *Septimius* the Emperor: and because it standeth under *Janiculum*, is at this day called, *Subura Janum*. Some affirm, that this is *Fontialis*, because out of the mount called *Aureus*, there issue fountains: for to the said hill this gate standeth close. From it to *Aurelia* are 5 *Stadia*: and to the river *Tyber* 7 jugera or acres.

Thus much for the gates of the City of *Rome*, and their names.

The wall in old time had upon it 360 towers. Some of these are decayed and gone: others repaired, and many this long time are ready to fall.

NOW is it time, and the course of the Story doth require, that leaving the towrs and walls, we enter into the City, and shew the beginning and the place of those edifices, which within the walls, either upon the hills or the plain plot of the City, were built by men in old time. First therefore, begin we will at the worthiest earthly habitation of all their Gods, to wit, the *Capitol*.

The second Book

CHAP. I.

The sundry names of the Capitol.

THE Capitol was by the old Romans called Mount *Saturnius*, either of a City named *Saturnia*, which under the very hill was built in that place where now *Rome* standeth: or because *Saturn* in times past dwelt in that hill: onelic (as some think) for that the mount it self had *Saturn* for the tutelar God and Protector thereof. But afterwards it was named the mount *Tarpeius*, of the Virgin *Tarpeia*, of whom *Livy* writeth. Last of all, *Tarquinius Priscus* going in hand to build upon that hill a temple to *Jupiter*, when he digged for to lay the foundation, chanced to find in the bottom of the trench a man's head: whereupon they called it *Capitolinus*. And the Augurs being sought unto and demanded: What the finding of that head might signify? answered, That this Castle should be the See of the empire and the head of the whole world. This hill they divide into the Castle and the Capitol. The Castle they built Northward, as a stronger and more fortified place: but the Capitol, toward *Tyberis*, a place naturally defended.

CHAP. II.

Who first laid the foundation of the Capitol: who finished it: how often it was burnt, and by whom reedified.

IN the Sabine war, *Tarquinius Priscus* vowed to build the Capitol temple: but after the war was ended, so soon as he had laid the ground-work, he died. After him, *Tarquinius Superbus* finished the building, of a square stone, and decaied the charges thereof out of the pillage of *Pometia*, a Town that he won. When he for his tyranny was banished *Rome*, *Lucius Postumus* the Consul dedicated the said Capitol to *Jupiter*. It stood upright and sound for the space of 415 years, until the Marian wars, and then (in the Consulship of *Sulpio* and *Marius*) it was consumed with fire. *Sylla* re-edified it, and *Q. Caecilius* consecrated it: and so it continued until the Vitellian war. During which troubles, it was a second time burnt, at what time it stood with the doors shut, undefended, and not rised. *Vespasian* built it again, and in his life, a third time it was decaied by fire: and together with the Capitol, *Vespasian* also himself died. Afterwards, *Domitian* re-built it in more magnificent and stately manner than it had been ever before, and disbursed therein above 12000 talents. Of the Capitol towers and pinacles, the flames and images smitten with thunder-bolts, and blasted oftentimes with lightning, divers writers have made mention.

CHAP. III.

The Temple of *Jup. Feretrius*, of *Jup. Opt. Max.*, of *Juno*, and *Minerva*.

THE Capitol, *Cicero* calleth The house and habitation of the gods, because it contained the chappels, flames, and images in manner of all the gods: but the first of all other in *Rome* was

that of *Jupiter Feretrius*, vowed by *Romulus* in the war against the *Caenians*. After which war ended, and he returned to *Rome* with victory, he reared a temple in the very pitch and top of the capitol hill. But *Jupiter* was by *Romulus* named *Feretrius*, as some would have it; for that *Jupiter* assisted him in striking the enemy, in that very place where he vowed the temple. Or else, because the Romans used in making of peace, to swear by his scepter and the flint. The roof of this Church fell down for very age and through neglect of the Romans. *Augustus* repaired. This temple first built by *Romulus*, was afterwards enlarged by *Ancus Martius*.

But the temple of *Jup. Opt. Max.* of all other was the greatest and most renowned. This also was called *Capitolium*; and *Targ. Priscus* vowed it. After him, *Targ. Superbus* expended in the foundation thereof 40000 pound weight of silver; but before that he finished it, he was deprived of his Kingdom for his tyranny, and left the work unperfect to be accomplished by the Romans. Built it was upon the hanging of the Capitoline hill toward *Tyberis*, as hath been shewed before. For the form, the greatness and beauty of this temple, read *Dionysius* and sundry other authors, who have written of the Roman acts and of *Rome* it self. Upon the top or lantern thereof, stood *Summanus* the God, made of potters earth, whose head was smitten with lightning and fell into *Tyberis*. It had within it besides, a sanctuary or secret chappel, which no Lay person might enter into. Within the said cell or chappel, were two coronets of gold: the one of them the Gauls consecrated to *Jup. Opt. Maximus*; the other, the Carthaginians sent to *Rome* in the honor of *Jupiter*, in token of joy for their victory over the Samnites. Moreover, in the said temple were other three chappels, to wit, one of *Jup. Opt. Max.* in the midst; a second of *Minerva* on the right hand; and a third of *Juno* on the left. And because men in old time attributed unto *Minerva* the invention of numbers, a law was set down in writing, That the chief and highest Pretor for the time being, should drive a spike or great nail near unto her image, whereby the computation of the years might be known. This so rich and costly edifice, was burnt all at once in the Vitellian war. Now at this day the place wheras it stood, is prophane: howbeit there remain yet to be seen, some tokens thereof, and the foundations; but all deformed and broken peecemeal.

CHAP. IV.

The Temples of Saturn, Jupiter Tonans, Jupiter Custos, of Fortune, of Vejovis, Mercy, Juno Moneta, and of Janus. The sepulchre of Orestes, the common Treasury, the house of Manlius, and chappel of Carmenta.

Since that we have described the temple of *Jupiter K.* of the Gods, in what place it was situate, and by whom built; meet it is to make report also of other gods in order, who had their houses in the capitol: and first of *Saturn*, *Jupiter's* father.

Saturn in old time had an altar erected unto him in the very way as ye go out of the *Forum* up to the capitol, as some think. There is that would have this temple or altar of *Saturn*, built by the companions of *Hercules*: others again say, that *Tunius* reared it. But of this variety in opinion of Writers, this may be the reason, because some affirm, that there were two temples consecrated to *Saturn*, but reared in divers places and at several times: one at the rock of *Carmenta*, even before the capitoline cliff (wherein the bones also of *Orestes* brought from *Archia* were bestowed); the other in that very place, where now standeth the chappel of *S. Savinour*: where yet at this day there is a turret to be seen, which they call, the Tower in *Erarium*: for there first was the common treasure house of *Rome*. In the temple of *Saturn*, dedicated by *Caecilius Lucatius*, there stood *Ianus* with four faces; signifying the four times of the year: of whom the first month *January* took name.

The temple of *Jupiter Tonans* *Augustus Caesar* first built, on the capitoline cliff or side of the hill, South-east; upon this occasion: It happened, that in the Cantabrian expedition, as he was carried by night in a litter, the lightning slightly glanced thereupon, and killed the servant that was the guide; and therefore he both vowed this temple, and also finished it to the honor of *Thundering Jupiter*. A temple also to *Fortune* was built not far from it.

The temple of *Vejovis* stood between the castle and the capitol, in that part where now the chappels are to be seen of consecrations. In old time they called this Idol-devil, *Vejovis*, because he was deprived of all power to help and do good. To him they sacrificed a she goat: because he held arrows in his hand, most men thought he was *Apollon*.

Asylum, that is to say, the temple of *Mercy* stood likewise upon the capitol hill, near a shadowy grove, in the very valley amid the capitol, and the castle. Called it is the temple *Intermentium*, between two cities. This, *Romulus* erected, that what offender soever thither fled, he should be privileged as in a sanctuary. But *Tyberius* afterwards, supposing that this place afforded occasion of mischief, deprived it of that liberty. This *Asylum*, by report, the posterity of *Hercules* first erected.

The temple (as also the mint-house) of *Juno Moneta*, was built upon that plot of ground, where sometime stood the house of *M. Manlius*. This chappel, some report that *L. Furius* vowed; others, that *L. Cicereius* the Pretor; and *Ovid*, that *Camillus*. Now was *Juno* called *Moneta*, of giving warning: for that from the very place where afterwards the temple was set, there was a voice heard of *Juno*, admonishing them of the future overthrow by the *Saturnes*. In this place now standeth a Senators house of *Rome*.

The

The temple of *Janus* keeper of the Capitoline castle, stood in that place, whereat that day is the goal and prison for malefactors and fellows, toward the Southwest, over against the *Forum Romanum*. This *Janus* upon the Capitol, *Romulus* and *Tatius* devised to have two faces presenting thereby the two nations. Others would have him to be painted a faced for his cunning and providence: for he was the first that invented the toiall crown; also boats; the skill of navigation; brassen coin and many other things. *Janus* took that name *ab annis*, of going, for that he turneth about the heaven and all things else. For which cause he also named *Versutinus*. In old time they beleevd there was but one *Janus*; but posterity in later age, have imagined more.

The temple of *Jupiter Custos*, *Domitian* (after he was invested in the empire) built; and placed his own image in the lap and bosome of that god. It stood where at this day the *Salara* or fairpud are, near to the temple of *Janus*.

CHAP. V.

The temple of gods which have no certain place now in the Capitol.

Among those gods, whose determinat place assigned to them in the Capitol, is not known where it was, the first was *Terminus*, as to whom in all the world throughout, there is no proper place appointed. Now this *Terminus* was a rude and formless stone. Unto him *Tatius* first vowed a temple; and some say, that *Numa* dedicated it. How ever it be; no doubt verily ancient it was, as easily may be collected by that which followeth. But why, that in the Capitol was of men in old time reputed for a god, this was the cause: when *Tarquinius Superbus* determined to build a temple to *Jupiter*, he consulted with the Augurs about the place, because he would begin nothing without the approbation of the birds. They shewed unto him the mount *Tapeius*, but this place was already taken up with other gods, whose chappels there, were consecrated and hallowed. These therefore were by certain sacrifices to be conjured out from thence, for to give way to *Jupiter*, and to be transited into some other quarter. All the gods willingly yielded their places up to *Jupiter* as their King, only *Terminus* refused to be displaced; and so remained there still. When he had finished the temple and fore-part of the roof which regardeth the said stone, was left naked and open for that god, as who neither ought nor could be enclosed, the augures therefore being sought unto and demanded; For what reason *Terminus* alone abode still with *Jupiter*, when all the other gods were gone? made answer, that thereby signified, that together with religion, their empire also was eternall. To this god they sacrificed not but in open air and publicly abroad; as being the god and keeper of bounds. Saint *Augustine* witnesseth, that *Mars* also and *Jupiter* together with *Terminus*, would not agree to give place to *Jupiter*: for that the dominion of *Rome* should not be bounded out, nor yet decay with age and continuance of time.

To *Mars* and *Venus Ericeia*, *Attulus* and *Q. Fab. Max.* being *Duumvirs*, dedicated chappels upon the Capitol, severed asunder by one vault or cistern.

To queen *Juno*, *C. Flaminius* in the Ligurian war, vowed a temple.

To *Ops*, *Tatius* the King, consecrated a temple; for that she is called the earth, and is the mother of all things, as bringing forth all, and receiving all again. The same *Ops* is called *Maia*, *Fauna*, and *Bona Dea*. This temple was blasted with fire from heaven, as *Livy* testifieth.

Mars revenger, *Augustus Caesar* erected a temple upon the Capitol, within the hill *Saturninus*.

To *Faith*, on the same hill, *Attulus* *Collatinus* dedicated another.

To *Health*, *Concord*, *Liberty*, and *Victory*, they built temples: and many there were within the city erected to *Concord*.

To *Fortuna Primigenia* and *Obsequence*, *Tullus* dedicated a temple.

To *Venus* bald they also set up a temple in the Capitol, in memoriall and everlasting praise of the Roman dames, for willingly parting with the hair from their heads, toward the making of engine, that during the Gauls war, were devised and made against the enemies.

Tarquinius Superbus built a temple to *Jupiter Sponsor*, and *Sp. Posthumius* dedicated it. Likewise to *Jupiter*. After the old Romans consecrated a temple in the Capitol.

- The bakers

CHAP. VI.

Of the statues which either in old time were or now remain in the Capitol.

OF statues in old time were sundry sorts, and the same made of divers matter: some of marble; some of brass, some of silver, and others of gold. Many of these were set up in the Capitol to the immortal gods for divers causes; and namely, for their benefits bestowed upon mankind; which a long time were honoured and worshipped. To noble men likewise and such as had deserved well of the common-weal, the usual manner was in old time to set up statues and images in the temples, to provoke others by their example to do the like.

To *Jupiter* in the Capitol, *Sp. Carvilius* erected a statue in his temple, after he had vanquished the Samnites, taking the proportion or form thereof by the pattern of *Jupiter Latiarius* his image. *Florus* maketh mention, that this statue was smitten with lightning. He also set up another to thundring *Jupiter*.

The old Romans set up in the temple of *Jup. Ops. Max.* statues to *Victory* and *Faith*, to either of them one.

For *Nemesis* also was an image erected in the Capitol, for that this goddess punished proud and faithlesse persons. She is named also *Rhamnusia* of *Rhamnus* a village in *Attica*, where she was worshipped: & *Adraffe*, of *Adraffus*, who was the first that built a temple in the honor of her.

Unto *Hercules*, for his notable and famous act, they erected many statues in the Capitol: and namely, *Pub. Sulpicius* and *Pub. Sempronius* one; and *Q. Fabius Max.* another, which he brought from the *Tarentins* by him subdued.

The images of good Event, and good fortune (the workmanship both of *Praxiteles*) were within the Capitol.

The image of *Apollo* with a diadem, and his *Colossus* thirty cubits high, in the making whereof were bestowed 140 talents, *Lucullus* translated out of *Apollonia* in *Panonia*, into the Capitol.

An image there was of *Janus* likewise in the Capitol, holding in his right hand the number of 300 and in his left of sixty five, to signifie the daies of the year.

Two golden statues of *Castor* and *Pollux*, were by the Emperor *Claudius* of famous memory, dedicated in the temple of *Jupiter*.

The counterfeits resembling the rivers, *Nileus* and *Tygris*, half naked, were set up in the forefront of the temple of *Conseruatores*: the one carry upon the shoulders, *Sphinx*; the other a *Tygre*; two wild beasts: both of them hold in their right hand *Cornucopia*, which signifieth plenty.

The personage of *Hercules* portrayed naked, of brasie and double gault, without beard, holding in his right hand a club, and in the left the golden Apples of *Hesperides*, was found neer the Greek school and the beast market, in the ruins of *Ara Maxima*.

There be certain portraiture also of the *Parthian* and *Dacian* triumphs, enclosed within walls which were taken out of the church now called *S. Martina*.

CHAP. VII.

Statues of famous and noble men set up in the Capitol.

* Cum Chlany-
de & crepundi-
is, but for [cre-
pundiis] read
[crepidis] out
of Cicero pro
Rabirio: signi-
fying the
Greekish and
Asian habit:
for the Roman
statues were
Togate.

TO *Scipio* they erected in the Capitol, a statue * wearing a souldiers cassock and slippers or pants, in regard of his victory over *Antiochus*, for an everlasting memorial of his worthy deeds.

To *Sylla* there was also a statue erected in the Capitol, in habit of a footman.

For *Emilius Lepidus*, when he was but a boy, the people of *Rome* set up a statue, because he had in a battel vanquished the enemy, and saved a Citizen.

The like honour to the rest they did to *Metellus*, for that he had preserved out of the temple of *Vesta*, being on fire, the image of *Pallas*.

They erected an image to *Cornelia* the mother of the *Gracchi*, in recompence of a benefit of hers for that in a great dearth of corn, she serued the people at 3 farthings a *Modius*. The same they did to *Trebius* the *Edile*.

Fabius Maximus made for himself a cast or molten image, and erected it just by that of *Hercules*.

Unto *Brutus*, for delivering *Rome* from the tyranny of *Tarquinius*, the Romans erected his image in the midst of the KK. statues.

Domitian would not suffer any image of his to be erected, unlesse it were of molten silver or gold, and of a certain weight.

The emperor *Commodus* took off the head from the coloss of *Nero*, & set upon it his own statue which he had in the Capitol. This Colossus is to be seen broken as it was, in the houses of *Conseruatores*.

In the said houses of *Conseruatores*, is extant yet the brasen portraiture of a she-wolf, at whose teats, *Romulus* and *Remus*, the first founders of *Rome*, are to be seen how they hang sucking.

The image of *Romulus* and *Remus* remained in the Capitol, resembling two youths: the one, standing upon the feet in servil habit and attire: the other sitting like a shepherd or herdman, bending forwards with the body, plucking a thorn out of the sole of his foot, which rankled and festered withall.

An infinit number of statues were in the Capitol, of gods especially, brought from other parts to *Rome*. For the Romans robbed the churches of forreign nations, for to enrich and adorn their own.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Capitol cliff, Tarpeia rock, the fane of *Cerments*, and the gate *Stereoraris*.

IN old time, they called that place and way whereby men go up to the Capitol, *Clivus Capitolinus*: but where that place was in times past, sundry opinions there be. Some affirm, that it lay toward that part of the hill which looketh on the *Auentinus*, where now standeth *S. Gregories* Church in *Velabrum*: others betwixt the temples of *Saturnus* and *Concordia*, neer to the arch of *Severus*, and at the stile and standings, called *Sanatoria Stabula*. Now the arch of *Severus* was raised at the foot of the Capitol hill, in the very head and top of *Forum Romanum*: under which they passed, that in triumph ascended up into the Capitol. The Capitol cliff then, was neer unto the *Roman Forum*: which by the *Censors* was paved with flint: who also set up a gallerie from the Chappell of *Saturn* unto the Capitol Temple close to the

Sanaculum

Senaculum and the *Curia* over it. *Corn. Tacitus* writeth, that in former times there were many avenues and waies upon the Capitol, and thereupon arose so many and divers opinions concerning the *Clivus Capitolinus*. In the place of the feast *Floralia* was in old time celebrated, whereof some tokens remain at this day to be seen. In it stood *Milos* house, which was full of shields and other armor, *Cicero* maketh report.

That place was called *Tarpey* rock which standeth over the *Forum Romanum*: from whence in times past felonious malefactors found guilty, were pitched down head-long, and wherein at this day offenders are punished.

Carmen stone, regardeth *Tyberis*, just over-against the Senators bridge.

The Dung-gate called *Sutoraria* stood upon the Capitol cliff aforelaid; thither was throwd out all the fifth rid out of the temple of *Vesta*, for to be caried away and soon after to be cast into the *Tyberis*.

CHAP. IX.

Of tables, of the brasen columns or pillars, and of the silver Goose.

IN the Capitol there were two sorts of tables; the one of Pictures containing the noble acts or battels, with the siege and assault of Cities, exploited by valiant martial men. For some of them were so desirous of praise and renown, that they could not be content to behold their own statues erected in the Capitol, unlesse their acts were described also and depainted in tables set up in publick place; and by that means left their glory behind them, commended likewise to posterity. Another kind there was of tables, wherein were written in the most ancient laws, to wit, of *Romulus*, *Numa*, and the other KK. Likewise the statues of the later lawgivers: the publick acts and ordinances; the leagues and covenants with other nations; the sacred rites and divine service, and the ancient records and monuments, which were engraven and cut in brasen tables: of which, some at this day are extant; others by continuance of time, by war, fire, and carelesse negligence are lost and perished. For the keeping of these, there were certain persons appointed, that in so serious and important matters, there should be no forgery and corruption.

Pillars likewise of brasen, were by *Domitian* set up in the Capitol; the which, *Augustus* the conqueror of *Egypt*, caused (of many brasen beak heads of ships molten together) to be made into four huge columns, and brought them to *Rome*. *Sylla* likewise took out of *Imperi* temple in *Athen*, certain brasen pillars, brought them to *Rome*, & there consecrated them to *Jupiter* in the Capitol.

The Portraiture of a goose in silver, was set up within the Castle by the Romans for perpetual memory, because a goose by gagging gave warning of the enemies coming, to the warders of the castle and thereby saved the Capitol. For which cause geese a long time after, were fed & kept in *Rome* at the Cities charges. There are besides, many other antiquities within the Capitol, cut in tables of brasen and marble both, and namely, Epitaphs, which here for brevities sake are left out.

CHAP. X.

Of certain edifices and buildings upon the Capitol hill, and of other things in general.

NOW that we have made declaration of the statues, tables, and columns, worth the noting, something by the way would be said in the place, as touching the ancient houses there. The Court called *Calabra Curia*, *Romulus* built the Capitol, and covered it with reed. Into this place the King-sacrificer was wont to assemble the Senat and people of *Rome*, that from him they might learn and know the daies of solemn game, plaies, and sacrifices.

Not far from the said *Curia*, was the cottage of *Romulus*.

And almost the same place stood the stately porch or gallery of *Metellus* and *Constantinus*. The Library also called *Majorum*, built artificially upon marbles pillar: and besides the publick court-yard.

There was an hallowed place likewise upon the Capitol, from whence they gathered *Verbens*, or sacred herbs, to make garlands for the facials, heralds and the *Paterbaratus*: wherewith they were crowned when they purposed either to make any accord and peace, or to proclaim war.

The flint stone also was here found, which they held in their hand when they swore by *Jupiter*, pronouncing these words, *If I made default with my knowledge, then let Dielpiter cast me out of all that I have (saving the City and the castle) as I hurl from me this stone.*

The Capitol had certain vaults like cisterns, into which were thrown all things over-worn, or so old that they were good for nothing. The six steeds drawing in one team, were there to be seen, which *Cicero Cornelius* set up, the twelve gilded shields likewise, made of that money wherein the *Edils* condemned and fined the corn-mongers that hoarded and kept in their corn. The shield also *Marcius*, set out with the image of *Asarubal*, and the column garnished with ship beak-heads of brasen, whereof *Livy* speaketh, were here to be seen. Within the temple of *Jupiter* *Capitolinus* there were short cloak or mantle and purple wollen, to which, of other purple garments were laid, they the wed the colour of ashes in regard of the excellent bright glois and lustre that it caried. A present this was (by report) given to *Aurelianus* by a Persian K. who had it from the farthest Indians. The lintell, cheeks and sill of the Capitol dore, were made all of brasen. The brasen tiles likewise upon the roof, *Q. Cincinnatus* gilded over the place where *Numa* took his auguries

* Toward the end of the 34. book.

was on the Capitol; but *Tatius* used rather the castle cliff: where also stood some time the house of *Mausolus*, but alterward, thereupon was built the chappel of *Juno Moneta*. The books also of *Sibylla* were kept in the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, by ten Wardens in a stone cether under the ground. Over & besides so many edifices were there, so beautiful was the Capitol, and the riches thereof so great, so many goodly ornaments and shrines of the gods most artificially wrought, that right worthily of men in old time, it was called the earthly habitation of the gods & *Jupiter* himself. For during the upright and flourishing state of *Rome*; so curiously built and richly beautified it was: that as heaven surpasseth the earth, so far this edifice went beyond all other works and wonders whatsoever of the world; inso much as it seemed to have been built by the gods: so far surmounted it all the device and reach of mans wit. But as excellent as these things sometimes were, now at this day they are to be seen, all naked, forlorn, and desolate.

CHAP. XI.

The Temple of Concord, and Jupiter Stator: moreover what the Curia is.

Between the Capitol hill and mount *Palatine*, there lyeth a valley, whereof we have spoken before. The Temples and buildings wherof, as also the places behind the Capitol, by order and course we are now to describe. In this valley therefore the temple of *Concord* deserved to be visited first: which word, being derived (as it were) from the unity and agreement of heart, maintaineth, augmenteth, and preserveth alone, all things in the world whatsoever.

A temple to this *Concord*, *Camillus* vowed, in case he could reconcile the Commons to the Nobles. When as therefore the people were brought into grace and favour again with the Nobility, he built the church of *Concord*, beginning above the *Comitum* and so forward unto the *Forum*. The porches belonging to this temple, are yet to be seen at the foot of the Capitol. From it, there was an ascent of an 100 steps up to the chappel of *Juno Moneta*. That temple of *Concord*, slain in long time to decay, was afterwards by the Senat reedified. Therein many a time the Senat met and sat in counsell, and orations were made unto the people. In this also there was a vault or shroud under the ground, wherein oftentimes thieves, armed men, cutters and hacksters were kept as in a prison, untill the assemblies of the people were dismissed. This house had many statues and images curiously and cunningly wrought, namely, of *Juno*, *Apollo*, and of *Latoa*, bearing and holding her two babes *Apollo* and *Diana*. Like wife of *Esculapius* and *Hygiea*, the handy-work of *Niceratus*. Also of *Jupiter Cereus*, and *Minerva*: likewise of the Dames weeping and adoring the said images all made of *Stones*. Moreover, the images of *Mars* and *Mercutus*; the workmanship of *Pisicratus*. Also of *Marsyas* bound, made by *Zenas* the painter. Likewise father *Liber* and *Cassandra*, painted by *Theodorus*. As for the image of *Victory* in the porch and entrance of the said temple, it is to be seen how it was smitten with a thunderbolt.

To *Jupiter Stator*, *Romulus* in the Sabine war vowed a temple, that he might stay the flight of the Romans: whereupon he was called, the upholder of the Roman state. Therefore after victory obtained, he built a temple at the foot of the *Palatine* hill, just over-against the church of *Concordia*, where at this day be most high bartlements of wals. In this house also, like as in that other of *Concord*, the Senat assembled oft. Like wife in other temples. The courts, wherein the Senat gathered together in Council, were temples all, and therein were there acts made: but in the sacred churches of the gods, neither met the Senat, nor any orations were made to the people. This temple of *Stator* was burnt to the ground in that fire of *Nero* making, and never after reedified.

CHAP. XII.

The temple and grove of Vesta: the temple of Faith and of Romulus.

The temple of *Vesta* was built by *Romulus*, between the Capitol and the *Palatine* hills, not far from the *Forum Romanum*; where at this day is to be seen, the church of *S. Mary of graces*. Neer unto it the palace of *Numa* was built. The Roman Pontifices, when they would consult of great matters concerning religion, met in the court-yard of *Vesta*; like as the Senat and people of *Rome*, debated in council of their weightiest affairs within the temple of *Faith*. Now this was a most ancient temple built in *Palatium* by *Romulus*, or, as some will have it, by *Numa*.

There was a grove also consecrated to *Vesta*, which reached from the root of the *Palatine*, as far as to the large street called *Nova via*. Out of that grove (before *Rome* was taken by the *Gauls*) a voice was heard, giving warning that the City should be lost, unless the wals and gates were repaired.

The temple of *Romulus* was seated at the foot of mount *Palatine*, in the midst of that side which regardeth the Capitol, in that very place were now the church is of *S. Theodorus*. In this said temple there is a most ancient monument, the portraiture of the she wolf, yeelding her teats unto the founders of the City, to be sucked.

CHAP. XIII.

Lupercal, and the fether Romulus.

The *Lupercal* was a cave at the bottom of the *Palatine* hill, overspread and covered with trees, having springs deep beneath under the rock. In the most inward and secret place of this cave there

there was an altar consecrated to *Pan*. But touching the etymology and derivation of the name, as also of the situation thereof, there go divers opinions: for as in times past the place was close hidden and unfrequented, so now it is inhabited on every side: in so much as there remaineth no mark and token at all where *Lupercal* was. Howbeit the greater part of writers affirm, that it was in that quarter of the City, where at this day *S. Theodors* church is seen. For to this place upon a time the *Tyber* overflowing, made a creeke thither: and hard by it was, where the two infants were cast forth. In the *Lupercal* therefore, certain authors confidently avouch, that *Romulus* and *Remus* were laid to perish, and so carried by water to the place called afterwards *Ruminalis*, were under a fig-tree there, nourished by a she wolf. This wolf haunted & kept in the den called *Lupercal*, & from thence ran to the bank side under the fig-tree *Ruminalis* for to the suckle the said babes, and so gave the name unto the cave to be called *Lupercal*, as it were the lurking hole and den of the wolf. There be again that would have *Evander* to give the name to the same hollow cave: for he, as is before declared, was descended from *Arcadia*, where the people after most ancient rites and ceremonies, do right devoutly worship *Pan*, the god of herdmen. Unto whom also a mountain in *Arcadia* to him dedicated, was called *Lycans*, for that he keepeth, *λύκος*, i. wolves from the sheep, and preserveth the flocks and herds. This *Evander* therefore coming upon a time into *Italy*, and resting in these parts, consecrated both this grove and cave to *Pan*, and according to the manner of his countrey, there honoured him. In the said cave therefore reared was an altar, and a goat thereupon sacrificed unto him, as to the god and preserver of the flocks: and seeing that he chased wolves from them, therefore the place wherein he was worshipped took the name * *Lupercal*.

* *Quasi lupo arces*

Now the feast *Lupercalia* was by *Romulus* and *Remus* instituted. For they having obtained of *Numitor* a plot of ground to build them a City on, in that very place where they had beene cast forth, called all their companions to a feast and merry meetings: where, after they had killed sacrifices, and refreshed themselves with meat, and withall taken their wine liberally to the full, they grew to disport, and in the merry fit clad themselves in the skins of the goats which they had sacrificed, and then fell to hopping and dancing full jocundly. Hereupon their posterity, celebrating the memoriall thereof, held a festivall solemnity called *Lupercalia*, which retained the name of the place where first they began. Hereof see more in *Valerius Maximus*, *Servius* & *Plutarch* in the life of *Antonius*. As for the fig-tree *Ruminalis*, it was so named of the river *Tyber*, called at the *Roman*. Some would have it take the name of *Romulus*. Others of the milk given to the said infants, for that part of the throat which draweth milk is called *Ruma* in Latines. This place was over against the house of the two lords *Cosmus* and *Damianus*, on the side of the mount *Palatine*, opposit against the shew-place, called *Circus Maximus*. *Romulus* and *Remus* thus laid forth about *Lupercal*, and carried by the water to this place, were fostered for a while under the fig-tree *Ruminalis*, in the place where the *Comitium* after was. The tokens of this tree remaineth unto the time of *Augustus Caesar*, as *Ovid* testifieth.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the new way, the streets *Jugarius* and *Tuscanus*.

The street called the new way over against the temple of *Jupiter Stator* goeth along the valley between the *Capitol* hill and the *Palatine*, and reacheth to the *Forum Romanum*. This, howsoever it be called new, was well known to be most ancient, and is different from that, which *Calpurnius* repaired under his baits.

The street *Jugarius*, otherwise called *Thurarius*, leadeth from the gate *Carmentalis*, along the foot of the *Capitol* hill, to the *Forum Romanum*. In it was the altar of *Juno Juges*, who was thought to make marriages, and to couple folk in matrimonies, and she it was that gave the name to *Vicus Jugarius*.

Vicus Tuscanus beginneth at the *Forum*, and along the foot of the *Palatine* sheweth the way to *Velabrum*. The reason of the name was this. The *Tuscans* upon a time fighting against the *Aricians*, were by them overcome; and after many thousands of them slain in battel, the rest being few in number fled to *Rome*: who taking delight in the pleasant seat of the City, & the commodiousness of the place, determined there to remain. Whereupon having a plot of four *stadia* granted them by the *Senat*, between the *Capitol* and *Palatine*, they inhabited the same. Hereupon the street was called by them *Tuscanus Vicus*, & many a 100 year after retained that name. In it afterwards there kept bawds and such kind of people, wherupon it grew out of credit, and lost also the first name.

CHAP. XV.

The *Arches* of *Romulus*, the *Senaculum*, and the dwelling house of *Ovid*.

The old temple (which some think *Romulus* erected) continued a long time built of brick, neither would the Romans suffer that any man should make them of marble: to the end, that the memoriall of their City founder, should remain more firmly in the minds of men. But in continuance of time long after, they decayed and fell down, in that very place where now is the church of *Saint Mary of Ovid*, and were never afterwards rebuilt. The Romans named that place *Senaculum*, between the *Capitol* and the *Forum*, wherein the *Senat* kept a consistory for counsell and consultation.

That

That *Ovid's* mansion house stood under the Capitol, himself witnesseth, even where as now the church is of *S. Mary of Consolation*.

Thus much of the buildings of the Capitol and the valley to it. Now followeth the mount Palatine.

The third Book.

CAAP. I.

The divers etymologies of Palatine.

Albeit the hill Palatine were along time inhabited before the City was built, and namely, first by *Valentia* the daughter of *Italus*; then by *Evander*, who also therein set up a castle: whom there succeeded after the City was founded, *KK*. and Emperors; inasmuch as scarcely any one place of *Rome* is more renowned by writing, then this hill: yet the certain reason of the name why it should be so called, and which a man may be bold to follow, can hardly be set down. Some would have it so called, because the *Arcadians* wandering with *Evander* disorderly, and the *Palatines* out of the *Rheatinus* territory (called likewise *Palatium*) came to that mount and it inhabited: others of *Palas* the great grandfather of *Evander*. *Livy* thought, that of *Palantium* a City of *Arcadia*, it was first called *Palantium*, and afterward *Palatine*. There are besides, who of *Palatia* the wife of *Latinus*, fetch the original of the denomination: or of *Palatibo*, the daughter of *Hyperboreus*, who bare *Latinus* unto *Hercules*, and inhabited this mountain: or of *Palantia* the daughter of *Evander*, who there was buried: or of *Palas*, who was himself interred in it. Some there was also, of the bleating of the sheep, which pastured there in times past, before the hill was by men frequented and peopled, imagine it was so named: or else because flocks were wont there *palare*, that is, to wander and graze up and down. And hereupon it is, that *Nevius* called it *Balanium*, of *Balatus*; or *Palantium* of * *palare*. *Tremellius* calleth it the mount *Romuleus*, of *Romulus* his image, found at the very foot of the said hill. This may suffice of the derivation of the name,

* *Beletus*, i.e. Bleating.

CHAP. II.

The temple of Victory, Ceres, Juno Sospita, and the mother of the gods: the temple of Liberty and the porch they of, as also the house of Caius.

NOW that we have declared the reason of the name of *Palatium*; we will go forward to shew the temples and houses of the mountain, like as we have done in the description of the Capitol hill.

When the Romans had performed fortunately many martial exploits, and oftentimes returned with victorie over their enemies, because they would not be found unthankfull to the gods, unto whom they were beholden for their happy achievements, and thereby afterwards misse of the like fortunate successe; they consecrated unto the goddesse *Victory* a temple in that part of the Palatine, which looketh toward the hortyards and gardens of *Maria Nova* in the very bottom of the descent, hard at the gate *Romana*. *L. Posthumius* an *Edile Curule* took order for the building thereof, out of certain mony raised by fines and penalties; and when it is finished, he dedicated it to the goddesse *Victoria*.

Near thereto there was a chappel, consecrated to *Viktoria*, which *M. Porcius Cato* vowed.

Besides in the same place was the temple of *Juno Sospita*.

The *Arcadians*, which with *Evander* came to the Palatine hill, built a temple also in *Palatium* to *Victory*, but as different from this above-named, as far more ancient and to the honor of that goddesse, solemnized yearly sacrifices.

They built a temple also to *Ceres* in the Palatiae.

In the fatall book of *Sibylla* there was a prophesie found, That the forrein enemy and strange born should be chased out of *Italy*, in case the mother of the gods might be brought to *Rome* from *Pessinus*. Now a stone it was, which the inhabitants of that countrey so called. Sent therefore were Embass. into *Asia* as far as to *Pessinus* a town of *Phrygia*: who brought with them that Great mother of the gods in *Italy*. Then *P. Cornelius* carried it from the sea into the Palatine, and bestowed it into the temple of *Victory*, until such time as one was built of purpose for her. Afterwards, *M. Livius* and *C. Claudius* the Censors, took order for a temple to be made to this great mother of the gods, & the same set out with statues, pillars and pavement of divers stones of great price. And *Junius Bruns* dedicated it. The plaies also and games called *Megalense*, whereof *Cicero* speaketh, were first instituted at the dedication thereof.

Unto *Liberty*, *P. Clodius* built a temple and stately gallery, in part of *Cassius* his house, near the temple of *Jupiter Stator*.

CHAP. III.

CHAP. III.

*Of the Chappell and altar * Febris in the temple of Lare, the chappell of the goddess Viriplaca of Faith, and Jupiter Victor.*

* The fever.

Not to those gods only that did good to mankind the Romans consecrated temples, but dedicated chappels to those also that did them hurt; to the end, that they should do less harm, and punish them more gently. For certain it is, that on the hill Palatine there was a temple & altar both consecrated to the *Fever*, like unto *Nemesis* the goddess of vengeance, wherof before in the

second book.

Besides, they erected a chappell of the *Lares* in the Palatine.

In like manner, there was a chappell in the Palatine, consecrated to the goddess * *Viriplaca* into which, if man and wife came together, although they disagreed and were talkt out before, they returned home again good friends from thence, and all was well.

* Not much unlike, but somewhat a better faint, then *S. Vincen-bre of Paula*.

After that *Aeneas* with his son *Ascanius* and daughter *Roma* came into *Italy*, they reared a temple to *Faith*, in Palatine: they which was dedicated not withstanding in the name of the daughter, and the same was written in the forefront of the temple: and therefore many years after, when *Romulus* and *Remus* strove who should give name to the City, the Senat and people of *Rome* reading the name of *Aeneas* his daughter in the frontispice of the said temple, resolved to name the City after her, *Roma*.

Q. Fabius in the *Sabin* war, vowed a temple to *Jupiter* conqueror: and afterwards built it on the Palatine hill, and there dedicated it.

CHAP. IIII.

The temples of Heliogabalus, Apollo and the Penates: the house of Orcus, the place of the Palladium or image of Minerva, and the temple of Augustus.

Antoninus Heliogabalus consecrated a god in the mount Palatine, which he called *Heliogabalus*, and built a temple in the place, where before stood that of *Orcus* or *Pluto*. But to win credit and name to this new and counterfeit god with great reverence and worship, he endeavoured to translate into this temple of his, * the sacred cup of that great mother of the gods, the fire of *Vesta*, the image of *Minerva*, called *Palladium*, the heavenly scutcheons, and all things else which the Rom. honoured above the rest. The Christian and Jewish religion also he there counterfeited, to the end, that no man in the religious worship of that temple and god, might alledge any pretence why he should not with good conscience so do.

* *Scyphum*, or rather *typhum*, the figure.

Moreover, in the Palatine, there was built a most ancient temple of *Apollo*. This chanced to be overthrown by thunder and lightning; and when the soothsayers gave out, that the god missed it & required another, *Augustus Caesar* adjoined a porch to the ruins thereof, and reedified the temple a new that there stood: wherein himself, when he grew aged, many a time sat in council with the Senat, and empanelled the decuries of judges. In it like wise were pendant candlesticks, branched with arms like trees, whereon the approved poets bestowed their writings. Certain marks and tokens of this temple are to be seen (although obscurely) neer to the vineyard of *Edra*, where the house of *Tiberius* stood. Unto him were instituted the Apollinare games, wherof read *Cicero*.

The temple of the City-protectors, called *Penates*, stood in that part of the Palatine which looketh into the North, even to *Velia* not far from the *Forum*. In it were the images of the Trojan gods: in the same are portrayed two young men sitting together and holding a ball in their hand. In like manner, the crooked augurs staves called *Lurs*, of iron and brass. Besides, an earthen Trojan vessel of potters work. *Apollo* also and *Nephtis* were there to be seen.

When the temple of *Vesta* was on a light burning fire, the image of *Pallas* being saved out thereof, was translated into *Velia*, and gave the name unto temple of *Palara*, now *S. Andrews* church, standing in the same place.

Some report, that there was a temple built in *Palatium* to *Augustus Caesar* of famous memory by his daughter *Livia*.

CHAP. V.

The Palatine houses, and the court of the Salii.

That *Romulus* and *Remus* being shepherds abode some time in these parts, the sheds and cottages, which long time after were found here, made of slight wood & reed, do testify: which as any of them in continuance of time decayed and fell down, the shepherds repaired with the like matter to their ancient form, that the perpetuall memorial of *Romulus* and *Remus* the City founders, what kind of persons they were, and what manner of houses they lived in, might be delivered to posterity. In that corner of the Palatine hill, which leadeth unto the grand cirque of sheew-place, there stood (many ages) the cottage which they called *Casa Romuli*.

Tullus Hostilius, before he built his court dwelt upon *Velia*, in that very place were afterwards the chappell of the *Penates* stood.

Not far from thence, even in that part of the Palatine, which regardeth the *Forum*, *Cariline* (by report) had his house built.

More.

Moreover, between *M. Scaurus* his house and *Caecilius*, there was but a small step over. *Cicero's* house purchased of *Crassus*, was in the most frequent and conspicuous place of the mount *Palatine*, above the Church of *Jup. Stator*, near the *Palatium*.

Pliny testifieth, how the houses of *Crassus* the Orator, and *Phaedrus*, in the *Palatium*, were in old time overturned.

One Captain *Varus* likewise had an house in the *Palatium*, whereof we have written in the former chapter.

Augustus (born in the region about *Palatium*, in a place called *Caput bubulae*, the ox heads; and where after his death, they erected a chapel unto him) dwelt first near the Roman Forum, above the round stairs called *Scala annularia*, in the house sometime of *Calpurnius* the Orator. Afterwards he built the stately *Palatine* at his own charges and gave it to the City, and himself dwelt on the *Palatine* hill in the small house of *Hortensius*.

The Guild, or religious court of the *Salii*, built in the mount *Palatine*, chanced to be burnt; and in the ashes thereof, the staff of *Romulus* called *Ennius* was found, without any hurt.

Publius dwelt in an house standing over the Forum, which was called *Suburbia*. That the dwelling house of *Tarquinius Priscus* was near unto the Temple of *Jup. Stator*, may soon be proved out of *Livy*.

CHAP. VI.

Of the top of Velia; the statues in Palatine, and other things in general.

The pitch of the hill called *Summa Velia*, was in that higher part of *Palatium*, which looketh into the South-east, whereas now is the Temple of *Mary* the new. Called *Velia* it was, because in old time before the device of shearing sheep, the shepherds were there wont to pluck the wooll from the sheeps back.

Augustus set up a Library of *Latine* and *Greek* books in *Palatine*, and adorned it with the money raised of the most excellent brasse of that huge colossus of *Tuscan Apollo*. He adjoynd thereto a porch or gallery, which they called *Palatium*.

In it was erected by the Senat, a statue unto *Numerianus* the Emperor, and a singular oratory. In the same porch, the Romans also set up a statue unto *M. Varro*, whilst he lived.

The *Auguracium*, which was a place where they used to take auguries, was upon mount *Palatine*. *Apollon Palatinus* likewise, the workmanship of *Scopas*, was in *Palatium*. *Latona* in the same was placed.

Thus the Emperor set up a golden statue in *Palatine* to *Britannicus*.

Moreover, the tree which grew out of *Romulus* his spear, was in the *Palatium*. For he, after he had taken his auguries in the mount *Aventine*, lanced his spear from him into the *Palatine*, which sticking in the earth, budded forth leaves and grew to be a tree.

Likewise the bay tree, which the same day that *Augustus* was born, sprung with him and suddenly appeared, was in *Palatium*. Of this laurel tree, they that afterwards triumphed, were wont to wear their wreathed garlands.

The *Palatine* baths, whereof *Cicero* maketh mention in his Oration for *Roscius*, were in the same *Palatium*; and of them there remain yet some tokens, above the *Circus maximus*, not far from the vineyard of *Pedra*.

In the same mountain also there was a place called *Sicilia*, and *Impeters* parlor.

The most beautiful streets called *Antoniana*, paved with *Lacedaemonian* and *Porphyre* stones, were in *Palatium*. The streets also of *Padus*, and *Fortuna respiciens*, were to be seen in *Palatine*. And there were the games and pastimes celebrated, which they call *Palatinal*.

CHAP. VII.

The Palatium now called the Greater: the court-yard of the Palatium; and the old gate of the very Palatium is self.

How great a compass the *Palatium* took up in old time, how gorgeously it was built, how rich, how frequent and full of houses, the huge ruins, the pictures, statues, and most precious pillars there found, do easily declare. For no man ever hath left in writing, who first built so great and stately edifices; who afterwards enlarged the same, and in so conspicuous a place erected those houses. By little & little it grew to so great an height; as if all writers should be ignorant of those antiquities: neither was any thing at one time done at once, which seemed worth the memorial. For Historiographers are wont to deliver unto posterity those things only which are rare and worthy of admiration. The mount *Palatine* at this day is called *Palatium majus*, and setting aside the Church of *Saint Andrew*, hath scarce two houses inhabited. The rest being either replenished with vines or fit for pasture, yeeldeth grass and food, for sheep, caples, and goats. So as it seemeth it may be called *Balanium* of the bleating that sheep make, rather than *Palatium*.

This *Palatium* had also a place therein called *Arrium*, built in old time and hallowed by *Angur*; in it the Senat sate in council, because they might not assemble in any place unaugurate or unhallowed. Therein also rams were sacrificed.

The old gate of the *Palatium* was near the *Rostra*, over-against *S. Laurence* Church in *Miranda*. Some would have this to be called the gate of *Romulus*, in old time.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

The Temples of Janus, Augustus, and Faustina.

After the description of the Temples and edifices of *Palatium* the third part of the city, now followeth a fourth: namely, the Roman *Forum*. Therein is the most stately Temple of *Janus*, (for me thinks we do well to begin at *Janus*, who is counted the dore and entrance as it were of all things) having four gares. For *Janus* himself, who was therein worshipped, had four faces: and from *Falisci* a city in *Tuscany* forced by the Romans, he was translated to *Rome* into the *Forum*, named after *Transitorium*. His Temple was built in that part of the said *Forum* which looked toward the Roman *Forum*. *Procopius* saith, that in his daies it was built in the mids of the *Forum* over-against the Capitol, a little above the place which the Romans called, The three Destinies. Other Temples there were besides of *Janus*, and namely, in the Capitol neer the theatre of *Marcellus*, with two fronts all of brass, and had two brasen dores, which in time of peace were shut: and against war, were set open.

The temple of *Augustus* was builded in the Roman *Forum*. This was begun in the time of *Tiberius* the Emperor, but left imperfect. *Caligula* finished it. Above it, he made a bridge which joyned the Capitol and Palatine together.

There remain yet to be seen certain monuments and marks of the temple of *Faustina*. *Hadrianus* the Emperor her husband founded it at the foot of the Palatine hill (where the brasen image of a bull standeth) for her sake that she might be honoured as a goddess. The same, his son *Antoninus Heliogabalus* afterwards would have to be a temple for himself, or *Jupiter Syrius*, or else the Sun. At this day it is the church of *S. Laurence* in *Miranda*.

CHAP. IX.

The Temple of Castor and Pollux, and the Rostra.

NO man doubteth but that the temple of *Castor* and *Pollux* was sometime in the Roman *Forum* before the *Rostra*, neer to that above said of *Faustina*. This sacred house *A. Posthumius* the Dictator dedicated: and *L. Metellus* afterwards repaired and beautified it, with the Dalmatian spoils. In it, as in many other, the Senat used to sit in council, and therein were publick Orations made to the people. *C. Metellus* adorned the same with statues, pillars, and excellent painting: wherein also he set up the portraiture and resemblance of *Flora*, a picture of singular beauty. A table besides, which contains the records and monuments, touching the free burgesse granted to the horsemen of *Capua*. The steps and greeces going up to this temple, *Clodius* afterwards plucked up, as witnesseth *Cicero*.

There was a temple or consecrate place called *Rostra*, at the foot of the hill *Palatium*, over-against that before-named of *Castor* and *Pollux*, whereas now is the little chappel of *S. Mary de Inferno*. From these *Rostra*, were the sentences and acts of the Senat, brought and propounded to the people.

CHAP. X.

The Temple of Caesar, Venus Genetrix, and Mars revenger: and the court of Venus.

Cesar of famous memory had a temple neer his own *Forum*, at the broad-street called *Sacra*, behind the temple of *Faustina*. In it were set up as Saints, *Victory* and *Castor*.

In the same *Caesars Forum*, there stood a chappel of *Venus Genetrix*, behind the said temple of *Faustina*. This, *Caesar* vowed in the *Pharsalian* war, and dedicated it. After victory in the war against *Pompey*, *Caesar* enclosed the temple of the said *Venus*, within a court-yard and a cloister, which *Hadrian* afterwards repaired and built new.

Augustus Caesar in the battel of *Philippi*, vowed a temple to *Mars* the avenger, which afterwards he edified in his own *Forum*, wherein were certain iron pots dedicated to *Mars*: and two statues, bearing up the tabernacle of *Alexander* the Great. This is thought to be at this day the church of *Saint Martina*.

CHAP. XI.

The Temples of Vulcan, Concord, Peace, Romulus, and Venus Cloacina.

The temple of *Vulcan*, *Romulus* founded, above the Comitium and *Forum Romanum*, at the bottom of the Palatine hill: but *Tatius* dedicated the temple of *Vulcan*, as also of the Sun and Moon, of *Saturn*, *Rhea*, *Vesta*, *Diana*, and *Quirinus*. In the temple of *Vulcan* there was dedicated unto *Vulcan*, the brasen chariot of *Romulus*, wherein he rode in triumph a second time. Therein remained also the statue of *Cocles* there erected. Many a time were Orations made to the people in this time.

In the yard belonging to *Vulcan's* temple, *Publius*, the son of a Libertine or enfranchised citizen, 303 years after the building of the capitol, vowed the temple of *Concord*, if he could reconcile the States of Senators and Gentlemen to the people. Afterwards he built it of the amercements and penalties that he took of usurers condemned, at the foot of the mount Palatine. *Opimius* the

Coburn

Consul afterwards repaired it anew. In it, *Pliny* testifieth that an altar ran blood for two daies. *Livia Drusilla* in her open gallery, erected a chappel of *Concord*, in regard of the mutual and loving agreement between her husband and her: which afterwards *Fiberius* dedicated.

In that place where *Drusilla* first founded the said chappel of *Concord*, *Vespasian* afterwards with wonderful celerity and speed, (after the civil wars ended) finished the Temple of *Peace*, begun before by *Claudian*. A large building this was and four square, set out with most stately and fair columns, and of all other Temples the richest. In it *Vespasian* bettowed the holy vessels and precious ornaments of the Temple in *Hierusalem*, which *T.* had shewed in triumph. It had also the statue of *Ganymedes*, and an infinite number of other ornaments wherewith it was decked and beautified. This Temple caught a fire, and at once suddainly was consumed whole: and never was it known to this day how this fire came: unless it were (as some imagine) by reason of an earthquake which hapned the same hour, the stones rubbed together and struck fire.

An altar of *Peace* was by *Augustus* first reared: but in what place, the posterity knoweth not. The same, *Agrippa* afterwards enlarged and adorned. Between the Temple of *Peace* and *Faustina*, there is at this day a most ancient Temple, and two pillars of the porch to it, which now is dedicated to the two brethren *Saint Cosmes* and *Damians*. Some think it was the Temple of *Romulus* and *Remus*, the same that *Carvilius* the Consul, after he had subdued the *Samnits*, dedicated, and of the infinite mass of spoils adorned it.

That the Temple of *Venus Cloacina* stood neer the broad street *Sacra*, *Ovid* testifieth. Now the image of this *Cloacina* was found in a privy or draught, called *Maxima*, and *Tatius* consecrated it. And because it was not known whose resemblance it was, it took the name of the place wherein it was found.

CHAP. XII.

The Temples of Tellus, Salus, Victoria, the Sun and Moon, the house of Cassius, and the Armory.

Where the Temple of *Tellus* stood, some say it is uncertain: others think it was not far from the *Esquilæ*, neer the rising of the hill that leadeth to *S. Peters Church* in *Vinculis*, where as now standeth the Temple of *Pantaleon*. *Sempronius* vowed it: for whiles he fought a battail with his enemy, at *Asculum* the head Town of the *Picentins*, the earth quaked: and because he would pacify the goddess *Tellus* (i. the earth) which he thought was angry, he vowed this Temple unto her. Built it was in the same plot of void ground, where the house of *Spurius Cassius* (who sought to be a King) was overthrowen. Neer unto this Temple of *Tellus*, there was an Armory: where of *Cicero* also maketh mention in a certain place. Within the said compass, *C. Junius Bibaculus* the Consul, vowed a chappel to the goddess *Salus*, in the time of the *Samnits* war. The same was by him put forth to building when he was Censor, and dedicated by him Dictator.

L. Velumninus an *Edile*, caused the Temple of *Victoria* neer the Roman *Forum* to be made, of the penalties and fines taken.

In this place also was the altar of *Apollo*.

Some would have, that the Temples of *Concord* and *Æsculapius*, were neer the Amphitheatre, in the place where the gardens be of *S. Mary* the new.

The Temple of *Mercury* also was in the *Forum*.

The Temples likewise of *Isis* and *Serapis* were in the Burse called *Emporium*. And some think, that these were the Chappels of the Sun and Moon, dedicated by *Tatius*.

CHAP. XIII.

The Forum of Trajanus: the things now therein, or that have been heretofore.

Thus much of Temples, of holy and religious places, which seemed worth the noting, hath been briefly written. Now from hence forward we will speak of those things, which shall concern the honour and memorial of mortal men, and first begin we will with that excellent Prince *Trajanus*.

Forum Trajani was built (with wonderful Art and industry of man) by *Apollodorus*, between the *Forum* of *Nerva*, the Capitol hill, and the mount *Quirinal*. The same workman built also (at the commandment of *Trajanus*) *Metodeum* and *Gymnasium*. The roof of that *Forum* or Hall was of brass, within round about in every place the forms and images of horses, and military ensigns all guile. Now were these foresaid images erected there at the cities charges in memorial of them that had deserved well of the common-weal, or otherwise of some notable act.

The triumphant arch in like manner with many other monuments reared to the praise of *Trajanus*, adorned this *Forum* or hall of his.

The porch of this *Forum*, built upon most mighty and high pillars, and resting upon large chapirs, yielded so great admiration to the beholders, that they seemed rather the works of giants than men. Into this, *Alexander Severus* in the honor of *Trajanus*, translated most beautiful statues of singular men.

Trajan's horse in like manner stood in the midst, bearing upon high columns.

In a coin also there is found the image of *Trajan*, with this inscription: *S. P. Q. R. Optimo Prin-*

Principis. The Senat and the people of Rome to the best Prince. But hereof *Lampridius* writeth much.

He likewise is reported to have adorned the palace, made of sundry marbles, with pictures and statues within.

In the midst of the *Forum*, there stood the column of *Trajan*, built with winding stairs. This had round about it the summary of the acts of *Trajan* engraven and chased most cunningly; but above all the Dakes war: within there be 185 steps up to the top; and it hath 40 little windows to let in light unto them that shall go up: 120 foot high it was, or (as *Eutropius* writeth) 140. In the lower or lantern thereof were the bones of *Trajan* kept within a golden ball. This pillar, *Trajan* himself never saw: for while he warred against the Parthians, the Senat dedicated it unto him in his absence. But he in his return from the Persians, died in the way at *Seleucia*, a City in Syria, of a flux of blood. His dead corps was brought to *Rome*: and of all the Emperors, he alone (as *Eutropius* writeth) was interred within the City. The reason why his bones are left in that Column is this: The manner in old time was, for Princes and Noblemen to be buried under hills: but there being not mountains enough whereupon to raise sepulchres in every place, it hapned that such steeples and high pillars were set over their dead bodies instead thereof.

CHAP. XIV.

The Forum, the Palace, and porch of Nerva.

NEXT to our sight cometh the *Forum* of *Nerva*, and it is behind the Church of *S. Hadrian*. In the midst of it there stood a Column of brasse of an huge bigness; covered with plate of latten or copper, and hath within it light every way. This *Forum* was garnished with divers statues and Columns, containing the whole order of the acts of *Nerva*. This was afterwards called *Forum Transitorium*, for that from it there was the way to the *Forum* of *Augustus*, and the Roman.

There appeareth as yet some part of the Porch or gallery belonging to the *Forum*: for being consumed by fire, yet it left certain obscure tokens, witnessing, that in the same place was the *Forum* of *Nerva*.

Part also of the Palace of *Nerva*, built of square stones and pillars, together with the Church of *S. Blase*, are yet seen enclosed between the *Comitium* and the tower of *Militia*.

CHAP. XV.

The Roman Forum, the Comitium, the prison Tullianum, and the Image of Marforius.

THE Roman *Forum*, which also is called *Latinum*, began at the foot of the Capitoll, and reached in length to the Church now of *S. Mary* the new, which is in *Velia*. But at the first, the circuit and bounds thereof were much narrower. For from the head thereof abovenamed, it went no farther than the nearest foot of the mount *Palatine*. Many a year after, *Augustus Caesar* enlarged it.

The *Comitium* joyned to the *Forum*, or rather it was a part thereof: for it beginneth at the gate of *Palatium*, and endeth at the Church of *S. Mary* the new.

At the foot of the Capitoll hill, South-east ward, *Ancus Martius* built a prison for malefactors to be laid up in. After him *K. Tullius* adjoyned to it that part which is under the ground, and called that dungeon, *Tullianum*. Made it was of huge and mighty big stones, with narrow long holes, for to receive the shadow, as it were, and resemblance of a light. The dungeon within was vaulted with stone, ugly for darkness, and loathsome by reason of a strong and stinking sent. This whole prison was divided into two parts, the upper room and the nether. *Carcer* it was called in Latine, because it kept them there enclosed from coming forth.

Just before this prison there lieth a huge marble idoll which they call *Marforius*. Some think it was the Image of the bakers god, others, of *Jupiter*, surnamed *Panarius*, of the rumours that beat out like to loaves of bread. For the Romans in times past, when they were besieged by the Gauls in the Capitoll, had warning by *Jupiter* in a dream, to make bread of all the corn that they had left, and to throw it into the enemies camp: Whereby the Gauls despairing that the Romans could possibly be tamed with hunger, brake up the siege. Wherenpon the Romans in perpetuall memoriall of this benefit, created an altar and a statue to *Jupiter Pistor*.

This image is thought to be the resemblance of the river *Rhenus* in Germany, because it is upon a rock. But why it should be called *Marforius*, I know not, unless it be because it standeth in the *Forum* of *Augustus*.

CHAP. XVI.

The Secretary of the people of Rome; the arch of Septimius; the Temple of Saturn, Of the

Treasury, and the mint-house where they coined money.

BEFORE the Image of *Marforius* over against the arch of *Septimius* is the Church of *S. Martina*: where, as it appeareth by an evidence engraven in marble, was sometime the place called the Secretary of the people of Rome. Right against the said Church of *S. Martina* at the bottom of the rock *Tarpaeus*, standeth the

arch of *Septimius*, which in both the fronts thereof containeth the deeds of that Emperor both by land and sea.

Directly there followeth the Temple, sometimes of *Saturn*, now, *S. Hadrian's Church*. The said Temple was of great antiquity. Some report *L. Larginus* for the builder thereof; others *L. Tarquinus*: albeit more likely it is that *Larginus* dedicated it. *Esay* writeth that when *A. Sempronius* and *M. Minutius* were *Coss.* *Numantius Plancus* reedified it. The treasury of the people of *Rome*, no writer denieth, but that it was translated out of the *Capitol* into this Temple. But why men in old time would have the treasure to be within *Saturn's* Temple, there be divers opinions. Some say, because in *Saturn's* daies there was no theft committed: for under him all things were common; no covetous miser nor lewd person laid wait for his neighbour; but all things were administered with righteousness, faith, and love. *Cyprian* alledgeth this cause, because *Saturn* was the first that in *Italy* ordained money to be coined. Moreover, in this treasure-house were kept the publike ordinances. Also the books called *Elephantini*, containing the five and thirty tribes of the people of *Rome*. Moreover, all the books of the Cities accounts: also the ancient writings and records of the old *Aerarium* and the City debts. Furthermore, the standards and ensigns of war. Over and besides, whatsoever was by the Generals and Captains after the conquest of Provinces carried in triumph, was thither brought. Lastly, whatsoever was expedient and profitable for the Common-weal to be reserved, as laws, letters, and other common registers of a City. The *Censors* likewise were put to take their oath in the Temple of *Saturn*.

Between the Church now of *S. Hadrian*, and that which sometime was the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, stood in old time the work-house wherein they coined money.

CHAP. VII.

The golden Miliarium the bridge of Caligula the Rostra and the Curia

Miliarium aureum stood in times past at the head of the *Roman Forum*, under the Temple of *Saturn*, near to the arch of *Septimius*. A pillar it was, so called, wherein all the high-ways of *Italy* were cut and engraven, and there ended, and from which the measures began and went on to every gate of all quarters.

Caligula brought a bridge of marble through the *Roman Forum*, from the mount *Palatine* to the *Capitol*. A more stately and curious piece of work there never was throughout all the City: for the bridge was sustained with fourscore mighty pillars of most white marble: whereof at this day three are to be seen at the foot of the one hill, and as many at the other, in such manner as they were in times past by *Caligula* built for the bridge. In the midst of the *Forum*, over-against *S. Hadrian's Church* there standeth a pillar, which is verily thought to be one of them that supported the brazen horse of *Domitian* gilded all over. At the foot of this horse was the resemblance of *Rhene*, a river in *Germany*: for that *Domitian* the Emperor had triumphed over that Province. And this is the Image which afterwards they called *Marforius*.

Of the beakheads of the *Anat* ships, a pulpit was built in the *Roman Forum* by the *Romans* at the foot of the mount *Palatine*, which Temple they called *Rostra*, that therein the acts of the *Senat* should be made. Now of this *Rostra* there were twain, the new at the bottom of the *Palatine* as is before said, and the old, near the *Curia* in the *Comitium*. In this *Rostra* were laws published, causes pleaded, and Orations made to the people. On the same the manner was also to erect the Statues for most famous and noble men.

In the most conspicuous place of the *Forum Romanum*, before *Rostra*, upon a lion of stone was the portraiture set for *Faustulus* the fosterfather of *Romulus* and *Remus*. For he, while he was desirous to part the fray between *Romulus* & *Remus* the founders of the City, was there slain, where, afterwards they erected unto him his statue. Behind the *Rostra* was the sepulchre also of *Romulus*. Moreover, before the *Rostra* stood the statue of *Heracles*, clad in a coat after the *Eleans* habit, with a grim and stern countenance. Three statues also of *Sibylla* in the same place. The manner of the *Romans* besides, was to set up the heads of those that were put to death, there to be seen.

Two *Curia* or Council-houses at *Rome* there were: one near the *Forum*, fast by the Temple of *Peace*, named *Hofilia*; the other in the mount *Capit*, whereof we will speak hereafter.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Lake Curtius, the great sink or town ditch, and the Dolosa.

The lake *Curtius* was in the midst of the *Rom. Forum*, near *Domitian's* horse. This lake took that name of *M. Curtius*, who to save the Common-weal, willingly of his own accord cast himself headlong, armed as he was, together with his horse into a chink of the ground in the midst of the *Roman Forum*. Some would have it so called of *Metius* a *Sabine*, who through this lake escaped safe to his own company.

The vault or sink called *Cloaca Maxima*, was made by the commandment of *Tarquin*: for by reason that the hills were digged under, and the City stood hollow upon arches, it received & carried away all the filth thereof. At the Temple of *Jup. Stator*, divided it was into three conveyances or channels, whereof two of them are now stopped up, the third runneth with most clear water by the Lake *Curtius*, under the *Roman Forum*, along the foot of the mount *Palatine* into *Tiber*, and from thence in a sink made of four-square stone, it dischargeth it self into *Tiber*. In old time there

there were many such vaults, and those for publike use. But after the City was won by the Gauls & burnt, while every man made haste to rebuild his house, where he could meet first with a convenient place: they took no heed to the streets as they were before: so as neither the City was divided as aforetime into quarters, nor yet the finks which in times past went under the streets, were marked where they lay: but afterwards were conveyed under privat mens houses, whereby it came to pass, that each house almost at this day hath a sink or privy belonging to it. Hereupon also it is, that this author, whose epitome or abridgment we write, hath not divided the regions of the City, agreeable to the old writers, But to the end that those things which he setteth down, might be sooner understood, and better remembered, he hath parted it into those quarters as now it standeth and when he sheweth in what part of the city any place in times past was, he declareth them in those parts which at this day are known to the Inhabitants. But as at first these finks were common (as I have said) so there were appointed publike overseers to look unto them.

Near the foresaid great sink there was a place, which of certain barrels under the ground was called *Dalioia*. This place was reputed so holy, that a man might not spit thereupon. In it were supposed to have been certain secret mysteries of *Numa*. And yet, there be that think verily the ashes of the French Senones were there bestowed.

CHAP. XIX.

The Comitium, the Temple of Venus Genitrix. The Statues and Images that were in the Comitium, and Roman Forum, Cæsars statue and pillar,

WHere the *Comitium* was, from what place it began, and in what part of the City it ended, we have shewed before, in the fiftenth chapter of this book. Called it was *Comitium*, as *Plutarch* saith, for that *Romulus* and *Tatius* were wont to meet together in this place, to make covenants between them. In which place afterwards, the Senat and people of *Rome* assembled, when they would decree any thing for the good of the C. W. and namely, when Consuls, Tribunes Consular, and such Magistrats were created, and other affairs concluded, whereof authors make mention in all their writings. That place was near the *Senaculum*, at the very foot of the mount *Palatine*. This *Comitium* was open above-head for many years: whereupon oftentimes, albeit assemblies were summoned, yet they were impeached holding for them, fearing some tempestuous weather toward. Long time after, when *Annibal* came into *Italy*, they set a roof over it: and afterwards *Cæsar* repaired it again. In this *comitium* the plaies were many times exhibited. In the same (as *Livy* reporteth) the books of *Sibylla* were burnt. In like manner many lewd and outrageous acts were committed in the assemblies there, whereof elsewhere we will speak.

In the *Comitium* stood the statue of *Cæcus*; which being afterwards stricken with fire from heaven, was translated into the court-yard of *Vulcan*. In the cantons and angles of the *comitium*, were the statues likewise of *Pythagoras* and *Alcibiades*: Also in the ascent and stairs thereof, on the left hand of the *curia* stood the Image of *Accius*, together with his whetstone and razor.

The image resembling the Mother goddess, was set up in the *Forum*. They that worshipped this goddess were of this opinion, that the stone whereof she was made, could not possibly be consumed with fire: which they guessed hereby, for that albeit many fires were made, in the night especially at her Image, yet it took no hurt thereby: and therefore gave they out, that there was such vertue herein, as I have said. And from thence it came, that in all streets almost they began to worship her, and to erect altars and little chappels unto her.

The Temple of *Venus Genitrix*, as is shewed before, was in the *Forum*: Just before this Temple stood the statue of *Cæsar*, carrying a blazing star upon the head. In like maner a Column of *Cæsar* made of Numidian marble 20 foot high there remained. Before the Temple of *Cæsar* there was the statue of *Q. Martius* in horsemans habit: of *Tremellius* clad in a side gown: of *M. Atticus* covered with a vail.

CHAP. XX.

The column called Mœnia: the pillar Horatia: the houses of Cæsar, Constantine, and Domitian, The Temple and Court-yard of the said Cæsar.

IN that part of the *Forum* was the Column *Mœnia*, where stood the palace of *Portius*. Called *Mœnia* it was, of *Manius* the Censor: for he (when as he sold unto *Cæsar* his house, and when *Placens* the other Censor gave order, that the palace aforesaid should there be built, reserved in the sale so much space for himself, as pillar or column would take up: upon the which he might put out aloft to jut forth, made of joists and boards upon them: from which place both he and his posterity might behold the sport of sword-fencers. And this privilege he obtained: whereupon, others also, as many as might be allowed, were as industrious, and built them columns in the *Forum*.

There stood a rock of stone in the *Forum*, whereupon the spoils of the three twins *Curatius* were hanged.

In like manner the pillar callar *Horatia*. The houses of *Cæsar*, *Constantine*, and *Domitian* beautified the *Forum*. Likewise the court and cloister of *Minerva*; and the shops [of Bankers] as well old as new.

The dead corps of *Caesar* was brought out of the *Curia* into the *Forum*, and interred in that place, where afterwards they built unto him an altar and Temple.

Likewise in the *Forum* the manner of the Romans was, to lay down their Magistracy,

CHAP. XXI.

Cæsars Forum: the Palace of Paulus, and his Library.

BESIDES the Temple of *Saturn*, or the common treasury (whereof we have written before in the 16 chap. of this book) in the Roman *Forum* toward the Northeast was *Cæsars Forum*, even in that very place which seemeth lower than the rest, behind the Temple of *Faustina*. There, was the Temple of *Venus Genetrix*, about which, *Caesar* made a cloister and a *Forum*, not of wares and merchandise to be sold, but for them that repaired thither for justice in law matters. In this *Forum*, among other statues (whereof there were many and those most fair and beautiful) he suffered his own to be made, all armed. The *Forum* it self contained but a small compass, but it was most excellently set out. The very level of the plot stood him in an hundred millions of *Asses* and above.

Caesar purchased with 1500 talents, *Paulus Emilius* the Collegue of *C. Marcellus* in his Consulship, to be his friend and to stand with him, *Paulus* having received this sum of money, built in the midst of the *Forum* near to the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, a most excellent and wonderful Palace, of Phrygian columns, which afterwards they named, *Basilici Pauli*.

A Library also the same *Paulus* erected, near unto his own *Basilica*.

CHAP. XXII.

The Forum of Augustus: the galleries of Antonius, Faustina, and Livia: Cæsars house.

THE Roman *Forum*, those also of [*Julius*] *Caesar* and *Augustus*, were (as it is well known) near one to another. That of *Augustus*, they affirm to have been at the image of *Marforius*, in the most frequented place of the City: it was but in little compass, as the other of *Cæsars*, but excellently well adorned with brave statues and other things. For it had the statues of *Castor* and *Pollux*, with the victory of *Alexander* the Great: the image also of *Corvinus*, and of the raven that upon his helmet fought. Also *Apollo* in Ivory; and besides these, other ensigs and ornaments of vertue and valour.

In this Hall or *Forum*, publike justice was administred: and the judges from thence were empanelled: herein they debated in councill, of wars, of triumphs, and other weighty affairs. From hence they used to go when they took journey into their Provinces with sovereign command. Hither, they that returned victors, brought the ensigs and tokens of their victory. This *Forum* being by time decayed, *Hadrian* reedified.

This *Forum* had two porches, wherein were the statues set out & decked in triumphant manner.

Augustus dwelt in the street *Sacra*, in a house not so large and stately, but marvellously furnished by his neece *Livia*. And *Augustus* not able to abide this wastful superfluity of riches, pulled it down and laid it even with the ground: in the void place and court-yard whereof, was afterwards build the gallery of *Livia*; which also was called *Claudia*. *Nero* cast it down, but *Domitian* built it up again under the old name.

The goodly galleries of *Antonine* & *Faustina*, adorned with divers and sundry marbles well built in old time, were whereas at this day standeth the Church of *S. Lawrence* in *Miranda*.

CHAP. XXIII.

The raster or beam, called Sororium Tigillum: the street Cyprius, Sceleratus, and Patritius: the house of M. Antonius.

Sororium Tigillum was a place hallowed for the expiation and assoiling of *Horatius* for killing his sister, set up near the street *Carina*, to the honour of *Jupiter*.

The street *Cyprius* is near to the clift or rising of the Capitoll, which leadeth to the Church of *S. Peter* in *Vinculis*, so called of *Cyprus*. In it dwelt the Sabins first, when they were enfranchised and made free denizons. Surnamed afterwards it was *Sceleratus*, upon the wicked and devillish act of *Tullia*, whereof *Livy* speaketh. Some think this was one with the former: others say, it was divers from it.

The street *Patritius* was so called, because of *Patritii*, who were by *K. Tullus* commanded there to dwell. For this was a place raised somewhat higher than others; from whence as from the upper ground, they might easily defend themselves against the sudden violence of others, if it should be offered.

M. Antonius dwelt in that house, where sometimes stood the Temple of *Tellus*. After *Antonius*, the Church of *S. Pantalon* was in the same place built.

CHAP. XXIV.

Busta Gallica, and Equimelium.

Busta Gallica, was a place in the heart of the City, where the dead bodies of the Frenchmen that held *Rome*, were burnt and buried. It was in that part of the City where at this day standeth the

the Church of S. *Andrea* (in *Bassa Gallia*) Now they call it by an awk name, *Portugallo*: and it is not far from the Amphitheatre; *Vatro* setteth the *Bassa Gallia* near the *Aequimelinus*. As for *Aequimelinus*, it was so called, because the house of *Adrianus* who fought to be K. was there laid level with the ground.

CHAP. XXV.

The street called *Via Sacra* & the arch *Fabian* and *Vespasian*.

THis street beginneth at the old *Curia* in the angle of *Palatium* near the arch of [Great] *Con-*
stantinus. *Vatro* supposeth that it began at the *Curia* and the chappel of *Sterna*. Whereby a
man may gather that the *Via sacra* sometimes went through the gardens now of S. *Mary* the new,
to the Temple of *Peace*, the Forum of *Caesar*, and so directly up to the Castle of the Capitol. The
name of *Sterna* it took, for that the *Augurs* when they came from the Capitol hill, went through it
as they took their *Augury* for because monthly, they went in procession with sacred reliques along
that way for lust of all, in regard that in it there was a league and covenant made between *Romu-*
lus and *Tatius*. At the head and top of it, *Aeneas Martius* in times past dwelt, near the chappel of
the *Lares*.

In this street was the famous statue set up of *Clodia*.

The arch *Fabian* likewise, near the Kings Palace, fast by the *Basilica* of *Paulus*, was reared by
Fabius the *Centurion*, who subdued the *Allobroges*. In which arch was the scutcheon with his arms,
and other tokens of the victory engraven. Fast by it, *Scribonius Libo* erected a seat and Tribunal
for the *Prætor*, named *Pænet*.

In the same street-way was the marble arch of *Vespasian*, (the ancientest of all others that are
now to be seen) erected by *Vespasian* after he had won *Hiernsalem*. In it were his victories cut
and engraven, with the ark of the covenant of one side, and on the the other, his triumphs and
spoils: and namely, the golden candlestick, the seven other lights, the two tables of *Moses*, the ves-
sels of the Temple of *Hiernsalem*; the golden table, weighing one great talent; and many things
else, whereof *Josephus* writeth.

CHAP. XXVI.

Græcofasia; *Senaculum*; the *Curia*; the Palaces of *Optimius* and *Porcius*.

Graeco-fasia is a place on the right hand of the *Rostra*, as men go forth of the *Comitium*; where,
the *Embassadors* of foreign nations being sent unto the *Senat*, used to stand and give atten-
dances until they were admitted to audience.

The Palace of *Optimius*, and the *Curia*, stood near unto the *Græcofasia*. Above the *Græcofasia* was
the *Senaculum* at the Temple of *Concord*. Called it was *Senaculum*, because the *Senat* or the elders
were wont there to meet. In Greek it is named *ῥήγιστρον*.

Curia was in the *Comitium*, and some think it is all one with *Senaculum*; so called, because the
affairs that required publike care were there debated. There was a *Curia* also of *Priests*, where
Church affairs were handled and treated of. Now this *Curia* where the *Senat* met, was a Temple
or hallowed place: for neither might the *Senat* meet, nor act of *Senat* pass, but in the place set
out and appointed by augury. Hereupon *Curia Hostilia*, *Pompeia*, and *Julia*, being profane places
before, were by inauguration consecrated Temples. In this *Curia* was the altar of *Victory*: and upon
the stairs of the said *Curia* stood the image of *Victory*, made of fine pure gold.

Cato the elder in the time of his *Centorship*, built (with the City money) a palace near to the
Forum, under the *Curia*, which after his own name he called *Porcia Basilica*.

The palace also of *Romulus* (as men think) stood where the Church is now of S. *Mary* the new.
These places therefore which have been thus described in the fourth region of the City, joynd
together in one place in manner, and were all contained within this circuit, as you go from the
Comitium toward the Temple of *Peace*, and the Church and gardens of S. *Mary* the new almost as
far as the *Esquilia*.

The fourth Book.

CHAP. I.

The Temple of *Janus* and *Pietas*: of the publike goal of *Rom*, *Commons*.

Some of the four parts of the City are described, the fifth ensueth; which includeth those
places that comprehend *Tyber*, part of the *Aventine* on the right hand, and the rock *Tar-*
peia on the left: and valley also which lyeth between those very hills. Wherefore begin we
to describe this memorable place, which is next after the Theatre of *Marcellus*, and so run
through the plain and leuell plot of the City. And with *Janus* first, whom men in old time believed
to be the very door, and as it were the entrance of all things. Unto *Janus Numa* built a Temple
at the gate *Carnementalis*, (afterwards the chappel of S. *Katharine*) at the bottom of the *Argiletum*,

close unto the theatre of *Marcellus*. This Temple had two doors: in time of peace they were shut; but in war opened by that Consul, who, as the worthier person, was first created. It is found in records, that this Temple was shut but only thrice. First, by *Numa*, himself; secondly, by *T. Manlius* the Cos., and a third time by *Augustus*, after the battel of *Actium*. But why in time of war it stood open many reasons are given: and this is thought the chiefest, namely, an accident that befell when *Romulus* warred against the Sabines: for when the Sabines were now possessed of the gate *Carmentalis*, and about to rush violently into the City, all on a sudden unlooked for there issued forth upon the enemies a plenteous river and stream of hot scalding water out of the Temple of *Janus*, which stood near to the gate: whereupon they were driven to flee, and so the City was saved. From hence it is that posterity coming after, open the doors for *Janus*, that he might be at liberty, when he is called forth, as it were, to help in time of war.

Others report, that *Tatius* and *Romulus* both were the founders of that Temple: as who, when the covenant was made betwixt them, agreed together of that two-faced god as an indifferent and common witness to them both of the accord contracted between two Kings and two nations; and so erected unto him this Temple in that very place where now the ruins of *S. Katharines* Church are to be seen.

Moreover there be who affirm, that *Cn. Duilius* vowed it, and *Tiberius* built it: but the variety of these opinions seemeth hereupon to arise; for that it is received and held for certain, that there were many *Jani* worshipped as gods by the posterity; whereas they in old time believed but one: so as that which is spoken of divers, is falsely supposed, as said of one. Which may be seen before, whereas we wrote of *Janus* with four fronts or faces, whose Temple was erected in the *Forum*. For it is said, that *Janus* was the first who erected Temples and ordained divine service and ceremonies for the gods; and therefore in sacrifices deserved the first place.

Pourtraied he is with a key and a wand: as who is the porter to keep the gates, and the guide to direct the waies.

Augustus besides, brought his image out of *Egypt* to *Rome*, and in the herb-market built a Temple in the honour of him.

To *Pietas* in the said herb-market, *M. Atilius Glabrio* dedicated a Temple in that very place where at this day standeth the Church of *S. Nicholas* in the prison: for even there *Ap. Claudius* the Decemvir by a decree of the Senat built a prison, for that the common goal (whereof we have written before) was not sufficient; and called it, The prison for the Commons of *Rome*: wherein himself afterwards being found guilty wrought his own death. In which also many years after, a certain silly poor woman of base and obscure parentage being newly brought a bed being apprehended for an heinous offence, was condemned to be starved to death. Her daughter, being a milch woman and delivered lately of a child, made humble request to the goaler, that she might have leave to go to her mother: and when he had made straight search before, whether she brought with her any food: and saw her have nothing about her, let her in: and so she went and came many times. At the last known it was that the prisoner within was nourished by the breast-milk of her daughter: whereupon the mother was delivered and set free; and both mother and daughter were allowed their food ever after by vertue of a decree, at the Cities charges; and in regard of that kindness and affection of the child to the mother, they consecrated this place to the goddess *Pietas*. *Livy* supposeth, that it was not the mother but the father that in this manner was by the daughter nourished.

CHAP. II.

The herb-market: the Temple of *Juno Matrca*, and of *Hope*: the Oratory or Chappell of *Numa*: the Column called *Lactaria*: the Altar and Chappell of *Carmenta*.

His place hath the name of *Forum Holitorium*, for that therein is great store of worts and pot-herbs without the gate *Carmentalis*, where, where, in times past was the old market kept: and at this day called it is the street *Montanaria*.

Within the compass or the said market-place, *C. Cornelius* the Consul, in the time of the Gauls war, vowed a Temple to *Juno Matrca*: which afterward being Censor, he put out to building, in that very place where afterwards stood the Church of *S. Andrew*, surnamed in *Memuzia*.

The same *C. Cornelius* built in the *Forum Holitorium* the Temple of *Hope*, and the same adorned with divers and sundry marbles: which afterwards *Collatinus* consecrated. Many a day after, it was smitten with lightning; and in the end set on fire and burnt.

A Column also there was in the same market-place, named *Lactaria*: unto which the sucking babes that were to be nourished with milk, were presented.

The Oratory of *Numa* stood in the bottom of *Argiletum*, near the theater of *Marcellus*.

The Altar *Carmentalis*, consecrated by *Evander* to his mother *Carmenta*, stood before the gate *Carmentalis*.

In the same place also was the Chappell of *Carmenta* built by the matrons of *Rome*. At the first, she was called *Nicostrata*: but for that she delivered Oracles in verse, she took the name of *Carmenta*.

CHAP. III. The fish-market, and Temple of Fortuna Virilis.

The fish-market standeth along the Tybre, near to the [Forum] Junium, between the Churches of S. Mary in Portu and Egyptiaca, within the gate Carmentalis, not far from the Forum Boarium, i.e. the ox-market.

The Church of S. Mary Egyptiaca is at this day near the Tybre, and a bridge of the said name. Some go about to affirm and prove, that this was sometime the Temple of Adey; others, of Fortune and Chastity; but all in vain: for those Temples were not in this place, but in the ox-market, as for this Temple of Fortuna Virilis, whereof we now speak, it was near Tybre. In it stood the statue of Serg. Tullius made of wood and gilt all over, which in a great scare-fire when all things else were burnt, remained only safe and sound.

CHAP. IIII. The Temple of Vesta, the Saline, and the arch of Cocles.

Near the Church of Mary surnamed Egyptiaca, there remaineth at this day a most ancient Temple, now dedicated to S. Stephen, the frame whereof is circular, and the pillars are set round about and bear up the roof, which being one entire piece of work, carrieth the whole Temple. Consecrated it was in old times to Vesta, and Numataking that circular platform, from the Temple which was at Alba, made it with a lover in the top, having a hole to give light.

Howbeit, of this goddess her self there is no image nor resemblance; for that fire, whereof she is the goddess, can have no certain and permanent form. As for Vesta, the Latines call her so, because she is arraid with divers and sundry things. Of the Greeks she is named Isia, for that her force and power appertaineth to altars and hearths where fire is kept. This is not the Temple wherein the sacred fire is preserved: but that whereof we spake before, which Romulus built between the Capitol and Palatium.

Saline were the store-houses of the salt which served the City: and they stood upon that bankside of Tybre, which from the foresaid Temple of Vesta reacheth into the Aventine.

The arch of Horatius Cocles stood at the very foot of the Aventine hill, where the rising thereof beginneth between the mount and the Tybre.

CHAP. V. The Forum Boarium.

hitherto from the beginning of this fourth book, are described those things which on the right hand of the Tybre were worth the noting. Now forward we will after our manner, run through all the memorable things which are on the left side of that river: and first, as concerning the beast-market.

The beast-market was near to Velabrum and Janus, between the mount Palatine and the Greek school, close to the Temple, now called S. Gregories Church. In it there was a most ancient image in bras of a bull, whereupon some think it took the name Boarium. Others, for that oxen were there sold: or because they used in old time to sacrifice those kind of beasts there: or else, for that Evander in that place killed an ox in sacrifice to Hercules, for killing Cacus and recovering again his kine and oxen. In the same place were kept the instruments wherewith the Ministers belonging to sacrifices, the sacrificers also themselves, were furnished when they went about their sacrifice. In this market-place was the first fight exhibited of sword-fencers.

CHAP. VI. The Temple of Hercules Victor, and the Altar called Maxima.

The round Temple of Jupiter Victor was built in the beast-market, near the Greek school: where sometime Evander reared unto Hercules the altar called Maxima. This Temple (as they say) was so religious and venerable, that neither flie nor dog would enter into it. For Hercules at what time as he distributed a dole of flesh to his followers and ministers in his sacrifice, prayed unto Myiagrus, [the god that gathereth flies.] He it is therefore that driveth away all flies from this Temple: and at the door thereof he left his club behind, which as soon as the dogs see they run away far off: and thus unto the daies wherein Pliny lived it was free from flies and dogs. At the sacrifice and dining service of this Hercules, neither women nor bondslaves, nor yet freed men that had been in villenage might be present. At the last, this Temple was consumed in that fire which Nero the Emperour made.

Over and besides, Evander erected unto Hercules a statue, which was called, Hercules Triumphant, because so often as there was any triumph in the City it was clad with a mantle, and other habiliments of triumph.

All the time that Evander reigned Hercules had no more but an altar which they called Maxima: and this Evander reared unto him for killing of Cacus, and restoring his kine and oxen again.

Upon

Upon this altar he sacrificed the tenth part of the fruit of his kine: for *Hercules* had given out and promised, That they should live an happy life who dedicated unto him the tenth part of their goods. Hereupon cometh the name of *Decima Herculeana*, i.e. *Hercules Tithes*.

CHAP. VII

The Temples of Chastity, Prosperous Fortune, Matuta, and Fors fortuna: of the place called *Vicus Publicus*, *Velabrum*: and the sepulchre also of *Acca Larentia*.

Near to the Temple of *Hercules*, well known it is that a chappell was built by *Amphitrion* the *Pudicitia Parricida*, i.e. Gentlewomens chastity. Now the image that represented this Saint stood in the beast-market. To the service and sacrifices celebrated unto this goddess, virgins that were Commoners daughters might not come. And therefore a certain maiden of commoners daughters red a chappell also to *Pudicitia Plebeia*. From the service and sacrifices thereof, the *Patrician* virgins were likewise debarred. Many other places & Temples besides were consecrated to *Pudicitia*.

The Temples of *Prosperous Fortune* and of *Matuta*, *Servius Tullius* consecrated in the beast-market: And that *Fortune* he called *Proserpa*, which was not blind. In this place (say they) an Olive tree sometimes stood, and upon a time when honey dropped and flowed from it, the Soothsayers gave order, that a little coffer or box should be made of the wood thereof, wherein those lots were put and laid up, which by the direction of *Fortune* were either handled or shuffled together by the hands of young boys: as if such should prove happy, fortunate, & excellent. *Servius Tullius* married all his wife whatsoever to *Fortune*, who being born of a good woman, had many times found good by her, and was in the end advanced to princely dignity. And hereupon he dedicated Temples to *Fortuna Primigenia*, *Matula*, *Concordens*, *Benivolens*, and *Vidua*, as who would say, she ruled and did all. Likewise, a Temple he consecrated to little *Fortuna*, signifying thereby, that nothing can happen unto us, be it never so small, but we must attribute it, as coming from the gods.

A Temple to *Matuta Camilla* vowed in the Veiebian war and dedicated it: which long before that time *Servius Tullius* had erected. To *Matuta* and *Fortuna Primigenia* the Romans did sacrifice upon one and the self-same day: and likewise in one and the same day both their chappels were burned and consumed with fire together. *Cicero* the Consul caused a Temple to be made unto *Fors Fortuna*, call'd *Fortis Fortuna*, next unto that of *Minerva*, of the money raised out of the spoil gotten from the *Tuscan*.

The street called *Vicus Publicus* began at the *Forum Trajanum*, and went from thence into the *Aventine*, as far as to the Temple of *Juno*. In this street near the said *Forum* was the Chappell of *Velabrum*, in that very place where now standeth the Church of Saint *Gregory* in *Velabrum*, so called.

Aventine hill was sometime separated from the other mountains by the *Tyber* between: for before that *Tanquinius Priscus* turned the chappell of *Tyber*, it brake out many times, and having found a frith or creek, it beat upon the foot of the *Aventine*. And therefore of necessity, who ever would go to the *Aventine* was to make a fare, that is to say, by paying his quadrant, ferry over thither in a Wherry. Hereupon that place is at this day called *Velabrum*, a *vehundus*, i.e. carrying over, where sometimes the *Tyber* had wrought out a frith.

Aulus hath left in writing, that the sepulchre of *Acca Larentia* was in *Velabrum*.

CHAP. VIII

Vertumnus and his Temple: *Janus* with four faces: the house of *Africanus*: the Court or Palace *Sempronius*, and the wood-shops.

MEN in old time called *Vertumnus*, not only the god of buying, selling, and of fruits, but also him that ruled mens minds, so named *Vertendo*, for that oftentimes he turned & changed at his will and pleasure the purposes and thoughts of men another way far divers. His Temple & image they erected in the *Tuscan* street, near to the altars of *Ceres* and *Cora*. The festivall daies of this god, celebrated in the month of *October*, are called *Vertumnalia*. Some there be that would have *Vertumnus* and *Janus* with four faces to be all one; upon this reason, for that they affirm the Temple of *Janus* afore said to be in *Velabrum*, whereas they build that of *Vertumnus*. But now that Temple whereof we have before spoken, upon four pillars beareth up one roof, and hath four gates besides, and in each forefront twelve little windows, which signify the four quarters of the year, and the twelve months. In old time they put *Janus* before, in all sacrifices, and gave him that name *ex eundo*, i.e. going, and hereupon the entries and doors of houses he called *Janua*.

Near the image of *Vertumnus* Pub. *Africanus* had an house, which *Sempronius* afterwards bought together with the wood-shops, and built the palace which they call *Sempronius*, near the Temple of *S. Gregory* in *Velabrum*.

CHAP. IX

Argiletum: the house of *Cornelius*: *Aquinalium*: the Chappell of *Surgadry* or *Stadry*.

THE *Argiletum* beginneth at the bottom of the *Tuscan* street, and endeth at the Theatre of *Marcellus*. But *Fabius Pictor* saith, it began at the head of the said *Tuscan* street, under *Castellum*, between

between it and the great Lits, and so reacheth to the Aventine. The name is taken of a kind of clay or loam, whereof there is plenty in that place: or else of one *Aryus*, who being entertained as a guest by *Evander*, laid wait for his life, intending after he had murdered him, to be King, and reign himself. But the friends and company about *Evander* discovered his trains, and so he was by them slain. Unto him therefore *Evander* reared a tomb even there, and consecrated the place.

Now *Imus Argiletus* is just by the Theatre of *Marcellus*. In this street were divers shops of artisans or artificers, and especially of stationers or booksellers, and those they commonly called the Argiletan shops.

Cornelius Domitianus is said to have dwelt in *Velabrum*.

Equimulium is between *Velabrum* and the Capitol, near to the staplers and wooll-shops. The name arose hereupon for that *Sp. Maelius*, a Roman Citizen who aspired to be King, sometime there dwelt: who being detected of that crime, was killed, his goods confiscated and his house laid level with the ground, and the plot where it stood by the Romans was made a void-yard.

The Temple of *Mars*, goddess of Idleness, was under the Aventine, upon the ascent of the hill called *Clivus Publicus*, in that part whereas folk go up to the Church of *S. Prisca*. Hereupon the mount Aventine was sometimes called *Martius*.

Morover, somewhere be that in this place would have the *Asylum* to stand: but we have shewed before that *Asylum* was first built by *Rom*, upon the Capitol. But in process of time, after that so great riches and wealth was gathered and laid up there in the Capitol, and that otherwhiles the Senat used there to meet and sit in councils the *Rom*, thought it not with the safest for them that thieves, fellows, and other lewd infamous persons of all sorts, should come for refuge thither, and there abide: and therefore they supposed it better for their security to translate this privileged sanctuary to some other place. Whereupon not there alone, but in many other parts afterwards there began sanctuaries to be set up, not at *Rome* only, but also in other quarters of the world.

CHAP. X.

Circus what it is, why it was so called, and for what cause ordained.

The place where games & exercises of disport were performed, was called the *Circus*: so named, for that the scaffold was built in circuit round about to behold the pastimes: and within that compass the said solemnities were exhibited: also for that the pomp was carried in shew, and the horses ran about the goals there. Built it was round, but longwise like an arch or bow, having in the circuit about it steps one above another, with apt seats for the beholders, that one should not hinder the prospect of another: in the midst were two marks or goals distant alike one from the other. Also the barriers or *carceres* so called, because the horses stood there pent and kept in until the Magistrate gave the signal to begin the course.

Now these solemnities of games and plaies are festivals in the honour of their gods: for ordained they were first, and still are observed and kept, either for their birth-dates & nativities, or dedications of Temples. And at the very first verily were hunting and baiting of beasts, which they called (*Munera*) to the honour of *Saturn*. But the stage-plaies were due to *Liber*: the *Circensian* games to *Neptune* and *Ceres*. Thus these pastimes were assigned, some to these gods, and others to those: and in honour and memoriall of them yearly solemnized. As for the games *Circensies*, they were so called, because when they were to be performed, they had the bank of the river of one side, and swords set to flank the other. But of these games, plaies, and solemn fights, *Sisinnius* hath written at large.

CHAP. XI.

The great shew-place called *Circus Maximus*.

Tarquinius Priscus instituted first this large circuit for running of races, and laid the foundation thereof between the two mounts *Aventine* and *Palatine*. But *Caesar* was he that enlarged it, and made it more magnificent and stately. For being (as it was) three furlongs and an half in length, and four acres broad: it is thought that it was *Caesar* and not *Tarquinius*, who set it out to that largeness: and this soundeth like to a truth, considering that in *Tarquinius* daies the City was not so populous, neither given so much to these shews and fights, as in the time of *Caesar*, and therefore the place required not so great a compass of ground. Now this *Circus* for three parts thereof, to wit, the two sides and one of the ends, had a ditch digged ten foot deep, and as many broad: behind that ditch were galleries built three stories high: and these had seats made beneath with stone, and above of timber: all which galleries had one and the same bases for they closed together round like a globe. Able they were to receive a hundred and fifty thousand men. See more hereof in *Dionysius*, *Pliny*, *Livy*, and others who have written of the Roman Edifices. This *Circus* *Augustus* adorned and beautified afterwards: for he made the barriers of marble, and gilded the goals, and many other ornaments he set it out withall. Lastly, when it was decayed and fallen down, *Trajan* reedified it, made it more ample, and trimmed it up. Yea, and after him, *Heliogabalus* set thereto besides most fair and goodly Columns, and garnished them with gold, and paved the very floor with *Chrysocolla*. But as touching the beauty of this *Circus*, *Nazarius* writeth much. For, by report, so elegant it was, that men resorted to it, not so much to behold the exercises and masteries there, as the pleasant and delightful beauty of the place. *Maximus* therefore it was called, either because consecrated it was to *Vortunus*, the

the greatest of the gods, or for the excellency and sumptuousness of the games: or else because in comparison of other Cirques, to wit, *Flaminia*, and the other called *Intimus*, i.e. the inmost, this was the biggest. For *Pliny* hath left in writing, that it lay out in length three furlongs, and one in breadth, so as it would well serve for two hundred and sixty thousand men to sit within it.

CHAP. XII.

The Temples and Altars which we read to have been in the Circus Maximus; or about it.

Confus is reported to be the god of Counsell, either for that he concealeth mens counsels, or Copeneth them unto men. This God had an altar in the great shew-place covered over, which betokeneth, that counsell ought to be close and covert. For which cause, this altar as we read, was by the old Romans to him consecrated. For they at what time as they consulted about the ravishing of the Sabine maidens, fearing lest they should have been detected before the time, dedicated this altar to this god, and created the portraiture and image of him thereon. Which altar verily, either by some injury of the times, or through mens neglect of the gods, continued so forlet, as it the end it was altogether unknown where it stood. At length found it was again, and at all other times remained covered, but in the time of horse-runnings; and then it was uncovered and set open. To this god was the feast also instituted, called *Consualia*. And those disports and pastimes which they devised for the ravishment of the Sabin Virgins, were celebrated at this altar by certain Priests belonging to that god.

In like manner *Neptune*, (urnamed the Chevalier, had a Temple in this *Circus Max.* which in the year of our Lord 1526 was found behind the Temple of *S. Anastasia*, at the foot of the mount *Palatine*, in the very foundations of the *Circus*: for such marks and tokens were there to be seen, that by good evidences it appeared that this was the very Temple of *Neptune*. For the honour of this *Neptune*, the games *Circenses* were by men in old time solemnized.

Also to *Genius* the guide and director of secret plots, they directed an altar in the great Cirque; Over and besides these, this Cirque contained three other altars: one to the Great gods; a second to the *Penates*; and a third to those gods of heaven and earth, from whom all things arise and have their beginning. These gods above said, the Romans called *Genii*, *Penates*, *Presidents*, and keepers of the City.

Liber, *Libera*, *Ceres*, and *Proserpina*, had their Temples about this place, called *Circus Max.* which *Posthumius* when he warred against the Latines, vowed; and the same man upon his return with happy victory built and dedicated them accordingly.

To conclude, in the same compass were the Temples of the sun, and of *Flora*.

Moreover, a Temple there stood near this *Circus*, unto *Venus*; which *Q. Fabius Gurgus* the *Col.* caused to be made of the money, raised upon the fines of certain wives that were condemned for playing false with their husbands.

Lucius dedicated a Temple to *Juventus* without the great cirque, not far from that place.

In like sort, *Mercury* had a Temple near this *Circus Max.*

In *Plinies* daies there was seen in the *Circus Max.* the image of *Fortuna Seia*.

CHAP. XIII.

The Naumachy of the great Cirque.

Naumachy is a place so called *ἡ ναυμαχία τοῦ κυρίου*, i.e. for that in it they used to skirmish with ships. For there were places digged deep like ponds, where were represented some shews of navall fight, for the exercise of the Roman youth, that they might know how to charge and annoy the enemy at sea also. And these kind of sports were exhibited and practised not in the cirques only, but also in the Amphitheatres.

CHAP. XIV.

The two Obelisks of the Circus Max.

The Obelisk (as *Marcellinus* testifieth) was a very huge and rough stone rising like a spire or brooch, by little and little to a mighty height: and that it might resemble a ray or sun-beam, it groweth smaller and smaller in fashion of a steeple, with four sides or edges, and in the top it is very narrow, and there made plain and smooth right artificially. In most of them are engraven and cut certain Hieroglyphick notes, and namely, such as testifie either the sounder thereof, or else other memorable matters. Of these figures and characters, the same *Marcellinus* speaketh in this wise: Moreover, the infinite variety of forms and characters, called Hieroglyphicks which all about we see engraven, the ancient authority of the first learning did set forth and mark so. Thus much saith he. Now they drew and portraied therein sundry forms and shapes of living beasts and birds, and oftentimes devised new and strange resemblances, whereby they reserved and kept for their posterity whatsoever was memorable and worth remembrance. This manner continued not in *Egypt* only, but also in other parts of the world, untill such time as letters were found: and then this was given over. At the first one letter implied a whole word and one word went for a whole sent ence. But hereof ye shall find much in authors that have written of these characters. Moreover, as *Pliny* witnesseth, these Obelisks were made of the stone *Simites*. Then they erected and consecrated

consecrated to the gods; and principally to the Sun: and therefore in hewing and cutting them, they resembled the sun-beams, as we said before. The first that ever devised these Obelisks, was *K. Methres*. At *Rome* were none of these Obelisks wrought and cut out, but brought thither from other parts, and so for beautifull shew and to wonder as were erected. Therefore in the *Cirque* aforesaid, called *Maximus*, two Obelisks were seen, one standing upright aloft, 80 foot high: the other lying along in the *Naumachi*; it carried in length a hundred and thirty foot and 8 inches, besides the base or footstall; which *Augustus* translated to *Rome* out of *Hieropolis*, a City of *Egypt*: but when he would have set it up on end it fell down and brake in twain. This was hewn out of the quarry, by King *Samnefretus*, in whose reign *Pythagoras* was in *Egypt*.

CHAP. XV.

The arch of *Sertinius* in the *Cirque*. The place of the *Tuberos* in the *Cirque*. The stews, the house of *Pompey*, and the fountain of *Juturna*.

Sertinius having made conquest of *Spain*, brought great store of money into the City chamber: and of the spoils taken from enemies he reared two arches: the one in the beast-market, called *Forum boarium*; the other in the great shew-place, named *Circus Maximus*. Upon these arches he set golden images, and other ornaments to beautifie them.

The house and family of the *Helii* was none of the wealthiest, but yet of great credit and estimation with the Romans. Among whom there was so great concord & unity, that 16 of them at one time dwelt and agreed well together in one and the same house. For their singular prowess and worthy acts they were allowed by the *Senat* and people of *Rome* a scaffold by themselves in all the shew-places and Theatres, to behold all fights and masteries of activity.

About the *Circus Maximus* stood the stews and brothell-houses, where sometimes harlots and naughty-packs kept, such as made profession of whoredom. But this place was afterwards laid even with the ground, and is now a void place.

The house of *Pompey* was near the *Circus Max.* & therein was the statue of *Hercules* erected.

The fountain or well of the nymph *Juturna*, is yet (as some think) to be seen, boiling up in the *Velabrum* near the common sink or vault called *Maxima*.

CHAP. XVI.
The Septizonium of *Severus*.

Here should follow by course after the great *Cirque*, the fixt part of the City, namely, the mount *Calvus*. But because we meet with the *Septizonium* of *Severus*, & the arch of *Constantine* (before we come to *Calvus*) between it and the mount *Palatine*, something would first be spoken of them, especially being so excellent building as they are. The *Septizonium* therefore is a mighty mount or terrace raised from the plain ground 4 square, comprised about with seven arcades, that is to say, courses of rows of pillars one above another, yielding as it were as many porches or galleries: and in this order they are disposed, that the higher the pillars stand, the lesser and shorter they be. In the midst hereof, four walls arise, containing within them certain hollow places like cabinets. In the top thereof were bestowed and laid the ashes of Kings and Emperors deceased. *Jul. Capitolinus* nameth this mount *Septadium*, for the Greeks call places much frequented, whereunto many waies lead. *Hepodia* of *Attica*, seven, and so on a way. *Pliny* calleth it *Septisolum*, of seven lots or solars. For in every corner thereof the columns meet together in the head with marbles iraniomes. Other beams there be are besides, reaching inward from them to the mount it self, so as every such course yielded a stage like a gallery or walking place. Two of these *Septizantia* we read there were at *Rome*, to wit, the one of *Titus* in the street called *Via nova*, of right great antiquity, not far from this of *Severus*: of which at this day there is to be seen no shew or token at all. The other of *Severus*, whereof there remain still, over against *S. Gregorius* Church 3 Zones or girdles (as it were) of curious work; for the beauty and stateliness of the pillars worth the seeing, and pleasant to behold. Reared it was in the broad street called *Appia* and built by *Severus* himself. That which now is left thereof leaneh out so, as it seemeth ever and anon ready to fall.

CHAP. XVII.

The triumphal arch of *Constantine* the Emperor.

These triumphal arches were erected for them only, who having subdued whole Provinces, or conquered foraine nations & obtained brave & fortunate victories, seemed worthy of triumph, and thereupon they are called Triumphal arches. Upon these arches for the perpetual and everlasting memoriall of acts achieved, were cut and engraven the portraictures of the very places where the war was performed: the resemblances of Fabricks and ranged battels, if the service was on land; and of ships if it were at sea. Howbeit, until the time of the Emperors, no man raised any arches, and in *Plinies* daies they began to be built, so as that of *Titus* is of all others most ancient. For before their age, only statues and trophies were set up. But in process of time following, many of these arches were raised; among which, that of *Constantine* is to be seen above the rest at the corner of the mount *Palatine*, near the Theatre, beautified with triumphall ornaments, and

and remaineth at this day in a manner found and whole without any hurt. This arch Constantine erected for himself upon the victory which he obtained over *Maximian* at the bridge *Millvian*.

CHAP. XXVII.

Caelius the mount, and Caeliolus.

The mount *Caelius* in old time was named *Quercetalepinus*, for the number of oaks there growing; but afterwards it was so called of *the Gellius* *the Roman*, a Duke of the Tuscan nation, unto whom the Romans granted a place in that mountain to inhabit. For when as the Tuscan people, by reason of their multitude, and the strong fenced places which they held, were suspected, commanded they were to remove into a street which of themselves was named *Thuscum*. But such as were without suspicion, kept the hill *Caelius* or *Caeliculus*, i.e. the little *Caelius*: a place where sometime the goddess *Diana* was worshipped, and at this day there standeth the Church consecrated to *S. Evangelista* the virgin. This mountain afterwards by *Tiberius* was named *Augustus*.

CHAP. XXIX.

The Temples of Faunus, Venus, and Cupid; the Court Hostilia; the forum camp; the house of the Laterans; the Palace of Constantine, and Casorianus; the horseman statue of L. Verrius.

Upon the ridge or side of the mount *Caelius* there standeth a round Church, now patronized by *S. Stephen*, but hallowed and consecrated in times past to *Faunus*. *Faunus* he was called, in *the* *city*, for that he foretold things to come, by voice and not by signs. The *Albans* in old time inhabited that part of the hill, where at this day the Church stands of *S. Mary Dominick*.

In the hill *Caelius* stood sometime the Temples of *Venus* and *Cupid*, not far from the gate *Navia*, where now is the Church of the holy Cross in *Hierusalem*.

The Court *Hostilia* was in two places of *Rome*, the one in the common *Forum*, hard by the Temple of *Peace*, where King *Hostilius* first dwelt; the other in that place, where afterwards the Church of *S. John* and *S. Paul* was built.

A place there was in the mount *Caelius* called *Castra Peragrina*, toward the Northeast and the *Esquilia*, where at this time the Church of the four crowned Saints is frequented.

The house of the *Laterans* also was built upon the same mount, at the Palace or stately Hall of the *Laterans*.

The Palace of *Flavius Constantinus*, near the house of the *Laterans*, stood between the gates *Capitoline* and *Gabina*.

The Palace of *Casorianus* was built at the gate *Navia*, and the Church of *S. Holy Cross* in *Hierusalem*.

In the street called *Lateranensis* stood the statue on horseback of *L. Verrius*. Some say it was made for *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, others for *Septimius Severus*.

CHAP. XXX.

Of the Amphitheatres; and first of that of Statilius Taurus.

Now it followeth to speak of the Amphitheatre of *Statilius Taurus*, but before we write thereof, it would be briefly shewed what an Amphitheatre is. Now this word *Amphitheatrum* cometh of *Amphi*, i.e. of looking round about; for two prospects joyned in one, make the form of an hemisphere or half circle. Some think that *Titus* devised the Amphitheatre first, but some say and prove, that *C. Caesar* built the first that ever was in *Italy*: but by the authority of *Strabo* it is proved, that *Statilius* raised one Amphitheatre before *Titus*.

In these Amphitheatres were prizes and rewards propounded to them that would fight with beasts. Condemned persons like wise yielded there to the eyes of men a horrible and fearful sight to behold, for thither were those prisoners brought by the *Lictors*, within that enclosure to wrestle and maintain conflict with wild beasts.

Moreover, the Emperors before they took their journey to any war or expedition, exhibited unto the people in these Amphitheatres shews of sword-fencers at the sharp for life and death, to the end, that the souldiers should be acquainted with fight, and learn not to be afraid of weapons, of wounds, no, nor at bloodshed, nor to draw back and avoid the perils of war to come, for the novelty and strangeness thereof. A great part of *Statilius* his Amphitheatre, is yet to be seen near the walls, at *S. Crispi* Church in *Hierusalem*. And be it sometime he built it, when *Augustus* *Caesar* encouraged and exhorted the Citizens of *Rome*, every man according to his ability to beautify and adorn the City.

CHAP. XXXI.

The water conduits why they were devised, by whom, and where they were conveyed into the City, to what purpose, by whom devised, how many.

The City of *Rome* in the beginning hath been said in the first book, was but narrow of compass, and contained within small bounds: and the people for commodity and store of water, settled

settled upon the river *Tyber*. But as the city daily more and more encreased, necessary it was that some should build them houses and habitation in one place, some in another, farther from the river: whereupon distressed it was for want of water, which was to be fetched so far off, and that with great pain and labour: besides, those places which had no current of running waters to wash away the filth, and carry it into *Tyber*, became (by the noisome air which was infected with their loathsome and stinking smells) unwholesome, and subjected many times to the pestilence. Prince *Nerva* therefore (the Emperor) undertook to redress and remedy this mischief (and others after him by his example) and devise by the wit and subtilty invention of men, conduit-pipes, to bring water into those parts of the city which otherwise had none: And this verily they did two waies, the one by ached work, when by digging certain rills or rivulets the water was carried level above ground, forced by certain weights, ballasts, and counterpoises the other by vaults under the ground, bringing water into the city by secret under-waies through pipes, apertures, and rocks. By which means it came to pass, that in the city every where such store there was of water, that each house almost had a well in it. But especially at the bottom and foot of the hill *Quirinalis*, and all the side thereof, in the street *Patricius*, *Subura*, the Latine way, the *Aventine*, the *Jews Street*, and in many other places: so as in this our age full is of such water-works under the ground. Now were these waters conveyed from divers places, and some conduits especially, such as were devised by arches were higher or lower than other. In the beginning and in the former times, there were (by report) five heights or depths: The highest of all was new *Anio*; next, the waters *Claudia*; in the third place the water *Julia*; *Tepula* in the fourth; then *Martia*, and after it old *Anio*, the level or current whereof, *Virgo* followeth and *Appia*, and the lowest of all others, *Astretina*, which serves that quarter of the city beyond *Tyber*, and other low places built upon the plain. These waters were first brought into certain great conduit-heads, and from thence they were by a certain measure distributed by the conduit officer, and so ran into places appointed. Now that great conduit-head was called *Castellum*, which receiveth first the common water, and afterwards sendeth it out into divers and sundry parts, and the keeper or officer that overseeth it is named *Castellarius*. There were besides level or above ground, certain cisterns or receptacles of water, which kept water to serve curriers, fullers, and other such artificers for their necessary use. Over these waters were appointed certain wardens and keepers, and a set number of labourers and workmen to be thereto. Finally, a grievous punishment was to be inflicted upon them that either marred and hurt the conduit-heads, or derived and conveyed water to other places than the laws or publike ordinances, or the Censors or *Ædiles* permitted: or took more water than at the first was allowed them. *Appian* *Claudian* (by report) was the first man that brought water into the city by arched work. But of the Roman waters, of the conduits, and other matters contained thereabout, of the manner of conveyance, the instruments, measures, and weights thereto belonging read *Frontinus*, who of these things hath written orderly and at large: Also have recourse to *Bar. Ruffus*, who of the same argument hath made a good treatise. In the time of *Frontinus* there were but nine waters and no more brought into the City, namely, *Appian*, old *Anio*, *Martia*, *Tepula*, *Julia*, *Virgo*, *Astretina*, called also *Augusta*, *Claudia*, and new *Anio*. *Ruffus* reckoned ten more, whereby it appeareth, that he wrote long after *Frontinus*.

CHAP. XXII.

The conduit or conveyance of *Aqua Claudia*.

Calpurnia began two conduits, but left them unfinished when he died. *Claudian* the Emperor of famous memory, took them in hand again, and in most magnificent manner made an end. To the one of them, namely, which beginning at the fountains or springs called *Caracallus* and *Curvus*, was drawn to the City, he gave the name *Aqua Claudia*; the other, for difference sake of the two conduits of *Anio*, he called his own, or the new *Anio*; and distinct it was from that which is named old *Anio*. The water *Claudia* therefore was brought from the gate *Nabia*, along the side of the mount *Calvus* into the *Aventine*. A part also thereof *Caracalla* derived into the Capitol hill.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of those things which now in mount *Calvus* are not known where they stood.

Brutus the Consul having expelled *Tarquin*, built a Temple to the goddess *Ceres* in mount *Calvus*, to which goddess also, upon the accomplishment of his prayer and vows, he offered sacrifice. They in old time supposed that she had power over the vital members of the body, and to her tuition they committed those parts, and that she should preserve them safe, they did sacrifice upon her altars, and presented oblations.

Agrippina likewise began to build a Temple to *Claudius Cæsar*, which after her death *Vespasian* finished, and *Nero* utterly destroyed to the very foundation: this also was erected in the same hill. *Mahornus Porcius Cato*, Master of *Cæsar*'s Carpenters in France, was the first Roman that adorned and set out his house, which he had in *Calvus* hill with marble rough-cast. Moreover, the house of *Claudius Centimalis* stood upon the said hill. Also the house of the *Torrici*, who were two of the thirty tyrants. Likewise the house of *Junius* Senator, wherein, when as all other edifices and buildings upon that mountain were consumed with fire, the image of *Tiberius* remained unhurt. There also it is said of *Titus Claudius Clypeus*, the maker of hymns. In this hill was the great *Macellum*, or cave or den of *Cyclops*, the *Spoliarium*, and the armory.

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CHAP.

CHAP. XXIV.

The main Appia, and Nova. The Temples of Isis, Vertue, Honour, Quirinus, Mars, and the river Almo.

Now follow those places which are worth the remembrance upon the hill *Calvus* toward the *Aventine*. And therefore the way or street called *Appia* we meet with first, which taking the beginning from the arch of *Constantine*, reacheth as far as *Brundisium*: and because afterwards it was paved and repaired by *Caracalla*, it took the name of *Nova*, i. e. the new causey. But that which properly is called *Nova* beginneth at the gate of *Palatine*, and along the foot of the *Palatine* hill, over the great Cirque called *Maximus* stretcheth out as far as to the lowest fish-pool, where now standeth the Church of *S. Sixtus*. Many other streets there were, called *Nova*. Take heed therefore that in their names you be not deceived, and lest ye think that to be spoken of one, which oftentimes was meant of many.

Between the Church of *Sixtus*, the Fish-pools, and the ruins of the Antonian bairns, there was the Church of *Isis Antonodora*, built by *Antonius Bassianus*.

The Temple of *Honour* and *Vertue*, not far from the street *Appia*, was vowed by the father of *Marcus Marcellus* at *Clastidium* in *Gaul*: and seventeen years after dedicated by his son *Marcellus*.

Two Temples there were of *Mars*, one called the Temple of *Quirinus* within the City, near to the gate of that name, the other upon the way *Appia* without the City.

The river *Almo* runneth along the way *Appia*, under the foot of the *Aventine* into the *Tiber*. It beginneth ten miles from the City in the territory *Marinum*: which commonly afterwards they called the river of *Appia*. In this river the goddess, named the mother of the gods, was every year wont to be washed by her Priests, called *Galli*.

CHAP. XXV.

Of baths and bairns in generall.

Therma properly hath the signification from a Greek word, *thermē*, which betokeneth hot. But we use to call those places which either having hot waters, or without them are heat with a stouph, appointed either to wash and bath, or to sweat, by the Greek name *Therma*. That the Romans used in old to bath and wash themselves of more than we now adaies, is testified by many and divers authorities of writers: and for sundry causes, they were wont so to do [as yet the manner is amongst us] namely, to scour away sweat, or to wash dust off, in like sort for health and pleasure: whereby it came to pass, that every man, if he were but of mean wealth, had in a manner a privat bath or hot-house by himself: but the same were devised and contrived after divers and sundry sorts. For many publique baths there were ordained for the common people to use at their pleasure. *Serv. Orat.* invented first and made the pendant or hanging baths. But after that and superfluity abounded in excess, the bathing houses were built with wonderfull cost and magnificence, so as they seemed to keep no mean nor measure, as appeareth by the very reliques and ruins thereof at this day. And those places where they built these bairns and hot-houses they called *Therma*: which contained within them divers places, and an infinite number of roomes, bearing sundry names, and serving to as many uses. For some were appointed to heat waters, and those were round built, from whence hot water was let into the bairns, not to them only that were on the ground beneath, but also to those which were pendant and hanging aloft: which water after they had done washing, being foul and good for nothing was conveyed by certain pipes and spouts into sinks. They had other rooms also called *Apoditeria*, wherein they that were to go into the bath put off their cloaths and laid them by. In the same places were courtyards, having about them most spacious porches or cloisters, built with arched and embowed roofs most stately: wherein were marble pillars, garnished with divers and sundry colours. In like manner pavements of stone, and walls feeled and hung with marble tables. Also close walking galleries, groves, and swimming places, all for the pleasure and contentment of the people, where they might refresh and solace themselves. These delights so drew and allured mens minds, as that they would walk oftentimes in one day, yea, and in these bairns the Princes were wont to sup and bath with other persons whosoever, as it fell out. They had besides private baths to themselves most sumptuously built, and gorgeously set out. And namely, *Antoninus Caracalla*, at his own charges edified certain baths, which by his name were called *Therma Antonina*. The huge ruins thereof are yet to be seen, some of the pillars still stand, others are thrown down. Some say, they were begun only by *Antoninus*, but finished and adorned by *Severus*. They stood about the foot of the *Aventine*, near the street-way leading to *Ardea*, where now is the Church of *S. Balbina*. Under these baths there stood a most goodly Palace, built by the same *Antoninus*, but at this day there is scarce any example or shew thereof.

The fifth Book.

CHAP. I.

The Etymology of the mount Aventine.

THe *Aventine* is of the Roman hills the fourth in order. The compass and form whereof, because we have already described in the first book, needles here it is to repeat. But it remaineth to declare, how it came so called, what Temples of the gods, and what other edifices be therein. The *Aventine* therefore, some think, took the name of birds which were wont to flie unto this hill, there to nestle: others, of a King of the Albans, slain and buried there. There be again who suppose, that the Sabins, who being by the Romans enfranchised Citizens, there settled and made abode gave the name to this hill of *Avantes*, a river in their Province. *Varro* affirmeth that it was so called of a ferrage: For as it hath been said a little before, this mount was divided from the rest, and from the City by certain lakes and the *Tyber*, whereupon, they that would go to it used to ferry over in small punts or wherries. Some guess, that it came to have that name of resort unto it, for that the Latines used in great frequency to repair unto the holy Temple of *Diana* there. *Romulus* also it was named of *Romus* who chose a place in the top thereof to sit for to take the sight of birds for Augury, and in the end was there entered: *Romulus* therefore commanded that it should not be inhabited, because he would have had it wholly consecrated to his brother. This hill *Ancus Martius* afterward compassed with a wall, and granted leave to as many as would there to dwell: howsoever, there be some that think it stood void untill the time of *Claudius*, the Emperor of happy memory, as being an ominous place and unfortunat, by reason of foul birds that haunted it, and therefore not to be received within the wals. But the truth is, when the Romans grew populous, they joynd this mountain also to the rest of the City.

Aventinus.

CHAP. II.

The Temples of Diana, Dea bona, Hercules Victor, Queen Juno, Moneta, Luna, Victory, Minerva, and Liberty. The Altar of Jupiter Elicius.

IN the top of mount *Aventine* toward the *Tyber*, there standeth the Church of *S. Sabina*, that every place where aforesaid was the holy chappel of *Diana*. The feast and holiday of bondslaves was wont to be kept at Rome the thirteenth day of *August*, for upon that day *Servius Tullius*, whose mother was a bond-woman, consecrated a Temple to *Diana* in *Aventine*, and ordained it to be a festival day for bond-servants, who as yet were patronized by *Diana*. Some think that this chappel was built by *K. Ancus* of that money which the Citizens conferred and contributed, who lately had been translated thither from *Palatium*. This Temple was common unto all the Latines, whereupon oftentimes they resorted thereunto.

Very near unto that place stood the Church of *S. Mary*, called *Aventina*. But in times past the place was consecrated to the goddess *Bona*, i.e. good. For *Claudia* a vestall virgin or Nun, built a chappel unto her in the honour of *Fauna*, sister of *Faunus*, a most chaste maid.

* Or rather daughter.

Upon the same bank and brow of the hill, where at this day *S. Alexius* Church standeth, was sometime the Temple of *Hercules Conqueror*. And near unto it another of *Juno Regina*, built by *Camillus* with the pillage got in *Veii*. In the ruinat place of *Decius* the Emperors bains there was a Temple also of *Hercules*, where the Christians afterwards consecrated a Church to *S. Prisca*.

On the side of the *Aventine* hill stood the chappel likewise of the Moon, as *Ovid* doth witness. Thus much of those buildings in the *Aventine*, which had a certain place thereupon in our knowledge: the rest following were doubtless in the *Aventine*, but in what part thereof they stood, it is unknown after so long time, and namely, the Temple of *Victory* built by the Arcadians, and in honour of whom they offer sacrifice yearly. *Minerva* and *Juno* had their Temples there in the same hill, by the testimony of approved authors. To *Liberty* a Temple was built and dedicated by the father of *T. Gracchus*, with the money taken for fines and forfeitures. The cloister belonging to that Temple was by *Elia* *Patus* and *Cornelius Cethegus* Censors repaired and enlarged, and last of all by *Pollia* also re-edified. Now this *S. Liberty*, the Romans honoured above all others, and in defence and maintenance thereof, they ever shewed themselves most resolute and constant.

Upon the same hill, *Numa* reared the altar of *Jupiter Elicius*, so called *ab eliciendo*, i.e. of fetching out secrets and hidden mysteries.

In like manner there stood an old altar of *Murcia* in that hill. Now they named *Venus Murcia*, of the Myrtle tree consecrated unto her: or as some interpret, because *Venus*, immoderate and excessive, maketh a man to be *Murcus* or *Murcidus*, i.e. sluggish, sloathful, idle, and good for nothing.

The Temple of *Juno Moneta* was likewise built and dedicated upon that hill.

Camillus in the same mount consecrated a chappel to dame *Matuta*.

The wood or grove, also called *Laurentum* or *Laurentina*, consecrated unto *Jupiter*, was there: in which Emperor *Valentinian* [the second] son of *Constantine*, and *Galla Placidia* was slain, as *Pliny* witnesseth.

CHAP. III.

Cacus, and his hole or Cave.

Cacus, by report of the Poets, was the son of Vulcan, whom they believed in old time to breathe out of his mouth fire and smoak. This Cacus infested the places near unto him with robbing and spoiling. But more probable it is, that he was a most lewd and theevish servant of Evander, and therefore the Arcadians called him *κακός*, i.e. naught. A cave he haunted, as by very good conjectures is certainly gathered, in *Aventine* toward *Tyber*, over-against the Church of *S. Mary* *Aventine*, whereas the river runneth nearest to the hill, and whereas there hangeeth over a vast and huge craggy rock, as fit a place as might be to make a starting hole and cave for such an one, and near it is to the gate *Trigemina*. Him when *Hercules* had killed and sacrificed, he reared an altar unto *Jupiter Invenitor*, near to the said cave or den.

CHAP. IIII.

The Armilustrum, and some other things in generall.

Armilustrum was a place where souldiers shewed themselves and their armor, and where they used to muster: where also in their arms they sacrificed and did service to their gods, with resounding loud trumpets. Some would have it to be in the *Aventine*, others in the *Cirque Maximus*: but that matters not much. Hither the souldiers used to repair when they were returned from war, and here they laid up their harness and weapons. For armor of their own and in their privat custody the Romans had not, to use in the wars: but delivered all up to be kept safe either in the *Armilustrum*, or the tower or castle upon the rock *Tarpeia*.

In *Aventine*, near the Temple of *Juno Regina*, were the *Scala Gemonia*, that is to say, a steep place with a downfall: where wicked malefactors, drawn with a crook, were most miserably executed and killed.

There stood sometime this hill, near the Temple of *Diana*, the house of *Phyllis*.

A part of this mountain was called *Remuria*; which *Remus* chose to dwell in: and being there by his brother *Romulus* committed to the earth, he gave it his name.

The Senat and people of *Rome* built in this mountain, to the honour of *Decius* the Emperor, the baths called *Deciana*, and others also near them, named *Variana*. Moreover, the bains of *Trajan* were in this place, where now the vineyard of *Francis Albertinus* is.

The caves of *Fannus* and *Picus* also were in the *Aventine*, as fables report. *Italus* likewise dwelt in the *Aventine*, as *M. Cato* recordeth.

The Temples and edifices of this hill all in generall were (by report) burnt in the daies of *Tiberius*, sometime Emperor.

CHAP. V.

The sheard hill, and other things within that compass.

The plain and levell ground between *Aventine*, *Tyber*, and the City wall, hath four sides, but uneven: in which there riseth a little hill, commonly called *Teflacens*. The whole compass hereof will hardly be measured with 2000 paces: the height is about 160 foot. It resembleth in shew the form of a gourd: and the one side of it which regardeth the *Tyber* is broader than the other. Near to this hill was the glaſs-makers street (and the potters) also the carpenters habitation. And no man doubteth, but hereupon arose and grew the mount called *Teflacens*. For in old time, at *Rome* and elsewhere, as also in some places now adaies, much use there was commonly of earthen vessels made by potters: which even by this may be certainly collected, for that in *Numa's* daies there were four colledges or societies of potters: and these made of clay, not only vessels, but also the images of the gods, and ornaments to beautifie and set out their Temples: pillars and wals were by potters work seeled in the outside, nay, the very dead bodies were bestowed in cophins of baked clay. Since then, in so great store of earthen vessels and potters work, much of necessity must needs be broken, which if they had been cast abroad in the corn-field and pasture grounds, would have made all barren and unfruitful: again, if they had been thrown into the water, would in time have choaked up the chanell of the current, and forced the river to swell and overflow the banks: *Numa* therefore commanded this kind of workmen to dwell in one place, and gave order to fling all that was good for nothing, as filth, ruff-raff, and broken sheards into one place: whereupon, in proceſs of time arose a mount which they called *Teflacens*. Among these potters there was a place hallowed to *Venus Myrtea*, as we find in some records.

CHAP. VI.

The Pyramides; the sepulchre of C. Cestius, and the garner of the people of Rome.

The *Pyramides* were huge towers four-square, rising up in height, sharp like to a flame, whereof they have the name *πύρες πυρὸς*, i.e. of fire. But *Stephanus* supposeth they were so called, *πύρες πυρῶν*, i.e. of wheat, because into that place where they were erected, wheat was brought out of

of all Egypt; which made a great dearth of corn. These at the beginning were reared by the Kings of Egypt; whereby to spend and consume their superfluous wealth and substance, whereof they had no use; for fourthly if they had gathered goods, and heaped up a deal of gold, silver, and other riches, they should thereby have given occasion unto some for to lie in wait to take their lives away: also, that the common people should not live in idleness. Afterwards, at Rome likewise they bestowed their money thereupon, for to make the world wonder, and to shew their vain-glory. There is yet one of them to be seen, standing upright at the gate *Hofienfis*, enclosed within a wall. And commonly it is said, that it was the monument or sepulchre of *C. Cestius*, one of the seven *Septemvirs*, called *Epulones*. But *Blondus* would seem to prove, that it was the place for buriall of the whole College and Society of those *Septemvirs Epulones*. Now were they called *Epulones*, who had the power to ordain and make feasts and solemn bankers to the gods.

It is written, that there were 140 garbets of the people of Rome, between the mount *Testaceus* and *Tyber*.

In the same compals of ground near *Tyber* was the lake or pool *Hylerna*.

Some also affirm, that there stood sometime in that quarter a little town called *Capena*.

CHAP. VII.

The sweating steeple, and the image of Jupiter.

But since the *Esquiliae* should next follow; but because it lieth between the way *Laticana* on the Southeast side, and the valley (which for the breadth of 400 foot encloseth that way) on the West we will rehearse what memorable things soever there be in the *Laticana* way and the valley afore said before we come to the mount *Esquilia*. In our return therefore to the triumphall arch of *Constantina*, where of we spake before, we will as we go discourse of the rest. Near then unto this arch there appeareth the half rundle of circumference of an old steeple made of brick, which *Vitruvius* calleth the sweating steeple: for that the spring doeth, thow sometime there gushed water out of it, whereby the common people, standing to behold the games and plaies in the next scaffold of the Theatre untill they were almost quenched their drought.

In the top hereof stood the brazen image of *Jupiter*, because their ancestors in old time, were wont when they made solemn sojourns to use the image of *Jupiter*. But for that it was a trouble either to carry with them or so send the said image, especially if they were to contract and establish any accords in far remote countries, therefore instead of the complete image they took the scepter only; which might betoken *Jupiter* the King of the gods, as well as if he had been there present full and whole.

CHAP. VIII.

The Amphitheatre of Titus Vespasianus. The Temples of Fortune and Quies.

Between the two hills *Colinus* and *Esquiliae* is there an Amphitheatre. This *Vespasian* built first, and afterwards *Titus* his son dedicted and beautified it with the baine, built, beat unto it with right great celerity and speed. This Amphitheatre was commonly called *Colosseum*, of *Nero's Callosus*, which was set up in the porch of *Nero's* house. In able same place of the Theatre were the two otes before time of *Nero*, whereof we will speak hereafter in this very book. This Amphitheatre they called also *Arena*, i.e. the sand-flower, because the ground was spread over and laid with sand; that the wrestlers might fall softer and take less hurt; also that the blood should be drunk up, to the end that the sword-fencers in combat might not be affraid upon the sight thereof, and so without less the fierceness and courage set upon the concurrent; and last of all, that the champions, whose bodies were anointed with oyle being behewwed with the sand, might with more ease take hold one of another. The whole Theatre and place is self within (which during those daies of the games was covered over with rent-cloth) would receive 80000 men. But hereof see more in *Pliny*, *Pomponius Mela*, and other writers of the Roman acts.

Fulvius Fabius built much further off this Amphitheatre, so goodly a Temple, as for state and magnificence there was hardly a temple in all Rome comparable unto it. Besides it, there were many other chappels at Rome, consecrated to *Fortuna*.

Likewise a Chappell of *Quies* and rest was built in the broad street *Laticana*.

CHAP. IX.

Of Esquiliae.

The mount *Esquilia* as well by *Varrus* as others is divided into many parts, and each part thereof took name of those captains who in times past before the City of Rome was built, there inhabited. For one was called *Captius*, another *Oppius*, and a third *Septimius*. But hereof *Varrus* writeth at large. The posterity following changed those names as we shall hereafter hear. Some think that *Esquilia* took the name of *Excubia*, i.e. watch and ward. For when *Romulus* had no very great trust in *Tiber*, he used to have a standing watch by night for fear he should be secretly forlaid and killed, or else turned out of his kingdom. Others suppose it was so named of fowlers, who there used to cast forth chaff, and such refuse of light corn, to beguile and catch the poor birds.

The side of the hill toward the broad way *Laticlavia*, which lieth between the Churches of the 40 martyrs of S. Clement, S. Peter in Vinculis, and S. Martin, was called by the name of *Carina*, as *Virgil* seemeth to testifie. From that part therefore, because it was first inhabited, we shall do well to begin our treatise.

CHAP. X.

The Carinae, the old Curia and the new.

These *Carinae*, according to their model and form were houses like to keels of ships, standing within the Temple of *Tellus*. Their ruins are yet to be seen near the Church of S. Peter in Vinculis, i.e. in bonds.

Near to that place was the old *Curia* built by *Romulus*: but the new was erected near to *Comitum Fabricium*, i.e. the Quarrefour or cross way of *Fabricius*.

CHAP. XI.

The bairns of Titus and Philip: the statue of Laocoon: the Palace of Vespasian: the houses of Balbinus and Pompey.

Here remain yet to be seen the tokens and prints (as it were) of *Titus* the Emperors bairns, not far from the Church of S. Martin in the hills: for there be great cisterns to receive water, which at this day be called *Septem Sala*, according to the number of those cisterns: and so far reached the house of *Nero*, called *Aurea*, i.e. golden.

Not far from thence, in the year of our Lord 1506, one *Felix* a Citizen of Rome, chanced to find in his vineyard the statue of *Laocoon*, made by those excellent workmen, *Agelander*, *Polydorus*, and *Athenodorus*, Rhodians, who with wonderful cunning portraied and cut most artificially in one intire stone, *Laocoon* himself, his children, and the admirable windings and foldings of the serpents about them. And now at this day is to be seen at the Vatican, in the palace of *Vespasian*, near the said bairns of *Titus*. See more of this you may in *Pliny*. As for the story it self, most learnedly and lively it is set out by *Virgil*, and there to be read. Behind these bairns of *Titus*, between East and North, the ruins of others besides are thought verily to be those of *Philip* the Emperor.

Above the bairns of *Titus*, some set *Hadrian's* bairns: for that this place is yet called *Hadrianus*. By the testimony of *Lampridius* it appeareth that *Bulbinus* his house was in *Carina*: There also was *Pompey's* house, in which *Lenaxus* his freed-servant taught grammar.

CHAP. XII.

The cliff Virbins, the house of Servius Tullius, the golden one of Nero, and that of Virgil, Mecenas his tower and hortiards: the Temples of Fortune and Felicity.

That part of the *Esquilie*, which overlooketh the Church of S. Laurence in *Fontana*, is named *Clivus Virbins*: there also is the grove *Fagualis*, wherein stood the mansion house of *Servius Tullius*.

Nero's house, called *Golden* took up all that space, which from that quarter wherein now Saint *Gregories* Church standeth, lay between *Constantines* arch, the *Colosseum*, the *Carina Esquilie*, and *Mecenas* hortiards. His house before was in his own fire where with he burnt the City, consumed also: and when he re-edified it anew, he called it *Aurea*. The spacious largeness whereof was such, that it had about it three porches of a mile compass a piece: It contained also a pool like another sea: walled it was about, and resembled a very city. There were to it belonging holts and hamlets country-like, vineyards pastures, woods, and beasts both tame and wild, of all sorts. The house and the porches were double guiled all over, and set out with precious stones. And in one word there was nothing wanting that might serve for pleasure or prodigall riot.

In the entry of this house there stood an huge image giant-like, called a *Colossus*, 120 foot high. After *Nero's* death, dedicated it was to the sun, and then changed the name. Now men think it was called *Colossus*, after his name who was the first deviser of all such statues.

Within the same house, *Nero* included also the chappell of *Fortuna*. This goddess being made of the stone *Phengites*, when all the doors were shut, gave light to the whole house within: such raies of radiant brightness casteth this kind of stone from it. This goddess *Servius Tullius* first consecrated, and of *Segetes*, i.e. standing corn, called her *Deia*.

At the bairns of *Dioclesian*, there is a street way leading up to S. *Antonies* Church in *Esquilie*, where stood sometime a most noble tower of *Mecenas*, within his own hortiards: for those most pleasant hortiards were in the plain of *Esquilie*. Here within was *Prapus* worshipped: upon which ill-favored Idol *Virgil* hath plaied much in verse.

Near the hortiards of *Mecenas* stood the said *Virgil's* house. The Temple of *Felicity*, which took up a part of that plot where *Nero's* Gold-house should stand was by him burnt.

Above those gardens or hortiards of *Mecenas* was raised a wonderful piece of work, called *Aggeres Tarquinii Superbi*, i.e. *Tarquinii's* bulwarks.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

The Palace of Sifiminius; the plain and market place of Esquilæ; the grove Querquetulanus; also that of Juno Lacinia, and of Mars; the chappell and altar of Ill-Fortune.

THe palace of Sifiminius in Esquilæ, stood (as they say) where the Church of S. Mary the greater now is.

The plain or field *Esquilus*, near the tower of *Mecenas* (called *Inter montes*); among the hills, is between the foresaid bulwarks and the City wall. This plot of ground was in times past called *Foculus*; because dead bodies were therein burnt. But when the stinking steam thereof was noisome to the City, the Citizens and *Augustus Caesar* by a generall consent gave the field unto *Mecenas*, where he made his goodly hollyards and most dainty gardens. Of which *Cicero*, with other, speaketh much.

In like manner, the market place *Esquilinum* was in the same hill.

That side of the *Esquilæ* which looketh toward the grove *Querquetulanus* had in it the grove of *Juno Lacinia*.

In the same *Esquilæ* was the chappell and altar of *Ill-Fortune*.

In the way which goeth to the gate *Interaggeres*, even in the very bulwarks or rampiers of *Targuinius* stood the arch of *Gordian* made of marble, garnished also and set out with ornaments of triumph. Of the ruins thereof was S. *Gregories Church* in *Damasus* built.

CHAP. XIV.

The cliff Suburranus; the arch of Galienus; the shambles or flesh-market of Livia, or, as some would have it, *Livianum*; the *Præstina* way, and the Trophees of Marius.

AT the top or upper end of *Suburra* was the *Clivus Suburranus*, so called of *Suburra*, yielding an easie ascent from thence up into the *Esquilæ*.

Anon you meet with the triumphal arch of *Galien* the Emperor (where now standeth the Church of S. *Vitus*) making a goodly shew of the Tiburtine stone, whereof it was made. Near unto it was the shambles or market-place, called *Macellum Livia*, or *Livianum*. This, as some think, took the name of one *Macellus*; who being a notorious thief, and practising much to steal into the City, was in the end apprehended, and by the Censors condemned: and his house being seized as confiscate to the City was converted to a place wherein they sold meat and all other victuals; and so it kept still the name (as is said) of *Macellum*. Some are of opinion, that the said house was pulled down, and another built in the ruins thereof, which retained the name still of the former.

From hence beginneth the port-way *Præstina*, and leadeth to the gate *Esquilina*.

In this way you shall meet on the right hand with a huge bank of brick, half ruinat; upon which were erected two Trophies of marble; that is to say, certain posts [like *Quintins*] standing upright with spoils of enemies hanging thereupon; and they resembled men that were taken prisoners. It is said, that these Trophies were set up by *Marius* in his triumph for the Cimbric war: which when *Sylla* had cast down and overthrow, *C. Caesar* (afterwards Dictator) erected again. The place of the inhabitants thereabout, is at this day called *Cimbrum*. As touching Trophies, look to read more in *Plutarch*, *Valerius Max.* and others.

CHAP. XV.

The house of the *Ælii*; the chappell *Marianum*; the region or quarter called *Tabernola*; the bains and dwelling house of *Gordian*; the Palace of *Caius* and *Lucius*; also the Palace *Licinianum*.

THe house of the *Ælii* stood in that place where now be the monuments *Mariana* and the chappell of that name.

The plain part of the *Esquilæ*, between it and the mount *Calvus*, and the *Basilica Lateranensis*, is at this day called *Merulana*, for *Mariana*; and in old time, the region of *Tabernola*.

Near the Church of S. *Ensebins*, in the way of *Præstina*, was built the bains and habitation of *Gordianus*. The ruins of those hor-houses are yet to be seen, whereby a man may soon give an estimate, how fair, how stately, and large they were at first.

Between the gates *Esquilina* and *Navia*, not far from the walls, there be to be seen certain notable ruins: this they commonly call, the bains of *Galutius*. But in that place stood, in old time, that beautiful and famous palace which *Caesar* erected under the name of *Caius* and *Lucius* his nephews. Hard by the Church of S. *Balbina*, whereas now is the Bear called *Pileatus*, stood sometime the Palace *Licinianum*.

CHAP. XVI.

The water *Martia* or *Trajana*; and the Temple of *Isis*.

THe current of the water *Martia*, passing by the gate *Trajana* through the plain of *Esquilæ* went as far as to the bains of *Dioclesian*, unto the hills next adjoining. This in old time was called *Anfera*. It riseth out of the spring *Piconia* in the mountains of the *Peligni*, and passeth by the

the Martians country and the lake *Fucinus*, and so runneth to *Rome*; the coldest and most wholesome of all other waters that run into *Rome*. This water *Ancus Martius* began first to bring into the City: afterward, *Q. Marcius*, surnamed *Rex*, took it in hand; and a long time after *Agrippa* repaired the conduit thereof. Of it read more in *Pliny* and *Frontinus*.

The Temple of *Isis* is by *P. Victor* placed in the quarter *Esquilina*.

CHAP. XVII.

Of Suburra; the house of Cæsar and Lælia; and the street Patricius.

Suburra is a street of all other most frequented: it beginneth at the *Forum Romanum*, and goeth on forward directly by the *Forum Nervæ* up to the hanging or rising of the hill called *Clivus Suburræus*, whereof we have written before in this book; and it endeth where the way *Prænestina* beginneth. Called it was *Suburra*, either for that it sustained and bare up the *Carina* and the wall under it: or because it lay under the old City; or as *Varro* thinketh, of the burrough of *Succusanius*. In this street *Suburra* was the house of *Cæsar*, so long as he contented himself with a mean estate.

In it were sometimes certain stews and brothel-houses, as *Martial* writeth.

The street *Patricius* windeth crooked from the hill *Viminalis*; and endeth at the baths of *Dioclesian*. Of it more hath been said in the former book.

The house of *Lælia* likewise was in the same street, as *Martial* witnesseth.

CHAP. XVIII.

Suburra in the Plain; and the Temple of Sylvanus.

The mount *Viminalis* on the West-side of it hath part of the *Quirinalis* opposite against it: and the vale lying between was named *Suburra* the plain.

In the same valley in times past were the ten *Tabernæ*; so called of the number.

The pit also of *S. Proba* was in the same hill; which *Proba* her self made near to the Church of *S. Marci* in the field.

At the foot in manner of the hill *Viminalis*, over-against *S. Agatha's* Church there stood the Temple of *Sylvanus*; as appeareth by many good tokens.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the hill Viminalis; the Palace of Decius; the Laver of Agrippina; the baths of Olympias and Novatus; the dwelling houses of Q. Cæcilius, Crassus, and C. Aquilius.

Varro reckoneth the hill *Viminalis* among the *Esquilæ*. *Viminalis* it was named of *Jupiter Viminalis*, whose altars were in that hill: or else of plenty of *Ofers* there growing.

In the highest rising and ascent of that hill, there stood in old time, (where now is the Church of *S. Lawrence in Panisperna*) the Palace of *Decius* the Emperor, as may be shewed by the ruins thereof.

Not far from the same place, toward the Church of *S. Vitalis*, were the lavers or washing places of *Agrippina* a mother to *Nero*.

The baths of *Olympias* were situate toward *Suburra*; the tokens whereof are now found in the brow of the hill.

Likewise the baths of *Novatus* were built upon the hill *Viminalis*, where the Church of *S. Prudence* standeth.

The hill *Viminalis* had also three goodly houses of most noble personages, to wit, of *M. Crassus*, *Quintus Cæcilius*, and *Cæcilius Aquilius*: the marks whereof are evident to be seen in the side of the said hill.

Upon the same hill in times past a certain feastivall sacrifice was solemnized, which the dwellers and inhabitants there, call *Faginal*.

CHAP. XX.

The baths of Dioclesianus; the Library Ulpia; the plain Viminalis; the gate Interagere; and the vale Quirinalis.

The baths of *Dioclesian* are to be seen all ruin'd on the side of the hill *Viminalis*: and by their ruins a man may easily gather how stately and magnificent they were sometime. These were begun by *Dioclesian* and *Maximinian Herculanus*: in the building whereof 40000 Christians were held to work many years together in most slavish manner.

These were afterwards finished and dedicated by *Constantine* and *Maximinian*, new Emperors. Of the vain and superfluous expences which the Romans laid out upon Baths, read *Seneca*, who depainteth out their wastfulness most excellently.

In the same baths was the Library *Ulpia*, which by *Hadrian*, or (as some think) by *Trajan*, was thither translated: wherein were the linen records, and those huge volumes, called the *Elephantine* books, in which the acts of the Emperors, and all the functions and ordinances of Senat were, as *Pollus* witnesseth.

Behind these bairns, from above the rampier or bulwark of *Tarquinius Superbus*, was the plain field *Viminalis*, which spreadeth out as far as to the City wall. There is seen as yet the gate *Interaggeres* shut; albeit it seemeth more probable and like to a truth, that it stood in the plain *Esquilinus*.

In that very place there was a pit or well of spring running water, which the neighbours dwelling thereby called the pit of the *Vivarium*, or the park pit, within which park they kept enclosed divers and sundry kinds of wild beasts. The harbours and dens of these wild beasts are yet to be seen: whereupon it cometh, that those places or parks which are set out and appointed for feeding of Deer, we use to call *Vivaria*.

The space between *Diocletians* baths and *Constantines* arch is named the vale *Quirinalis*: in which they say, that *Romulus* met with *Proculus*.

In the same was the sacred chappell of *Fortuna Publica*.

CHAP. XXI.

The mount *Caballus*: the Etymology of *Quiritalis*: the tower *Militiarum*: the bairns of *Paulus*: the chappell of *Neptune*: the bairns of *Constantine*: the house and street of the *Cornelius*.

THe hill which at this day they name *Caballus* was in old time called *Quirinalis*, as by many signs and reasons may be proved: to as no man skillfull in the Roman story, need to doubt thereof.

This *Quirinal* hill, the sixt in order of the mountains of *Rome*, (as *Varro* testifieth) taketh that name of the Temple of *Quirinus*: after others, of the *Quirites*, who coming with *Tatius* from *Chures*, there pitched their tents and lodged. This mountain is shaped long, for it comprehendeth that little hill which is between the gate *Collina* and *Collatina*. Upon it standeth the Obelisk of the Moon, engraven with *Egyptian* hieroglyphick characters. In breadth, from the North Southward, it reacheth to a tower, now called *Comitium*.

In the pitch and top of the hill, above the *Forum* of *Trajanus*, you shall see the tower called *Militiarum*: where in old time the souldiers of *Trajan* kept their standing guard, and gave the tower that name.

On the same ridge were the bairns of *Paulus* built: which place at this day by a corrupt name, is called *Bagnana-Poli*.

In the descent and hanging of the *Quirinal* hill toward *Saburra* stood sometime the chappell of *Neptune*, which appeareth by the pictures and other reliques there found.

From hence toward the North were the hot-houses of *Constantine*, as the ruins of the place do testifie.

The house of the *Cornelius* was built in the street so called, and at this day the name it keepeth still. But more hereof elswhere.

CHAP. XXII.

The Temples of *Saturn*, the Sun, and *Bacchus*: *Quirinus* his Temple and porch: the old *Capitoll*: the Chappells of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*: the house of *Pomponius Atticus*.

IN the *Cornelian* street (whereof a little before we made mention) were two gyant-like images, called *Colossi* resembling two old men, naked and holding *Cornucopia* in their hand. It is commonly received, that these were the statues of *Saturn* and *Mars*; for that certain it is how their Temples stood hard by: and many evidences there are, besides the very ruins thereof, which testifie so much.

Over-against the hot-houses of *Constantine*, upon the very brow of the hill, there standeth to be seen one half of a marble tower, which the people dwelling thereby call *Mesa*. This men think, was the tower of the Sun, by the ornaments there reared and set up by *Aurelian*: for this Emperor worshipped the Sun above all other gods; and therefore you shall see stamped in his coin this inscription: *Soli invicto*. To the invincible Sun. His mother also, a Priest of the Sun, thereupon reared a Temple unto the Sun.

In the side of the hill near the foresaid baths are two houses seen standing: the handy-work of *Praxiteles* and *Phidias*. These were (by report) *Terraces* the Kings and translated to *Rome*.

That part of the *Quirinalis* which boundeth upon *Vallis Martia* was called the mount and Temple of *Clatva* and *Apollo*.

Not far from thence behind this hill, there is another rising and ascent: where by antique letters it is evident, that the old *Capitoll* stood together with the chappell of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*.

Over-against these places, enclining toward the right hand, where now standeth the Church of *S. Vestalis*, *Pomponius Atticus* dwelt in an house which came to him by inheritance from his grandfather, and was called *Pamphilianna*. They write, that this was a most sweet and pleasant seat, by reason of a wood near unto it.

In the same place was built afterwards the Temple of *Quirinus*, kept alwaies shut, to signifie that it was an unknown secret: whether *Romulus* were entered and lay in the earth, or were translated into the number of the gods in heaven.

There was a porch or walking place there of that name: where folk used commonly to meet, to dispatch businesses and contract marriages.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

The public way or causey called *Alta*; the house of *Sabinus*; the street called *Alta* of *Mamurcus*; the Court and gardens of *Salust*, and the field or plain *Sceleratus*.

The high causey reaching from the baths of *Constantine* to the gate *Quirinalis* along the side of *Quirinalis* was paved with four square stone.

Upon that causey, at a place called the *Pomptina*, *Flavius Sabinus* had an house, wherein, by report, *Domitian* was born.

It is avouched in old time there was a street of *Mamurcus*: and that his statue there stood where now is *S. Susans* Church.

Not far from that Church was the Court of *Salust*, and his most neat and fine hortiards, where the field called *Sceleratus* lay, and reached near the gate *Collina*. Of those hortiards, as also of the hamlet *Tiburtina*, there yet continue some marks and remnants in the bottom of the valley, between the dry hill and the way which bringeth to the gate *Salaria*. On that little hill is seen the very house of *Salust*, which the people there inhabiting call *Salustrium*. Of this matter see more in *Cicero* and others.

Beyond the hortiards of *Salust*, near the gate *Collina*, there is an high place like a mount where in times past the vestall virgins, such as were condemned for incontinency and incest, were buried quick; and thereupon all the plain about it was called *Sceleratus*, together with the way that leadeth thereto.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Temples of *Salus*, of *Dius*, *Fidius*, of *Fortuna Primigenia*, of *Honor*, *Hercules*, and *Quirinus*; also the Senate-house of women.

The mount *Quirinalis* had very many Temples & Chappels, although the certain place where they stood is not so well known at this day, namely, one of *Apis*. That of *Salus* was painted by *Fabius Piclor*, and burnt in the time of *Claudius*. By *Junius Bubulcus* Dictator when he triumphed over the *Equians* it was vowed by him (Censor) but to making, and in his second Dictatorship dedicated.

Salus, *Dius*, and *Fidius*, were the Sabins gods, which, when they left their native country and home, with all their other household gods, they carried with them into mount *Quirinalis*. This god (*Fortuna*) was in words and name three, in deed and truth but one, as they said. These three therefore had one temple built them upon this hill, and were called by one name, *Sanctus*. The opinion received of which godhead was such, that an oath was thought to carry a great power of sanctity and holiness, whereby a man in that threefold name and one Deity, avowed and swore thus, *Me-Dius Fidius*.

Domitiana, a Pretor or Lord Chief Justice within the City of *Rome*, built a Temple upon that hill to *Fortuna Primigenia*.

Besides, in that mount were the Temples of *Honor* and *Hercules*.

Likewise the Council-House of women was in the mount *Quirinalis*, at which in former times the wives and dames of the City met yearly upon certain solemn set daies.

Moreover, it is recorded, that the feast *Agonalia* was celebrated in *Quirinalis*.

CHAP. XXV.

The Court or Forum *Archimonium*; the pillar *Tiburtina*; the house of *Martial*; the Cirque of *Floralia*; the Temple of *Flora*; the shops of *Minimus*, and the common ascent called *Clivus Publicus*.

Between the hill *Monte Mario* (whereof ye may read before in the first book and the chapter next following) and *Quirinalis* there is a valley four square, but lying somewhat in length. In that part thereof which lieth under the mount of *Clivus* and *Apollon*, was the Court called *Archimonium*. For the very Church of *S. Nicholas*, which at this day standeth upon that place is named *De Archimontis*.

Not far from it there is another place, to wit, *Pila Tiburtina*: There stood the house of *Martial*, as he himself witnesseth.

Next to it followeth the round Cirque (*Floralium*) where yearly to the honour of the goddess *Flora*, the feastival *Floralia* is celebrated. Now this *Flora* was a famous curtezan or strumpet at *Rome*, who having by her whores trade gathered a mighty deal of goods together, in her last will made the people of *Rome* her heirs, with this condition, That every year they should celebrate the memorial of her birth day. But the Senat thinking this a ridiculous mookery, to honour and dignifie so filthy a thing with such a remembrance, they devised a goddess of flowers, forsooth, called *Flora*, and her upon those holidays they seemed to please and content, that she would be good to the growth of trees and corn, and that they might do well in their flowering and blooming time. To this goddess we test that a Temple likewise was consecrated: And you meet with the work-houses where they make *Minimus*, i. e. *Vermilion*. Near unto which was the *Clivus Publicus*.

CHAP. XXVI.

The hill Hortulorum, the Temple of the Sun, and the sepulchre of Nero.

THis little hill (*Hortulorum*) containeth but a few things worth the writing. Among which is the house of *Pincius* a Senator, who gave the name both to a gate and a mountain, which in these daies are called Mount *Pincius*, and gate *Pinciana*.

The reliques and marks of his house are seen in that very place, near the old wall. And about the same walls we meet with an huge building in form of an hemisphere or half circle, which men imagine, was the Temple of the Sun.

Upon the same hill over-against the tomb of *Marcellus* in the very port way *Flaminia*, fast by the monument of *Domitian* stood *Nero's* sepulchre also;

Now this hill *Hortulorum* took the name of certain hortyards and gardens under it, which in old time, by reason they were continually so well watered were most fruitfull. Down this hill all they were wont (in times past) to descend into *Campus Martius*, who meant to see and stand for any Magistracy.

The sixth Book.

CHAP. I.

Of the flat plot of the City, and the Theatre in generall.

That it may be understood more certainly in what place of the plain and leuell part of the City every thing stood, let there be a streight and right line drawn from the Capitoll, through *Pantheon* to *Tyber*, near the Church of *S. Roch*. So shall the City be in manner divided into two equal parts. The one shall lie from the front and side of the *Tyber*, the other from the *Forum of Trajanus* to the gate *Flumentana*, along the foot of the two hills *Quirinalis* and *Hortulorum*.

Begin we will therefore at the Theatre of *Marcellus*, and recount the places in order, as hitherto we have done. As for *Theatrum*, a Greek word it is, and in Latine may be aptly translated *Vesperium*. The first Theatres were appointed among the Athenians, and those in regard of husbandmen, who on festivall daies visited the Temples of the gods: afterwards, at *Rome* they began to be taken up. The first, and that the greatest of all others was built of timber by *M. Scaurus*: for, the concavity within would receive 80000 men. After it, were Theatres made to turn about and shew their front one while this way, another while that. But as touching Theatres, see more in *Cassiodorus* and *Vitruvius*, who have written plenteously thereof, and namely, by whom they were first ordained, and in what manner built.

CHAP. II.

The Theatre of *Marcellus* and the Library: the gallery and court of *Octavia*.

Augustus built many things under the name of others, as we find written by authors in sundry works. And among the rest was the Theatre of *Marcellus* his nephew or cousin by his sister *Octavia*. A part hereof is yet to be seen between the Capitoll and *Tyber*, where now standeth the palace of the *Subelli*. It was able to contain 80000 men. See more thereof in *Asconius*.

Hard by the very same Theatre was the gallery of *Octavia*, reared by the said *Augustus* for his sister *Octavia's* sake. Therein were certain curious pieces of work wrought by *Praxiteles*, and namely, the ravishing of *Proserpina*. The portraiture of *Bacchus* & *Satyrus*, Also *Apollo*, *Diana*, and then nine muses, the workmanship of *Timarchides*. Within this gallery or walking place, *Pliny* saith, there stood a chappel of *Juno*, and the image of the said goddess. Fast by the said gallery stood the court or place of *Octavia*, and in it *Cupid* portraied with lightning in his hand. It took up in times past as great a space, as at this day the Churches of *S. Nicholas in Carcere*, and *S. Mary in Porticu*.

After the death of *Marcellus*, *Octavia* his mother set up a library near his Theatre. Now the first that ever ordained, That books of all learning should be in some publike places bestowed for to be read of all that would come; was at *Athens* *Pisistratus* the tyrant, and at *Rome* *Asinius Pollio*.

CHAP. III.

The Cirque or show place *Flaminius*, and the Temple of *Apollo*.

That this Cirque *Flaminius* stood in that place where at this day the dark store-houses and cellars be, hard by *S. Katharins* church, the marks yet remaining testifie. *Flaminius* it was called, either because it was built about the plain called *Campus Flaminius*, or else by *Flaminius* the Col. who was slain at the battell of the lake *Thrasymenus*. In it were the plaies and games exhibited, which they call *Apollinarias*; and therein the horse-runnings were performed. To it the Senat used oftentimes to come, down from the Capitoll to sit in councill. *Neptuno* also had a chappel there.

Apollo's

Apollos Temple was in that very place, as it evidently appeareth, where now S. Maries Church is under the Capitoll, between the herb-market and the Cirque Flaminius, near to the gate Carmentalis.

CHAP. IIII.

The Temples of Vulcan, Mars, Bellona, Hercules, and Jupiter Stator: the column or pillar Bellica: the altar of Neptune: the gallery Corinthia: and the Cloffe of Mars.

Within the Cirque Flaminius stood most famous Temples of the gods, to wit, of *Vulcan, Mars, and Bellona*, to wit, that which was toward the gate *Carmentalis*. Before the said gate there stood a marble pillar, which the Romans called *Bellica*, for it shewed when war was to be made. The Romans in old time used and retained this manner in proclaiming war: The publicke beadle, or one of the heralds called *Faciars*, lanced a spear with some other ensignes of war, into that labe upon which they meant to levy arms. But when after many conquests they had enlarged their empire and dominion, and that they were oftentimes to give defiance to nations far remote and distant, because they should not need to fling a spear or javelin, as I said before, into that land, they did but stick one in the pillar abovenamed, on that side which regardeth that part whither they were to make their expedition.

To *Hercules* the Great, prosector and keeper of the cirque *Flaminius*, they built a Temple in the same place: for his statue was there erected in the very entrance thereof, on that side where now standeth the Church of *S. Lucy* in the dark *Apotheca*.

M. Fulvius built another Temple of the allowance that he had of the Censors stock, to *Hercules Musarum*: for he had heard in *Greece* how *Hercules* was *Musagetes*, i. e. the leader and companion of the Muses. The same *Fulvius* translated the images of all the Muses out of the town *Ambracia* to *Rome*, and consecrated them under the protection and safeguard of that most potent and mighty deity, to the end that they might have mutuall help one of the other: namely, the quietness of Muses by the defence of *Hercules*; and the valour of *Hercules*, by the sweet voice of the Muses. This Church much decayed and disfigured by time, *Martinus Philippus*, *Augustus* his father in law, i. e. his mothers husband repaired.

In the same Cirque they would have the Temple of *Jupiter Stator* to stand. There also (as they gather by certain presumptions) was the altar of *Neptune*, which in old time ran blond.

Octavius reared a porch or gallery built and born up with brazen pillars, and thereupon named *Corinthia*. This stood between the Cirque and *S. Nicholas Church*, and was also called *Chalcidicum*, i. e. brazen or copper.

The Colois or stately of *Mars*, at the Cirque *Flaminius*, was in the Temple of *Brunus Cullivus*.

CHAP. V.

The porch or gallery of Mercury: the Theatre of Octavius: his house, cloister, and gallery: and the Temple of Venus Victresse.

Between the Cirque *Flaminius* and the *Tyber*, in the very entry of the Church of *S. Angel* in *Piscina*, there is a porch or gallery, consecrated sometime to *Mercury*, or, as some would have it, to *Juno*. This being consumed with fire, *Es. Septimius Severus* reedified. But the porch which standeth in the Jews street called *Cenra*, they say was builded by the Emperor *Severus*.

Between the gallery of *Marcellus* and the mount reared by *Hadrian*, *Pompey* was the first that built a Theatre to continue. For all others before were taken down when the games and shews were once done and past: and when need required, new were set up. A great part of this Theatre when *Pompey* had finished, comes *Caligula* and made an end of the rest. Afterward, *Theodoric* K. of the *Ostrogoths* reedified it. This also received eighty thousand men.

Near unto this Theatre there was a court or stately Hall called *Atrium*, the same which at this day they name *Saturnum*; also the house of *Pompey*. At a porch before it. These edifices of *Pompey*, at what time as *Philip* exhibited the stage-plays, were consumed with fire. Near to the same theatre the emperor *Claudius* of famous memory, reared an arch of marble for memorial of *Tiberius Caesar*. In the foresaid Theatre (men say) was the Temple of *Venus* the Victress.

CHAP. VI.

The bains Agrippinz: Pantheon, and the porch thereof: also the Temple of good speech.

From the arch of *Pompey*, as you go northward, you shall meet with the baths *Agrippina*, the marks whereof are seen in that place which now of the inhabitants there, is called *Cyambella*. Now, *Agrippina* they were named of *Agrippa* who built them: See *Pliny* hereof in his discourses of Nature.

Near unto the foresaid bains, there is a Temple of greatest antiquity, and among other old Temples of the city, the noblest of all the rest, which at this day remaineth in manner whole and sound. Because it was dedicated almost to all the gods, they thought good to name it *Pantheon*. In form it was like the world, representing a sphere or globe. At this day they call it *S. Maria* the round, of this

the temple, *Pliny* and others have made mention, unto whom I refer the readers. In the very porch and entry of this temple, were the statues of *Augustus* and *Agrippa*. The images of *Mars* and *Venus*. At the lappet of *Venus* ear, there hung as a pendant that most costly pearl of *Cleopatra*. Likewise there stood the image of *Minerva*, the handy work of *Phidias*. Moreover, *Hercules*; at whose statue the Carthaginians in old time pled yearly to sacrifice mankind. They ascended up to this temple as in the rest, by many steps: for men in times past used to rear the temples on high and made but one way to go into them. A porch to this temple *Agrippa* joined: a piece of work worth all admiration, which of some was called *Porticus*. For this word *Porticus*, betokeneth nothing else but an ornament or porch, *αὐτὸ τὸ ὄψαλμα*, before the door. Herof also have authors written much. This temple first *Hadrian* the emperor of happy memory, and afterwards *Antoninus Pius*, redified.

Certain reliques and remanents four angled and somewhat long, of Good-speeds temple, are evidently seen in the streets of *Minerva* and *S. Eusebii*. This god was long ago worshipped, that all things might fall out happily in the end. Portraied he was in habit of a poor man, holding in his right hand a charger, and in thaleft an ear of corn.

CHAP. VII.

The baines of Nero and Alexander: the Cirque named Agon.

BEhind *S. Eusebii* church, between *Pantheon* and *Lombardi*-street, the remanents are seen of the baines and vaults of *Nero*.

Near unto these *Alexander* built others new (by conveyance of water into them, which they they call *Alexandrina*) and those very fair and delectable: Wherof *Lampridius* hath written much.

Near unto them (some think) were the baths of *Hadrian*: and they would have them to stand in that very place where now is *S. Aloisii* church.

In the plain part of the City there appear most evident tokens of a long and spacious Cirque, which they call at this day *Agon*. It took that name either of the games *Agonalia* instituted by *Numa* in the honour of *Janus*, which in that shew place are represented the 9 day of *January*; or because all manner of such shewes and displays, called by the Greeks *Agones*, were wont there to be exhibited. Some would have it to be built by *Nero* or *Alexander*, upon this reason, that other ornaments of theirs were to be shewed there. For the manner of the Princes and Emperors was, ordinarily to bestow their monuments and memorials in one place.

CHAP. IX.

The temple of Neptune, Terentius: the Altar of Dis or Pluto: the marsh Caprea.

ON the strand of *Tybre*, where now *S. Blasii* Church standeth, sometimes *Neptunus* temple stood. The same was rebuilt by *Hadrian*. Therein were the painted tables hung, were represented the shipwracks.

Terentius is a place in *Mars* field, so called, for that in it the altar of *Dis* was hidden: or because the water of the *Tybre* running thereby, eat away and wore the banks of that side: or lastly by occasion of *Evander*, who arrived with a fleet in that place, and there abode. There also in time of the Alban war, they hid the altar of *Proserpina* under the ground, that they only might have knowledge thereof, where it was.

In the same *Mars* field (some think) was the fen or marsh *Caprea*, where *Romulus* in a tempest which suddenly arose, was taken away. Of which matter *Livy* writeth.

CHAP. X.

The house Corvina: the broad way or gate: and the temple of Isis.

THe second part of the flat City, reached along the foot of *Quirinalis*, from the *Forum* of *Trajanus* to the gate *Flaminia*. In which part near the Capitol, was the house *Corvina*, built by that name and family, and to this day keepeth still the old name, for commonly called it is *Macellum Corvina*.

From that house unto the bars or rails in *Mars* field, extendeth the way *Lata*, retaining yet the antique name and there standeth the church of *S. Maria* in the broad way.

In the same way stood sometime by report, the temple of *Isis* near the rails above-said, where now is the church of *S. Marcellus*. Now this *Isis* was a goddess of the Egyptians. She was honoured and worshipped also at *Rome*, together with *Osiris*, innamed *Serapis*: of whom the publick plaies in the quarter *Flaminia* (from *Serapis* here the name. It happened in the temple of *Isis* that incest was committed, whereupon the Emperor *Tiberius* caused the Priests of that temple to be crucified, & the place it self to be demolished. Other temples of this goddess there were at *Rome*, for *Cicero* translated all her sacred rites and ceremonies to *Rome*, and daily with exceeding great reverence observed the same.

Cccc

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

The arch of Camillus: the temple of Minerva: and the swine market.

AS a man goeth down from the broad-gate aforesaid toward the *Pantheon*, he shall see a most ancient arch. Some think (but untruly) that erected it was for *Camillus*: for many a fair day after his time, these arches were in no request and use: and therefore it belonged to some other *L. Generall*. Between this arch and *Pantheon*, *Cn. Pompeius* built a temple to *Minerva*, wherein he comprised in a compendious sum, the memoriall of his acts and exploits. Other ensignes also in the honour of the City of *Rome*, he there set up, and those he garnished and adorned. Whereof read *Pliny*.

At the foot of the mount *Quirinalis*, in the hort-yards and the *Columnenses*, near to the ascent & rising of the hill which leadeth now into the mount *Capitolinus*, there was sometime the market-place *Swarium*, so called of selling of swine there. For *Varro* witnesseth, that in old time they had certain set and appointed places for the selling of certain things, and thereof the market took the name. Thus of oxen, the market *Boarium*; of fish, *Piscarium*, of swine, *Swarium*; of worts or herbs, *Holitorium*, was called, &c.

CHAP. XII.

Of the field called Martius, or Tyberinus.

FORasmuch as in the former book it hath been sufficiently declared as touching *Mars* field, where it lay, it shall be needlesse to make any repetition thereof in this place: but why it was called *Martius*, would be here in briefe considered. Named so it was, because it was consecrated to *Mars*: for when the *Tarquins* were expelled out of their Kingdom, what ground or standing corn they were possessed of, they divided amongst those Citizens who were not landed at all, reserving only this field *Martius*: which because it was consecrated to *Mars*, that in it the games and places should be solemnized and the youth exercised, they thought that the fruit also there growing should likewise be counted sacred and accursed, and so deemed it unlawful that any distribution thereof should be made, but threw it all into the *Tyber*, wherof arose the land called *Tyberinus*, of which we will speak in the last book. In this field therefore (besides the native beauty of the place and the delectable sight of the meadows) were erected the ornaments and statues of brave & renowned persons: yea, and out of the very *Capitoll*, when the place began to be pestered and over-straight by reason of so many ornaments which thither were daily brought, many of them were from thence translated into *Campus Martius*. This field was called of men in old time, *Tyberinus*, like as *Tyber* also was named *Martius*.

CHAP. XIII.

The porch, the temple, Column, and Palace of Antonius Pius: the rails or enclosure, called Ovilis.

BETWEEN the *Sciara* & *Pantheon* streets, near to Saint *Stephens* Church in *Trullis*, there sheweth a stately porch, which most men suppose was that of *Antonius Pius*, for that his temple standeth so near. The Column also of *Antonius* is not far off. This he raised of an exceeding height with winding and turning stairs, like that of *Trajanus*, wherof we have spoken before. Between this Column and the porch, the said Emperor had (by report) a goodly palace. Between the said Column and the water *Virgo*, they say, the rails or enclosure within *Mars* field stood, called *Septa*. Now this place was enclosed within wooden rails, and strongly fenced with posts on every side, wherein the people of *Rome* when at the creation and election of magistrates they were to passe their voices were kept close: and for the resemblance of sheep pens, *Ovilis* of some they were called. By *Livy* they are set down, near the waies *Emilia* and *Flaminia*.

CHAP. XIV.

The hill Citatorum: the Villa Publica, temple of Neptune, and the bridge in Mars field.

BETWEEN *Antonius* Column and S. *Lawrence* church in *Lucina*, there is raised a mount, called now *Citorius*; for *Citatorum*; nor it was a mount indeed, but because the people of *Rome*, when in the choosing of magistrates they were to give their voices, as they were cited, went thither as it were unto some hill. Some say it was called *Acceptorum*, of taking the peoples suffrages: others *Septorium*, for the vicinity of those *Septa* before said. This little mount, there be that would have to rise and increase by the ruin of some porch or Rately gallery: or else of the common Hostelry, called *Villa Publica*. For there was in times past a place called *Villa Publica*, a large building in manner of a court or hall, wherein were received and entertained all ambassadors of enemies, who might not be allowed either to enter into the City, or go into the publick lodging or Hospital called *Græcostasis*.

Near to the *Septa*, *M. Agrippa* (as *Dionis* writeth) built a goodly temple with a most beautiful porch to it, in the honour of *Neptune*.

At this foresaid hillock called *Citatorum*, and the Column of *Antonius*, there was a bridge fast by

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by the *Septis*, whereupon they that were cited, when they had given their voices, passed by and went their waies : and so were levered from the rest that were to give their suffrages, because they should not be entermingled amongst them, nor be able to shew unto them, on whose side they had passed their voices.

In the same *Mars* field, it is recorded that in times past stood the temple of *Pietie*, even whereas now the church of *S. Savior* is.

CHAP. XV.

The water Virgo : the lake and chappel of Iuturna, as also that of Pietie.

THe water *Virgo*, which retaineth still the pleasant sweetness to the tast in drinking, and keepeth yet the old name, beginneth to gather to an head near the bridg *Salarinus*, and being carried in a most deep gutter entreth into the City at the gate *Collina*, and so is raised to the hill *Hortulorum* : where, by arched work it is conveyed through *Mars* field, and yeelds all the way to the inhabitants, water for their use ; and endeth at the length in the hortyards of *Lucullus*.

Moreover in *Mars* field, there was (as men say) a fountain and well or cistern of *Iuturna*, sister of *K. Tarnus*, yeelding most wholesome water. This water-Nymph, they avouch (and that right well) to have been called *Iuturna*, a *juvando*, i. of helping ; because she was thought to help the sick. The very place is at this day by a corrupt word, named *Lestreglio*.

CHAP. XVI.

The arch of Domitian : the obelisk of Mars field : the Amphitheatre of Claudius the Emperor.

THe triumphant arch, so dismembred (as it were) and bereft of all his ornaments, standing between churches of *S. Sylvestre* and *Lawrence* in *Lucium*, and taketh up a peece of the way or street *Flaminia*, is attributed to *Domitian* the Emperor. And hereupon besides others presumptions) they appropriate it to him, for this emperor reared many such arches in every place.

The Obelisk also there is in this *Mars* field, which *Augustus* transported from *Hieropolis* a City in *Egypt* to *Rome*. Besides the native ensigne and wonderfull hieroglyphick inscriptions which it brought with it of the own, therein to be seen, *Augustus* adjoined other ornaments no lesse admirable. But hereof it is better to read *Pliny*.

Claudius the Emperor built near the *Septa* in *Mars* field an Amphitheatre, which he decked & adorned with fair statues and most beautiful columns.

CHAP. XVII.

The vale Martia : the palace the porch of Augustus : the Naumachie of Domitian and the temple of the family Flavia.

THe vale *Martia* taketh the name of *Campus Martius* : it lyeth between *Tybre* and the hill *Hortulorum* : within the which in a place lower then all the rest about it, appear the *Naumachies* of *Domitian*, where in old time he exhibited shews of naval fights. In which place before-time likely it is, that *Augustus* had his *Naumachie*; which being cleaned and scoured by *Domitian*, retained afterwards his name. Read *Suetonius*.

Near to the *Naumachie*, was the temple (as it is thought) of the kinred *Flavia*.

In this place, *Julius Capitolinus* proveth that the porch and palace of *Augustus* was built.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Mausoleum of Augustus : and the two obelisks near it : also the tomb or sepulchre of Marcellus.

IN the vale *Martia*, between the way *Flaminia* and the bank of *Tybre*, hard by *S. Roches* church, *Augustus* made a *Mausoleum*, to serve for a sepulchre as well to himself and all the Emperors, as also for his whole house and name. This building is like unto a turret standing at the gate called *Populi*, which sheweth it self spoiled now of all the ornaments that set it out. Men would have it to be the sepulchre of *Marcellus*. And *Augustus*, named this sepulchre of his, *Mausoleum*, for the resemblance it had of that of *Mausolus* K. of *Caria*, which *Artemisia* his wife built for him. Read *Cassiodore* *Strabo*, and others thereof.

Close unto the *Mausoleum* of *Augustus*, were two obelisks, as the ruinate remnants thereof do testify.

CHAP. XIX.

The way Flaminia : the Trophees of Marius, or her goodly ornaments of the field Martius in general.

CNENS *Flaminius* the colleague of *M. Lepidus*, having vanquished the *Ligurians*, paved the way or street *Flaminia*. This was led from *Placence*, through *Narnia*, *Fuliginum*, *Nucerina*, *Calium* to *Fortunes* temple, to *Pisaurum*, and so forward to *Ariminum*. See *Livy* and *Suetonius*.

Cccccc 2

Between

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Between the *Mausoleum* of *Augustus*, and the hill called *Hortulorum*, were the *Trophæes* of *Marinus* over *Ingritha*, *Trophæes* as *Varro* witnesseth, were so called of *σποία* Greek word, which signifieth, fight; for that the manner was to hang up the spoils and disrobings of enemies put to fight and slain, upon trunks and posts.

In *Mars* field, were the sepulchres of *Sylla*, *Hirtius*, and *Pansa*, of *Italia*, *Britannicus*, *Drausus*, the Emperor *Claudius*, and other right hardy and valiant knights, beside infinit ornaments more, whereof we have written before in this book.

The seventh Book.

CHAP. I.

Of the river Tybre.

IT should follow by due course and order, to treat of *Ianiculum* and all that quarter of the City on the other side of *Tybra*: but because these parts are separate from the rest of the City by the river *Tybre* between; thereof also it is meet to say somewhat briefly. And first verily the reason of that name should be shewed. Some think therefore, that the river was called *Tyberis*, *ἡ τὴν ὕβριν*. For the Sicilians when as in old time they had overcome the Carthaginians in battel, and taken a number of them prisoners, enjoined them, for the better fortification of their own City, to cast a trench about it, and to let water thereinto: and this ditch in reproach of their enemies, they called *ὑβρις*. And the same men upon a time afterwards, when as they encamped near *Rome*, gave this very name unto this river also, whereas before it was called *Albula*. Some think it was named so of *Tyberis* a King of the Tuscans, slain upon the banks thereof. *Varro* is of opinion, that it took the name of *Tiberinus*, a neighbour Princee of the Veientians. In holy writings we read it *Tyberinus*. In vulgar speech they call it *Tyberis*: in poetry, *Tybris*. In old time it was termed *Rumen*, as it were, gnawing and eating the banks thereof. Also at one side of the City it was named *Terentius*, as a man would say, wearing the banks. It springeth from the Apennine, above *Arno*. At the first it is but small and shallow, but before it entreth into *Rome*, it (having received 40 other rivers) is encreased to such bigness, that ships of burden and the greatest hulks, may come up in it as far as *Rome*. This river divideth *Tuscan* from *Fimbria*, the *Sabins* countrey and the *Latins*, entreth at the North part of the City, and so passeth through Southwards, between the gates *Hofstensis* and *Portuensis*, leaving *Ianiculum* on the right hand and the City on the left, and so neer unto *Hofstia* is discharged into one mean broad stream, and falleth into the *Tyrrhene* sea. Upon the banks thereof, as if they were consecrate to some divine power, it was not lawfull to set up any building. Certain warders and keepers there were appointed, for the chancell and the banks. But of this river, *Pliny* and others have left much in writing.

CHAP. II.

Of the bridges built upon Tybre.

THe *Tybre*, as is abovesaid, being so deep as that it is navigable, and beareth the greatest ships, hath no foord in any place that can be waded through; and therefore necessary it was to make bridges over it, and so to join that part on the farther side of *Tybre*, to the rest of the City. *Hostulius*, after he had killed *Geryon*, built a bridge, where afterwards stood that which they called *Sublucius*. Also before the foundation of the City, there was a bridge over *Tybre*, called *Sacer*; upon which they sacrificed men to *Saturn* by throwing them down into the river. But when *Hercules* afterwards had put down that manner of sacrificing, he gave order, that mens images made of reeds and bulrushes (which they called *Argæi*) should be cast down in stead of them. But after the City was built, there were other bridges made to the number of eight; to wit, *Milvius*, *Elius*, *Vaticanus*, *Ianiculensis*, *Cestius*, *Fabricius*, *Palatinus*, and *Sublucius*. And all these, save the *Sublucian* only, *Torillus* overthrew.

CHAP. III.

The bridge Milvius.

THe bridge *Milvius*, which men now call *Molvinus*, standeth upon the way *Flaminia*, a mile and more from the City. Built it was in the troublesome times of *Sylla*, by *Scæurus* when he was Censor. Many a time they say it was cast down, and as often set up again.

CHAP. IIII.

The bridge Elius, now S. Angel, the Vatican or Triumphal the Ianiculensis or Aurelianus.

THe bridge at this day called *S. Angel*, in times past *Elius*, took that name of *Elius Hadrianus*, for he built that bridge, and neer unto it a sepulchre, which they call *Moles Hadriani*.
Beneath

Beneath this is another which giveth passage into the mount *Vatican* and the plain thereof, and thereupon they named it *Vaticanus* also *Triumphalis*, for that here it they went up in triumph to the Capitol, to give thanks to *Jupiter* and rejoice. The piles are yet to be seen in *Tyber*, over against the spittle or the Capitoll of *S. Spirit*. The third have the name *Lancullensis* of *Lanculus* near unto it, and *Aurelianus* of the port-way *Aurelia*, or the gate so called. *Antoninus Pius* paved it over with marble, and being demolished in the civil wars, was called the broken bridge. After wards *Pope Xystus* the fourth reedified it, and gave unto it his own name.

CHAP. V.

The bridges *Fabertius* and *Cestius*.

Beneath the bridge *Aurelius* one furlong over against the Theatre of *Marcellus*, in the very midst of the channell of *Tyber*, there appeareth a shelf or Island, this was united to the City by the bridge *Tarpeius*, so called first of the rock *Tarpeian* near unto it, afterwards *Fabertius*, of *L. Fabertius*, who by that bridge conjoined the City and Island together. The same at this day is called the bridge of four heads, taking the name of four marble images with four faces speece, standing at the entry of the bridge, but that bridge which closeth the said Island with the part within *Tyber*, was called *Esquilinus* or *Cestius* in times past, but now *S. Bartholmews* bridge.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Island *Tiberina*.

OF this Islands beginning, we have treated before in the description of *Mars* field, *Livy* and *Dionysius* also set down this story at large. It resembleth the form of a *Sigum* gale, and where it is broadest, it is not above a dart shoot over, in length it containeth about two *stadia*, or a quarter of a mile. This was in times past called *Lycania*, and was hallowed to the honour of *Esculapius*, whose image from out of *Epidaurus* was thither brought. Of *Esculapius* and his temple read *Pliny*.

A temple also of *Jupiter* standeth in it, dedicated by *C. Servilius* the *Duumvir*, which had been vowed by *L. Furius* six years before the Gauls war.

In the same Island were sick folk presented unto *Esculapius* (in the field.) And near unto the temple of the said god, was a lazar-house, for that this god was the invanter and maintainer of Physick.

In it also stood the chappell of *Faunus*, near to the very river, but scarcely remain there any tokens thereof. This *Faunus* (as men say) was reported to have been the first that consecrated chappels and temples to the gods, and for this cause, all such places consecrated to the gods were called *Fana*. By the testimony of *Cornelius Tacitus* and *Suetonius* the statue of the emperor *Julius* stood there.

CHAP. VII.

The Senators bridge called also *Palatine*, and that which is named *Sublicius*.

Beneath the abovenamed Island, as it were a dart cast off, was the seventh bridge, *Senatorum* pens, of the Senators, also *Palatinus*, of the mount *Palatine* near adjoining, and at this day named it is the bridge of *S. Mary in Egypt*, by reason of *S. Marys* church near by.

Now followeth the last bridge *Sublicius*, and which also is counted the most ancient of all others. This was first made of timber by *Aeneas Marcius* at the very foot of the *Aventine* mount, framed only with a floor of planks without any iron spikes and nails or props to shooe against it, so as in times of war and trouble it might be taken in peeces one from another. Now *Sublicius* it was called a *Sublicus*, i. great strong posts, but afterwards *Emilius Lepidus* made it of stone, and thereupon named the marble bridge. Upon it in old time for beggars craving of alms of the passengers: From it also leud and wicked malefactors, were thrown down headlong into *Tyber*. This bridge as well as other, was often demolished and built up again by one or other.

CHAP. VIII.

Of this side of the City which is beyond *Tyber*. The City and temple of the *Ravenas* and *Fortis Fortuna*: the baths of *Severus*: the horse-yards of *Caesar*: the water *Alcistina*, & the meadow of *Marius*.

THE region beyond *Tyber* in old time had the name of *Lanculus*, the hill which overlooketh and commandeth the greatest part thereof. We find it also called of men in those daies the City of the *Ravenas*, who with a fleet having aided the Romans, were permitted to dwell in the *Lanculus*, for fear lest at any time that mountain and hold should be seized and kept by the enemies. Now for as much as this quarter was inhabited by base people, such as followed vile occupations, there were in it but few things worthy of any remembrance. *Severus* therein built certain baths, *Caesar* made horse-yards and prepared also a fair pool called the *Nemesis* for ship-fighting. Also the temple of *Fors Fortuna* was at (in *Tiber* *Caesar* daies) dedicated in that quarter. The water called *Alcistina*, was derived out of the pools *Alcistina*, by the high way or *claudius*.

Claudia into the foresaid *Naumachie*, and served all those parts. This water was also called by some *Augusta*. See *Frontinus*, who hath written much of the Roman waters, *Adrianus*, who willingly had exposed and offered himself to die for the love of his country, was for that good service endowed by the people of *Rome* with land on the other side of *Tyber*. The place at this day is yet called *Prata Adriæ*. Next unto the Arsenal and ship-decks on the side of *Tyber*, were the plaies and games of Fishermen in times past celebrated.

CHAP. IX.

The sepulchre of Numa, and Cæcilius the Poet. The Tribunal of Aurelius; the Ianiculum, and the hort-yard of Marcellus.

THAT the sepulchre of King *Numa* was under the hill *Ianiculus* a chift of his, with his books long time after digged there, do sufficiently prove. See *Levy*, *Solinus*, and others.

The Tribunal *Aurelius*, and the Arsenal was on that side of the *Tyber*, as appeareth by those authors.

The hill *Ianiculus* took the name of *Ianus*, who there dwelt, & therein was afterwards buried. He also built a town or City there, as they say, so called. This *Ianiculus* was also called *Antipolis* as *Rome Saturnia*.

Commonly also it is received, that *Cæcilius* the Poet was under the same hill *Ianiculus* buried. *Marialis* the Poet, as himself witnesseth in his first book, had most pleasant and delectable hort-yards in the same *Ianiculus*.

CHAP. X.

The hill and field Vaticane, the temple of Apollo and Mars, the Naumachie, the Cirque hort-yards, and Obelisk of Cæsar.

THE mount *Vaticane* and the plain thereto, were without the City, in the parts beyond the *Tyber*, and in that very place, where at this day is the church of *S. Peter*, and the Popes palace. Called it was *Vaticanus*, of the god *Vaticanus* by whose instinct & inspiration it was believed in old time that propheties were delivered. And this god they called *Vaticanus* for that in power was the beginning of mans voice; for as much as infants, so soon as ever they come into the world, presently pronounce and utter the first syllable of this gods name, i. *Va*.

Va from
hence cometh
vagine in La-
tine.

The temple of *Apollo* was in *Vaticane*, in that very place, as men think, whereon at this day is *S. Petrus* or *Petrus* church, also another of *Mars*, wherein standeth *S. Marius* in *Febribus*, upon the post way called sometime *Triumphalis*. *Gellius* writeth, that *Iulius Paulus* the Poet had hort-yards in the *Vaticane*.

The vale *Vaticane* is there also to be seen, wherein *Nero* enclosed a compasse of ground like a ring for to ride and break horses in. The conventicles also and wine-taverns there he adorned. Moreover, *Nero* had hort-yards in that place, which he set forth for divers and sundry punishments and tortures of Christians. All this place thus enclosed, he called the *Cirque*. Also the pools made for ship-fight, called *Naumachie* were there, and the Obelisk of *Cæsar* in the way *Triumphalis* is yet to be seen standing upright.

CHAP. XI.

The way or street Triumphalis, the water Sabbatina, the sepulchre of Scipio.

OF the *Triumphal* way, there hath been some mention made before. Called so it was, for that the solemn pomp of triumph used to go that way up into the Capitol. This as well as others was paved with flint stone. It went on still to the back porch of *S. Celsus*, towards the plain field of *Flora*; and so forward to the temple sometime of *Janus*, now *S. Angelo*, and from thence to *S. Gloriosa* church in *Vilabrum*. In the pontifical hort-yards there be many antiquities found, brought thither from other places: and namely, the portraiture and counterfet of *Nilus*, also of all sorts of creatures living and encreasing there. Likewise of *Tyber*, with the yeelding her teats to be sucked of the founders of *Rome*. *Apollo* with his bow and arrows; the statue of *Laocon*, whereof hath been spoken before; *Cupid* hard by *Phonix*. Many other things before appear in the gallery, and those hort-yards.

The water *Sabbatina*, was derived to *Rome* from the *Sabbatine* pool, called *Anguillarie*; and afterwards when the conduct and conveyance thereof was by *Hadrian* restored; it was brought into the palace of *S. Peter*, to serve the priests there.

In *Vaticane* plain, not far from the mount reared by *Hadrian*, there stood a Pyramid or steeple in times past; under which they say *P. Scipio Africanus* lay entombed.

CHAP. XII.

The mount of Hadrian, and the meadows called Quintia.

Aelius Hadrianus reared a huge and mighty mount for his own sepulchre near the bridge *Ælius*, over against the *Museion* of *Augustus*, in which were bestowed first his own ashes, and afterwards the relics of all the *Antonines*. This is at this day the fort of the Popes. The same also is called the tower of *Crocodinus*, because one *Crocodinus*, a famous captain, held it a long time. See more in *Procopius*.

The meadows *Quinaria* in the plain *Faisanar*, took the name of *Quinaria Cincinaria*. Read *Phily* heretofore, Now they be called *Aprina*.

CHAP. XIII.

Of those things which either have been, or remain now without the gate *Flumentana*.

THE first thing presented to our sight when we are out of the gate *Flumentana* is the port-way or causey *Flaminia*: which, as we have before shewed, was by *Co. Flaminius* brought as long as far as *Ariminum*. Within the City he paved it with flint or pebble: without he laid it with gravel. And in that order be all the port-ways laid about *Rome*. Upon this way *Augustus* made four bridges, whereof at this day there remain scarcely any tokens. Neer unto the causey *Caesar* had a farm or manor house, which he called *ad Gallinas*. The reason of that name *Livy* sheweth. To the way *Flaminia*, another named *Claudia* joined upon which were the Horr-yards of *Ovid*.

The way *Appia*, made and paved by *Lepidus* the colleague of *Flaminius*, leadeth from *Ariminum* as far as *Bononia*. Now two causeies there were of that name, the one which met with *Flaminia*: the other which *Severus* laid and made, which went through *Pisa* and *Luna* to the *Sabatii*. In like manner there was a way called *Tyberina* and *Cassia*, without the gate now called *Veridaria*, which passed along time by *Suetrium*, *Tetrella*, and *Veterulum* into the way *Vulturna*.

Certain places there be in the way *Flaminia* somewhat hollow and flat like saddles, called therefore *Cistella*.

Without the gate *Collatina* there is a causey of the same name.

CHAP. XIII.

Of those things that are reported to have been without the gate *Collina*.

THE port-way from the gate *Collina* is called *Salaria*, because the Sabines at it brought salt into the City. There upon stood the bridge *Salaris*. And it reached to *Numentana*. In it was the temple of *Venus Erctina*, vowed by *Fabius* the Dictator, and dedicated by *L. Porcius*. There stood the image of *Venus Verticordia*, so called, for that she averted mens minds from wanton lust. Likewise the temple of *Honor*, and an altar in it. Finally, the monument or tomb of *Licinius* the barber of *Augustus*.

CHAP. XV.

The things that either were, or at this day are without the gates *Numentana* and *Intraggeres*.

WITHOUT the gate *Numentana*, there beginneth a causey of the same name, by which men go to *Numentum*. The same is called *Figulensis*, of the potters furnaces there standing. The goddess *Nenia*, which was wont to wait & attend upon funerals with dolefull plaints and lamentable moanes, is reported to have had a temple without this gate. In like manner, other gods and goddesses, which are supposed to hurt mankind, they erected temples, but without the gate, because they should do the lesse harm: and namely, to the *Fever*, to *Mars* the revenger, to *Nemesis* and such other. Upon this way *Numentana* there appeareth a most ancient temple of *Bacchus* about *S. Agnes* church, and over the same standeth the bridge *Numentana*, built by one *Narsetes* an *Epithoth*. Between this way and *Salaria*, was a withdrawing house in the countrey of *[Phanotus]* *Nerva* freedman, in which *Nerva* killed himself. Without the gate *Intraggeres*, was a tower or castle called *Cassidia*, where the souldiers of *Dioclesian* kept a corps de guard. There also is a park called *Esvarium* (now *Esvarium*) to be seen, where divers wild beasts were kept, more for pleasure and delight, then profit and use.

namely of ill fortune and sloth.

CHAP. XVI.

Of those things that without the gates *Esquilina*, *Navia*, *Calimontana*, and *Gabinia*, either have been or now are.

FROM the gate *Tiburtina*, there goeth a way of the same name leading to the City *Tyber*. Upon it there is a bridge *Mamur*, commonly called *Mamula* and bearing the name of *Mamius*, *Alexander* the Emperours mother, who repaired it. A place there is by it called *Piscicola*, of a multitude of pits there. Also the bridge *Lavennus*, without the said gate standeth over the river *Atia*. And without the same gate the two rivers called *Anio* the old and new do gather a current and unto *Rome*.

Without the gate *Esquilina* are waies *Lutetiana* and *Præstina*. In this way the water *Appia* hath his head and beginneth, which by *Appius Claudius* was brought into the City.

The water *Kerge* likewise, which in time past was shewed by a maid to the souldiers, is the way, and from thence is conveyed to the City.

But the Roman waters (see *Frontinus*, who describeth right excellently, the source and beginning the conveyance and carriage, the end also and use of every one of them.

At the end of the way *Calimontana*, beginneth another called *Campana*, which closeth with *Lutetia*, the Between the gate *Calimontana* and *Lutetia*, standeth the gate *Gabinia*. From which

there went away some time called *Gabina*, leading to *Gabii* (but it runneth soon into *Transfina* for that the *Gabians* dwell upon it.

CHAP. XVII.

Of those things which were or are without the gates Latina and Capena.

THE gate *Latina* gave both name and beginning to the caufey *Latina*, which through *Levianum*, now called *Val-montium*, and *Latium* reacheth to *Campania*. In which there stood in old time, the temple of *Veneris-fortuna*, and the image of the same goddess. Of which writeth *Plinius Major*. In the said way the water *Tepala* gathereth to an head and current: From the gate *Appia*, beginneth a caufey of that name, paved by *Ap. Claudius* as far as to *Capua*, whereof speaketh *Sirabo*.

At the gate *Capena*, was the temple of *Mars* the warrior or *Grandvour*, and therein the sculpture of *Mars*. Hard by the same temple was the stone *Manalis* brought into the City of *Rome* in time of a drought, and presently there arose a shew of rain; whereupon he was called *Manalis*. In the way *Capena*, stood the oratory or chappell of *Dea-bona* and near to it, they say, that *Clodius* and *Papirius* were slain. Neer to the gate *Capena*, was the altar of *Apollis*, the sacred grove of *Honour*, and the temples of *Hops* and *Minerva*. Like wise of *Tropeus*, built by *Minervius*. Moreover, another of *Ridiculum*: because *Annibal* having there encamped, was enforced to depart from thence mocked and scorned. Upon the way *Appia* was the bridge *Valentinus*, built by the Emperor *Valens*, and thereupon, neer the hill *Maffica*, standeth the town *Sinnessa*. This way had certain notable sepulchres, namely of *Collatinus*, the *Scipios*, the *Servilii*, *Metelli*, *Tullii*, of *Ennius*, *Pompeius*, the *Horatii*, and other. And in that part is to be seen the plain, whereupon the *Horatii* fought that famous combat to the utterance. In it also there is a water and well-spring, consecrated to *Mercurio*. To it upon a time when the people of *Rome* ran, every man dipped therein his branch of laurell, and therewith besprinkled them that were next, with an invocation to *Mercurio*; that as many as had this aspersion and sprinkling, might be absolved of their sinnes, and of perjurie especially. The grove also of *Egeria* was this gate. The way *Appia* fell into *Appia*: wherein *S. Sebastiano* (by report) suffered even in the very place where they used to solemnize the feast *Terminalia*, to the god of Meers and Bounds *Terminus*.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of those things that be without the gate Hostiensis, and others in generall.

FROM the gate *Hostiensis* beginneth the way *Hostiensis* which leadeth to *Hostia*, built by *Annius*. This was called in old time, the gate of the three twins brethren, or *Trigeminorum* and without it, *Livy* setteth the purse or merchant's hall, *Emporium*.

In that part of the City on the other side of the water, were three gates, *Portuensis*, *Aurelia*, *Fontinalis*. At *Portuensis*, beginneth away of that name, and leadeth to the port town *Offia* where there was a temple of *Portunus*, the god of havens: and wherein the feast *Portunalia* was celebrated to the honour of that god.

From the gate *Aurelia*, the way also *Aurelia* taketh beginning; which along the sea-coast of *Thuscia*, leadeth to *Pisa*. The same was called *Trajana* of *Trajanus* who repaired it: wherein were the hott-yards of *Galba* the Emperor; and there also was his sepulchre.

[At the gate *Fontinalis*, was the feast *Fontinalis* celebrated at *Rome*, namely to the goddess of Fountains, as saith *Sext. Pompeius*.]

To the Reader.

Or as much as *Titus Livius* is prolix and full of variety: and howsoever otherwise willing enough to speak our language, yet most loth to forbear and forget certain Roman words wherewith so long time he had been acquainted: also for that he then be teach one in his English tongue and in his French and Italian another; whereby he may be thought rather to wish to have forgotten himself, and the fault imparted to his readers: with these regards (as I thought) allowed that much for their sake and converse with English *Livy*, as to suffice them in this behalf. I thought therefore I have digested: the one dwelling and leading readily to the most ancient and principal matters contained in the whole body of the History: the other expounding the foregoing may serve as first strange to the most: and with all striving to have and show the reason of a purposeful disagreement, hoping that as use will make them more familiar in those strange phrases, so they will confer with him in the primitive *Latine* (the only touchstone of his true speech) shall excuse and acquit me of just blame, who have endeavored that he might deliver his mind in English, if not so frequently by many degrees, yet as truly as in *Latine*.

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A Second Index,

Containing the exposition of those terms in *Livy* which are not yet familiar in English, and of some places omitted in the Marginal notes.

Whereunto the Reader may have recourse, when he meeteth with any such difficulty in the History.

A *ediles*, the surname to divers families in *Rome*: certain inferior magistrates in *Rome*: who were of two sorts: *Plæbii* and *Censures Plæbii* of the Commons only, two in number more ancient, then the other, chosen by the people alone to second and to assist the Tribunes of the Commons in their right hands. This name they took of the charge they had of temples, chapels, and oratories: also they registered the Sanctions and acts of the people called *Plæbiscita* and kept the same in their own custody: and were clerks of the market: also they exhibited the games and plays called *Plæbii*. *Censures* were likewise chosen out of the order and degree of the *Patricii* so called of the ivory chair wherein they were allowed to sit, as officers of greater state. They set forth the great solemnities called *Ludi magni*, or *Romani*: were overseers of the buildings throughout the City as well publick as privat: in manner of the *Magistri* in *Athenis*: they had regard to the Publick vaults, fikes, conveyances, and conduits of the City waters: looked to the Arsenal &c. Moreover, they had power to attach the bodies of great persons; and were charged to see unto the provision of corn and victuals. At the first, none but *Patricii* might be advanced to this place: but in procees of time, Commoners also attained thereunto. These as well as the *Plæbii* were *Sacrosancti*, unviolable.

Erarii, they were, who being citizens of *Rome*, were by the Censors deprived of giving their voices in their Century or Tribe: paid all tribute with citizens according to the valuation of their goods: and served in the wars of their own charges: and either became *pendebant*, or, *arant merchant*. It seemeth they took that name.

Agmen quadratum: *Agmine quadrato ductus* is taken in a three-fold fence. First, The same that *infesta exercitus infesto agmine* Or, *infesta signa*: which signifieth the ordinary manner of enemies marching with banners displayed, either to a battail, or to the siege and assault of a fort: and this manner of pike addeeth a grace only to the sentence. Secondly, To march or fight in a four square battailon, though not alwaies with equal sides & right angles: and the same not charged with the carriages at all. Thirdly, When an army is

spread and displayed at large, enclosing the impediments or baggage in the midst for safety and security.

Agria, were laws preferred by the Tribunes of the Commons, as well for division of lands (conquered from the enemies) among the Commons: as to restrain the possessions of the Nobles within a certain and compass.

Ambitus. The inordinat and excessive desire to be in office of state, appearing by indirect and unlawful means: either to their friends and kinsfolks, or to the people: against which, many laws in *Rome* were provided: namely, *Acilia*, *Bibia*, *Emilia*, *Lucina* and others.

Ancilia. *Ancile* was a buckler or scutcheon that (as they say) fell from heaven into the hands of *Numa* in time of a plague: and he being advertised by *Egeria*, That it was for the health of the City, and ought to be kept safe: caused it more to be made unto it, to like, as they could not be known from the pattern: which hereby was preserved. The keeping hereof was committed to the twelve *Salii*.

Annales, were brief memorials, Chronicles, or commentaries, containing the names of consuls every year, the date of times, and all memorable occurrents happening therein. The high Priests, called *Pontifices maximi* had the charge by their place to gather the same into tables, and to set them up in their houses for to be seen: and hereupon they were called *Annales maximi*, & *Maximus Pontificibus*: and not of their greatness, as those huge volumes, named *Libri Elephantini*.

App. Appius, a forename appropriate to the House of the *Claudian* in *Rome*.

Appia via. A notable street or high way, begun by *Ap. Claudius*, reaching from *Rome*, as far as *Capua*: and afterwards by *Julius Caesar* and *Trajan*. It was extended to *Brindis* in *Chilabria*. Of all other it seemeth to be the principal, by the testimony of *Papinius* the Poet, who writeth thus of it: *Appia conitum ferunt Regia viarum*. Called it was *Triumphalis* (as also the gate *Capuana*) because through it the triumphs ordinarily passed at the said gate.

Ara maxima. The great altar reared by *Hercules*, and took the name of a great heap of stones about it.

Eee

The second Index.

Arbor infelix, Is commonly taken for a tree that naturally beareth no fruit.

Argilina imus, Is the base or low part of a street in Rome: in regard of the upper end thereof, called *Summus*: in like sort as *Janus summus & imus*.

Area, is taken for some void place, whereupon nothing groweth. *quia are: as Forum boarium in Rome. Area qua posito de bovum nomen habet*, and differeth from *Campus*, for that it is less. Also a plot of ground made level and clean for to build upon: as in *Suetonius 26. Forum Caesar de manibus inchoavit*, the *Area* whereof, (i.e. the trimming and levelling of the plot) cost H.S. milies, i.e. 100 millions of Sesterii. Last of all, the broad yards before temples, not covered but compassed about with columns, like a cloister with an altar in the mids, be called *Area*.

Aruspices, were wisards or south-sayers, directed by the bowels and inwards of beasts killed for sacrifice, called also *Extispices*, and in Greek *εἰρηστροι*, who prying into them, had especial regard of the liver: whereupon their whole Art and learning was termed *haroskopia*, albeit they observed also the heart, lungs, spleen, and kidneys.

Asper. Aspis, usually in *Livy* is taken for a Roman poise, or coin in brass, the tenth part in value of their silver *Denarius*. At first it was a pound weight of twelve ounces: but afterwards, the Sextans, i.e. the six part thereof, was valued worth the whole: and howsoever otherwise it altered in poise, it went alwaies for 3 farthings or thereabout of our english money.

Augurium. See *Auspicia*.

Aurei Romani, Peeeces of gold coin current in Rome: in round reckoning equivalent to our spur-roial of 15 sh. For 100 Sesterii made *aureum*, which amount to 15 sh. 7 d. ob. the 4 part of *mina*, i.e. a *lib.* in silver, and of an ounce of angel gold.

Auspicia: *Auspices* were properly the observation of the birds, either by their singing and flying in the air: or by their gesture and manner of feeding in their *cavea* or coop: whereby their *Augurs & Pollatii* knew in their learning, the pleasure and will of the gods, whether they favoured their enterprises or no. The birds that gave sign by their voice and singing they called *Osines quasi ore canentes*, as the crow, raven, and owl: and thereof came *Augurium, quasi avium garrulus*. Those that shewed ought by their flight & wings, were named *Alites* or *Prophetes*, as the buzzard, eagle, crane, grype, swan, and broad-winged fowls. *varus* *heryes*. The good signs were called *Sinistra auspicia quasi sinistra, quod sinant feri*, whether they came from the left hand or the right. In pullets or chickens kept in cages, they observed whether they came forth willingly, to their meat (for to abstain from it was thought unlucky) whereas their feeding heartily, was a good sign, and called *solistimum tripudium, quasi terripavium & terrepadium*. when some of the meat fallerth out of the mouth, & *serram pavis*, i.e. beateth upon

the ground: as it must needs do, when they pecked either corn, or gobbets called *offa*.

Calve, were certain wars-like engines for to send out and level mighty stones, to batter and shake City walls, made with ropes of sinews and womens hair especially twined together: as appeareth by *Penus Calva* at Rome, unto whom, by occasion that the women of the City parted with their hair for that purpose, a Temple was dedicated. According to the weight of stones or bullets that this engine would carry, they were called *Centenaria*, or *Talenaria balista*.

Basilica, were stately edifices or halls at Rome: at first serving to plead in under cover, wherein they differed from *Pora*: and also to minister justice, of *basilica*, which signifieth a Judge, as well as a King: but afterwards they used to meet there in consultation; also to negotiate and transact: and these had not only benches and bars like law-courts, but shops also for the better sort of wares and merchandise.

Bellona, The goddess of war, whose temple stood before the gate *Carmenalis*, and neer adjoining therunto was a column named *Bellica*: from which the Romans were wont to lance a dart or javelin towards those parts where they intended to make war: whereas in former times they sent their heralds to the very confines of their enemies, to perform that ceremony.

Bigati, were the Roman *Denarii*, having the stamp of a chariot drawn with two horses, called *Biga*.

Boatarche, The chief magistrates of the Boetians.

C. Calus, } The forenames of sundry families in Rome.

Calends, was among the Romans, the day of the new Moon, which fell out with them ordinarily the first of every month: so named *in ruy xardin*, i.e. a *delando*, because the petty Pontify used then to call the people to the court *Calabra*, and there to pronounce unto them how many daies were to the Nones of each month, &c.

Candidati, were they that stood in election and sued for dignities of magistracy: during which time, they wore whiter and brighter gowns than ordinary, that they might be the more easily seen and discerned a far off among others.

Cataphracts, as well horse as foot, were they that were armed at all peeces with compleat harness: and such horsemen were named *Defensores*.

Catapules, were engines of war to shoot arrows or such like offensive weapons, far off: and by that name was called not only the instrument it self, but the arrow or whatsoever was

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was shorot of it: as *Turush*, waiteth in his
Adversar. cap. 1. *Adversar. cap. 1.* *Adversar. cap. 1.*
Censors, Magistrates of State in Rome: whose
charge was to value and estimate mens
goods, and enrol them accordingly in their
several ranges. Also to demise unto certain
Farmers: called Publicans, the publick pro-
pries of the City for a rent: and so put forth
the City works unto them, to be undertaken
at a price. Likewise to oversee mens man-
ners, whereby oftentimes they would de-
prive Senators of their dignity, take from
gentlemen their horses of service and their
rings: displace Commoners out of their own
tribe, disable them for giving voices, and
make them *Erarii*.

Centuries, were ranges and degrees of men ac-
cording to their worth, as they were assessed
and enrolled by the Censors.

Centuriata comitia, were those assemblies and
elections, wherein the people of Rome gave
their voices and suffrages, according to their
behaviour & wealth, by Centuries. And such
were at all times most favourable to the no-
bles.

Circenses ludii (as one would say) *Circen-enses*.
For in the beginning before the great lists and
shew-places (called *Cirques*) were built, the
plot of ground wherein were performed the
horle-runnings and other masteries, was
flanked of the one side with the river, and en-
vironed on the other with swords. *Vide Tur-*
neb. Adversar. lib. 3. cap. 5.

Cistophorus, A peece of silver coin in Greece and
those parts neerer adjoining, less than *Drach-*
ma or *Denarius*: so called of the stamp, re-
presenting a man carrying a panier or casket
with holy reliques, in *Cybeles mysteriis*, in
Bacchi orgiis or *Cereriis initiis*. If it be true,
that 7500 of them go to the Enboick talent,
which containeth 4000 *Denarii*, it is just our
groat sterling: but if *Denarius* have *propor-*
tionem sesquiquartam to it, and that 4 *Denarii*
are 5 *cistophori*, (as *Glarean* collecteth out
of *Budam*), it cometh to our pence of 6
pence.

Claustra, supposed to be the image of *Venus*,
found by *K. Tatius* in the great vault or sink
conveighed under the city, called *Claustra*
maxima. And for that it was not known
what goddess it resembled, he gave it the
name of that place. Others say, it is written
Claustra, of the old word *Clua* (to fight: for
that the Romans and Sabins, ready to strike
a battail) were by means of myrtle branches
consecrated unto *Venus*, pacified and recon-
ciled, in that very place where afterwards
the said goddess was by that name worship-
ped.

Comptionalis senex, *Paulus Manutius* upon the
familiar Epistles of *Cicero*, giveth this attri-
bute to *Scapulus* in the end of the third book
of *Livy*, wherein in all editions it is, *Concor-*
patio. Now these *Comptionalis senes* (saith
he) were those old men, in whose tuition
and authority, men by their last will and re-

stament left their widows or daughters: and
without whom they might not pass in *De-*
mutuum iuramentum per coemptionem, i. he was
married according to the ceremony called *Co-*
emption, whereby the husband and wife
seemed to buy one another.

Cohors, was ordinarily a band of 500 soldiers;
although once or twice in *Livy* we read of
Quadragesaria cohortes.

Comitium, was a publick place or Hall within
the *Forum Romanum*, where the people used
to assemble for audience of justice, pleading
of causes, and other occasions: whereupon
Comitiales dies, were such daies upon the
which they might so assemble and meet to-
gether.

Comitia, or *Comices*, were the solemn assemblies
of the people at Rome, summoned by the ma-
gistrats lawfully: to choose officers, to enact
new laws or cancel old, by their voices: wher-
of were three sorts.

Curia, instituted by *Romulus*, *Centuriata*, by *S.*
Tullius, *Tributa*, brought in by the Tribuns
of the people: and the first author thereof
was *P. Volus*.

Curia and *Centuriata*, were *Auspiciata*, i. per-
formed with the solemnity of observing the
approbation of the birds, and the Senators.

Tributa, were held by the Commons only, *pene-*
quos non erant auspicia, and required neither
Auspicia nor *authoritatem*, i. the allowance of
the *Patres*. And as in *Comitiis Centuriatis*, the
richer and greater men had the vantage: so in
Curia and *Tributa*, the poorer sort (for
their number) went away with the better.

In the *Curia comitia*, at the first (until *S. Tul-*
lius his reign) passed the election of *KK*, and
other magistrats, judgements in capital mat-
ters, and laws. But in later times, they served
only for two laws: i. *de imperio*, or *de re mi-*
litarium: in which the consul or others
(chosen to their magistracy in *Centuriatis co-*
mitiis) had authority of command in the ar-
my: the other, *de adoptione*: and these laws
were called *Curia*.

In the *Centuriata comitia*, from the time of *Ser-*
Tullius, passed the elections of consuls, *De-*
cemvirs, Tribuns consular, Censors, Pretors,
and such greater magistrats: and confirmed
they were by *Curia*. Also, judgment of ca-
pital matters, & the laws named *Centuriata*.
In this, there was one centurie drawn forth
by lot out of all the rest, to give their voices
first, and that was called *Prærogativa*. After
which were called to their suffrages, the Cen-
turies of the first and second Class, and they
were named *Primo-vocata*: the rest which
followed, were called *Tercio-vocata*.

Tributa, served for the creation of Tribuns, *Æ-*
diles of the Commons, and other inferior
magistrats. Also the laws as touching peace,
or enfranchising allies, judgments penal and
fines, and those ordinances concerning the
good of the Commons, called *Plæbiscita*.

Some have thought *amils*, and *Curia* and *Tri-*
buta comitia, were both one: but *Curia*
were more ancient, and of greater state as
being

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being *Auspices*, and *ex auctoritate Patrum*. Herein only they agreed together and differed from the *Centuriata*, that in delivering their voices, the Tribes and *Curia* were intermingled: whereas the Centuries were sorted and gave their voice according to their degree, age, and ability in the Censors book.

Congius, or *Chus*, A measure among the Romans containing 6 *Sexarii*, and every *Sexarius* about 20 ounces: so that *Congius* receiveth *X. librales mensuras*; as appeareth by the old pourtrait thereof in brass, with these two characters, *X.P. i.* ten pound. Whereby in round reckoning it may go for our wine gallon or somewhat better. And for that great persons were wont at first to give dole unto the common people, of wine or oil by the *Congii*; all other donatives and largesses of that kind, were afterwards called *Congiarum*.

Consul, one of the sovereign yearly magistrates in Rome, succeeding in the place of *KK*, so named, a *Consulendo* either of asking counsel of the people and Senate in State matters, and withal giving his own advice, and providing for the good of the weal-publick: or else, of judging, for so *Consulere* signifieth: as when we say *boni consules*. And *Livy* saith, that *Prætores*, *Consules*, and *Judices*, may be taken one for another. Two of them were usually chosen every year, as appeareth by the law of the 12 Tables: *Regio imperio duo sunt: iique præcundo, Judicando Consulendo, Prætores, Judices, Consules, appellator, &c.*

Corona, hath diverse significations in *Livy*. *Corona urbem cingere*, i. to invest a City round about with armed men, and to give the assault from all parts at once. *Sub corona vendere servos*, i. to sell slaves in open market, either having garlands on their heads, as the manner was; or environed about with a guard of souldiers, which also is called *Corona militum*. Sundry garlands or chaplets there were moreover, called *Corona*, wherewith souldiers were rewarded by their captains, or they honored by their souldiers; (besides those that were presented to Generals by their friends and well-willers, or offered to the honour of the gods:) as *Obsequialis* or *Graminea*, which was a wreath of a caich grass called *Gramen*, given to him that delivered an army from streight sieges, and was by the whole army bestowed upon that savior. *Civica*, made of oke branches, for him that in battel saved the life of his fellow citizen. *Muralis*, resembled the battlements of walls: which he received of his captain, that first scaled the walls and mounted over, in the assault of cities. *Castrensis*, in form of a palliade or rampier made with pales or strong stakes: the honor of him who first entred the enemies camp. *Navalis* or *Rostrata*, pourtraied with the stems or beak heads of ships, called *Rostra*: his reward that first boarded the enemies ship, and gave the first means of a naval victory: These were the principal. For, others there were not so ordinary, as namely, *Exploratoria* garbished and set out with the sun, moon, and other

Rare: bestowed upon them that did special service in espial and discovery of the enemies quarters.

Curia, were parishes in Rome, 30 in number, instituted by *Romulus*. Certain halls besides, appointed for assemblies and convocations about Church matters and Religion: whereof some were old, called simply *Veteres*; others new, named *Nova*. As for *Curia Hostilia*, it was the ordinary ancient place of publick counsel within Rome.

Curio, the Priest belonging to each *Curia* or parish aforesaid: and *Curio Maximus*, the chief superintendent over them all.

D. *Decius*, a forename: for *Decius*, although it were the gentile name of a house, grew afterwards to be a forename, as *Paulus*: and likewise forenames at the first, came to name families, as *Posthumus*.

D. Decimus, a forename likewise, as of that *Brutus* surnamed *Albinus*, who killed *Caesar*.

Decemviri, were magistrates, officers, or fellowships, ten in number.

Decemviri legibus scribendis, were ten men chosen to make laws in Rome: who afterwards usurped the sovereign authority, and tyrannized.

Decemviri sacrorum, were certain Priests, who had the keeping and perusing of Sibyls books of destinies, and thereout gave order for sacrifices and expiation of prodigies.

Decemviri: ten Judges or ministers of Justice, selected out of the great court or council of the 100 Centumvirs, and they were called, *Decemviri de litibus judicandis*: assistant they were to the Pretor or L. chief justice.

Dictator, a sovereign magistrat above all others in Rome, from whom no appeal was granted, mere absolute and King-like: but that his time of rule was limited within six months ordinarily: so named, either because he only said the word and it was done, or because he was *Dictus*, i. nominated only by one of the Consuls, and not otherwise chosen, usually in some time of great danger of the state. He was called also *Pretor Maximus*: and namely, when he was made for the ceremony of striking up or driving a nail: also *Magister Populi*, as *Cicero* 3 de fin. Moreover, he was sometimes appointed to ordain and hold solemn feasts, in regard that it had rained stones.

Duumviri, magistrates two in number, of divers sorts.

Duumviri capitales, judges to sit upon life and death: from whom it was lawfull to appeal to the people.

Duumviri sacrorum, out of the Patrijans, ordained for dedication of temple, preparing the sacred beds for the gods, called *Laesterna*; and for the books of *Sibylla*: these afterwards were increased to five, and so to ten. See *Decemviri*.

Duum-

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Ianus is a God in Rome, sometime represented *Effrons* with two faces, signifying the time passed, and that to come: otherwiles *Quadrifrons*, & betokeneth the four times of the year: having in his right hand a character resembling 300, in the left another, shewing threecore and five, according to the daies of the year. But in the plural number *Iani*, betoken certain hills or great four-square buildings, with four prospects and cros thoroughfares, whereof were divers in Rome.

Ides, Eight daies in every month: of an old word *Idus*, to divide: for that they commonly fall about the midde of the month, namely, upon the thirteenth or fifteenth daies, according to *Horace*, *Idus illi sunt agenda, quibus mensis Veneris mensura, audit Aprilis*.

Interdicted of water and fire, were they who for some crime were banished. Which judgement, although it was not by expresse sentence pronounced, yet by giving order, that no man should receive such an one into his house, but deny him fire and water (the two necessary elements of life) he was condemned (as it were) to a civil death: and this was called *Exilium*. But voluntary exile was, when a man to avoid the payment of a grievous fine, or imprisonment, went out of the way of his own accord, and left his native country.

Ingerum, which commonly I translate Acre, signifieth among the Romans, to bein measuring of land the *Agri*, ground, and foundation of all other measures in that kind: like as, the *As* or *Assis*, of weights: of which it borroweth the terms in sub-division and multiplication, whereof the least is *Semissagium*. Now is the *Scrutulum* in land measure fifteen foot square, according to which, it may soon be gathered, how much *Ingerum* containeth, considering it hath that name, a *drobum altibus*: by which reckoning it beareth 28800 foot of ground within the square. But for that, others think that *Ingerum* is as much as *uno iugo bovum duo diebus rari possit*, one daies work of a yoke or team of oxen: for want of another fitter word (except I would call it a journey) I have expressed it by our familiar term of an acre, which is not much under or over a daies work in plowing of oxen here in England.

Interregnum, or *Interregium*, is properly the time between the former King deceased, and the creation of a new: and he that ruled in the mean space, was called *Interrex*, which terms continued afterwards in the free state when there were no kings. In the case of vacancy of head-magistrats.

H-S. This Character compounded of two capital *I*, and the letter *S*, thus coupled together, is *Sestertius*, that is to say, a silver coin among the Romans, consisting of two *Assi* and an half, and thereupon it hath the name *Sestertius*, as a man would say, *Semis tertius*, i.

two, and half the third: and therefore you see the numeral note of two, and *S*, for *semis*, which is half. It is the fourth part of the Roman *Denarius*, and in value among us is three half pence farthing one. But *Sestertium* in the neuter gender, betokeneth as much as *millie Sesterties*, i. a thousand *Sestertes*: so that *decem Sestertia* signifieth ten thousand *Sestertia*, and *decem Sestertia* is as much: for you must in this manner of speech understand *millia* for the *regimen* of the Genitive case. But if you add unto *Sestertium* the numeral adverb, it sheweth the same *Sestertium* in the neuter above said, multiplied a hundred times so much as the said numeral beareth. For example, *decies Sestertium*, is *decem Sestertia*, a hundred times told, and as much to say as *decies centena millia Sestertia*, which is a million of *Sestertes*: is the primitive signification: whereby a man may soon reckon how much is *millie Sestertia* and the rest, either under or over *decies*. The same is to be said of *Nummi* and *Nummi*, for it is the same that *Sestertium* and *Sestertium*. Moreover, *decies*, *millies*, and such like adverbs, whether you put *Nummi* or *Sestertium* thereto, or no, is all one: so that by this form of speaking, *quo bona fuerunt decies*, is meant, thus, his goods amounted unto two millions of *Sesterte* peeces. Thus much for *Idus* and other *Idolatrias* and waters in prose: for I am not ignorant that Poets for the versifiable condition thereof, have many daies, and put *Idus* for *Sestertia*, as *Georgius Agricola* hath well observed.

Lupus, *Lupus*, *Lupus* were these called *Lupus* among the *Indigenae*, because they need nothing, of *quadrupes agens*, conveying among the Gods: having been sometimes men of by reason that they might not *Indigenae*, i. be named, or rather for that they were easy to be entreated and last of all, *in loco desertis* *Illis* *propiti*, the tutel gods and protectors of this or that place: which I rather encline unto.

Insitium, was the way of civil jurisdiction and plea for the time, upon some fault in troubles, as *Tumultus* *Insitium*. Which vacation, if we will be somewhat bold, may be called not untruly a lawless, as *Insitium* the sun-need.

K *Kalends*. The forename of many Roman.

L *Lupus*. The forename of many Roman.

Latina *Idus*. Certain holidays *Conceptionis*, appointed by the Priest or Magistrats, as occasion required, and after feasts. The solemnity was published and held by the Roman Consul newly created, upon the mount *Latina* to *Iupiter* *Latina* and a sacrifice was there

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there offered which they call *Lævas*, for the health of the Latine people: at which, the manner was to give a dole of flesh called *Visceratio* to the Latine States.

Lectisternia is in some sort declared in the first and two and twenty books of *T. Livius*, and as much to say, as the solemn ceremony of trimming and setting out a bed, not for repose but repast, according to the ancient manner: wherein they laid the images of their gods, reared upon bolsters and pillows: the principal whereof was that in the honour of *Jupiter* at the *Epulum Jovis*, whereupon *Jupiter* was laid, *Juno* and *Minerva* sitting of either side by him.

Lectum is usually to be understood in *Livy* for the bed whereupon they laid themselves at ease when they took their recreation, and *Triclinium* is taken for *Conclave*, i. the parlor where they were wont to sup, because the usual manner was to set three such beds or pallets together: (whereof the room had the name) and a table raised somewhat higher from the floor, and placed so, as it served all three pallets, and was open at one side for the servants to come unto it, and either set meat thereupon, or to minister what was called for. Upon each of these beds therefate or leaned ordinarily three persons: so as nine was the full number of guests at the board, according to the rule, *No fewer than the grapes, nor more than the muses*. For *Horace* in this verse, *Sæpe trihus lectis videtur conare quatuor*, seemeth to glance at the nigardie of that would rather want meat than guests, and to set twelve at the table which was but for nine, whereby also they were pent up together too streight.

Ligati are usually taken for Embassadors sent from one Prince or State to another. Also for Lieutenants in an army, having the charge of a legion under the General, and in his absence, the charge and command of all, who likewise were sent as Nuncios or messengers of credence from the Generals in the field, to make true report unto the Senat, of the success of their affairs. Moreover, they are oftentimes put for deputed delegates, or commissioners assent to the Col. or L. General, in matters of state: having their principal directions from the Senat, but commission to deal in the particulars after their own discretion; much like to those that be called *Legati à latere*.

Libitina, the goddess of funerals; and after a sort, the superintendent over sepulchres: supposed to be *Ænus Epitaphia*. In whose Temple were all things to be sold necessary for the interring and burial of the dead. Whereupon they also who were employed to carry forth and bury corpses, were called *Libitinarii*, as well as *Palliones*; in Greek *νεκροφοροι*, and *ταφιασται*. It is put for death in *Horace*, when he saith, *Non equivo morari, penamque potius, Vitis Libitinæ*; and in *Livy*, as well for the ministers as furniture to sepulchres belonging. The Chappel to this

goddess stood without the City, and a gate there was *Libitinensis*, at which they carried forth their dead. For at *Rome* they might not commonly bury or burn a dead corps within the City, unless it were upon a special privilege: and the law of 12 tables provided therefore in these express words, *In urbe non sepelito neve urito*: but in some barren part of their land, each man bestowed the ashes or bodies of their dead. The practise whereof is evident by many examples in histories; and at this day are monuments standing of their tombs reared near the great causey *Appia*, and elsewhere about *Rome*. The consideration hereof, with some other circumstances of a place in the 3 book of *Livy*, gave me occasion haply to translate amiss. These happened to be a great mortality in *Rome* and the territory about it, not only of men but of cattle also: at what time as the Volscians and *Æquians* were encamped within three miles of *Rome*, with a purpose to give the assault to the City; but they were suddenly stricken with a fear that they durst not approach neer, *scilicet aque procul visâ atque imminentes tumuli avertere mentem eorum*, &c. where I have englished *imminentes tumuli*, tombs & graves neer at hand, in opposition of *scilicet visâ* [*Romani*] *procul visâ*: and the rather, because it presently followeth, *In desertis agris inter tabernaculorum atque hominum, when tumuli may wel be put for tombs and monuments; and [imminentes] neer at hand: as Livy and others do take those words. But if any man would have it met rather of the 7 hills of Rome commanding and overlooking those houses aforesaid, I will not be against it, but rather my *sursum spectantem* shall go with him: and pardon me I hope he will, if either there or elsewhere I have seemed to nod and take a little nap, *Namque opore in longo sæc. obdormere somnum*: seeing that I have taken my self in the manner, and not slept untill my neighbour awaked me.*

Lictors, in *Livy* are ministers or servants attending upon the magistrats of *Rome*; namely, Dictators, Consuls, Pretors: for those only were called sometime magistrats, as *Scævola*, as superior to the rest: so called (as *Festus* thinketh) *quod fasces virgarum ligatos ferant*, for that they carried rods tied up in bundles; which rods were of birch, willow, hazell, or the Carpine-tree, [a kind of Plane or Maple] and within them truck an axe, all to signify whipping and death. These officers made way before those magistrats, and were ministers also of the execution.

Livus was the August staff, much like a bishop's crozier, crooked at the end.

Magister Equitum, Master or general of the horsemen. This was an office or dignity among the Romans, incorporate as it were in the Dictator's office, who ever had the absolute naming and choosing of him: and ordinarily

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himself he was subject to him, howsoever *Minimus* was by strong hand and a violent course of the people made equal to *Q. Fabius* his Dictator. Commander he was under him of the Cavalry: and his Lieutenant-general and coadjutor with him in all executions. The same that *Tribunus celerum* in the time of the K.K.

Manus. The forenames of certain Romans.

Manipulus, in an army, was at the first a petty company of ten soldiers following one leader having a wisp of herbs or hay fastened to the upper end, as a man would say, an handful of men: used after, for a small band or detachment of soldiers: and Manipulares were they termed, who served in one such *Manipulus*.

Maenia, otherwise called *Lencuba* or *Isis*, the daughter of *Cadmus*. Into her temple, at the time of her solemn feast, might no maid servant enter: and if any did, they were sure to be beaten forth by the dames or wives there assembled: in remembrance of one *Amigera*, the chamber-maid of *Isis*, with whom her husband *Abraham* at the thought, was more familiar than she liked well of.

Majestas, were titles or games at Rome, not (as the later seemeth to import) *Majus*, which were *Romanis*, but in the honour of *Cybele* the goddess, named also *Jede*, *Magna Mater*, the great mother of the gods.

Milia, were a measure of silver, was no doubt, a fine of brass money set upon a mans head, after the weight of 1000 such every As weighing 1 lb. of 12 ounces. For before that silver was in use it stamped for coin, *As grave* *placuisse ad gratiam convehant* (as *Levy* saith) when they paid tribute or money to the City Chamber: as they were assessed.

Mulieris, the Elegancy of Women, *Nam quæm decorat Græci nomine ornamenta appellavit, cum non per se delectant, sed gratia mulieris, the World*. *Phæ* first book fourth chapter.

Morosa or *Mortua*, one of the names attributed to *Proserpina*, *græci mortuam non morere sed faceret hominem morcidum, a mortal delusion* & *malis volens*: contrary to that other goddess *Proserpina*, *que ad ædendū excharit*. And hereupon it is that *Morosa* is put for the goddess of sloth and liness.

N *Numerus*, a forename to some houses of Rome.

Nova tabula, was an enactment proposed in favour of debtors at Rome, whereby the old debt-books and obligations were cancelled, or the *Nomen* dashed out. Among the Athenians this practise was called *Sifachia*, i. an easing of burden, or *Chreocopia*, a cutting off or striking out of debts.

N. Numerus, a forename to some houses of Rome.

Nundina, were the market days appointed every ninth day at Rome, for the peasants of the

country to repair unto the City, to sell commodities or to buy their necessities. And hereupon *Nundinarius*, is the space of 20 daies, comprehending three market daies. *Novis*, were daies in the month so called, because they began the 9th day ever before the Ides: honored by the Romans both for the birthday of *K. Servius*, and also for the chasing out of the K.K. For otherwise it was not festival (as *Ovid* saith) *Nonis cum cunctis Dies erat*.

O *Ovis* or *Ovis*, were eggs set upon the votes in the solemnity of the *Sortes* turning at the plaies *Chæris*, to receive or foretell, as it seemeth by *Levy* the rates, which were performed with 24 courses to represent four and twenty hours of the day. Neither was it for nought, that choice was made of eggs, rather than of other things: for as eggs are laid by birds (the swiftest of all other living creatures) so they also were to contend and strive to be most swift, &c. of the became *Cassus* & *Pallus* (those renowned portemen) came of an egg, as *Poets* fable.

P *Publius*, a forename to some Roman families, *Publius* or *Pubolus*, ways solemn diet or counsel: whereat all the *Senatus* of *Ætolia* is furnished as council of public affairs.

Patres, were at Rome 100 Senators or Noblemen; counsellors of state, chosen in this manner: 30 out of every one of the 30 *Curis*, and those make 90: 1 more out of each tribe, (which then were but three) and one by *Roman* manner: and as this number made the body of the Nobility or *Senatus* at the first, so out of every *Curia*, he chose ten of the most personable and brave young men, to the number of 300, which he called *Juniores* to guard his person. From whence came the order of the knights or gentlemen of Rome, mean degree between the two orders of Nobles and Commons; and were the *Juniores* to represent the *Senatus*, when the places were void, and to augment the number of them. These were called *Patres Juniores*, *Juniores*, & *Patres*. And like as the former were named *Patres Juniores* to the latter sort, *Patres Juniores* gentium; alluding to the several ranges of the youth, who were four of them, *Patres Juniores*, such as ever were counted in heaven termed also *Senatus*: others, *Patres Juniores*, who had been men, and were after canonized gods. The other young and progeny of the *Patres*, were *Patres Juniores*, in opposition evermore of *Patres Juniores*, Commons.

Porticus, were either the porches & other stately buildings before temples, as belonging unto them: or the goodly galleries and walking places apart by themselves: under which men retired in the rains, and where they used to walk to cool themselves in summer.

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Prætor,

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Prada, booty, pillage, or sackage in the own kind, as it was gotten from the enemy, to wit, slaves, prisoners, beasts, goods, armor, &c. *Mannia*, the mony raised of such pillage or prey, sold.

Prætor, one of the superior magistrats of Rome. In the City he ruled as chief justice: in the province he commanded as L. governor and deputy: and was General in the field as well as the Consul. At first, the name of Consul, Pretor, and Judges, was all one.

Prærogative centuriæ, were those centuries in *Comitia Centuriata*, which by lot had the first place in giving their voices: the rest that followed, were called *Primo-vocata* and *Inter-vocata*, and delivered their suffrages in their course.

Prætexta toga, a robe embroidered of purple, common to men and women, *Ingenuitatis insigne, & ornamentum*. Cicero in *Verrem*. 3. Whereby it appeareth, that it was allowed but to certain persons: and, as P. *Mauritius* writeth, to 6 sorts.

1 The children of the *Patritii*, until 17 years age. 2 All Senators upon festival daies. 3 Wardens at the games or plaies called *Compitalitii*. 4 All magistrats, as well in the City, as in the colonies or borough Towns incorporate, called *Municipia*, and Masters of *Confraternities*. 5 All Priests, and among them, the Augurs. 6 They that triumph. And this differed from the rest, being wrought with gold and damask work.

It seemeth that these differed likewise one from the other, in the manner of the guarding laid broader or narrower: as also in the rich or deep colour, whereupon they were called *Pæptra*: or that some of these robes were all one purple, other but parcel. And whereas the gentlemen of Rome are said *Purpuram induere*, it is to be understood, either of *angusti-clavus*, or else of some lighter colour, as the violet, and not of that rich red purple, which is scarlet. For that robe which was done upon our Saviour Christ, * one of the Evangelists called *novulus*, and other two, *rogatus*.

Pullarius, the Chickmaster or pullitier: one that had the charge and overseeing of the sacred chickens, kept in a pen or coop for *auspicia*: who, by observing their gesture or feeding betimes every morning, related what was foretold thereby good or bad. See more in *Auspicia*.

Pro-consult. Some have thought, *Pro-consult*, *Pro-prætor*, that they should be *Pro-prætor*, *Pro-questor*. Swritte otherwise thus, *Pro-questor*.

but they are in mine opinion out of the way: for indeed *Pro-consult* is he, who having bin Consul, went out of his magistracy at the years end, and nevertheless was sent forth into his Province again with full Consular authority: whereas *Pro-consult* (to speak precisely) is the *Viz-consult*, namely, one that having never been Consul created, but some privat person, yet upon an urgent occasion, might for the while supply the place of the Consul. The same is to be said of the rest. And

hereof you may read in the oration of Cicero, *pro lege Manilia*. Howbeit in my translation of *Livy*, I have sometime used *Viz-pretor* and *Viz-consul*, for *Pro-pretor* and *Pro-consul*: because that manner of composition frameth well with our terms in English. Moreover, we read once in *Livy* of a *Pro-dictator*, in the proportionable signification to the other.

Q

Quadrigati, were the *Denarii Romani*, having the stamp of a chariot drawn with four horses, called *Quadriga*.

Quadrans, a peece of base brasse coin or poise at Rome, the fourth part of As, which is a cue and a c.

Questors, were inferior officers in Rome, as treasurers to receive and lay out the City-mony, whereof there were *Urbanæ*, *Provinciales*, and *Castrenses*.

Quæstorium, a plot or quarter in the Roman camp, where the treasurer lodged and other officers of the camp.

Q. Quintus, the forename of sundry Romans. *Quindecemviri*, the same that *Duumviri* first, and *Decemviri sacris faciundis*. Their number was 15, and albeit they were increased by *Sylla Dictator* to 60, yet they retained still the name of *Quindecemviri*.

Quintana was a gate in the Roman camp, at which provision was brought in to serve the market. Read the annotation in the end of English *Tachius*.

Quinquæviri Mensarii, were certain men, five in number, appointed upon occasion to discharge the debts of the commons, so called of *Mensa*, a table set out in publick place: upon which they either counted or weighed their mony.

Quinquæviri muris reficiendis, were five officers at Rome chosen extraordinarily for repairing of the walls and turrets of the City.

Quinquatrus or *Quinquatria*, were certain feasts and games at Rome in the honor of *Minerva*. They continued five daies, and began the first day after the Ides of March, i. the 20 of March: and these were called *Quinquatrus Majores*. For others named *Minores*, set about the Ides of June, and that was the minstrels holiday, as appeareth in the ninth of *Livy*.

Quintilis, the month of July, before *Julius Cæsar* time.

Quirinalis, was a festival day to *Quirinus*, appointed for them to sacrifice, who had neglected or missed to do divine service in their parish at the feast *Fornacalia*: and it was called the fools holiday: for that they were ignorant of the time of the former feast, or knew not their own Curia.

Quirites, the name appropriate to the citizens of Rome: and so they loved to be called within the City: but in the camp, if the General gave them that term, it was taken for a great disgrace unto soldiers and men of arms.

* Math. 27.
* Marc. 15.
John 19.

R

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Rorari, were light armed footmen, resembling our forlorn hope: so called *a rore*, i. Dew. For like as there falleth commonly a drizzling dew before a good shour of rain: so these *Rorari* skirmished loosely, before the legionary souldiers came to the battail.

Roftra, were three-tined pikes of brasse, set in the nose or beak-head of war-ships to offend the enemy, as appeareth by *Virgil*, *Roftrisq; residentibus*: and thereupon by *Synecdoche*, the stems of ships were so called. And for that the publick pulpit for orations at *Rome*, was reared and adorned with such, it also was called *Roftra*.

Rudera, [*Cum militet religione tacti rudera jacerent*]. To make sense of this place, I have translated *Rudera*, peeces of brasse mony: for that I cannot see what should be meant by rubbish stone in that place, which was not demolished by *Annibal*, for any thing that I can find; but only robbed of the silver & gold within the chappel of *Fortuna*: in stead whereof were found *avis acerui*: by reason that the souldiers, who had some sence of religion & touch of conscience (whereof their leader *Annibal* had never any) cast from them *Rudera*. Now, probable it is that *Rudera* is corruptly put for *ara*, the later end of the word: or if we admit *Rudera*: it is well known that *Rudus* as well as *as* signifieth brasse and brassen mony, as appeareth by *Rudusculum* the diminutive: for as of *as* came *Aesculum*, so of *Rudus* (no doubt) *Rudusculum*: and like as of *Aesculum*, *Aesculanus*, a god of the *Patrimis*, father of *Argentarius* (because copper & brasse mony was before silver coin:) so of *Rudusculum*, the gate *Rudusculana* in *Rome*, set out with brasse. Now that *Rudusculum* is put for a small peece of brasse coin, it is proved by the form of words in buying and selling, and in manumission (*Rudusculo libram ferito*) which is all one with *are Libram percutit* or *ferit*. By which I collect, that *Rudera* in this place may stand for *ara*, i. peeces of coin. For there went afore, *avis acerui*, which *Horace* putteth for heaps of brasse mony, and not for brassen images. And well it may be, that the souldiers upon some devotion, threw into the Church their oblations of such mony as they had in their belts or bandoliers. This conjecture & construction of mine may serve, untill somewhat here may be made of rubbish stone, or better exposition come in place. The word (I am sure will bear it, and the context in all sense and congruity, both require it.

Sacrare Deos after a devout and reverent manner they bowed unto the Idols or gods of the heathen as they passed by, and withal, touched their hands: which *Lucretius* theweth in these verses,

*Tam portas proper, aliena
Signa manu dextris ostendunt attoniti
Sape salutantum, tactis praterque manum.*
Sceleratus Ficus, a street in *Rome* named before-time *Cyprius*, which in the Sabine language signifieth [good:] but upon occasion of a wicked act committed therein, it was by the contrary, called *Sceleratus*.

Secession, was a general insurrection and revolt of the commons in *Rome*, wherein they left the City, until such time as they had the authority of their Tribunes strengthened and confirmed: yea, and certain laws enacted and established by a solemn oath, with a curse denounced to all them that went about to abrogate or abolish the same: which thereupon were called *Sacrata leges*.

Sex. *Sextus*. **Serg**. *Sergius*. **Serv**. *Servius*. **Sall**, forenames to *Romans*.

Sextilis, the month of *August*, so called by the Romans before *Augustus Caesar* his daies, for that it was the sixt in number: as *Quintilis* the fift, beginning at *March*.

Suburra. 97 a. *In Juventutem grassantem in Suburra*. It might well be that youkers there made a fray or committed some riot and felony: for it was a street most of all others frequented; and besides, in it kept strumpets and curtisans, like enough to give occasion of much quarrel & murther among youth, as appeareth by *Juvenal* and *Martial* in this Distichon.

*Furia non nimium venas puella,
Quales in media sedens Suburra.*

Suffragis, were the voices of the people given by Centuries, Curia, or tribes, which in *Rome* went affirmatively under this form, *Utrouque*, be it according to your bill: and negatively thus, *Antiquo*, I deny or reject it.

Sordidus, were they that changed their weed in *raui*. i. (whiles either themselves or their friends were in trouble and danger of judgement) that is to say, put off white, which was the ordinary colour, and did on black: but if they changed their apparel upon sorrow and mourning for the loss of friends or any publick calamity, they were called rather *Pulchri* and *Atrati*.

Sella Curulis, a seat or chair of estate. One of the regal ornaments at *Rome*, belonging to the Kings first: after wards, during the free State, used by Dictators, Consuls, Pro-consuls, Pretors, and Propretors, Censors and Aediles, namely, those called curules, for distinction from those that were Plebeian and last of all, by the emperors in the time of the monarchy. This chair was made of Ivory: on which the above-said magistrates usually sat, not only in the Senat-house when they consulted or gave audience, or when they beheld the publick games & plays, & rode either in triumph, or otherwise in the streets, mounted upon their Chariots: but also at home within their private houses, & wheresoever else it pleased them: & this badge or ensign of honor they had both in time of their magistracy, & afterwards: &

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as such Senators were called *Curules* (for the rest, who had not attained to those dignities, they named *Pedanes*, as some think, for that they went on foot to the Senate or places before mentioned) so those magistrates likewise above said, were entitled by the name of *Curule*. And *Curule* was that chair called either of *Curia*, a chariot, for that they sat thereupon within their chariots; or *Curia*, because it was made crooked or curved like unto our folding chairs.

Senator, A Counsellor of state, a name it was of honour, and not of age, as the word implicth: for to that place men attained often times to very young. *Senat* was the body of that degree and common Council, opposite unto *Plebs* at Rome; namely, where it was *biceps* and the whole people comprehended under *Senatores* and *Plebeius*. *Sestertius*, a small brazen peece of money at Rome, which being the six part of *As*, cometh to a cue or half a farthing.

Sextarius was the Basis of measures in Rome, as *As* of weights; and look how *As* was divided into twelve ounces, so *Sextarius* into twelve *cyathi*; and in measures *Sextarius* was the sixth part of *Lextarius*, which weighed twenty ounces, much about a wine pint and a half among us.

Of *Sibylls* books so often mentioned in *Livy*, which being three in number, were bought of *Sibylla* by King *Tarquinius* the proud, at the price of nine, after she had burned six of them before his face: which books were kept diligently in the Capitol: and wherout the Decemvirs by their learning made report of the will and pleasure of the gods: See *A. Gallus*, book 19 chapter.

Signum was the general name of all the ensignes in the field. But *Aquila* more particularly was the main standard to a whole legion: so called, for that upon the top of a spear was reared and fastned an Eagle in silver at full relief, and the same sometime was gilded standing upon a base or footstall of the same matter. The other ensignes, as well of cohorts, and which were bands of five hundred men usually, as of centuries, companies of hundred; named more especially *vexilla*, and were generally called *Signa*, had the portraiture of And *Minotaurus*, wolves, bores, horses, dragons, together with sundry other devices according to the fancy of the Colonels or captains, containing also the name of the cohort or Century, and of the legion to which they belonged.

Alimonia *Atticum*, As well *ponderale* which was weighed, as *nummularium* or *nummularium*, which was counted in money, was of two sorts: The less, of sixty pound *Attick*, and every one of them consisted of a hundred *Drachma* or *Denarii Romani*. If *Mina* then, be three pound two shillings six pence sterling, the less talent *Attick* amounteth to 187 pound ten shillings of our English money. The great,

or simply the great, talent, in *Livy*, is fourscore *Mina*, and hath proportionable interest of *Siguiterrans*, ad *minut*, which cometh to two hundred and fifty pound sterling. Now was the *Enboick* talent (whereof *Livy* also speaketh) half of *Talentum majus*

Atticum. A forename to many houses of the Romans.

Tessudo, A target-fence, which the Legionary Romans soldiers, made either in the open field when they were overcharged with their enemies, or in approaching the walls of Towns to give assault. In the former, after they had enclosed within them their baggage and light armed men, they rested themselves upon their knees, with their targets close couched together over their heads, to avoid the enemies shot: and after they had well breathed they would rise up all at once again, fresh and lusty to a new skirmish. In the later, they had the like target-roof, but pent-house wise, one overlapped the other after the manner of tiles, and so they scaled walls without offence from above.

Templum hath in *Livy* three significations, 1. a sacred house or chappel dedicated to some god or goddess for divine service, as the temple of *Jupiter* in the Capitol, &c. 2. An open place, from whence a man might see all about him, as having nothing to hinder his prospect, and which likewise might be seen from all parts; whereof cometh the verb *Contemplari*, to behold. And such did the *Angurs* chuse for to take their signs of bird flight. 3. Any place hallowed, although not for divine service, yet for debating of serious human affairs, as their *Curia* and Counsell-Chambers, yea, and the *Rostra* at Rome.

Thalassio, An Auspicate or lucky word used at Bridals or weddings in Rome, like to this among the Greeks, *ὕμνος ὁ ὑμῶν*, *ὕμνος ὕμνος*, *O Hymene*, *O Hymene*, &c. *Catal*.

Thensa whereof *Livy* writeth in the fifth & ninth books, were certain petty chariots or dreyes of silver or ivory, carrying the images and ornaments of their gods in great pomp upon certain high daies: and they who led the horses drawing the same, wore their richest apparel, holding in their hands and training the false reins stretched out at length in solemn wise, whereupon *Festus* thinketh they took the name *Thensa* quasi *Tensa*.

Trabea was a roial robe or mantle of estate, all of deep purple or scarlet only, at the first: but afterwards, embroidered richly with gold. *Livy* seemeth to confound it with *Vestis purpurea*, *Picta*, *Palmata*, and *Triumphalis*. And in truth, all one they were in the principal substance and matter thereof, namely purple or scarlet; but different in the setting out, being embroidered with gold; more or less, distinguished also with white among (for that was a roial colour) as may appear by the *diadem*, which was a white wreath, or band done about the head of Kings, or in the manner of the work: for either it was *palmata*, so called

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called *lucubratiſſima*, i. e. of the broad buttons of gold, and *lucubratiſſima*, to the breadth of ones hand, as *Festus* thinketh: or branched and damasked with flower-work, like to the date-tree: or else *pillari*, of tiſſew or embroidery.

Tribuns of the Commons were certain Magiſtrates, as *Provosts* or *Protectors* of the Commons, to reſtrain and keep down the exceſſive power of the nobility: choſen and confirmed by the general oath of the people, whereby they were *Sacrosancti*, i. e. ſacred or inviolable, and no violence might be done to their perſon. They had a negative voice and power of inhibition, called *Interceſſio*, whereby they might croſs and ſtop the proceedings of the Senate, or any magiſtrat, ſave only the Dictator: even the very Conſuls, whom in ſome caſe they might command.

Tribuns military in Conſuls authority, or *Conſulari*, governed the ſtate of *Rome* many years in ſtead of Conſuls.

Tribuns military in the army, were Colonels bove a thouſand.

Tribuni aſarii, were the keepers of the City a. i. chamber or common Treafure, as it were, the maſters of the exchequer.

Tribus in *Rome*, firſt three, containing each of them ten *Claſſes*: but afterwards they were ſixty-five and thirty, containing all the natural citizens of *Rome*.

Tribu moveri, was a kind of ignominy and diſgrace, when a man was diſplaced by the cenſors out of his own tribe into another more baſe than it, and namely, *ſubſtituta in urbanam*: of which *urbana* there were four, *Suburana*, *Esquilina*, *Palatina* and *Collina*: into which King *Servius* diſtributed thoſe that were manumitted, and *Rullus* afterwards *forenſem tur-*

Triumviri capitales, Three Judges delegat to ſit upon life and death, touching felonious crimes. They were called alſo *Quaſtores par-*

Triumviri Monetales, Three officers for the mint of money, either braſs, ſilver, or gold. They are repreſented in old coins by theſe five letters ſtamped thereupon, *E. A. A. F. F.* ſtood for *aurum, argentum, ſtando, ferendo*: that is, to ſay, for the melting, coining, and ſtamping of braſs, ſilver, and gold. They were afterwards four in number, and named *Quatuor-*

Triumviri or *Treſviri nocturni*, Three overſeers of the night-watch, for fire, &c.

Triumviri Menſarii, Three Commiſſaries deputated for the time, and as occaſion required, in ſtead of bankers or treaſurers to receive a large ſtock of money, and to lay the ſame out upon extraordinary charges, as in the time of the ſecond Punic war, when the City chamber was without money. Which ſtock was put into their hands out of private mens purſes, by way of voluntary benevolence and contribution, as appeareth in the ſix and twentieth book of *Livy*.

Triumviri [Extraordinarii] Three likewiſe to

levy ſouldiers and able men for to bear arms (without the uſual order of ſouldiers) throughout *Italy*, upon ſome ſpecial occaſions.

Triumviri coloniæ deducendis, three commiſſioners who had authority to enrol new inhabitants into any colony: alſo to ſet out and divide the City lands gotten by conqueſt, at their diſcretion among them.

Triumviri alſo there were three, Wardens to overſee the ſatiſfices, the oblations and offerings to the Gods.

Taurilia, certain feſtival games inſtituted (as *Festus* ſaith) by King *Targuius* the proud, for to pacify the infernal gods: upon occaſion of a contagious malady that hapned to women great with child, endangering both them and thoſe they went with: which aroſe upon the corrupt fleſh ſold abroad in the market of oxen and bulls, killed for ſatiſfices: whereupon the money employed about thoſe ſolemnities, was called *Tauricum aſ*.

Solitavilia or *Sacra avilia*, was a ſolemn ſatiſſice at the luſtration, review, or purging of the City every fifth year: and this was called *Luſtrum conditum*. It was performed by killing a bull, a ram, and a bore. At which ſolemnity all that were able to bear arms, aſſembled in order of battail.

Triumph, a ſolemnity in honor of them who have vanquiſhed their enemies: ſo called, for that their ſouldiers reſounded, *Io triumphe*: (as *Varro* thinketh) or of *Triumphus* for *Triumpus*, one of *Æneæ* names, the firſt inventor thereof: or of *Triumphus*, three voices: becauſe it was granted by the ſuffrages of ſouldiers, Senators, and common people: as it may appear in *Livy*, by the triumph of *Luſtulus Emilius*, who had like to have been diſappointed thereof, by his own ſouldiers.

Venus Erycina, *Ovid. 4. E. 8. ſc. 1. nomina colle ſenot*: ſhe was ſo called of a promontory in *Sicily*, called *Eryx*, where there was a goodly temple built in the honour of *Venus*: and afterwards at *Rome* alſo in memorial thereof.

Versus Feſcennini, certain licentious and unchaſt ſongs, uſed among the *Painini* at weddings: the manner whereof, came firſt from the city *Feſcennium* (as ſome think) or as others, *Quia feſcennini putabantur carere*, becauſe they were thought to have vertue to withſtand witchcraft and ſorcery.

Vestales virgines, were certain profeſſed Nuns vowing virginity, who had the keeping of the ſacred fire of *Veſta*. *Neque aliud veſtam, quam puram, intellige flammam. Ovid.* This *Veſta* was brought from *Troy* with the image of *Minerva*, called *Palladium*, and other holy reliques.

Vltre tribua, *legionaria*, were certain City works, for which the cenſors did bargain with the Publicans or undertakers, at a price.

Verbuſa,

Verbena, although it signifieth a speciall herb, called *Verbenaca*, i.e. *verven* in English, and in Greek *ἀνίσχυρος*, because doves delight much to be above it: yet the word is attributed to divers other herbs put to holy use among the Painims, which are called *Sagina* in Latine, and in Greek *ισαγόβρανα*. But *Dioscorides* describeth one sort thereof which runneth by the ground, and groweth not so high as our *vervin* doth, and it seemeth to be that which the Physicians, Herbarists, and Apothecaries call *Gramen*, *ayeweds* in Greek, *dent de chien* in French: and the coich grasse in English: according to which saith *Livy*, *Fa-*

cialis ex arce puram graminis herba attulit. *Victoriatu*, i.e. *quinarium nummus*, A piece of Roman silver coin, half *Denarius*, and a double *Sestertius*, having the image of *Victoria* stamped upon it, either standing on foot crowned with a chaplet of bay, or else carried in a triumphall chariot drawn with four steeds, holding forth in her right hand the foresaid garland, as is to be seen in divers antiquities of coin. *Veteres* signifieth a place in *Rome* called *Veteres*: *Curia* in respect of *Novae*, or certain shops called *Argentaria* of bankers, in regard of others also, named *Novae*.

A Table of all the Orations in *Titus Livius*, by way of division of the general into particular members, fitted for all sorts of speaking or writing, and digested according to the severall places of the three principall heads of all Causes in Oratory, to wit, the *Deliberative*, the *Demonstrative*, and the *Judiciall*.

- To reconciliation and peace-making, between Romans and Albans, by *Metius Suffetius* Prince of the Albans, to *Tullus Hostilius* King of the Romans. 14.H
 Of *Appius Claudius* a Tribune military to the people of *Rome*, for the continuance of war and keeping souldiers in wintering camp at the siege of *Veii*, against the Tribunes of the Commons. 105.A
 Of *L. Lentulus* the chief of the Roman Embassadors to the army and the Consuls, that they would of their own accord yield themselves unto the Samnites at the place called *Caudina furca*, where there was no hope of escaping. 257.C
 Of *Decius Mus* the Consul to the people, that there might be Augurs and Pontifices chosen out of the Commons. 290.H
 Of *Acedonx* the Spaniard to the captain of the *Saguntins*, for the sending back of the hostages into their own Cities, whom *Annibal* had demanded of all the States, and bestowed in safe custody at *Saguntum*. 359.F
 Of *Minutius* the Master of the horse unto his souldiers for joyning camp with *Fabius*, when he perceived that both he and his were saved by the prowess of the said *Fabius*, after himself had unluckily fought against *Annibal*. 363.G
 Of the Roman captives in the overthrow at *Canna* to the Nobles of *Rome*, that they might be ransomed. 378.H
 Of *Varro* the Consul, to the Campan Embassadors, that after so great loss and foil of the Romans they would so undertake war with the Carthaginians, that neither *Annibal* might think himself conqueror, nor the Romans conquered. 383.G
 Of *Fabius Maximus* to the people, That the command in war being taken from *Othacilius*, they should consider what Generall should make head against *Annibal*. 414.G
 Of *P. Sulpitius* the Consul to the people about removing the war into *Macedony*, and to aid the Athenians against *Philip*. 626.I
 Of *Aristhenus*, a Prince of *Achaia* to the Achazans, for the demands of the Roman Embassadors, that they would stand for them against *Philip*. 658.H
 Of *M. Porcius Cato*, in maintenance of the law *Oppia*, which *C. Oppius* a Trib. of the Commons in the Punic war had made for restraint of womens apparell against the Nobles and Tribunes of the Commons, who went about to abrogate the same. 684.H
 Of *Annibal* in the councill of King *Antiochus* concerning the contracting of peace with King *Philip*, and the whole course of war, which *Antiochus* prepared against the Romans. 739.C
 Of reconciliation by *Q. Caecilius Metellus* to *M. Lepidus* and *M. Fulvius* Consors, who for many years together had born a deadly malice and enmity one against another. 1088.K
 Of *M. Servilius* for *L. Aemilius Paulus*, that he might have triumph granted over the Macedonians by him conquered, when his own souldiers withstood the same, for that they were scant in the pillage: and *Servius Sulpitius Galba* opposed himself against it. 1226.H

The per-
swasion.

Dis-
swa-
sion

- Of *Cn. Martius Coriolanus* to the nobility against the Commonalty and the Tribunes in distributing the old provision of corn. 55.D
- The fraudulent dissuasion of *Accius Tullius* King of the Volscians, to the end that the Volscians might not be present at their solemn games, and so he might stir them up against the Romans. 56.O
- Of *M. Furius Camillus* the Dictator, to the people against the Tribunes of the Commons, for going to dwell at *Vetii*, when *Rome* was in a manner raised. 174.N
- Of *Appius Claudius* against the Tribunes of the commons, that the laws concerning debt, the proportion or stint of lands, the elections of Tribunes military, and that one of the Consuls should be of the commons, might not pass. 52.I
- Of *Titus Manlius Torquatus*, that the Roman captives at the Cannian overthrow might not be ransomed. 379.B
- Of *Q. Fabius Maximus*, surnamed *Cunctator*, that the Province of *Africk* might not be decreed to *Scipio*. 564.M
- Of *L. Valerius* a tribune of the commons, in the behalf of women (against the sentence of *Cato*) that the law *Oppia* should be annulled, which was made to suppress the superfluous expence of women. 686.L

Exhorta-
tion

- Of *Tanaquil* the wife of *Tarquin Priscus*, to *Servius* her son in law, that he might succeed in the place of his father in law deceased, who was murdered by two shepherds. 24.M
- Of *Tullia* the daughter of *Tarquinius Priscus* to *L. Tarquinius* her husband, to aspire unto the kingdom, against her father. 27.E
- Of *Accius Tullius* a Prince of the Volscians to his countrymen, wherein he stirred them up against the Romans, for that they were commanded by them to depart the City, so as they might not be present at the publicke games. 57.D
- Of the ancient Senators of *Rome*, for the putting down of the Decemvirship, and restoring the Tribunship of commons. 101.E
- Of the legats of the commonalty of *Rome*, which was gone into mount *Sacer*, by reason of the obstinacy of the Decemvirs, who would not give over their Magistracy: that now having dispatched their business, they would return into their native country, to their own houses, wives, and children. 103.H
- Of *Valerius* the Consul to the horsemen, that they would valiantly fight against the armies of the *Equi* and *Volsci* joyned together in *Algidum*. 108.H
- Of *Horatius* the Consul, Collegue of *Valerius*, to his men, That if their hearts served them, they would set up such a shout, as at the charge of a battell. 107.C
- With a grievous complaint, Of *Caius Canuleius* a Trib. of the Com. unto the commonalty, against the nobility, for the publishing of laws concerning marriage of nobles with commons, and that there might be one Consul a commoner. 115.D
- Of *Volturnus Metius* King of the Volscians to his people against the Romans, that they would with sword make way, where they saw him go before. 130.L
- Of *Mamercus Emilius* the Dictator to his souldiers, being frighted with the strange sight of the burning fire-brands which the Fidenats and Veientians did carry. 132.M
- Of *Sextus Tempanius* a Decurion of horsemen to his souldiers, in a desperat battell, by occasion of the rashness of *Caius Sempronius* the Consul. 135.E
- Of *Camillus* being banished to the Ardeats, That they would take arms for the Romans against the Gauls, who had won the City of *Rome*, all but the Capitoll. 171.C
- Of *Mar. Furius Camillus* the Dictator to his souldiers, terrified at the great number of their enemies, to wit, the Antemnats, Volscians, Latines, and Hernicks. 182.H
- Of *Aulus Cornelius Cossus* the Dictator to his souldiers, and to *Quintius Capitolinus* the Master of the horsemen, against the huge multitude of the Volscians. 184.N
- Of *M. Manlius Capitolinus* (after his imprisonment) to the Commons, whom by gifts and largesse he had allured against the Nobility for suppressing and deposing of Magistrates. 188.L
- Of *M. Popilius* a commoner consul and collegue of *Scipio*, to his souldiers; against the Gauls who had encamped in the Latine territory. 217.E
- Of *M. Valerius Corvinus* the Consul to his men against the Samnits. 222.L
- Of *Pub. Decius* a military Tribune, to *Aulus Cornelius* Consul, when there was no hope seen of escaping out of the hands of the Samnits. 223.F
- Of *P. Decius* a military Tribune, to break in upon the enemy from the hill which he had seized. 224.L
- Of *Mar. Valerius Corvinus* the Dictator to the mutinous and wicked souldiers (who being snared with the pleasures and delights of *Capua*, had plotted to dispossess the Capuans of their City) that they would not fight against their own country. 227.F
- Of *Titus Quintius* the Roman, chosen captain against his will by the mutinous Roman souldiers, That laying aside anger and hope, they would not make triall of the fortune of a battell against them. 228.L
- Of *L. Annius Sctinus* a Prætor of the Latines unto his souldiers, to demand of the Romans, that

- that if they would have them to be in league and society, they should elect from among them one of their Consuls and part of the Senat. 231.D
- Of *Quintus Fabius* the Dictator, to break upon the enemy, to revenge the death of the Roman Citizens, and to recover the Colony from the Samnits. 269.F
- Of *Virginia*, the daughter of *Anlus*, a Patritian, and wife of a Commoner Consul, to a laudable contention in vertue, at the dedication of the altar called *Ara Pudicitia plebeia*. 279.B
- Of *Alorcus* the Spaniard to the Saguntins in exceeding great despair of their state about the articles of peace which *Annibal* at the point of victory did impose upon them as conquered persons. 323.G
- Of *P. Scipio* the Consul to his men against *Annibal* and the Carthaginians. 335.D
- Of *Annibal* to his souldiers against *P. Scipio*. 616.H
- Of *Cneus Lentulus* a military Tribune to *Lucius Aemilius Paulus* Consul, to save himself by flight at the overthrow of *Canna*. 373.C
- Of *Lu. Aemilius* the Consuinate *Cn. Lentulus*, for fortifying of the City of *Rome*. 16.D
- Of *P. Sempronius Tuditanus* a military Tribune to his souldiers, who had escaped out of the Cannian overthrow, That they would make way by sword and valour through the thickest troops of the enemies. 374.I
- Of *L. Pinarus* captain of the Roman garrison at *Enna* to his souldiers, for to prevent treason and treachery intended. 432.I
- Of *L. Martius Septimius* the General, to his souldiers, That they would charge upon the army of *Asdrubal* to revenge the death of the *Scipio's*. 466.L
- Of *P. Scipio* to the old souldiers, to make war beyond *Iberus*. 518.L
- Of *Scipio* to his souldiers at the siege of new *Carthage*. 497.F
- Of *Porcius Cato* to his souldiers, That they would recover by arms and prowes the rule and government which the Romans had lost beyond *Iberus*. 691.A
- (A cold exhortation) Of *T. Quintius* to his souldiers at the siege of *Lacedamon*. 699.C
- Of *Acilius* the Consul to his souldiers against *Antiochus*. 744.O
- Of the Rhodians in the Senat, with a petition for reward, after *Antiochus* was overcome by *L. Scipio* with the help of the Rhodians. 977.C
- Of *Cn. Manlius* the Consul to his souldiers against the gallogreeks, for that they had aided *Antiochus* against the Romans. 996.H
- Of *Perseus* the Macedonian King, in regard of the hope of victory against the Romans. 997.E
- Of *M. Furius Camillus* to the people of *Rome* against the Tribunes of the Commons, that leaving the ruins of *Rome*, they would not go to *Veii* another City. 174.N
- Of *M. Valerius Corvinus* Dictator, to the mutinous and rebellious souldiers from fighting against their native country. 227.F
- Of *Pacuvius Calavius* the Campan to his son, not to kill *Annibal*. 386.K
- Of *Vibius Virius* to the Campans, That they should not yield themselves to the Romans. 478.N
- Of *Metius Suffetius* captain of the Albans, to *Tullus Hostilius* King of the Romans, about peace making between Romans and Albans. 15.K
- Of *Tullus Hostilius* King of the Romans to his own souldiers, concerning the treachery of *Metius Suffetius*. 17.D
- Of the two Delegates, *Valerius* and *Horatius*, about the demands of the Commons, who through the Decemvirs fault were departed into mount *Sacer*, for that they having finished the time of their government refused notwithstanding to leave their Magistracy. 102.M
- Of *Appius* the Decemvir at the resigning of the Decemvirship. 103.A
- Of *M. Duilius* a Commoner, for hope of liberty after punishment taken of the Decemvirs. 106.L
- Of *Camillus* to the Tusculan Senators, about sending Embassadors to *Rome* for treaty of peace. 193.D
- Of *Quintus Cincinnatus* the Dictator to *Anlus Sempronius* the Generall of the horsemen, concerning the manner of war against the Preneestins. 195.B
- Of *Camillus* the Dictator to the Quirites, concerning the opposition of the Tribunes of the Commons. 200.L
- Of the Roman Consul to the Campans, that they should not take arms against the Samnits, with the answer of the Campan Embassadors. 221.F
- Of *Furius Camillus* to the LL. of the Senat, as touching the Latines subdued, and by what means they might keep them quiet in continuall peace. 238.K
- Of *Spurius Posthumius* the Consul (who was put under the yoke at *Caudina Furca*) in the Senat, of the peace made at *Caudium*. 259.E
- Of *Anlus Cornelius Arvina* the Fœcial herald to the Samnits at the delivery of the sureties that undertook the peace. 261.D

	Of <i>Annibal</i> to the Spanish souldiers, about removing the war.	327.B
	Of <i>Fabius Maximus</i> the Cunctator to <i>Æmylius</i> the Consul, concerning <i>Varro</i> , and the order of war-service with the enemy.	363.F
	Of <i>Maharba</i> the captain of the souldiers to <i>Annibal</i> the Victor, that he would make use of his victory: with the answer of <i>Annibal</i> .	374.L
	Of <i>Perolla</i> the Campane to <i>Pacuvius Calavins</i> his father about the killing of <i>Annibal</i> , with the answer and dehorration of the father from that wicked deed.	386.L
	Of <i>Annibal</i> to his souldiers against <i>Claudius Marcellus</i> .	514.I
	Of <i>P. Scipio</i> to <i>Masanissa</i> King of the <i>Masseyli</i> , who fell in love with <i>Sophonisba</i> wife of <i>Syphax</i> , King of the Numidians and daughters of <i>Asdrubal</i> .	604.L
	Of <i>T. Quintius Flaminius</i> in the generall councill of <i>Greece</i> , for making war upon the tyrant <i>Nabis</i> , by reason of <i>Argos</i> the noble City of <i>Greece</i> , which by him was held.	694.M
	Of <i>P. Sulpitius</i> the Roman Embassador to <i>Minio</i> the chief of the friends of <i>Antiochus</i> who was fled, for that he refused conference with the delegates.	719.F
Admonition	Of <i>T. Quintius</i> to the Achæans concerning the Island <i>Zacynthus</i> , which they pleaded to be under their subjection.	749.B
	Of <i>T. Quintius</i> to <i>M. Atilius</i> the Consul in defence of the <i>Ætolians</i> .	752.I
	Of <i>T. Quintius</i> to the states of the <i>Ætolians</i> about reconciliation with the Romans.	16.L
	Of King <i>Eumenes</i> to <i>L. Æmylius</i> the Prator, that he would not conclude peace with <i>Antiochus</i> , but by the authority of the Senat and grant of the people of <i>Rome</i> .	765.C
	Of <i>Scipio</i> to the petition of <i>Heracles</i> the Embassador of <i>Antiochus</i> for peace.	774.D
	Of <i>Scipio</i> to the petition of <i>Zensis</i> the Embassador of King <i>Antiochus</i> about conditions of peace.	778.M
	Of <i>P. Scipio Africanus</i> accused for robbing the common treasure to the commons; as touching his exploits.	986.L
	Of King <i>Eumenes</i> in the Senat, concerning <i>Persens</i> King of the Macedonians.	1187.B
	Of <i>P. Licinius Calvus</i> to the people, that they would bestow the honor of the Tribuneship freely offered unto him, upon his son that sued for it.	999.F
	Of Embassadors yielding <i>Falerii</i> to the Senat.	163.E
	Of peace by the Tusculan legats in the Senat.	203.C
	Of <i>Sextus Tullius</i> to the Dictator, that he would give the souldiers leave to fight.	211.D
	Of the Campan legats in the Senat for aid against the Samnites.	226.M
	Of <i>Annius Setinus</i> the Prator of the Latines to the LL. of the Senat, that one of the Consuls might be chosen out of the Latines.	232.I
	Of <i>Quintus Fabius Maximus</i> the Consul elect to the people, that he might appoint <i>Publius Decius</i> a staid and discreet man to be his colleague.	297.C
Petition	Of <i>Minutius</i> the Master of the horsemen, to <i>Fabius</i> the Dictator, when he joynd camp with him.	364.I
	Of <i>Sophonisba</i> the wife of <i>Syphax</i> , to <i>Masanissa</i> , that he would not suffer her to come in the proud and cruell hands of any Roman.	603.A
	Of <i>Annibal</i> to <i>Antiochus</i> , that he would account him amongst his chiefest friends, in opposition to the Romans, against whom he had fought six and thirty years.	721.A
	Of peace by <i>Zensis</i> the legat of King <i>Antiochus</i> to the Romans.	778.L
	Of King <i>Eumenes</i> in the Senat, for reward and recompence of labour employed, and charges spent in the Roman wars against <i>Antiochus</i> .	781.E
	Of <i>Romulus</i> to <i>Jupiter Stator</i> that he would assist the Romans against the Sabins.	8.N
	Of <i>Quintius Fabius</i> the chief of the City, to the Tribunes of the Commons, that <i>Quinquaginta</i> might not be created, for setting down laws and conditions concerning the Consuls power.	88.H
Prayer	Of <i>Virginus</i> to the souldiers, whose offer of honourable dignity he refused.	100.L
	Of <i>Camillus</i> the Dictator to <i>Apollo</i> and <i>Juno</i> at the siege and assault of <i>Vei</i> .	159.G
	Of <i>P. Decius</i> the Consul, when he devowed himself for the Roman legions in the Latine war, who afterward by his death recovered victory to the Romans.	235.D
	Of <i>Arifthenus</i> the Prator of the Achæans, to <i>T. Quintius</i> , that he would deliver and set free from the tyrant <i>Nabis</i> , the most ancient City of the Greeks, <i>Argos</i> .	695.C
Thanksgiving	Of <i>Romulus</i> to <i>Jup. Feretrius</i> , at the offering up of spoils, and dedication of the Temple.	8.H
	Of the Saguntins to the LL. of the Senat, with a gratulation for their victory.	563.D
Reconciliation	Between Romans and Albans by <i>Metius Sufferius</i> .	14.H
An Intimation	Of <i>C. Minius Scævola</i> , to <i>Porfena</i> King of the Clusines.	43.B

- Congratulation { Of *Papyrius* the Dictator to the people, about the absolution and pardon of *Q. Fabius* Master of the horsemen, who against his Edict had fought. 281.B
 Of the *Syracusians* to *Marcellus*, for killing of *Annibal's* favourites, who held and oppressed *Syracusa*, and for reconciliation with the Romans. 460.M
- Commendation { Of King *Eumenes* son of *K. Attalus*, for the Romans victory against *Antiochus*, with a petition of rewards for cost and labour employed in that war. 782.I
 Of *P. Scipio* to *Lucius* Prince of the *Celtiberians*, for rendring to him his spouse. 503.F
 Of *Spurius Ligustinus* the Centurion to the Commons, with a request that they would assign him a place of service worthy his deserts in the Macedonian war. 1057.F
- Praise { Of *Scipio* by *Annibal*, with a petition of peace. 613.A
 Of *Antigonus*, by *Philip* King of the Macedonians, whom he thought worthy to wear the crown of *Macedony*, disinheriting his son *Persens* a parricide. 983.C
- Dispraise { Of the arrogance of *Caso*, by *Aulus Virginius* to the Commons. 80.H
 Of the School-Master of the *Faliscans* Treachery, by *Camillus*. 163.B
 Of the filthy ceremonies of the *Bacchanals*, with a solemn invocation of the gods, by *Posthumius* Consul, to the people. 959.C
- Accusation, { Of *L. Quintius Cincinnatus* the Consul, to the people against *Aulus Virginius*. 84.H
 Of *Aulus Virginius* against *Appius* the defendant. 104.K
 Of *L. Sextius* a Commoner Tribune, against *M. Posthumius* a military Tribune to the people. 142.H
 Of *T. Manlius* The Consul against *T. Manlius* his son, whom he had beheaded, for that in the Latine war he fought against the enemy without his commandment. 234.H
 Of a recrimination of *C. Manius* the Dictator against certain noblemen, who accused him of ambition or unlawful suing for dignities, because they might not come to their answer when they were accused. 272.H
 Of *P. Sempronius* a Tribune of the Commons against *App. Claudius*, who within the lawfull time, that is to say, eighteen months, would not resign up his office of Censorship. 276.K
 Of *Hanno* against the *Carthaginians*, about the league broken with the Romans by *Annibal*, whom the Roman Embassadors required to have punished, as the author guilty of that crime. 322.I
 Of *P. Scipio* against the mutinous souldiers, who in his absence had thrust the Colonels out of the camp, and bestowed the sovereign command upon the chiefeest heads of that sedition. 556.H
 Of the Legats of King *Philip* in the Councill of the *Aetolians* against the Romans, with a dissuasion that the *Aetolians* should not side with them. 637.A
 Of *L. Furius Purpurio* and *P. Aemilius*, against *Cn. Manlius*, that he might not have a triumph granted. 935.C
 Of *Persens* the son of *Philip* the Macedonian against his brother *Demetrius*, whom he accused of Parricide. 957.F
 Of *Q. Martius* the Roman Embassador against *Persens* King of the Macedonians, for the covenants of league broken. 1045.G
- Defence { Of *M. Manlius Capitolinus* before *Corn. Cossus* the Dictator, and the LL. of the Senat. 186.M
 Of *Sp. Posthumius* against the Tribunes of the Commons, who hindered the submission made unto the *Samnites* at *Caudina Furca*. 297.C
 With a perswasion, Of *Hanno* to the *Carthaginians*, that they would think that joy vain which was risen upon *Annibal's* victory over the Romans at *Canna*. 388.L
 Of the Embassadors of those souldiers who remained after the *Cannian* overthrow to *Mar. Marcellus*, concerning the disgrace offered to them by the Senat, with a petition of a better state and condition. 442.O
 Of a recrimination, Of *M. Marcellus* against the *Syracusan* Embassadors, who complained of injuries done unto them by him. 490.O
 Of *Cornelius Scipio* Consul, against *Q. Fabius Maximus*, who dissuaded that the province of *Affrica* should be granted to *P. Scipio*. 567.D
 With a recrimination, Of *Annibal* to the *Carthaginians*, who blamed him when he laughed in the generall mourning of the City. 607.F
 Of the Roman Legats in the Councill of the *Aetolians* against *Philip*, with a perswasion, that the *Aetolians* should abide in league and amity with the Romans. 927.G
 Of *Philip* the King, to those imputations which the Romans and others did challenge him for. 666.H
 Of *Nabis* tyrant of the *Argives* to *T. Quintius* in the generall Councill of *Greece*. 698.L
 Of *Cn. Manlius* the Cos. against *L. Furius* and *P. Aemilius*, who interposed their negative, that he should not triumph for the war which he managed against the gallogreeks. 975.D
 OF

- Of crimes objected to the Achzans by the Lacedemonians, by *Lycortas* their Prætor, before *Appius Claudius* chief of the Roman Legats. 929.E
- Of *Demetrius K. Philip* his son, accused of parricide, against his brother *Persens*. 933.B
- Of *Arco* brother of *Xenarchus* the Prætor of the Achzans, for *Persens K.* of the Macedonians against *Callicrates*, who had perswaded that no society was with him to be contracted. 1087.A
- Defence { Of *Persens* the Macedonian K. to *Quintus Martins* the Roman Ambassador. 1021.F
- Of *L. Emylius Paulus* for making delay in his going into *Macedony*, with an admonition to the people, that they would not feed the rumours of war, but keeping in their prattling, for that it was a great hinderance to them that were to be employed in war-affairs. 1015.C
- Of *L. Emylius Paulus* to his souldiers, wherein he sheweth the reason why he delayed battell. 1019.G
- Excuse Of *Scipio* to the petition of *Annibal* concerning the conditions of peace. 614.L
- The up- { Of *P. Horatius* to the people of *Rome* for his son accused of felony. 16.L
- braiding { Of *Himilco* a man of the Barchine faction, against *Hanno*, who accused the Carthaginians for the breach of the league with the Romans by *Annibal*. 388.L
- Of *Lu. Quintius Cincinnatus*, against the licentiousness of the Nobles in creating of Magistrates. 84.H.85.D
- Of *C. Pontius* Generall of the Samnits against the intolerable pride and inhumane cruelty of the Romans, with a perswasion to a just and lawfull war. 255.B
- Investive { Of the same *C. Pontius* to the Roman Fæciall herald at the delivery of Consuls, Captains, Treasurers, and Colonels, sureties for the Caudine peace. 697.G
- Of *M. Ruffus Minutius*, Generall of the horsemen against *Quintus Fabius* the Dictator, for his delays and cowardise against *Annibal*, besieging *Sinnessa* a Colony of the Romans, even before their eyes. 355.E
- Of *T. Quintius* against *Nabis* the Argive tyrant, for that he accounted of the Roman allies as enemies, and had joyned himself with their enemies against the Romans. 699.C
- Exposu- { Of *Veturia* to *Coriolanus* her son, making war upon the Romans for the Volscians. 58.L
- laion { Of *Mino* the principall friend of *Antiochus*, to the Roman Embassadors. 719.D
- Of Rhodian Embassadors in the Senat with a clearing of crimes objected. 1014.O
- Purgati- { Of *P. Valerius Publicola* Consul to the people, in the case of seeking to be King. 82.H
- on { With a challenge, Of one of the Carthaginians to the Roman Legats, shewing upon what plot and advice *Annibal* had besieged *Saguntum*. 325.E
- And lamentation of *Lucretia* to her husband, her father and friends, for the violence offered her. 34.I
- Of *P. Valerius Publicola* Consul, to the Tribunes and the whole Communalty against *Appius Herdonius*, who with banished men and slaves had in the night seized the Roman Cattle. 82.M
- Or a grievous lamenting with an exhortation of *T. Quintius Capitolinus* the fourth time Consul to the Commons, touching the discords of the Citizens. 108.M
- Of *Perolla* the Campan, to *Pacuv*, his father, that he had thrice betrayed his country. 386.B
- Of *Magius Decius* to the multitude of the Campans gathered about him, untill by the commandment of *Annibal* he was bound and led to execution. 387.C
- Com- { Of the Samnit Embassadors to *Annibal* that he would aid them against the Romans. 495.F
- plaint { Of the Locrenian Embassadors in the Senat, against *Q. Pleminius* Captain of the Roman souldiers, for the great injuries offered to them by him and his souldiers. 581.G
- Of *Philip* the Macedonian to the Roman Legats. 892.L
- Of *Philip* the Macedonian touching the unfortunate estate of him and his children. 899.G
- Of *Callicrates* the Achzan against *Persens* King of Macedony. 953.B
- Of *Lu. Emylius Paulus*, as concerning his wonderfull calamity and of his triumph, which was (as it were) a spectacle and mocking stock of this worlds mutability. 1113.F

- Of the Volscians to the Roman Legats, who after the loss and ruin of *Saguntum*, required of them to stand firm in league and society with the Romans against the Carthaginians. 404.N
- Rebuke { Of *M. Marcellus* to his souldiers, in that they abandoned their camp with that fearfulness, whereby they lost the opportunity of fight, which *Hannibal* refused. 637.A
- Of *Aristhenus* Prator of the Achzans against them: for that in their Council they were silent, and answered not to the Roman Legats. 620.I
- Of *L. Aemilius Paulus* to *K. Persens*, because he submitted to the Roman Legats, with an admonition to his men of the change and alteration of this world. 1205.F
- Humble { Of *L. Virginus* to his souldiers, whereby he refused the majesty of a Decemvirship offered unto him without his seeking. 122.H
- intreaty. { Of *Titus Manlius* the Consul to the Latine Embassadors, requiring of the Senat, That one of the Consuls might be chosen out of the Latines, and that they might have a part in the Senat. 283.E
- Of *Isilius* against the Decree of *Appius* the Decemvir, to the end that *Virginia* his Spouse should not remain without her fathers house. 118.H
- Of *Lu. Virginus* the father against *Appius Claudius* for his daughter *Virginia*. 119.A
- Of *Cornelius Cossus* Dictator against *Marcus Manlius Capitolinus*, for that by his excessive gifts he had stirred up the people against the nobility. 224.L
- Comm- { Of *Caius Fabius* the Dictator, touching the rashness of *Rufus Minutius* Generall of the
nation, or
threat- horsemen.
- ning. { Of *P. Cornelius Scipio* against *Cacilius Metellus* and other young men of *Rome*, who plotted to abandon *Italy* for fear of *Hannibal*. 495.E
- Of *Tib. Gracchus* to his souldiers, of penalty to be inflicted upon those slaves who refused to fight. 519.C
- Of *Caius Junius*, a Tribune of the Commons, To *Tempanius* an horseman, about *Sempronius* the Consul, who had shamefull abandoned his Camp in the war against the Volscians. 194.M
- Interro- { Of *M. Manlius Capitolinus* to the gods, when he was led to prison for a sedition. 231.B
- gative. { Of *Lu. Papyrius* the Dictator, to *Fabius Maximus* General of the horsemen, for that against his Decree he had fought with the Samnits. 304.H
- Of King *Philip*, and of *Titus Quintus* the Consul, touching conditions of peace. 829.D

FINIS.

21417

A
SUPPLEMENT
OF THE
SECOND DECAD
OF
LIVIE'S ROMAN
HISTORY.

Written in
LATINE
AND
DEDICATED
TO
CHRISTINA,
• QUEEN of SWEDES, GOTHES,
VANDALS, &c.

BY
J. FREINSHEMIUS.

Newly Translated into ENGLISH.

LONDON,
Printed for Joshua Kirton, Abel Roper, Gabriel Bedell,
and George Sawbridge, 1659.

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To the High and Mighty Princess, and his most
Gracious L A D Y,

CHRISTINA,

By the Grace of God Queen of the S W E D E S, G O T H S,
V A N D A L S and the adjoining Provinces.

Madam,

I hath happily fain out, that your wonderful Humanity and Learning, rarely to be found in so great a Majesty, have given me advantage of omitting one of those two Subjects which usually are the Contents of Dedicatory Epistles. For I have so many reasons to declare why I present this Supplement to your Majesty, that if I were forced likewise to declare the Argument of the Work, to what End, and in what Manner it is contrived, I could not accomplish it without a long and tedious Epistle. But now those Your two Virtues I mentioned, have freed me of this Necessity, seeing out of your Humanity you condescended to read the Work while it was in Composing, and by your Learning more fully understood, then I or any other could expound what was superfluous, and what wanting in it. I will not therefore accuse the meanness of my Wit or Learning, or any other thing, that this my Design hath no more happily succeeded, (Let those men pretend shortness of time, multitude of business or incommodities of sickness, who aim at other Glory besides that of Obedience) it sufficeth me, I am conscious, that in writing this, I have observed the benefit of your Studies, and in making it Publick been Obedient to Your Will. For when in compiling the Relicks of L I V Y's HISTORY, which at that time you diligently read, I had finished this Work as a Bridge over a broken Passage, You were pleased (according to Your excellent and well known Goodness) to expresse Your liking of my Endeavors; and, as Your Self thereby had reaped Benefit, so to judge them fit of Publick View, that others might likewise be profited by them. Wherein You manifested both your Wisdom and your Bounty: Your Bounty, in that what was solely intended for your own service, you were willing should be useful unto all: Your Wisdom in that, in this new beginning and encrease of Learning, which by your example and Help the North doth greedily receive and happily improve, you have encouraged other men to exercise their Wit and Industry in publishing more Accurate and Learned Writings, when they shall have understood with how much Candor and Clemency You accept this rude and unpolished Piece of mine. When therefore I see not only those who are born unto your service, but many also of strange Nations most willingly entertain and execute your Commands: Should I at all be backward in my Duty, who, if not alone, yet amongst a few of your most Faithful and nearest Subjects, am in a peculiar manner obliged by your Majesty? I am indeed His
* 2 who

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who created all things, neither from any other do I expect a True and Lasting Felicity; neither do I bear a mind inferior to so great a Hope: But as to the Offices of this Life I am by him bestowed upon your Majesty, as by infallible Arguments, to your self not unknown, may be demonstrated. Wherefore my constant and resolved Rule of living (which, if I attain not unto, as I am willing and ought to do, yet I aim at and endeavour) is, to attend God's will only in those things which are expressly commanded or forbidden; in Actions indifferent and arbitrary to be guided by your Majesty alone; which I the rather strive to perform, because I know it is your Pleasure. And truly this were a sufficient tie of my Obedience and Reverence, if you had not otherwise both by your Virtues and Deserts obliged me, both which are so ample and of so effectual an Influence, that it is hard to say whether in Contemplation of them I am more willing to serve you, or for other Reasons more strictly bound to it. I find my self now involved in a very doubtful Case, and on both sides much perplexed: For if I say what I have intended, as my desire is, and as is Just and Right, I may happily not be relished by your Majesty, who do more freely exercise your Virtues, and fasten your Favours, then willingly hear them repeated. And if in the Mention thereof I shall omit any thing, I shall fail in my Duty, and Detract from Your Praises, which (with as fervent a desire and good will as I prosecute them) had I liberty to expatiate, I could in no wise according to their Dignity set forth, much less being streightened within the narrow limits of an Epistle. Nevertheless I am confident, that the Temper of the business (which your self cannot disallow) is agreeable, as to the present purpose, so to both our Dispositions. For I abhor Flattery as doth your Majesty; neither am I more willing to speak any thing in such a strain, then Your self to hear it. And, according to your discerning Spirit, you are not ignorant that I am of this mind, that if it were in my choice whether to offend You in doing You Good, or please You by Flattery, I should without scruple chuse the former, which few Subjects can do and few Princes endure. Hinder not therefore my desires which cannot offend on that part: Give us leave to acknowledge what we have received; and if miserable men are freely allowed to complain, why should your Majesty forbid us modestly to boast of our Happinesse under such a Prince as Your self? Neither ought this, the only Reward of your good Deeds, or the Fruit of our Thankfulness to perish; we then again a fresh receive benefits when we repeat them. But I see what is happened, whilst I beg leave to Write I loose both Time and Space. What therefore I am about to say, shall be into a few Periods digested, and I shall of every kind speak somewhat only in Summe. As to those your Virtues in herewith you have magnificently Adorned this Empire; that I may briefly declare what I think, I shall borrow a Sentence from our beloved Tacitus; in which Author, You know, Tiberius reproacheth C. Cæsar, That he had all the Vices of L. Sylla, but not so much as one of his Virtues: which may justly be inverted as to Your Majesty, that You have acquired all the Virtues of Your Predecessors, omitting what Vices were in them, insomuch as You have augmented their Ancient Honours by Virtues new and heretofore unknown to this Kingdom. I believe that former Ages wanted not excellent Kings, yet, however it came to pass, the Sweetick affairs never ascended to any illustrious or durable greatness in their dayes; the Praise of that work properly belongs to the Gustavides, of whom not any one ever Reigned without some Memorable profit to the Countrey: for even the Error of some have proved of good use; the Case of Ericus and Sigismund instructeth Posterity wherein Kings may offend: and others are admonished by the severity of Charles, how unsafe it is to provoke Princes to Anger. But what Pen or what Oration can sufficiently declare the

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the Immortal benefits reaped from the two Gustavi? They were both so great, that if you compare them with others, you will easily prefer them before others; but if you compare them between themselves, you will rather conclude that this was Greatest and the other Greatest, then discern which of the two excelled. For it is a great Error and blindness of judgment to measure the Greatnesse of Kings by the outward Splendor of their Actions, and respect that only.

It happens often to these Stars on Earth as to those in Heaven, that some indeed are the greater though others seem to be so. But this is manifest, that God had Ordained by two Princes especially to advance the glorie of this Kingdom, even by GUSTAVUS the Great, and his Daughter CHRISTINA. He indeed was the more endowed with Warlike Virtues, yet so as when he had leisure from the Field, he did most Accurately and Skilfully manage affairs at Home: God having reserved Your selfe, Madam, to a greater work, the Recoverie, Establishment and Ornament of Peace, hath every way accomplished You for so great a Task; yet so, as while there was a necessity of War, You could not complain of any thing wanting in Your self to the highest Praise in such an Employment. For whereas little is to be attributed to bodily exercise, You were found eminent in all those Virtues of the Mind which are required in the best Emperors, as Counsel in Perplexities, Constancy in Adversity, Moderation in Prosperity, Diligence, Wisdom, Faithfulness in all things; whereby after many and famous Victories, You concluded Peace with Denmark in the first year of your Reigne, and in the fourth year a most glorious and advantageous one with the German Emperor. Which peace how and by what means you have adorned, I cannot in this Hast declare; I shall only name the encrease of the City, many Towns built and well constituted, Justice established, the People eased in their Taxes, Manners amended, the Honor and Reward of Learning encreased, the Universities enriched, Schools erected, Merchandize flourishing, many Manufactures newly invented, the Ground manured beyond the simplicity of the Ancients; your care and diligence adhibited toward the Commodity of Travel, measuring of High-ways, building of Inns, and indeed toward all things which we see, which we are sensible of, and the benefit whereof we enjoy; so that I may justly account those my Countrymen of Germany happy who shall hereafter rest under your Protection: whom I would have, with my self and all other Your Subjects, think no sign surer of God's Anger or Favour toward them, then as he shall long preserve, or suddenly take away such a Prince from amongst them. If there be any who dare not lift up their Eyes by reason of the misery of times past, or are so hindred by the Interposition of clouds that they could not hitherto behold this Bright Star, be comforted with its Aspect, and refreshed with its Heat: They may justly be encouraged to expect all things happy and prosperous near at hand, not only by the greatnesse of so Benigne and Favourable a Light, but also by the Constancy thereof. For the Splendor of it is not derived, as that of a Candle or Torch, which failing, the remaining substance appears fouler; but like that of the Sun, True, and Pure, and Imate, neither to be consumed by Time, or extinguished by Violence: which now shineth openly to those who dwell afar off, and will so dispell all Clouds from before their Eyes, that you shall find none so blind as cannot see it, or impudently injurious to their own judgments as to denie they see it. But though it be troublesome to me to draw my mind from this sweet and pleasing Contemplation, I shall not endeavour to comprehend the mention of these Virtues within the narrow Limits of this Paper, this Time, or this my little Wit, which ought in whole Volumes to be declared to all Nations and Ages. I shall make bold to be more Prolixe in the Commemoration of your benefits bestowed-

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bestowed on me, as being not so well known to the World, and more properly belonging to the Causes of this Dedication, as likewise not unworthy Monuments of your Virtues. But I must first acknowledge the Providence of God which I have alwaies found most manifestly present in this businesse. When for many years in Germany I continued in such a condition of life (for many reasons thereunto perswading me) as not resolutely addicted to any particular Profession, yet ready to accept of any which should lawfully offer it self: in all that while no man determined my liberty with obligation to any calling. In the mean time I spent not that my leisure in idleness, but bestowed it in those Studies to the which (by what afterward hapned, I evidently understood) I was from my infancie ordained. The time now grew on, Madam, wherein I was to be dedicated to Your Majesties Service, and Benedict Skytte came to Argentoratus, whom Your Majestie hath deservedly honoured with many Favors, and lastly with the Dignitie of a Senator. By him invited I came to Your Universitie, where instructing the Youth with care and diligence, though I had an earnest desire to see Your Majestie, yet I preferred the necessitie of my present Office, before the sweetnesse of an happinesse not yet due to me. When I had now three years been debarred of any Conference with your Majestie, having lately taken upon Your Self the Administration of Your Realm, upon occasion of a Funeral You came to Upsal. And from that time I shall begin the Commemoration of Your Favours towards me. The last Office of Love was then performed to my Patron John Skytte Senator, whose praises according to the Dutie of my Place, I endeavoured to set forth in a Funeral Oration; and this was the first Speech I made in Your hearing: But when by the cheerfulnes of your most Serene Countenance, You discovered both Your understanding of what was spoken, and Your Favour to the Speaker, I was so infinitely possessed with Pleasure and Admiration, that thenceforward I resolved to esteem You not only as a Queen of Me and Your Kingdomes, but Princesse of all Virtues and Wisdom. The same Favour I received two years after, when as often as you came to Upsal, you heard my Discourses upon any Subject you propounded. Intending afterward to accumulate more Favours upon me, You invited me to Court, not only beyond my Hope, but besides my Thoughts of any such thing: what You there bestowed upon me, can scarce by a long Oration be declared: You made me Keeper of Your Librarie, then which I know none so soon after its first beginning, more plentiful in Books, which hath been a main help to me in Compiling this Supplement. You gave me the Title of your Historiographer, that when you should think fit I might deliver to Posterity the Memory of things done or to be transacted. You afforded me Lodging in your Court, not only very convenient, but (which is rarely found in so frequented a Place) very private and quiet also, and a Stipend, which by experience I have found, very subject to Envy. And whereas these may be esteemed Favours of the highest rank, you have, by what after followed, caused them to be esteemed small ones: For when you desired the Knowledge of the Greeke Tongue, that you might from their own Mouths understand the sense of the most excellent writers in Civil and Moral Wisdom, you did so by degrees induce me to the Office of your Instructor therein, being ignorant of your Purpose, that at length I understood I had taught much indeed, when on the sudden I found you had Learnt so much. By this your Art in that small time you could allow out of two years to such a Study (being a Queen actually Reigning, waging VVar, often holding Parliaments, every day Councils, and constantly distracted with other business) you made such an improvement that after Trial in Polybius and Plutarch, you read Plato also, and that with such understanding, that little wanting my help, you could hastily Translate him into Elegant Latine in most
fig.

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significant Expressions, and of Your self observe and for true reasons Correct the Error of Translations made with the great pains of Learned men. Whereby I reaped so great and various fruits of purest pleasure, as I could not but often ingenuously confesse to my most intimate acquaintance, That whatsoever Time, or Labour, or Study, or Care I bestowed in this employment (for Trouble, I call my Conscience to witnesse, I never felt any) I thought all abundantly recompensed with that reward I could every hour receive from you. For to omit other benefits, what an advantage was even in this, to be every day in the presence of so great a Prince, to be seen and countenanced by You, to obtain the Title, Place and Honour of a Favourite? Truly my Happinesse seemed so great to me, that I began to be afraid of it. For though, by the Grace of God, I ever put off these my worldly Accoutrements, as knowing I must one day leave them or they me, yet out of impotency of mind I might by too great happiness have grown insolent, but that by certain Arguments I learnt in time to know that so great a fortune was not conferred as Due to any man's Merits, but as the free gift of your Grace and good will. And in this so high and great an Happinesse there are many excellent Circumstances particularly considerable, I am tied only to my own Vocation, employed only in mine own Studies, that is, I am so free that I am not employed and wearied in any service not proper to my own Office and calling. Neither have you a care of my Time and Health only, but also of my Modesty and Bashfulness. I appear not but at the time of your Studies, neither then do I break in without command, to stand as an idle and dumb Spectator, vainly loosing time, or boldly vaunting of my Liberty and Familiarity. Neither is my work base or vile, we do nothing which requires either Secrecy or Excuse; whosoever will not betray his own ignorance must needs confesse the employment on my part worthy of a man, on yours becoming a Prince. Hitherto I have related part of the Favours you have bestowed on my Person; it remains likewise I should acknowledge those Favours (as much more bestowed on me) which you have conferred on others by my Intercession. In which confession I have cause to fear, that I shall not only contract Envy to my selfe, but give Occasion to others to accuse your Majestie, as being too facile in granting what is requested. To these I shall answer, That I do indeed acknowledge and admire your Goodnesse, which hath far exceeded my Deserts, and that others also may obtain equal or greater Favours if they ask them with the same Respect that I have done: as first, I never desired any thing but what was Just and Equal; nor secondly, any thing misbecoming the Office and Majestie of my Prince; thirdly, by all those Boons I have obtained for others, I know not that I am a penny the richer. But in this strait, wherein it is easier to think of more things then to write them, many things come into my mind which I am forced to pretermitt. This I shall say, I am in doubt whether I am more beholding to your Majestie for small favours bestowed at my Request, or for the great ones; for as these carried the greater Price, the others did more manifest your Humanitie. That your mind capable of highest things would condescend to so little ones. We Read of a King, who when a Phylosopher asked of him a Groat, said, It was too little for a King to give; when he presently asked a Talent, said, It was too much for a Phylosopher to receive. Your Majestie hath more magnificently used the same Method, in Your smaller favours, regarding what was fit for me to receive; in the greater, what became Your self to give. With the like Clemency You have had compassion on some miserable men (whom I therefore commended to Your Majestie because none had pity on them) and done that which I dare yet scarce speak, both for the Greatnesse of the Thing, and for the Greatnesse of the Thanks due, which cannot

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cannot at present be expressed. But I may happily be accused of Folly, that I should think your favours may be more Elegantly declared or praised by any man's Oration, then by your own Deeds and Works; or that I should think you stand in need of my Commendation for having bountifully remitted to the City of the Vangiones the greater part of their Taxes, by which benefit I believe the City was preserved, and shall do well and justly if they honour your Majestie as a second Foundress; You have hereby for ever obliged the Commonwealth of the Vangiones, and me in particular, making us your everlasting Debtors. For I know not who of Right oweth most to you, they who received the benefit or he who procured it at your Hands. Is there any thing can be equalled to, or preferred before what I have already said? Yes surely, even this; In that you have promised to make me a better man, not, as all men are improved, by Laws and Manners, nor, as many, by Example, but, as yet none, by Your care and Diligence in Conversing with me: For you have promised to make Enquiry with me (that is to direct and shew me) how Wise and Prudent men ought to be qualified, and by what signes they may be discovered; which when I have learned, I make no question of being much better then now I am. And I so much value this your Promise, that I would not free your Majestie from your Obligation for half your Kingdom: And I shall not refuse, whensoever You Command, to declare the Reasons of this my Resolution. And to perform this, will, I suppose, be neither unpleasant to You, nor yet Difficult, seeing You tend forward to the height of that Wisdom, which even among the Learned you shall find more who pretend to teach then do indeed truly know & understand it. In this thing I may wel boast whereby I am more happy, not only then ordinary men, but the servants of Solomon himself, who are justly esteemed happy in having opportunity of hearing his Wisdom, but would have been much more happy if he had taken peculiar Care to have instructed them in his own Person; which we read not he ever did. But I perceive that contrary to my will and the nature of my Argument, the very Paper admonisheth me to make an end: I shall therefore now be silent, humbly adoring your Majestie, and giving You to understand, That not only this Book is Dedicated to Your Majestie, but my whole self with all my Soul and the Affections thereof, with what I am, or have, or can do, being for Your sake simply willing to do any thing whatsoever without exception, unless what is against Conscience, or beyond my Abilities to perform.

MADAM,

The Lord Preserve and Keep you.

At Helms the 15th of the Calends
of December. Anno Dom. 1649.

THE

THE SUPPLEMENT OF LIVIE'S HISTORY

By J. FREINSHEMIUS.

THE FIRST BOOK.

In place of LIVIE'S XIth Book.

Collected out of Authors whose Names are in the Margin annexed.

THE Power of the Samnites was now by many Battels much broken, neither was any doubt made of happily finishing the War, in case the Enemy in this low and weak condition were prevented of time sufficient to recollect and strengthen his spirits. Therefore *Q. Fabius* the Consul, now in the heat of his Youth, and assuring himself the glory of putting an end to this War, having made a sudden levy, marcheth incontinently with his Army into *Campania*. For the Samnites being an hardy people, and by all their overthrows brought rather into Despair than Fear, while the former Consuls carried back the Legions to *Rome* attending on their Triumph, laid hold on that opportunity, and what with the Relicks of their former Armies, and some new Levies, had gathered together a considerable force, and because they knew the Plague was at *Rome*, and had heard that the present Consuls were men not much to be feared, either for any experience in Marshal affair, or for any great Authority they had, they grew confident, invaded, depopulated, and wasted the Territories of the Campanians whom they had always hated, but now more vehemently, looking on them as the Authors of the dangers and calamities they now sustained. The Roman General had a heart no way misbecoming the dignity of his *Fabian*-Family, but the small account he made of a Nation so often beaten by his Country-men, and his earnestness of being in action, did at this time quite bereave him of all Counsel and Deliberation. He marcheth swiftly towards the enemy, and having discovered the Samnite scouts, who upon sight of the Roman troops retired back to their own main Body, and judging this to be a flight of the whole Host, without any consideration had either of the place or the condition of his men, he commands in all haste that may be the Battel to be begun, as if the hope of Victory consisted only in Expedition: But the Samnites having notice of their approach, were very circumspect, had seized on advantageous places, marshalled their Army, and incensed the minds of their Souldiery with their commanders Orations; and consequently the Event of the Battel was accordingly; for the Samnites being in good Rank, and well prepared, made no great business to rout the Romans, being very weary with their journey and furious march, out of all order, as if they came rather to plunder than to fight. Three thousand of *Fabius* his men were lost, a greater number wounded, and only by the benefit of the Night was the total destruction of his Army prevented. Then retiring to a more commodious place, as well as in such a Consternation may be expected, they fortified their Camp, where there was little better comfort or confidence than in the field, the Weary had no convenience of rest, the Hungry wanted food, and the Wounded had no application of Medicines, for issuing out with their weapons only, they had left all their carriage and baggage in the former Camp.

In the year from the foundation of the City 661.

Zonaras. Tom. 3.

Livie Book 7. ch. 31.

Zonaras.

Eutropius B. 3. Suidas in Fab. Maximus.

Zonaras.

Livie's Epi-
tom. 11
Dio apud Vale-
rium.

Polyæus Str-
tagem 8.15
Valerius
Maximus 4.1.5

Valerius
Maxim. 5.7.1

So that the whole night was passed away with the Groans of the dying, and the Complaints of the living, every one with horror and despair waiting for the next day as their last. For being tired with labour, distempered with long watchings, weakened with wounds, terrified with an unlucky overthrow, and their number much diminished, they thought it impossible to resist the enemy, whom when they were found and entire both in body and mind, and filled with hopes of Victory, they were not able to encounter upon even terms. Things being at this ill pass the Remedy (as it often happens) proceeded from the enemies mistake, who daunted with the Rumour of the other Consul's approach, and fearing lest while he assaulted *Fabius* his Camp, the new forces would surround him, contented himself with what successe he had above his hope obtained, and diverted his course another way. The Enemy being removed, the Romans likewise betook themselves to a safer Refuge: when these tidings were brought to *Rome*, the City was exceedingly moved, not so much with the losse, as the disgrace of the business, and took it deeply to heart, That the longest war they were ever troubled with, when it was now just at a period, should by the rashness of one Consul be revived again, and that more formidably then before, by reason of the great hopes and confidence which the Samnites would assume in contemplation of this their success. Neither was this the sense of the Tribunes of people alone, whose proper art it was by their frequent Orations to fill the Citizens minds with envy and hatred, but even the Fathers, upon discuss of the business, pronounced very heavy and severe sentences, and a Decree was made by the Senate, That *Fabius* the Consul should be commended at a certain day appointed to come and plead his cause at *Rome*. He was no sooner at *Rome*, but a swarm of accusers flew about him; and indeed the fault could not be excused, and what was only left of moment on his behalf, even the esteem of old *Fabius*, was made use of as an argument against him; for they thought him least of all men to be pardoned, who being extracted from so illustrious a Parent, and brought up in the midst of his Fathers triumphs, had, by his Imprudence with so foul an overthrow, cast a stain not only on the Roman Glory, but on the renown of his own Family, and the many victories of his Ancestors obtained. Their minds being thus exasperated (that it was not likly the Defendant should have a fair hearing) were first by the consideration of his Fathers eminent Piety, and afterward with his Oration totally appeased. For he fearing least for this miscarriage his person would be removed from his Command, insisted not at all in excusing the Crime, but modestly recounting his own and his forefathers merits, desired there might not be in his old age so ignominious a Character imprinted on the *Fabian* Family: Neither did he require that for the sake of so many other *Fabii*, who almost from the foundation of the City, had by their virtue and counsel augmented the Roman Empire: nor that for the sake of those three hundred *Fabii*, who by their own deaths, and almost the total loss of the *Fabian* Name, had protected the Commonwealth, the error of one single person should be forgiven, if it were found remediless, and that a greater commodity would accrue from the punishment then the preservation of his son. But whatsoever was in this young man to be feared, is already come to pass, whereas unless we cut off our own hopes, I cannot say by an unjust, but by an untimely severity, Those many good deeds which his spirit and lively Genius, which likewise his virtue (by me, in your esteem, none of the worst Tutors, being disciplin'd and directed) doth fairly promise, are yet justly to be expected. It hath turned to the improvement of many mens wisdom and circumspection, that they miscarried in the beginning of Affairs, who being admonished of their error, have often recompensed small losses with larger success; and I doubt whether it ought not rather to be imputed to the Envy of Fortune then to any man's fault, that the constant felicity both of the Commonwealth, and our Family, is by a small detriment thus interrupted; though indeed it is rather to be accounted the good will then the envy of the Gods, by whose providence it is come to pass, that with this overthrow, not so fatal to the City as effectual to our instruction, we are put in mind of our humane condition, to abate that deadly pride which is usually the effect of excessive Prosperity. Whatsoever the matter is, Countrymen, I did certainly foresee some ill luck, when upon the Convention of the Senate, I did earnestly solicit you would not create my son Consul. For when I considered that my Father, Grandfather, Great-Grandfather, and other my Ancestors had frequently, and my self five times born that Office, I began to mistrust whether the Gods or Men would willingly, and with an equal mind, suffer the supreme Honour to continue in the same Family. And I wish my prayers had then prevailed, or that you would be pleased still to continue the benefit bestow'd: lest what against my will, you confer'd on my son as a Token of Honour, prove an occasion of unheard-of Infamy to us both; nay, lest your selves be suspected of Rashness, for posterity will judge, that either you conferred the command on *Q. Fabius* without cause, or that without cause ye deprive him of it, if by a contrary Judgment ye shall destroy your former Sentence. But if you will please to decree things more favourably, both your own Authority, and the reputation of the *Fabian* Family shall yet stand sound, and his youthful folly, as it was committed with some loss to the Commonwealth, shall be amended to its greater emolument and profit. But who dares promise these things? Truly, Countrymen, I will, even I will engage my self to the Commonwealth for my son, and happy may it prove to the Senate and People of *Rome*, and our own private Family; I will also go Legate to the Consul, and partake of whatsoever fortune he shall happen either to find or to make. My spirits are yet vigorous, neither, considering mine age, is the strength of my body much

* much decayed, I can performe a souldiers duty, I can stand in Battel, and if to all things else I were impotent, yet with the Memory of my Former victories I can both terrifie the Enemy and Encourage our own Souldiers; and, which is of greatest concernment, I can with Counsel and Caution temper and direct the impetuous Heat of the Consull's youth which is the only Cause of the last Misfortune; If I knew not the Disposition of my sonne, and were not assured he would embrace any good direction, I would not certainly now see the end of my life hitherto led without Blemish, after the bearing so many Consulships both to my owne likeing and yours, after signal victories and illustrious Triumphs, I would not hazard all my Glory purchased with so many yeares travel and danger, at home and abroad, by trusting it to the Rashness of one inconsiderate young man.

This Oration did both move the mindes of all who were present, and also ingenerate a Confidence of better success for the future. Old *Fabius* was by an Unanimous consent created Legate, all preparations were made with what diligence care and Expedition might be; and the Consul took the field with no less favour and Hope of the People, then he had lately returned with their indignation and reproaches. Henteforward both in their march and in their Camps nothing was omitted either of good Discipline, or what the art and experience of an old General could ordaine, and those Companions whom *Q. Fabius* the Father had by good turnes, or by the admiration of his virtue obliged to himselfe, were very ready to perform whatsoever was enjoyned them; the Souldiers also greedy to blot out their former disgrace, and confiding in the Counsel of a Leader, under whose conduct they remembered the *Samnites* to have been often beaten by themselves: and their Fathers did earnestly desire opportunity of encountering the Enemy. On the other side the *Samnites* were no less elevated with contemplation of their late victory; so that one Party striving to retaine their purchas'd Glory, the other to repair what was lost, they joyned issue most vehemently with all the force and might on both sides; And now behold the *Romans* in a worse condition then before, *C. Pontius Herennius* the Enemies General having hemm'd in the Consul with a select band; when *Maximus* observing the danger his son was in, setting spurre to horse flings himself into the thickest of the Enemies Troopes: He was followed immediately by a Party of Horse, who beside the motion of their own Courage were ashamed to see one Old man assault with a resolution to overcome so many spiritfull young Lads in the flower of their strength. This sudden storme govern'd the Fortune of the whole Battel; The *Roman* Legions animated with the boldness of their Cavaltie, at first well received the Enemy, and straightway repell'd them: *Herennius* in vaine resisting, who, that day performing all the Offices both of a good General and a good Souldier, endeavouring to rally his files to retaine the Cowardly, and withstand the assailants, could neither hinder the Flight of his men, nor afterward find opportunity of escape for himself. Four thousand *Samnites* were taken with their General, The Battel and the flight swallowed up 24000. The Enemies Camp was likewise seized on with vast plunder in it, which was quickly much encreased by Forrage of their Grounds, and taking in of Towns both by storme and upon Mercy; This great change of Affaires was wrought by the access of one onely Person, inso much that the lately Victorious army is now routed by the Conquer'd party, and the Consull carries away captive that General by whom he was formerly himselfe shamefully beaten, which was a pleasing spectacle to the *Romans*, and a great Ornament to his Triumph, which by the ready good-will of the People he made into the City the next year. While the *Fabii* thus order'd things in *Samnium*, the other Consull *D. Brutus* (whose Province was among the *Falisci*) had the like happy success: For being assisted by *Sp. Carvilius* his Legate (for 'twas thought fit to joyne a Legate also with him, a man as skilful in war, so one that had experience of the Enemy, against whom last year he did fortunately mannage affaires) he did waite no small of the Residue of *Etruria*, and overcame in a set battel the *Falisci* daring to encounter with him. These newes being brought to *Rome*, when the time of Conveneing the Senate was come, and it seemed not fit for the Commonwealth to withdraw the Consulls from their charges, an Interregnum was agreed upon; The Regent *L. Posthumius Megellus*, in a Court of his own holding, was himselfe declared Consull; a precedent till that day unheard of, unless in the Person of *Appius Claudius*, which nevertheless no good man approved. But *Posthumius* behaved himself in his Magistracy with as much arrogance as he assum'd it. Being vainly puff'd up with the Nobility of his Extraction, and this his third Consulship, he did utterly despise his Colleague for this year, *C. Junius Brutus* as one much below him, being but a Plebeian. When the Provinces came to be disputed on, he would not suffer *Brutus* to be compared with him, nor lots to be cast; out of all Order claiming the Administration of the *Samnitick* warre as his Due, inso much as according to his own saying, he had in his two former Consulships done great things against that Enemy. The business being canvass'd with much contention in the Senate, when *C. Junius* perceived he was not able to maintaine his Right against the Grace and Power of his Colleague, did at length declare he would desist, lest by the discord of the Consulls the Publick good might be hindred. The Pestilence did still continually rage both in City and Countrey, for which having tried all remedies now for three yeares, they could not either with their divine or humane applications allay it: Wherefore consulting either with the books of the *Sybilis* or the Oracle of *Delfos* (for this also is reported) they sent Ten Ambassadors to fetch *Asclepius* to *Rome* from *Epidaurus* where it is said he was borne; For though the Answer were doubtful, neither could the Fathers foresee the

Dis apud Valerium

Orosius 3. 22.

Zonaras

Eutropius lib. 21.

Zonaras

Liv. 27. 6.

Liv. 3. 35.

From the Foundation of the City 663. *Dionys. apud Valerium.*

Liv. 9. 44. and 10. 33.

Suidas in Post.

Val. Max.

l. 8. 2.

Ovid Metamor.

15.

Pausanias. B. 2.

- event of things, they thought fit to obey the Gods who would themselves open a way for their fortunes to proceed by. A very strange thing then fell out, but of most undoubted truth, by reason of the sincerity of so many Authors affirming it, as likewise appears by the structure of the Chappel in *Tibur* then erected and consecrated; When the Roman Embassadors had deliver'd their Message, the *Epidaurians* entertain'd them kindly, but because it did not appear what was convenient to be granted them, they were conducted to the Temple with liberty to convey away what should seem convenient for their use. The Altars of this God among the *Gracians* was most commonly in open and high Places; the *Epidaurians* also five miles from their City had a Temple of greatest Fame in those dayes, and very rich by the gifts of men who believed their health to proceed from thence; Being brought hither, while they stand in admiration of the Largeness of the Statue which was cut by the excellent skill of *Thrasymedes* the *Parian*; Behold an huge Serpent creeping out of a secret place fills all their mindes with horreur and Devotion: For the Priests with great veneration cryed out, *The God himselfe is in this Snake, and being sometimes seen in this shape, it alwayes imports a good and healthful Omen.* Two dayes was he seen in the Temple and then again withdrew himself; the third day through the midst of the throng of Spectatours and Adorers he went directly to the Port where the Roman vessel attended them, and entring into the Ship, he rolls himself up according to his spiral manner, in the Cabbin of *Q. Ogulnius* President of the Embassy. There is an antient story that the same *Esculapins* having assumed the forme of a Serpent was carried from *Epidaurus* to *Sicyon* by a Loake of Mules, one *Nicagora*, the wife of *Echetimus* driving the waine.
- The Romans rejoycing at the good Omen, as having the God himself present among them; hoisted sail, and in a few dayes with a prosperous Voyage, crossed the Seas and arrived at *Astium*; where the Sea being troublesome, and their navigations hindred; the serpent which had kept it self still and quiet all the voyage, creeping out the Ship, glided to the Porch of the most eminent Church in that City, and there abode three whole dayes together: The Romans much fearing they should never draw him from thence, seeing he had not in so long time returned to his wonted sustenance; but at length having regained him with much cheerfulness they conveyed him to *Rome*: The whole City ran out to the sight of so incredible a wonder; on the banks of the river as he passed by many altars were erected, incense and sweet odours prepared, and sacrifices slain. They were now just come to that place, where *Tibur* a little dividing it self, suffereth an *Island* to appear in the midst of it, when the Serpent forsaking the Ship betakes himself into that *Island* by swimming, and was not afterwards any more seen by man; hence was the place call'd the *Island of Esculapins*. The Fathers all agreeing that the Gods had chosen that place, decreed a Temple to be there erected to *Esculapins*. The sickness whether by this remedy, or that it had otherwise run its full course did suddenly cease; the Temple was quickly enriched with many extraordinary offerings, and its renown wonderfully spread abroad by those who profess to have received help in their diseases from this God. *L. Posthumius* the Consul carried the same pride with him into his Province which he had exercis'd against his Colleague at home: For whereas *Q. Fabius Garges*, the last year's Consul, did by order from the Senate manage affairs in *Samnium* as Proconsul; *Posthumius* arrogantly writes to him commanding him to depart the Province, in as much as himself was sufficient to wage that War. *Fabius* answering with the Decree of the Fathers, and that it was not safe for him to desert a business imposed on him by the Senate; the Romans upon this news feared left by the discord of the Commanders, the Common-wealth would be dampnified: Wherefore 'twas thought fit to send Legates to the Consul, to desire in the Senates name that *Fabius* might be suffer'd to continue with the Army in *Samnium*. *Posthumius* having returned an absurd and broken Answer; added withall a speech of singular impudence: *That during his Consulship, he was not obliged to obey the Senate, but they him*; and that his actions might correspond with his words, forthwith dismissing the Legates, he marcheth with his Army to *Cominium*, which City *Fabius* did then besiege; resolving (if by no other means he could) by fight to remove his Rival: The Roman Armies had afforded the enemy a foul spectacle, if *Fabius* had resisted with the same he was assaulted; but he being better temper'd both by nature and his Fathers documents departed the Province, having profess'd that he yielded not to the Consuls fury, but to the good of the Common-wealth. *Posthumius* in a few dayes reduced *Cominium*, whence leading his Army to *Venusia*, and taking that also, he carried about the War to other Towns; many whereof partly by force, partly by treaty were brought under his power. In this Expedition ten thousand of the enemies were slain, six thousand two hundred casting down their arms, yielding themselves to the mercy of the conquerours. The Consuls achievements were no way contemptible, but the grace of them were spoiled by his pride and Insolence: Wherefore when he did by Letters advise the Fathers that the City and Territory of *Venusia* was very convenient for a Colony therein to be planted, the counsel indeed was accepted, but without mention made of the Author of the Victory and the counsels, other men had the conduct of the Colony of twenty thousand men; for so I find it in Authors of no small credit: A great number indeed and almost exceeding belief, but that it seems reasonable, that in the midst of Nations, yet un subdued they should think of placing a considerable force, as a double guard both against the *Apulians* and the *Lucanians*. Now the stubbornness of *Posthumius*, as besides other grudges and offences, it contradicted him much envy; so it tended much to encrease *Fabius* his Favour and good opinion with

with all men, so, that when he came to the City, and had made relation of his performances, his triumph was readily assented unto. Being now Proconsul he did on the Calends of August make his triumph over those Samnites who are called *Pentri*: Old *Fabius* followed his Chariot on horse-back, whom the people beheld, and by their acclamations acknowledged not only an Assistant, but the author of the Victory. He accumulated all the glory of the enterprize upon the peoples Consul, using himself as the name, so the modesty of a Legate, beholding his sons honour with as much complacency, as when, being yet a little one, he did in his own triumph carry him about in his Chariot. Part of the plunder was by the Consul divided among the soldiers, the rest laid up in the Treasury, and *C. Pontius* the Samnite being first led in Triumph was afterward beheaded: A stout man he was and of worthy memory, who in those dayes did a long time sustain the Roman violence, gave them many considerable overthrows, but of all the most shameful one at the Caudine Spinnies: He was reported to say, *That had he been reserved to those dayes wherein the Romans should have learn'd to receive money, he would no longer have suffered them to bear sway.* It seems then the fortune of the City was not better defended by their industry in Arms, then their innocence of manners: In the mean time *Posthumius* fretting no less at the honour had been granted his Rival, then that the like had been denyed him, by weakness of mind opposing his own contumacy, to the authority of the Fathers, did both exasperate the wound of his own spirit, and imitate those imaginations against him, which ought by modesty of speech and carriage to have been asswaged. He abstained not from complaints against his enemies, nor from reproaches against the Senate, and to spite the Fathers, he distributed the whole prey among the souldiers, and disbanded his army before a successor could be sent him. He triumphed likewise contrary to the pleasure of the Senate, which, though some refer to his second Consulship, I believe more fitly agrees with this conjuncture, and it is so affirmed by authors of no mean credit in Histories: By these doings he drew new hatred upon himself, and he was no sooner out of office, but the two Tribunes of the people upon a set day accused him. Besides what hath hitherto been mentioned, 'twas objected against him, that before he march'd armed out of the City, he employed two thousand choice men out of his Legions to dig up a piece of ground, and detained them many days in this work, not remembering they were his souldiers, not his slaves, and were laiev'd to enlarge the *Publicke Land*, not to manure his. Being earnestly press'd with these Crimes, and in vain striving to clear himself, he was by the suffrage of all the Tribes condemned; his suit was valued to stand him in two hundred thousand pieces of money. Now *P. Cornelius Rufinus*, and *M. Curius Dentatus* entered their Consulships. Each of these with his Legions did utterly wast *Samnium*, depopulating their grounds, and ruining their Cities, and in many set battels having the upper hand compell'd them at length to sue for peace, for having in so many battels lost the prime of their Youth; and in *Pontius* the chief counsel and conduct, they did by their Embassadors sent first to the Consul, and by their leave to Rome, obtain that now this fourth time a League might be renewed with them. 'Tis likely too the Romans even weary with beating, were willing to conclude a difficult and miserable War, with the tranquility of a certain peace. I find the war with the *Samnites* to have begun when *M. Valerius* was the third time Consul. *A. Cornelius Cossus* being his Colleague, and being through four and fifty Consulships, with various success continued (only by some shortliv'd truces suspended) it held both parties in play with much trouble and vexation; whether *Cornelius* triumphed for this War is uncertain; as for *Manius* there is no doubt, for his fortune being more eminent in that he subdued other enemies, he Triumphed twice in the same Consulship: For the *Sabines* a Warlike Nation, now grown wealthy with a long peace, whether they were moved with their own proper compassion, and Entreaties of the *Samnites*; or whether willing timely to prevent those miseries, which (having swallowed up their neighbours) they foresaw approaching to themselves, having put their young men into Arms, invaded some places under the Roman Jurisdiction: Against these did *Curius* lead forth his Army, and that he might both divert the enemies, and give the *Sabines* some tastes of the miseries of War, he sent part of his forces by privy journies into their territories with instruction, that spreading themselves as much as could be, bringing terror and vastation on every place: This straight did soon dissolve the formidable Army of the *Sabines*, several troupes running several wayes to the defence of their own substance; so that the Consul had an easie Victory over the disperd forces. In this Expedition they proceeded as far as the Adriatique Sea, gaining the possession of so much ground, and so many men, as the saying of *Curius* began to be famous, who (according to the genius of those times being more ready in deeds then in words) when he could not express every singular circumstance, in gross express'd himself, *That he had taken so much ground, it must needs have turned into wilderness, but that he had taken a proportionable number of men; and that he had taken so many men, they must of necessity have perished with hunger, but that he had taken a proportionable extent of ground.* When the *Sabines* sued for peace, not only that was afforded them, but likewise the Freedome of the City, (though without the suffrage of the Tribes) this favour was in memory of their old Affinity under *Tatius*, the late War not being carried on with any malignant hatred. Of the next years Consulship (underwent by *M. Valerius Corvinus*, and *Q. Cadius Neftus*) we have arriv'd to little understanding; onely I find some Colonies about this time deduced to *Castrum*, eo *Adria* (from whence the Sea taketh its name) and to *Sena* in *Gallia*: Nevertheless considering those Regions were not as yet to such a purpose sufficiently settled, I think fit rather to incline

Columna capitulina.

Plutarch. in Q. Fabio Cunctator. c. 43.

Livie Epitom. ii.

Livie. 10. 37.

Dionysius.

Liv. Epitom. 1. 1.

From the foundation of Rome 662.

Eutropius. B. 2. Orosius. 3. 2.

Livie Epit. 11.

Livie 7. 29.

Livie Epit. 11.

Florus B. 1. 15.

Auct. de viris illustr. c. 33.

Florus velleim. 1. 14.

From the foundation of the City 664.

Florus.

to

Cicero de Le-
gibus 3.3. 1.2
§.30. ff. de O. I.
Liv. Epl. 1.1.

to other Authors who refer the beginning of those Colonies to after-times: But in the City for restraining many villanies and outrages daily committed, there was a new Magistracy constituted under the name of *Capital Triumvirs*, who were appointed Judges and Moderators to take cognizance of offences, to imprison the guilty, and, when occasion was, to inflict punishments.

The words of the Law in that case made by *L. Papirius*, Tribune of the people, I find to be these, *Whoever shall hereafter be Prator to give Judgment among the Citizens, let him require of the people three Capital men, and those three men, whoever shall be chosen, let them exact sacraments, let them judge, let them be of equal authority, as by the Laws and decrees of the people they ought to Exact, to Judge, and to Be.* In which clause commission is likewise given of requiring Mulets or Fines, for in those dayes that piece of mony which was disbursed by way of punishment, was called a Sacrament, because (the publick sacrifices being many, and the Treasury but low) it was destin'd to be expended in sacrifices.

Plin. Nat. Hist.
7.41.

Zonaras.

Florus 1
From the
Foundation of
Rome 465, 466

Of the Taxes that year, there is no other memory left, but that two hundred seventy three thousand Citizens were rated. That this years Censors did likewise choose *Q. Fabius Maximus* Prince of the Senate, there is a likely conjecture, which is otherwise confirmed, for that honour did constantly remain in three of that Family successively; as for example, *Maximus* received it from *Ambustus* his father, and transmitted it to his son *Gurgus*. While affairs were in a good state abroad, they were troubled with discord and sedition at home. The Commonalty being far in debt required a general discharge by publick authority for all debts and bonds passed aforetime, without any satisfaction; this was an old device, and for two hundred years and upwards variously agitated, even as any turbulent Tribune should exasperate them, or the Extortion of Usurers move their indignation. Under the former Consuls, the fear either of the Pestilence or the Enemy did smother these contentions in some measure; but *Q. Marcius Tremulus* and *P. Cornelius Arvina* being Consuls, and the year ensuing *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *C. Nautius Rutilus* bearing office, they broke out most violently, for the appeasing whereof, more then for any other occasion, a Dictator was created, whom I take to be *Appius Claudius*, who was afterwards surnamed *Cacus*, in as much as among ancient monuments I find him to have been Dictator.

Tab. Marmorea
apud Onuphrium
in fassos.
Val. Maximus
3.1.9.
Dion. apud Pa-
leum.

Besides the harshness of unconscionable usury, the villanous lust of *C. Plotius* added fire to the peoples minds now already hotly disposed, causing them the sooner and more vehemently to break out into flame. *T. Veturius* (the son of that *Veturius* who being Consul was delivered up to the Samnites for an unworthy League made with them) by reason of his domestick calamities, overcharged with debt and not able to pay, was forced to yield himself slave to *Plotius*, patiently performing all servile duties. *Plotius* not content to have reduced to this base condition a young man of excellent Beauty, of a Consular Family, and likewise of great hopes, did moreover attempt to corrupt his Chastity, having before deprived him both of Estate and Liberty.

Dionysius.
Liv. 8. 28

But *Veturius* disdainig and resolving to suffer any thing rather then commit so horrid a wickedness, was with most grievous stripes tormented, whereupon he thrust himself forth into the publick, and being by the multitude conducted to the Consul's Tribunal, he complains of the cruelty and lust of his Creditor, shewing withal the bunches and fresh marks of the lasses. The Consuls therefore judging it a business not to be neglected, informed the Senate thereof, where upon sentence past, *Plotius* was condemned to prison, and by a Law in that case established, All men whosoever through the whole City had bound themselves slaves for debt, were set at liberty. I am not ignorant that instead of *T. Veturius* some Authors make mention of *Publius* the son of a Colonel, who was one of the contrivers of the Caudine peace. Forty years before this, for the like cause, was a Law made for the annulling such Indentures; nevertheless the Usurers growing so hard-hearted, and the former Law, by the patience of Debtors (refusing nothing in the midst of their penurie) being by degrees neglected, 'twas though fit they should be admonished by so fresh an example to provide more full and diligent caution for the future. But the people desiring to be freed not only from their Indentures, but from the Extortion of Use mony, were not satisfied with that Law though favourable to their revengeful minds. And (as in some more acute diseases, the pain is rather intended by a gentle application of medecines then remitted) not long after the matter was so Exulcerated, that when the Tribunes of the people with their greatest endeavours contended for a Law concerning Letters of Protection from Creditors, and that the Creditors did with equal force and animosity resist: The Commonalty after the example of their Ancestors, quitting the City, retired cross the water to Mount *Janiculum*; resolving never, without obtaining their request, to return to their own household-Gods. The Consuls finding little remedy against this combustion (*M. Valerius Potitus*, and *C. Atilius Patinus* are thought then to be Consuls) they were fain to flie to the last refuge in distressed times, and create a Dictator, who was *Q. Hortensius*; he applying what the Time and the Cause seemed to require, and understanding the main breach of peace to consist in this, That the people were sensible of the violation of their Decrees, and the Publilian Law, thought fit to yield to the times, (though many strove against this opinion) and by a new Law made in the Esculete; he diligently provided, That whatsoever the Commonalty should ordain, all the Romans should be obliged unto. With these Lenitives the people being reduc'd to concord, and returned to their own houses, the Dictator, either by the sudden force of his disease, or overwearied with care

Zonaras.

Livie Epl. 11
From the
Foundation of
Rome 467

P. in. 16. 10
Agellius 3. 5. 27

care and pains, dyed during the time of his Magistracy, which had hapned to none before. Henceforward for a while there was less dissention at Rome; but the Dignity of the Empire began insensibly to decrease, inasmuch as the Commons not being guarded against the fraudulent proceedings of Ambitious men, and yet earnest to manifest their authority, accepted of any motions, and decreed many things tending to the disgrace of the Publick, and at last struck at the very Foundation. A singular Lesson to those who are invested with the guidance of affairs, seeing the vulgar, if their own private business proceed fairly, seldom meddle with things of an higher nature, not to provoke them by injuries and oppressions of great ones to aspire to a Dominion they know not how to manage. About this time I believe was the Law made concerning suffrages, which the Fathers, to the danger of their own Courts, were fain to authorize. For hitherto it had prevailed that no man executed any magistracy by the peoples votes, unless the Senate assented thereunto.

Augustin de
Civ. Dei.

Livie 1. 17
Cicero pro Pla.

The Improvident vulgar did for some time contain themselves within their former bounds, and though they seldom contradicted the Fathers Sentences, yet they were always feared as having power to do so. But then *Marius* the Tribune made a Law whereby the peoples Authority was much augmented, but the wholesome, and honourable severity of the Senate much weakened. *Q. Hortensius* the Dictator being dead, some report another was chosen to administer affairs, to wit, *Q. Fabius Maximus*; if so, this was his third Dictatorship. *L. Volturnus*, *C. F. C. N.* is said to have been Master of his horse. For there was war at this time with the Volturnians of the *Etruscan* Nation, which was very seasonable to clear Rome of the sedition, and those who retained the spirit of the former Discord. There was likewise occasion found of waging war with the Lucanians, who being troublesome neighbours, had by many injuries compelled the Thurines (a City of that part of Italy called *Great Greece*) to betake themselves to the Roman Protection: And *C. Atilius* the Tribune propounding a War against the Lucanians, the people decreed it. The armies therefore were drawn into the field, and in each place things performed, the memories whereof, with the Annals of those who wrote them, is perished. The Thurines bestowed on *C. Atilius* a statue and Crown of gold. Next follows the Consulship of *C. Claudius Canina*, and *M. Aemilius Lepidus*, whereof no memorable thing is delivered to posterity, only the Etruscan and Lucanian war seem to have been still in being. There is also on Record an Oration of *Cicero* concerning the Lucanians, which is to be referred to one of his four Triumphs, for so often I find he Triumphed. But in what year, or with what Magistracy invested, he managed those affairs is uncertain.

Cicero in Bruto
Piggin in
Annal. Rom.
anno 466

Livie Epit. 1

Plinie 34. 6

468

Ann. de vrbis
illust. 107. 33

But things of greater weight were now impending, which were attended with a very considerable slaughter; for a war was now waged against the Senones a people of *Gauls*. They had often waite and often peace with the Romans; and now, after their last overthrow in the fields of *Sentinus*, where, *Ducius* having devoted himself to Death, a great Number of their men were slain, had lien still for almost ten years; Only they had suffered their young men to be hired by the Etruscans against the Romans. But now marching into *Etruria*, with a greater power then they had usually done, they Besieged *Arretium*. Now the Arretines had before this requested a league with the Romans, which being denied they did nevertheless obtaine a Truce, whose Terme was not yet expired. But herein did their chiefest Hope of succour consist, because the Romans always thought it mainly concerned them to have the *Gauls* beaten. Wherefore sending Embassadors to Rome they craved assistance against the common enemy. In the mean time the year was gone about wherein *C. Servilius Tullia* and *Lucius Cassius Mucius* were Consuls, in stead of *Cassius* some annals mention *Cassius*. But the lesser Nobility of the *Cassian* family is thought not to have attained the Consular dignity till the year from the foundation of the City six hundred and sixtie.

Polyb. 2
Livie 10. 39
Polyb.
Livie 10. 37
Anno 469.

BOOK

B O O K: II.

470.

Polybius

Marianus Scotus

Appianus apud
Fulvium Ur-
sum.Livie Epis. 12.
AppianDionis apud
Fulvium Ur-
sum.

Appian.

Hist.
Miscell. 2. 13.
Polybius.
Aug. de Civ.
Dei. 3. 17.
Orosius 3. 22.

Appian.

Florus. 1. 13.
Polybius.

Corneilius Dolabella, and *Cn. Domitius Calvinus* being Consuls, when the Terror of the Gallique warre began again to move it selfe, and news was brought that many of the Tuscans had joyned forces with the Senones, the Fathers thought the Danger of the Aretines a thing not to be neglected by them: And because they could neither recall *Dolabella* from the Volfinians, nor *Domitius* out of Lucania without great hindrance to their affaires, The Fathers ordain *L. Cæcilius Metellus* the last yeares Consull, and new Prætor, with all haste to Leavy an army, and raise the siege of Aretium; Nevertheless left the warre should seem to be rashly undertaken, they thought fit to send Embassadors before, to Declare that Aretium was under the Roman Protection, and that the Gaules being in League with them would do more justly, if they would not lead their Army against their Friends and Companions. The message being proclaim'd among the Senones, *Britomaris* a fierce young man of the Royall Blood, whose Father had been slain by the Romans amongst the Etrurian auxiliaries, burning with desire of Revenge, caused not only the men, but the Ensignes of their sacred Office to be hewne and torne in Pieces. The Rumour of so horrid a fact being related in Rome and in the Camp of *Dolabella*, their minde was vehemently incensed, and warre proclaim'd against the Senones, and *Dolabella* forthwith leaveth the Etrurians, marcheth with his Army through the Sabine, and Picenians territorys with very long journeys into the Countrey of the Senones, who terrified with this sudden Invasion, now in the absence of their main strength, taking the field with a small and inconsiderable body were easily routed and overcome. The Consull giving the Enemy no Breath, Burnes up his Townes, demolisheth his Buildings, wasteth the whole land, and having slain the youth and carried away the weaker multitude of Women and Children left very little signe that ever that Countrey had been inhabited by Mankind. *Britomaris* himselfe being taken and punished with various and exquisite Torments was reserved for the Triumph. At the same time things succeeded not so prosperously at Aretium; For *L. Cæcilius Metellus* had ill fortune in his fight before the Town with the Senones and Etrurians, seven Colonells with many other men of Note, together with the Prætor himself were slain, and of their Legions and Auxiliaries about Thirteen Thousand were wanting.

But the Joy for this victory prevailed not so much with the Gaules, as sorrow and Conternation for the Lamentable Desolation of their Countrey; Wherefore gathering together all their Countrey men then in Armes in Etruria, full of Grief and Anger, void of counsell and hope, having no habitation whereto to be received at home, (I know not what Fate drawing them to their destruction) in a heat of Resolution they drive toward Rome, thus Computing, That there is no other way to recompence the desolation of their own Countrey, but by forcing the Romans to see the like Ruine of their City, That their Spirits and Forces were now no whit inferior to, nor the cause of their March from Aretium of less importance, then that of their Ancestours who marched from Clusium of the same Etruria and took Rome: With the like speeches incensing themselves they Rush on, by nature impatient of Delay, and now hasty in their Counsels, that they might overwhelme their Enemies unawares; But travelling through an Enemies Countrey, they met with many obstacles, so that the Romans had Leisure to provide against this Fury. At length wandring through unknown and unfriendly places, guided by no certaine Line, they light upon *Domitius* the Consull, and immediately joyne Battell with him; But their unhappy rashness confounded both their Reason and Discipline: many being slaine in Battell, the Residue growing mad with Rage and despaire sheathed in their own Bowells, those weapons they had in vain drawn against the Enemy. Insomuch as so sudden and vehement a Judgement overtook a late most flourishing People for their villany in murdering Embassadors, that in the space of few months they were totally cut off, and ceased any more to be numbred among Nations, whose laws they had violated and Transgressed: For even the small Remnant of the Senones who had betaken themselves to their Neighbours, and Kinsmen the Boii, were the next year by *Dolabella* the Consull with an universal slaughter clean swept away. For whereas the Boians and Etrurians were involv'd in these late disasters, and possessed with fear of the same Calamities, they were at the Lake called *Vadimonis* in a set Battell overcome, many of the Etrurians slain, few of the Boians escaped, the very name of the Senones so utterly extinct, that

that there is not thought to be left alive one Man of that Nation which had set Rome on fire. About this time I think it more probable that the Colony was planted in *Sena*, the Romans having now an entire possession of their Countrey, and quite taken away their Name out of that part of *Italy*. Nevertheless the Etrurians and the Boians next year recruiting their army with young men now grown up, ventred once more to try the Fortune of a Battell. Then it was I believe by *Q. Amilius Papus* that they were beaten, for his and *C. Fabricius* his first Consulship hapned that year, and 'tis certain the Province of *Etruria* fell to *Papus* by Lot. But in most Annalls yet extant, the Memory of these Transactions is swallowed up by the Intervening of greater matters. For whereas the Romans had by so many continuall fights and victories very mightily encreased their Virtue and Power, all the free Cities and Nations in *Italy* being brought into feare, conspired in a great and most dangerous warre; joyning together all their Counsells and forces as against a Common Enemy, and Plunderer. Neither thought they fit any longer to deferre their Designe, while now the Remnant of the Boians and Etrurians sufficed to distract the Roman Powers. And first of all the Samnites, again breaking their League and openly joyning force with the Lucanians and Brutians, commenced the Warre. But these were overcome by *C. Fabricius* in many pitch'd fields; especially in one most remarkable when they joyn'd Battell near the City of the *Thurines*, which *Statius Statilius* had again streightly besieged; where the Enemy was with a very great slaughter beaten, and their Camp likewise forced and taken. It is reported that while the camp was strenuously defended, A young man of large proportion of Body was seen to bring Ladders to the works, whereby the Romans being animated obtained a complete victory. Twenty Thousand are said to be slain in the fight and in the Camp, Five thousand together with the General taken Prisoners, and twenty Colours. The next day the Consull resolving to reward those whose valour had been eminent, and promising a *CORONA VALLARIS* to him who first entered the Enemies Camp. After diligent Enquiry made after the man, the souldier was not to be found (if so be he were a souldier) who would claime this Honour; 'Twas therefore believed and voiced abroad that *Mars* was the Author of this feat, and the Cause of Victory; And by the Consull's order supplication was made unto him, which the souldiers with Laurels on their heads performed with great Joy and Gladness. The Tarentines had not as yet assisted the Accomplices with any open aid; for though they were the Principal Authors of the Confederacy, yet they thought it wiser to let the Roman forces be provoked and the Fortune of warre tried with other men's danger then their own. But this Dissimulation served not their purpose, for a meer accident provoking the Rashness of the Giddy rabble betrayed all their Counsells. Even at this Time, that part of the Italian shore, after the Manner of the *Gracians* (by whom *Tarentum* and most of the other Cities were builded) did excessively delight themselves with fights, and stage playes: The Tarentines above others were most Luxurious in this kind, insomuch as it is said they had more Feasts and Solemn Playes then Dayes in the Yeare. It hapned they were then set at their sports in the greater Theatre by the Haven side, when *L. Valerius* (some say *Cornelius*) one of the Admiralls of the seas was descryed entring the Haven with ten Roman Vessels, A Fatall Error to both Parties. For the Romans ignorant of all things betook themselves thither as to a friendly and amicable shore; the Tarentines on the other side Conscious of their own Privy practises interpreted this Navy to be sent with an hostile Intention. There was then present one *Philocharis* whom for his loose Conversation the Citizens call'd *Thais*; He mentioning the articles of some former Leagues, said it was not lawfull for the Romans to saile past the Promontory of *Lacinium*, that therefore they should go out and meet the fool-hardy Barbarians, and suppress their Pride with a Mischiefe. The giddy Rout besotted with continual drinkings, manifest their assent by Acclamation, so that one scandalous persons opinion in a matter of so great importance was generally received, and without further Consideration they take up armes, and assault the Ships: The Romans as not dreaming of any such Encounter, being utterly unprepar'd to fight, betook themselves to flight. The Tarentines swiftly pursuing, Five ships onely made their Escape; as many being hemm'd about were brought into the haven, whereof Four with the Admirall were drown'd and one taken, The Men, as many as were of age and strength fit for Warre, were slaine, the rest made slaves. Presently with the same vanity they began warre against the *Thurines*, accusing them, That the Romans came into these parts by their meanes, who though they were *Gracians*, had yet in the time of their distress chosen a Barbarous Nation to be their Protector, rather then the Tarentines their Neighbours and Kinsmen. The City is taken and plundred, the Chief men cast out and banish'd, and the Roman Garrison compounding for their own safety are dismissed. The Romans hearing the Newes, were according to the Greatness of the Injury most exceedingly incens'd, yet thought it not convenient at that season to undertake a new warre: An Embassy was decreed to complain of the Outrage, and instruction was given the Legates to Require, That the Captives should be set at Liberty, the *Thurines* goods or the just value of them should be restor'd, the Exiles call'd back, and the Authors of these Misdemeanours deliver'd into the hands of the Romans. The Tarentines according to the Greeke Custome were wont to assemble their People together in the Theatre; whether the Embassadors being with much Difficulty admitted, they find a Rabble-rout totally debauch'd with Drunkenness and Idleness, for this likewise was a great Holiday with the Tarentines. There when *L. Posthumus* the Prince Legate began to declare his

Florus.
PolybiusPlinie.
Polybius.

471.

Dionys. apud:
Fulvium Ursi-
mam.

Livie Epis. 12.

Plinie. 34 7.
Val. Max. 1. 8.Ammianus
Marcellinus 24.
15. Val Max.
mus.
Ammian. Mar-
cella.
Val. Max.

Strabo. 6.

Florus 1.
Appian apud
Fulvium Ursi-
mam.
Zonaras.

Appian.

Florus
Dion. apud
Fulvium.
Appian.
Orosius 4.1.Zonaras
Appian.

Dh.

Livie.
Epis. 12.
Appian.Dio. apud
Ful. Ursinum.

Dionys. apud
Fulvium
Ursinum.
Dionysius.
Dionys.

Appian
apud Flavianum
Ursinum.
Valerius
Maximus 2.2.3

Dion.

Dion.
Zonaras.

472

Appian

Dion.

Appian
Zonaras.

Eclog. ex
Diodorib. 21

Florus 1.18

message, he was entertained with such mocks and scoffs of the wanton multitude, that he carried home greater causes of hatred than he came to complain of. For they had him in such contempt, that not regarding any thing else he spoke; when, as being a Roman, he chanced to pronounce any word not so exactly according to the Greek manner, the whole company would burst out into laughter, crying out upon him and reviling him as a Barbarian, they jeer'd and flouted at the Habit of the Embassadors, for they came in their gowns, and at last fairly thrust them out of doors, in vain claiming the privilege of the Laws of Nations. Now, what is scarce fit to be spoken, but may prove of good example to curb the insolence of popular license, it is reported, That as the Embassadors pressed through the croud of the Tarentines out of the Theatre, a certain Buffoon, one *Philonides* (for in this the Tarentines were beholding to their good manners, the Names of their jesters were recorded in their Annals, though their Princes were forgotten) like an impudent Dog, piss'd upon the sacred Vestments of the Embassadors. This might seem the crime of one only mad furious fellow, but that forthwith the whole drunken society did own it, and the whole Theatre resounded with laughter, and clappings of the hands, as approving the fact. *Posthumius* lifting up his voice, *We accept this, O men, O jester* (saith he) *seeing ye bestow those things upon us we required not at your hands.* And when he turned himself to the multitude shewing his defiled garment, they renew'd their laughter, and began to dance, singing scurrilous and reproachful Verses against the people of Rome, wherefore *Posthumius* again crying out, *Laugh on, saith he, laugh on, Tarentines, while ye may, for hereafter ye shall weep sufficiently:* Whereat the Tarentines being nettled, *Nay, saith he, to vex you the more, I tell you before hand, this garment shall cost you much blood the washing.* After this, receiving no other answer, they sailed home. Now at Rome, *L. Aemilius Barbula*, and *Q. Marcius Philippus*, had begun their Consulship, by whom the Senate being convened, and the Robe defiled, as it was, being shew'd by the Embassadors, who declared to the Fathers the whole series of affronts and indignities heaped on them by the Tarentines: Their spirits were in an high manner incensed, and not so much as any scruple made of vindicating their reproach by Arms. But because they had already to deal with so many mighty Nations, they could not resolve whether now immediately, or hereafter to send an Army against the Tarentines, and the debate continued many dayes even from morning till night: Some were of opinion, *That nothing should be enterprized before the other Cities, at least those near Tarentus were reduced;* others contended, *That the war should incontinently be commenced;* at last, numbring their votes, it was decreed, *That the business of the Tarentine war should be refer'd to the people.*

The people with an unanimous consent agreed upon the War, and accordingly letters were sent to *Aemilius* the Consul, who was then gone to the Army into *Samnium*; *That omitting all things at present, he should pitch his Camp in the Tarentine Fields, and, unless he could procure satisfaction for the injuries received, that he should prosecute them with a just and holy War.* The Tarentines perceiving they had now no longer to deal with a few unarmed men, but a just and well order'd Army, rousing themselves out of their accustom'd sottishness, began seriously to enter into counsel, what was to be done; to accept of the war was dangerous, to do what the Romans required in satisfaction was base, and to avoide both impossible: While their opinions were thus doubtful, one among the rest stood up and said, *Why do we thus, O Tarentines, waste the time in vain altercations? the times are come which require Deeds rather than Words, which that they may be order'd to the publick benefit, there is need of free Speech and sincere Counsel.* Neither am I much moved that heretofore, by a strange disease incident to Free Cities, ye have been delighted with flattering and sugar'd Orations, though of ill consequence, because then, as in time of Prosperity, ye regarded not much what mainly tended to the good of the Commonwealth: But now the Roman Army is upon our Borders, and the fear of the enemy before our Gates, and this is sufficient to instruct us to prefer what is Profitable before what is Pleasing. Neither would I have you so interpret me, as if I stood up to bit you in the teeth with past misdemeanors; for unreasonably to object old crimes is the part of an enemy, and one who wantonly insults over others infirmities: And an honest man that is careful of the common safety, will hide and excuse the faults of his City, unlesse the remembrance of them be of concernment to the avoiding some publick Calamity. For seeing we are but men, to pretend freedom from all error, would argue too much Pride: But often to fall at the same stone, and not to grow wiser when the very event plainly chastiseth our rashness, is not consistent with right reason. We have at one man's warning assaulted and drown'd the Roman ships, and presently with open war vexed our Kinsmen the *Thurines*, because they had rather be protected by the Romans, then swallowed up by the *Lucanians* and *Brutians*; moreover, we have suffered shameful indignities to be cast on the Roman Embassadors; so that a war we might have avoided, a heavy dangerous war we are not provided for, hath in a most unlucky time overtaken us. Finally, the Roman Camps are now pitch't in our fields, and we as yet wavering in our counsel, deliberate still whether it be safer to accept a formidable war, or make a dishonourable peace. And I would to God at length, that laying aside all self flattery, and forgetting self-interest, and aiming at the publick honour and profit, we might freely and truly consult together, there might certainly a way be found of making an honest league, or a safe war. But now I see you clearly divided into two parts, I may say factions, not taking counsel out of judgment or as the state of things require, but every man by.

byassed by his own inclination. For how comes it to pass that so few of the young men, and poorer sort stand for peace? and why do none of the rich and ancient men desire war? what other reason can be given of so equal a division in the City, but these that would fain in quiet reap the commodity of their Lands and Usury, the other in time of war, hope for command and liberty of plunder? This is an old disease amongst us, neither of a long time hath our Commonwealth wanted such men, who even with the danger and detriment of the City have studied to increase their own private wealth. All which may happily be prevented (for I must speak what I think at present most conducible) if ye will neither buy peace on such base conditions as shall infringe the privileges of a Free City, nor yet trust singly to your own Forces in so difficult a war. Our Ancestors have often committed the conduct and command of their Armies to foreign Leaders: Either out of *Peloponnesus* or out of *Sicilis* we have sent for *Archidamus* the son of *Agessilaus*, afterward for *Cleonymus*, then presently for *Agathocles*. Even in our own memory when we were infested by our Neighbours, our Fathers made use of *Alexander* the Epirot: By which means they did not only themselves succeed prosperously, but left things in a flourishing condition to us. There is at this day the same friendship between us and the Epirots, neither are they now lesse potent in an Army and a Commander: And the benefit is fresh in memory, which *Pyrrhus* received from us, in that with our whole Navy we assisted him in his attempt against the *Corcyraens*. Therefore esteem this not as my counsel; but as the counsel of the wisest men who have heretofore happily governed this Commonwealth, which ye ought therefore at least to follow, because in the former example you may discern both the reason and ground, as also the issue and successe of it. And yet otherwise, there may be arguments most evident and sufficient to the same purpose; There is no man amongst us so singularly eminent, to whom all the rest will willingly submit themselves, and what danger there is in emulation, when we have to do with a fierce and potent Enemy, ye are not ignorant. And whosoever ye shall make General, either by his too great affection to peace, or by his ambition of carrying on the war, may wrong your affairs; not to say, that 'tis not safe to commit a war into the hands of any ordinary person against the Romans, an hardy stout Nation and inur'd to Arms. But the truth is, which none can doubt of, that *Pyrrhus* is not by any man exceeded in virtue and experience of Martial affairs. But perhaps he will not come? Certainly, being a man desirous of action, and having no other war at present, he will not only come himself, but bring a formidable strength, and that of no fresh-water souldiers. And if ye fear his encroachment upon your Liberties, ye may treat with him on such conditions as the Commonwealth may be secur'd. By this means ye may either obtain an honourable peace, or bestow a glorious one. Though indeed it be not the least of my hopes, that the Romans will rather beforehand deal with us on equal terms then admit of *Pyrrhus* into Italy, having heretofore feared a King of much lesse glory and renown out of the same *Epirus*. This counsel prevailed not only so far, as to make them see a probable way opened to the publick safety, but likewise the assembly being divided into two contrary opinions, neither part being able to prevail over the other, they did all unanimously concur in this, as seeming indifferent to both sides.

'Tis reported, when the Rumour was spread about the Citie, that a decree was made for the invitation of *Pyrrhus* that one *Meton* a covetous fellow, taking a dry wither'd chapplet upon his head, after the manner of Drunkards, together with his minstrel, entred the Theatre; the people according to their idle custome, commanded him to sing and his woman to pipe, after a while silence being made, *Meton* crys out, *Ye doe well, O Tarentines, in that ye grant Liberty to them that please, to sing and Dance; for when Pyrrhus once comes into the Citie we shall scarce be allow'd to live after our owne minds.* The People being somewhat moved at this saying, and murmurings arising: Those who were authors of the injuries against the Romans (fearing lest if peacefull Counsels prevailed they should be delivered up to punishment) having chid the people, *That they would suffer themselves to be unworthily devided by a rascall fellow,* forcibly thrust *Meton* out of the Theatre, so that afterward without contradiction the Decree was ratified. But the Roman Consul, hearing nothing from the Tarentines tending to peace, and understanding that Embassadors were sent with presents to *Pyrrhus* sets himself to the War, wasteth their grounds, taketh their Cities some by force, some by composition; and fills all places with losse, and terror. The Tarentines send forth forces to hinder the spoile, but, after a sharpe conflict, the Romans having the better, the *Græcians* are driven backe into the Citie with great losse. Then *Emilius* without resistance wasteth and burneth the whole Country round about. The Tarentines terrified with these calamities, (like a people, the more insolent in prosperity, the more dejected and fearefull in adversity) submit themselves to the Government of *Agis*, who was a constant authour of maintaining the Roman friendship. Their desire and hopes of peace were much augmented by the discourse of some prime men who were dismissed by the Consull, and declared his Humanity, *With what Indulgence and clemencie he entertain'd those who were taken in severall places of the Country, or in the last fight.* But the confidence of *Cineas* who was now come with Auxiliaries from *Epirus* changed their minds, and erected their spirits. For *Pyrrhus* being a man of vast conceits, and in emulation of *Alexander* the Great, comprehending large Empires in his fancy, believed now a way to be laid open to accomplish all his designs, as if the Fates themselves had invited him.

- Aug. de Civ. Dei.* 'Tis said he was much confirm'd by the Oracle of *Delfos*, whose words were indeed of an ambiguous sense, which yet the Kings ambition did favourably interpret. For consulting about the War he was now to undertake, Answer was made, *Posse eum Romanos vincere*, that he should overcome the Romans, or the Romans him. But I think his chief encouragement was from the Tarentine Embassadour who affirm'd, *That out of their own Cities; with the help of the Lucanians, the Missapians, Samnites and other the confederates, they could easily raise twenty thousand horse, and three hundred and fifty thousand foot.* With this strength, when he should once have brought the Romans under subjection, he hoped with little paines to attaine the Lordship of all Italy; then a short cut into *Sicilie* would present him with an Island much at discord and void of a Ruler (the families of *Agathocles* being destroyed) and this he thought he might claime by right of Inheritance, as having begotten Children on *Lanassa* the daughter of *Agathocles*; these things happily succeeding he was resolv'd to make War with the *Carthaginians*. 'Tis reported that *Cineas*, a man of excellent wisdom, willing to have the King by his own confession acknowledged that his immoderate desires, whereby the enjoyment of his present felicity was disturb'd; were in reason to be restrained, asked him, *What he would doe when he had overcome the Romans?* *Pyrhus* then declaring how one victorie would beget another, *And what shall we doe, saies he, when all these things are accomplish'd? Why then, saith Pyrrhus, we will enjoy the fruits of Peace, the benefit of ease and Idleness.* To which *Cineas* replied, *And why, O King, can we not at present enjoy the same things, while they are in our hands? whereas the undertaking of new Wars may utterly deprive us of them.* But a second embassy coming from the Tarentines, *Pyrhus* overcome by his own ambition, answer'd, *That 'twas the custome of the Epirotes to wage War, not only for themselves, but for their companions and friends also.* But to dissemble his more secret counsells, he articles very presely with the Embassadours, *That as soon as he had reliev'd them, he should be suffer'd to returne home; and not be detain'd in Italy any longer then necessity should require.* Then with all might and maine intending himselfe upon preparation for the War, he causeth a great number of long ships to be made ready, and likewise trims up others for transportation of men and horse. Now having Employed most of the Italian Embassadours (whom under a pretext of honour he detain'd as hostages and pledges), in levying and conducting of forces, he sent the rest beforehand to *Tarentum*, with three thousand armed men, and *Cineas* for Commander. By their arrival all hopes of peace were broken off, *Agis* his government abrogated, and by decree of the people the guidance of affairs committed to one of them who were now returned from *Epirus*. Not long after *Milo* being sent by the King, secures the Tower of *Tarentum* with a Garrison, and claims the custody and defence of the walls, with the very good will of the multitude, who were glad to see strangers undertake all the trouble and labour, while they safely enjoy'd their rest; they therefore chearfully decree Corn for the souldiers and Money for *Pyrhus*.
- In the mean time *L. Aemilius* understanding of the Arrivall of these beyond-sea souldiers, that he might have the safer winter quarters, resolv'd to draw his army into *Lucania*. His journey was by certain narrow passages shut in on the one hand with the Sea, on the other with ragged and impassible Rocks. The Tarentines having intelligence of his purpose, sail'd by that shore with their ships furnished with Cross-bows and Slings, assailing the souldiers as they pass'd through strait and open paths with stones and darts. But *Aemilius*, not being able to help himself by virtue, secur'd his passage by cunning; the Captives which before he had placed in the Rear, he now draws to that side of the ranks which was obnoxious to danger, in pity of whom, the Tarentines fearing to hurt their own men, spared also the enemy. These things were done at *Tarentum* this year. At *Rome C. Fabricius Luscinus*, who in his Consulship had egregiously overcome the Samnites, and Lucanians entred the Capital in Triumph. *Q. Marcius* not many daies after obtained the same honour, being returned out of *Etruria* with prosperous success. The reason why, the Etrurian war not as yet being finished, he was called out of his Province at such a time of year, (for *Fabricius* triumph'd the third of the Nones of March.) is not recorded. I conceive he was recall'd by the Senate, who being troubled with expectation of *Pyrhus*, did from every quarter gather together what strength they could. The *Proletarii*, the sixth and last rank of Citizens, who of old were priviledg'd from going to war, were now list'd, and being not able by reason of their poverty to provide themselves with arms, they were furnished by the publick; for at this time war being on every side commenced, it was necessary the Commonwealth should be defended by many Armies. These mens office was, while the Legions were otherwise employ'd, to guard the City with watch and ward, being disposed in several stations upon the walls, and in the Market-place. Neither by all these contrivances could the imminent calamities have been averted, but that the fortune of a City, ordain'd to Rule did in these most dangerous times produce men of so great Excellency, as I know not whether ever she could boast of better. Men, not so eminent for their Riches or Extraction, as truly ennobled by their Virtue and contempt of wealth. This Age had its *Curii, Fabricii, Cornuciani*, men of no great Ancestors or Possessions, but of most ample fame, which they obtained by their upright example, exact skill in Marshal affairs, and an answerable innocence of Manners; who were every where helpful to their Country, which had now need of Champions, which were able not only to resist the sword of the enemy, but to scorn his gold, having to deal with a King who was potent in both. In the meantime *Pyrhus*, not waiting for the spring, coming with

with two and twenty Thousand foot, three thousand horse, twenty Elephants, and a considerable band of slingers and archers, was in the midst of his Voyage so tossed with a Tempest, that he narrowly escaped being cast away. For the Navy being dispersed, and most of the ships distressed, when the Admirall was in danger, *Pyrrhus* leapt into the sea, and with very great paines at length hardly swam to shoare: But the strength and spirit of his minde did much helpe the weakness of his Body, together with the diligence of the Messapians, on whose shoare he was cast, who with all offices of humanity did foment and cherish him: with their assistance likewise, some few ships, which had escaped the violence of the storme, being brought into the Haven, there were gathered together some few horse, with two Elephants, and under two thousand footmen, with this force he marched to *Tarentus*, being met by *Cineas* who came forth with his souldiers to conduct him thither, and being entertained with much joy he took his rest for some dayes; In which space having observed the Manners of the City to be so order'd, that unless they were amended, there was no possibility of protecting it, but that rather the Patrons themselves would likewise be undone by it, he took no open notice at the present. But a while after, his dispersed ships meeting together, when he had strength sufficient, he shut up their wrestling places, and Porches, where the idle youth use to spend whole dayes in walking and fooling; he forbade their Banquets and Drinking-matches, and reduced their solemn Games from Intemperancy to a just Mediocrity.

After this he made a very strict Leavy of their young men, commanding his Prefers to choose out those of the larger size, he would make them valiant; Mixing these among his own Companies, lest being apart they should prove seditious, he trains them up with the same hardness and severity of Discipline, threatening pain of Death on those who should fly from their Colours. Those who were not in armes he compell'd to be most part of the day in the Market-place; by which strange usage the Citizens borne and bred up in shameful Luxury were grievously perplexed, calling it a slavery to be thus served against their wills, choosing rather to perish with idleness and Lust. The offence was aggravated by the Insolence of some of the King's Guard who choosing Quarters at their own pleasure, possessed them against the will of their Landlords, using much license towards their Wives and Children. Wherefore many being wearied out, forsook the City, and settled themselves in the Country, till at length that likewise was forbidden, the Ports being shut, and guards appointed. Then indeed the Tarentines perceiv'd that in stead of a Companion they had got a Master, and what onely Comfort was left them, when they had any handson occasion of meeting, they bewailed their Condition with indignation and Complaints, and then more freely, when besides their other Passion, they were heated with Wine; There wanted not those who inform'd *Pyrrhus* of this, and some of them being sent for, were accus'd for having spoken dishonourably of their King at their Banquets; But one Man's simple and ingenuous Confession freed them all from Punishment, for saies he, *we said these words indeed, and should have said worse but that we wanted Wine*; whereat *Pyrrhus* smiling, dismiss them, being willing the fault should be imputed to the wine rather then to the men; But not confiding either in the Mindes or manners of the City, what men he observed to be of greatest Note for Authority or Counsell amongst them, he either found or made some Cause arise to send them to his Son *Proton* (who being then fifteen yeares of Age he had left *Viceroy* in his Realme) others by secret Ambush he cut off, and some to make them suspected to the People, he did with much seeming Humanity embrace, as if he held them among his dearest Friends. Of this number was *Aristarchus* a principal Man much beloved of the Citizens, and of great repute for his Eloquence, *Pyrrhus* perceiving him to be very Popular, upon a certain emergent Occasion commands him to faile into *Epirus*. *Aristarchus* (knowing it was present Death to disobey the King; and that to obey him was, though not of so sudden, yet of a certain ill Consequence) taking ship, after he had sailed a little way, steer'd his course to *Rome*, where being received into credit, he inform'd the Senate of many Affaires of great Concernment: While *Pyrrhus* thus busied himselfe at *Tarentus*, the Romans were no less careful in making Leavys for the warre, they had raised Money, and sent *Fabius* to their Confederate Cities, either by his Authority or Grace to restrain them from Innovation in State: Those who were most suspected were kept in awe by Garrisons conveniently placed amongst them. For the strength of so many Nations combining themselves against one Commonwealth, and their expectation of so Warlike a King, had very much moved the humours of the Italians who were either desirous of Change, or provoked with the perswasion of Injuries receiv'd; which made the Romans the more diligent to provide for their own safety by a timely suppressing all Occasions of sedition. About this Time an Accident befell the *Prænestines* Nobles very remarkable, for they being brought to *Rome* late in the Evening were for Custody's sake lock't up in the Publick Treasury, whereby at length they understood the Deceit of an Oracle, which they did make use of to stirre up their Countrymen to Rebellion, often averring, it was Decree'd by the Fates, That the Roman Treasury should be possessed by the *Prænestines*. The Fathers being already much perplexed, had further Intelligence that *Fabius* was detained by their Confederate and Compagnions as a Pledge to secure the safe return of their hostages from *Rome*, and that Embassadors were sent to incite the Etrurians, the Umbres and the Gauls against the People of *Rome*; where at they were infinitely troubled as at a fact in it selfe horrid, so of ill Example, left in such a Dangerous time the Roman faith and honesty should be call'd in question, and held suspected by all

Frontinus

Strat. 4. 1.

Zonaras

Plutarch

Zonaras

Plutarch

Appian. apud

Valefium.

Zonaras

Val. Maximus

5. 1. 3. Ext.

Zonaras

Plutarch in

Pyrrho. C. 16.

Zonaras

Justinus 18. 1.

Zonaras

Dio.

Zonaras

Zonaras

Dion. apud

Fulvian. Hist.

num.

all

Polybius.

Livie Epit. 11.

Livie 28.28.3.

Polybius.

Dion.

Polybius.

Diodorixcerpta
ex. lib. 21.

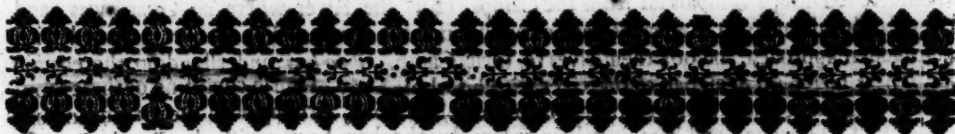
Livie 28. 28.

Diodorus

all the Italians. In the utmost part of the *Italian* shoate over against *Sicilie* is seated the City of *Rhegium*, (by a *Græcian* name so called) very wealthy and flourishing in those dayes: The Citizens thereof judging by the Arrival of *Pyrrhus* that a great and terrible warre would ensue, and frighted likewise with the *Carthaginian* Navy floating up and down in those seas, not trusting in their own strength, thought fit to send for a Guard from *Rome*. The Romans sent them Four thousand souldiers (which being leavied out of the Colonies of *Campania*, were call'd the *Campanian* Legion) under the Conduct of *Decius Jubbellius* their Colonel; These at their first coming were very faithfull, and very diligent in defending the City. At length seeing no warre approach neer them, and being by degrees debauch'd with idleness and imitation of the Greek Customes, they began to compare the Advantage they had now in their hands with the hard and laborious life they had hitherto led; and with much Covetousness and Envy did frequently discourse in all their meetings and quarters of the convenient situation of the City, and the happiness of the Inhabitants. *Decius* was well pleased with this, who being himself grown as Licentious, had long ago conceived an inward desire of seizing upon the City. The design was favour'd by occasion of the present warre, which so wholly took up the Romans that they had no Leisure to mind the affaires of *Rhegium*; Besides on the opposite shore were the *Mamertines*, an Example of the like successfull villany, and ready no doubt to defend the like Treachery in others, especially being tyed with the Relation of the same Common Country; For they likewise were of *Campania*, and of late yeares going to warre amongst the Auxiliaries of *Agathocles*, and being entertained by the *Messenians* as Friends, having slain and cast out the Citizens, possess'd the place themselves: sharing likewise among themselves their houses, wives and Estates. They called to mind also the *Campanians* of old, who by the like wicked art got *Capua* from the *Tuscans*. When they had now agreed upon the Business, there was nothing left to be consulted on, but only the Manner, how safely to execute their Design, left in so populous a Citie, the lesser number should be surrounded and slain by the greater. *Decius* counterfeited Letters as wrote from the *Rhegians* to *Pyrrhus*, to betray the *Roman* Garrison to him; these Letters as if they were intercepted, are read to the souldiers in private, *Decius* bitterly complaining of the Perfidiousness of the *Rhegians*; and some souldiers being subborned to it, cry out, *'Twas time to provide for their own safety by the sword, and turn that Destruction which was destin'd to them upon the heads of the Authors*; and as the business was set, a Messenger comes in with newes, That *Pyrrhus* his Navy was seen by the shore, and secret discourses were had between him and the *Rhegians*. The souldiers now beside their former Covetousness, were much incensed with the Treachery of the Enemy, and fear of Danger; It is therefore by Common Consent resolv'd upon, *That as the Townesmen shall be oppressed unawares and unprepar'd, that having slain the Men, with their Publick and Private wealth of the City shall be distributed to the Legion*. Behold now an unworthy and horrid fact; *Decius* having invited some of the Prime men to Supper, against the holy Rites of Hospitality, takes away their Lives; others were every where slain in their own houses; the greater part of the *Rhegians* being thus murthered, the rest were banished their Country, even by those whom of late they had entertain'd under the Name of Friends and Companions, for preservation of themselves and their Country. Execution being done, there is now a new face of Publick affaires; the houses and Estates of the poore wretches like the Plunder of an Enemy, is divided amongst the Thieves; and while the Blood is yet fresh and warme, the Matrons and Virgins are forced to Marry the murtherers of their husbands and Parents; and the Cruel Perfidious Legion arrogates to it selfe the Title and Rights of the City of *Rhegium*. But it hath pleased God well to provide for Mankind, that such rare examples of high Mischiefe should prove likewise as manifest Examples of Vengeance and Divine Justice; Left we should onely by consideration of the success be animated to the like Villany, and not by the Issue and event be deterr'd from evil doing, so that no true Felicity attends the Wicked, neither can there be a greater Madnes then for any man to perswade himself that he can grow happy by doing Mischief: For suppose there were no Punishment after Death, which all wise men acknowledg to be the greatest, (for the folly of ordinary men is so great they will scarce believe what is before their eyes, much less be moved with the terrour of things unseen and as farre off,) yet let all things as to outward shew succeed prosperously, nevertheless the Conscience of offences committed, doth by secret wounds continually lacerate and torment the minde: the Name of the Living, and the memory of the Dead is had in perpetual hatred and Detestation among men: and what is by ill meanes gotten, and with care and labour preserved is most commonly to their great grief snatch't away again, neither God nor men suffering Wickedness to go long unpunished. It will not be amiss briefly to relate the punishment of *Decius Jubbellius*, and his mad Accomplices, as in these dayes it befell, for their Final destruction after great variety of troublesome Chances, was deferred to the Tenth year, as shall in fit time be declared. These Rascalls did not long enjoy Comfort or Tranquility amongst themselves; The feare of the Romans and *Pyrrhus* they did indeed avoid, as by reason of the present Conjuncture of Affaires, so by holding strict society with the *Mamertines*, and resolving to Offend neither Party: For 'twas thought safest in their first beginnings to abstain from warre at the present, while their New City which had so violent and sudden an Original, should have time to strengthen, compact and knit it selfe well together; they saw that without Danger they could not molest the King, and were in hopes the more readily to obtain Pardon from

the Romans, if they bore not arms against them. The first cause of dissension, as is usual among Thieves, arose from an unequal division of the Plunder. *Decius* in the sedition was cast out and betook himself to *Messana*, the Souldiers at *Rhegium* chose *M. Casius* his Secretary for their Commander, and *Decius* carrying with him a great bank of money, was honour'd with the same dignity by the *Mamertines*, though his fortune was neither prosperous nor of continuance. For it hapned, that being troubled with sore eyes, he caused some Eminent Physician to be sought out for him; the Divine Vengeance hereby overtaking the wicked man with most sharp and bitter punishments: A Physician was therefore brought unto him, who prov'd to be by birth a *Rhegian*, but because he had lived so long at *Messana*, his original was not only unknown to *Decius*, (who would never have trusted himself to the mercy of a *Rhegian*) but likewise to most of the inhabitants of the City.

He being mindfull of his Country and resolving now to be revenged for its Calamities, perswaded *Decius* that the remedie he brought, was indeed strong in Operation, but of quick and most certaine efficacy: So applying the medicine which he had temper'd with the Juice of *Cantharides*, and giving order it should not be removed till he returned to the Patient, without delay he taketh ship, and flyeth from *Messana*. *Decius* being along time sufficiently tormented with incredible paines, seeing his Physician came not at him commanded the Medicament to be removed, which being washed off, he perceived himself to be starke blind. So that being now a blind Exul, infamous and dispaisd, he is reserved to judgement, as if he were bound in Chaines, by a wonderfull Method of Divine Vengeance, in that he received this Plague from one to whom he had trusted his health, even as he himselfe had by Cruelty and treachery circumvented those whom he ought to have protected. Tis fit such Examples as these should be recorded in History and transmitted to posterity, for the Benefit of mankind which is never sufficiently convinced how farre these Cunning practises are different from wisdom and right reason; so that neglecting the Rules of Virtue, Honesty, and Fidelity, they doe for love of false and onely seeming good things by foul and villanous lusts involve themselves in true Evils.



BOOK III.



OW at *Rome*, part of their forces being kept at home for guard of the City, and for a reserve against the uncertain chances of war, the Armies and Provinces were committed to the charge of the new Consuls. *P. Lavinus Latinus* was designed against the *Tarentines* and *Pyrrhus*, and *T. Coruncianus* sent to finish the *Etrurian* War. *Lavinus*, thinking it would much avail as to his own reputation, so to the Terror of the enemies to provoke them first; and that it was profitable to the Commonwealth to avert the fear and inconveniences of War, as far as might be, from the Roman Territories; leading his Army into *Lucania*, did there fortifie a Castle in a convenient place, furnishing it with a strong Garrison, both to retard the proceedings of *Pyrrhus*, and to keep the *Lucanians* in awe, whose treachery was feared, lest they should dare to revolt to the enemy. *Pyrrhus* having intelligence of the Roman Consul's approach, though his forces were not yet assembled together, judging it both dishonourable and hurtful now in the beginning of the War to manifest any token of Fear, with what strength he had at present, did forthwith march out to meet him. But that he might find some colourable pretence to draw out the business and gain time, he sent a Messenger with Letters of these Contents: *Pyrrhus the King wishes Health to Lavinus, I understand that thou art come forth*

forth with thine army against the Tarentines, but leaving it for a while, come thou unto me with a small Retinue, and I, taking cognizance of the quarrel, will compel even those who are unwilling, to yield one to the other in what is equal and right. To this *Levinus* answer'd, We neither accept of thee as an Arbitrator of our Controversies, nor fear thee as an Enemy. But thou seemest to do very absurdly in assuming to thy self the Judgment of other mens Causes, who art thy self guilty of a Crime, and hast not as yet received due punishment for entering Italy without our consent. Know then, that I come no lesse against thee then the Tarentines, to try our Right and Title with a Just army, by the Judgment of Mars the Author and Founder of our Nation. And without delay moving his Ensignes, he sits down between the Cities of *Pandofia* and *Heraclea*, in a Champian ground, being divided from the Enemies Camp by the River *Sirius*.

'Tis reported that *Pyrrhus*, walking downe to the River side to view the Roman campe, when he had well and diligently consider'd it, said to one of his freinds, *Megacles* by name, These Barbarians have martiall'd their Army after no barbarous manner, but wee shall soone try what metall they are of. Then having placed strong guards upon the banks, to hinder their Passage through the *Fordes*, he resolv'd to expect the coming of his Companions; not onely for the Reason of War, hoping the Romans in an enemies Country would quickly be in want of necessary accommodations, but as much regarding the spirit and confidence of *Levinus*, whose admiration was by a new Testimonie encreas'd with him, in that he had freely without punishment dismissed those spies, which were sent to view his Campe, telling them moreover, That he had another Army bigger then this. In the meane time the Campe being so neer, there were many Pickereings and light skirmishes which tended nothing to the main chance. Almost fifty dayes being now spent in these light skirmishes, the Consul being moved with the same reasons to hasten the fight, as *Pyrrhus* was to defer it, assembling his Souldiers together, gave them to understand his Intentions, and encourag'd them against the fear of a new enemy, extenuating, as much as might be, the fame of *Pyrrhus*, and the Terror of the Elephants; at length preparing himself for all assayes, he resolves either to fight the enemy by Consent, or compel him to Battel. Therefore seeing *Pyrrhus* still continue in his resolution, he sendeth out beforehand all his horse, as if to forrage the Country, himself with his Legions in Battel Array, expecting till the tumult and noise on the other side of the River should give them warning. The horse fetching a compass far from the Camps, cross the River where no Guard was, and immediately advance to the enemies stations on that side the River: The *Epirots* terrified with their sudden approach, betook themselves to their Camp. *Pyrrhus* understanding the enemy was so near, marcheth in all hast to the River with his whole body of horse, consisting of threethousand, hoping the Romans in their passage through a blind Ford, striving with the stream and unevenness of the ground and breaking their orders, might there be vanquished. But the Roman horse interposing themselves, *Pyrrhus* riding at the head of his Troops, conspicuous in his shining armor, of singular strength of Body and Resolution of mind, he managed the fight every way correspondent to his Fame and Reputation. He so exactly order'd the whole Battel with his Counsel and Directions, as if he were free from all other labour; yet, as occasion serv'd, he would charge and fight in person, as if to him belong'd only the Office of a Private Souldier, and that the care of the General issue were another man's business. In the mean time one *Leonatus* a *Macedonian*, having observed a certain enemy, who neglecting all others, intended himself only against the King, as he flew up and down the field, directing his horse to whatsoever quarter he spied him in, gave *Pyrrhus* notice of it, who answer'd, No man can avoid the Fate of Mortals, but neither this Italian, nor any other, shall grapple with me without his reward, and due punishment. He had scarce spoken the words, when *Oplacus* (so was the man named, a Captain of one of the *Frentan* Troops) wounded the Kings horse with his Spear, *Leonatus* likewise wounding his, whereupon the Kings friends round besetting him killed *Oplacus*, stoutly fighting for himself, and delivered the King. But this accident did much daunt the Kings party, as believing him to be slain: Wherefore to confirm his Souldiers, as likewise to decline dangers intended against him, he changed his Armour and weapons with *Megacles*, and leaving him in the Fight, went himself to order and lead up the Regiments. The Roman Legions were now come up, and the Battel a long time fiercely continued with so doubtful success, that 'tis reported Fortune seven times changed, sometimes the Romans sometimes the *Epirots* turning their backs.

But the death of *Megacles* had like to have reduc'd *Pyrrhus* his affairs even to a most desperate condition, who being in the Kings armour was assaulted by every valiant Enemy who affected the Glory of slaying the King: And at length an Horseman, *Dexter* by name, having kill'd him, and taking off his Helmet and Gorget, with loud crys carried them to the Consul, thereby ingenerateing a believe in both the Armies of the Kings Death. Hereupon the *Gracians* were full of Terrour and Consternation, and no doubt had immediately quitted the Field, but that *Pyrrhus* as soone as might be, uncovering his head rode up and down, with a loud voyce witnessing, That he was a live, and present amongst them, hereby taking away as much Confidence from the Romans, as feare and Despaire from his owne souldiers. *Levinus* perceiving the Time come, wherein to trie the utmost Remedie, gaveth the Signe to his Horsemen whom he had placed in Ambush, to fall upon the backe of the enemy. But *Pyrrhus* against this

Zonaras

Frontidus

Zonaras
Gosefridus.
Vitebiensius.
Otto.
Erfingenfis
Zonaras

Plutarch

Zonaras
PlutarchFrontinus Scra-
pion 2. 4
Plutarch

Zonaras

this Troupe commanded his Elephants to be led, which he had likewise reserved for the last Terror to the enemy. This one Contrivance dash't all the Romans hopes, and gave the Issue of the Battaille cleerly on *Pyrrhus* his side. For the men themselves being astonish'd at the vast bulk of their bodies, and the terrible shew of armed Warriors on their backs thought they had rather seen some strange and formidable Monster, then the shape of any Creature by Nature produced; and as for the horse, they being frightned with the sight, smell and noise of beasts they had never before seen, did forthwith, confounding their ranks, flee every one what way was most open; and either shaking off their riders, or against their wills forcing them to flight, they ran upon their own battel, and filled all things with fear and tumult. The Rectors of the Elephants following the pursuit, many of those that fled were wounded from those who stood in the Towers upon the Elephants, and more were kill'd and trodden under foot by the beasts themselves. The Consul making use of his best skill, did as yet keep his main battel together, till, by the command of *Pyrrhus*, the Thessalian wing being sent amongst them, did rout and scatter them, not being able to resist. And no question but in the place they were hemm'd in; they had every man been slain or taken prisoners, but that, besides the Custom of *Pyrrhus*, who thought it not General like too severely to press upon those who fled, left by despair of safety they should be provoked to make more sharp resistance, the evening likewise being far spent compelled them to relinquish the pursuit. Fortune likewise favour'd the remnant of the unfortunate Army, in that an Elephant being wounded turned back and with its braying confounded the rest. This putting a *Remora* to the enemy, gave liberty to those that fled to cross the River into *Apulia*, where they sheltered the mselves in a fenced City against the present danger. I find that in this fight there were fourteen thousand eight hundred and seventy foot of the Romans and their friends slain, with two hundred and fourcore horsemen; there were taken in all eighteen hundred and twelve, in which number were eight hundred and two horsemen; there was lost likewise two and twenty Colours. Whereby I wonder the more why some Authors, who undertake exactly to relate this encounter, deny that any notice was taken how many were wanting on the Kings side; whereas *Dionysius* writeth, that *Levinus* lost little lesse then fifteen thousand, and that on the Victor's side thirteen thousand fell. But *Hieronimus Cardianus*, an impartial writer of those times, affirms, That of the Roman army there fell but seven thousand, and of the Kings army under four thousand. But this is by all agreed on, That the Victory cost *Pyrrhus* the very Flower both of his Captains and Souldiers, and that he was heard to say, *He was no less Conquer'd then Conqueror in that Battel*. And when he offer'd the spoiles and gifts to *Junius Bruttus*, he confessed as much, inscribing that sentence in the Title, and when his friend complain'd, he repli'd, *Of a truth, if I obtain such another Victory, I shall return into Epirus without e're a Souldier*. I have likewise an Author that the King himself received a grievous wound in this fight, but because others report no such thing, and that I often see the circumstances of several battels confounded, I dare not in the general silence of so many and those more accurate Authors, give credit to one single one.

That it was fought with great animosity and valour, this one argument is sufficient, That when *Pyrrhus* next day view'd the slain corps (which for the reputation of his Humanity and Clemency he caused to be buried) he finding that all the Romans died with honourable wounds having their faces turn'd to the enemy, he cry'd out, *How easie were it for me to gain the Empire of the whole world, if I had but Roman souldiers!* Neither did he defer with any complement and large promises to court those who were in his power, to receive pay under him, and not being able to perswade them, he did, nevertheless treat them with great humanity and clemency, freeing them from chains and whatever other reproach usually attends the fortune of prisoners. But the Romans thus batter'd by the late fight were terrified with another misfortune, though not of so great loss, yet which caused more fear and Religious horror. For it was imputed to the manifest anger of the gods, that their men who were sent forth for forrage and relief, were overtaken by a sudden and most violent Tempest; wherein four and thirty were amidst the stupendious noise of the Heavens, struck dead by Thunderbolts, and two and twenty smitten and left half dead, their Cattel also by the same storm were most of them slain or made of no use.

Pyrrhus in the mean time having taken the empty and forsaken Camp of the Romans, made quick use of his victory, waisting all the Neighbour Countries, and turning many people from the Roman friendship. The Lucanians and Samnites then come in to him, whom lightly chiding, *That they had not assisted him in the battel*, he nevertheless gave them part of the spoils; therein much rejoicing and exulting, *That by his own strength, with no other aid but that of the Tarentines, he had slain so many of the Romans*. *Pyrrhus* being thus intent in reaping the fruit of his Victory, *Levinus* on the other side curing his wounded, and recollecting his disperfed men, had gathered together a force no way contemptible, and the Senate (though many imputed the losse only to the Consul's default, and *Fabrizius* said, *It seem'd to him, that the Romans were not beaten by the Epirots, but Levinus by Pyrrhus*) decreed a recruit and supply to be sent him. When the Cryer proclaimed, *That they who would serve their Country in the place of them who were slain, should give in their names*, they list'd themselves so fast, that presently they compleated the number of two Legions.

The Consul recruited with these forces, follow'd the steps of *Pyrrhus*, vexing his Army with what inconveniencies he could. And understanding the Kings Resolution to seize upon *Capua*, leading his Army thither in haste, he prevented him, and preparing all things for Defence, he deterr'd him from assaulting the City. *Pyrrhus* turning his Course to *Naples*, and there likewise being frustrated of his Expectation, forthwith by long journeys marcheth toward *Rome* in the Latine high way, and now having passed through *Anagnia*, and the Hernician Territories, taking in *Fregella* by the way, he was come to *Præneste* within Twenty miles of the City. But the Magistrates there, as soon as they understood of the Overthrow, had by Order of the Senate armed their choice young men: and the Fortune of the Roman People had in this the time of their Necessity, provided them another very strong help and succour; For the other Consul *Tib. Coruncianus* encountering the Etrurians with better success, had tied the whole Nation to new Covenants, and being called back by the Senate to the Defence of his Countrey, having no other Enemy to distract him, came home with his Victorious Army. *Pyrrhus* having in vain attempted to draw the Etrurians again into Armes, and considering that, besides a City secure with its own guards, he had two Consuls with their Armies, one on the Front, the other on his Reare, returned back into *Campania*; where meeting *Lavinus* with greater forces then before his Overthrow, he said, *He had to deal with a Lernæan Hydra, whose heads being lately struck off, spring up again in a greater Number*; yet confiding in his former Victory, he drew out his Army and marshall'd it as resolving to fight, and that he might discover the Cheerfulness of his souldiers, and likewise terrifie the Enemy; he caus'd his men to shout and the Elephants to be provoked to bray. But the Romans returned a farre greater and more terrible shout, whereby conjecturing the Spirits of each, he judg'd it fit to abstain from fight at the Present, and complaining of ill omen in the Entrailes of sacrifices, he drew back his Army first into his Camp, and afterward with much plunder and a great Troop of Captives, to *Tarentum*.

The Romans (who in their hardest times had remitted nothing of their Constancy, but as to the main Issue of the warre alwayes spake high, as conceiving ample hopes) thinking this a most fit time to give rewards and Encouragement to Virtue, decreed a Triumph to *L. Emilius Barbula* for those exploits performed in his Consulship. He triumphed *A. D.* the fourth of the Ides of *July*, over the Tarentines, Samnites, and Salentines who were Auxiliaries of the Tarentines. But *P. Valerius* was order'd to draw the Remnant of his Conquer'd Army into the *Sotino* fields, there to fortifie his Camp, and cause them to winter in their huts. About the same time the Senate disputing whether it were fit to redeem the Captives, resolv'd affirmatively; that which chiefly perswaded them, was I believe the Horsemen's Case, for they had stoutly maintained the fight during the absence of the Elephants, at whose approach the horse without any fault of the Riders, yielded them up to Death; and to Bonds; upon this Errand were sent Embassadours of Principall Dignity, *P. Cornelius Dolabella* famous for his Desolation of *Sena* in *Gallia*, *C. Fabricius Luncianus*, and *Q. Emilius Papus*, who two yeares since were Collegues in the Consulship: *Pyrrhus* by Nature was Endow'd with humanity, the inseparable Companion of great Spirits, and that he did encrease by his Ambition, according to the Vulgar Errour, esteeming all Virtues the servants to Domination, to which onely being intemperately given, he did direct all his Counsells for the attaining it; And though he were not inferiour to any Commander of that Age in Boldness of mind and the Arts of Warre, yet was he wont to try all meanes before he came to Blows; he would sollicite the mind of his Enemy as he saw most opportune with Feare, or Desire, or Pleasure, or Mercy, or with equality and benefit of Conditions. Therefore understanding Embassadours were coming from *Rome*, and judging so many Consular men were not sent but upon some Grand Affaires, he was in good hopes they would treat of Compounding a Peace. Therefore that their access might be the safer and the more honourable, he sent *Lycus* (by nation a Molossian) even to the borders of the Tarentine Territories, to meet them with a Guard. Himselfe on Horseback with rich Caparisons met them without the Gates, and having magnificently brought them in, he entertain'd them with all Respect, liberality and plenty that might be.

They premising somewhat tending to Moderation of the mind, as how great the Inconstancy of Fortune is, how sudden the Changes of Warre, and that future Contingents cannot be foreseen, deliver their Message, That they came to receive their Captives, whether he would suffer them at a Certain price to be redem'd, or to be exchanged for Tarentines and others. *Pyrrhus* whose Custom it was, not to transact any thing of moment without advice of his friends, convened them now together, and *Milo's* Opinion was, That he should detain the Captives, make use of his fortune, and not cease the Warre till he had thoroughly subdued the Romans; *Cineas* his Counsell was very different, for, speaking first of the Constancy of the Senate and People of *Rome*, which they had often shewn even in the hardest times to be invincible; he added moreover, As for other Enemies 'tis likely we may hate their manners or contemnt their Armes, but with this Nation, O King, 'tis better making Friendship then Warre, and 'tis convenient not only to return the Captives, but freely to dismiss them without Ransome; Neither is any delay to be made, but that you send back the Embassadours with Presents, to conclude Peace upon equall Terms: For this I take to be the time, wherein with honour and Credit you may accomplish a Business (in my judgement) very necessary. For now your affaires having succeeded prosperously,

Appian.

Florus. 1. 18.

24.

Plutar. b.

Zonaras

Appian.

Eutropius

Zonaras.

Florus 1. 18.

19.

Zonaras

Tabula
Capitolina
Froninus 4. 1.Dionys. apud
FulviumCicero Bruto c.
14.Polyani
Stratagemat.
6. 6.Zonaras
Val. Max. 5. 1.
Dion. apud
Fulvium
Ursinum.

Dion.

you shall both more easily by Treaty obtain what you desire, and likewise seem for no other Cause but the innate Greatness and Goodness of your mind, to offer Peace unto those whom you might by force have reduced into slavery. And farre be it from Thee, but that Thy Designs should prosper as they have begun; Yet We are but Men, and if Fortune change her side, neither will it be so easie a matter to Obtaine Peace, neither can it with so much honour be treated on. When the rest agreed in the same Opinion, the King himselfe likewise assenting, commanded the Roman Embassadors to be called, to whom he spake in this Manner; Your Errand, Romans, seemeth to me very unworthy, for having no Consideration of entering into Friendship with me, you require back the Prisoners of Warre, whom being restor'd, you are ready presently to make use of against me. If therefore you will intend your Minds on better Counsell, beneficiall to both Parties, and make a League and Society with me, I will restore all your Citizens and Companions in Armes without price or Ransom; otherwise if you continue hostility, I shall think it no wise part, to strengthen your Hatred against me with the hands of so many Valiant men. Neither is Money so scarce with me as to need any from the Romans whom it would better become, if we were Friends, to be enriched by my bounty; Withall he commanded gifts of good value to be given the Embassadors, with promise he would bestow more and of greater Price. These things were spoken and acted openly in the Presence of all the Embassadors. But with C. Fabricius he had afterward a longer and more serious discourse. Neither shall I think it unfit to relate what I find in good Authors; When therefore they had speech together in secret without witness, among other things 'tis reported the King said thus: My desire is to have all the Romans my Friends, but especially your selfe, whom I esteeme above all others, as most eminent in Civill and Military virtues, onely one Thing I am troubled to find wanting in you, that having but slender substance you are not able to maintaine that Port and Splendour which justly attends Great men, as their Due; But I will not suffer you any longer to be sensible of this Injury, and despite of Fortune, I will freely bestow so large a summe of Gold and Silver, as you shall easily exceed the Revenues of the Richest. For I am perswaded it belongs to my Place and Fortune, to relieve the hard Wants of Worthy men, who have endeavour'd more to obtaine Glory then Wealth: Truly I think it to be a faire and honourable Work, and that there cannot be, either a more illustrious monument of Kingly Magnificence, or a more precious and Acceptable Offering unto the Gods: so that I shall rather think you do me a Courtesie, then receive one at my hands, if you will suffer your selfe to be relieved by my Plenty. Neither truly would I urge this to you if on my side onely the Bounty should seem Glorious, on your side the Acceptance dishonourable. But now seeing I tempt you not to Treason or the commission of any Fact misbecoming your Grave Manners; what Reason is there why you should with a resolute and obstinate mind refuse a small Gift, with a free and Friendly intent offered? For I desire nothing of you, but what may, may of duty ought to be done by the best of Men, and most tender of their Countreys Good, that you would perswade the Senate to forsake their wilful stubbornness, and recall their mindes to Equity and milder Counsells, giving them to understand the Truth, that neither can the Warre be continued without your great Loss and Danger, neither can I (having promised help to the Tarentines, and proved Victor in the first Battell) without manifest breach of faith, and diminution of mine Honour relinquish it; Neither indeed do I delight in fighting with you whom I judge farre more worthy my Friendship then my Hatred, and had much rather return home into mine own Kingdom, where many businesses in the interim arise, which require my presence. And for this I will give you what assurance you shall desire, whereby you may be satisfied concerning my Intentions, and resolve the Doubts of others; if any shall think it not safe to trust to Kings, by reason of the fault of some, who, standing to their Agreements and Covenants so long onely as it seemeth for their Profit, when they perceive any benefit to be gain'd by Change, have chosen rather to break their Faith then lose an Advantage. And when the Peace shall be concluded, there is nothing will please me better, or be more commodious to us Both, then that you would bear me company into Epirus, where you shall have the Principal place among my Subjects, be my Lieutenant in Warre, and Partner of all my Fortunes. For I esteeme no Possession more precious then that of a Valiant and Faithfull Friend, and certainly the splendour of a Kingly Fortune, and the Majesty of Royall affaires will well become your great Mind. These things if we shall in Common conferre; mutually helping one the other, we shall without any difficulty attain to the greatest Happiness that man is capable of or can imagine.

When the King had thus made an end of speaking, after a little distance Fabricius answer'd, Concerning my Vertue, if any could be observ'd either in my military or Civill employments, it is needlesse for me to discourse seeing you have already trusted the Relation of others concerning it. Neither is it necessary to declare my poverty, that, being the master of a little ground and a small Cottage, I maintaine my self neither by usury nor the sweat of servantes, but by the labour and exercise of my owne Body, seeing this also you have truly learn'd by the discourse of others. But if, either on your owne accord, or following the Opinion of others, you judge me, by reason of my poverty, to be in worse condition then any other Roman, you are wonderfully deceived. For despising Riches, embracing Vertue, and doing my duty, I was never sensible of any misery; neither in private or publick business did I ever repine at my Fortune. For what Reason have I to speake ill of fortune, unlesse I should impute it as a crime

Dio. apud
Ful. Ursinum.

Appianus apud
Ussinum.

Zonarus

Plutarch in
Pyrrho. C. 43.

*Ammian.
Marcellinus
24.9
Dionysius*

*Zonaras
Dionysius*

Zonaras

*Above in the
year 471
Dionys.*

crime to her, that I enjoy all those things which to great and high spirits are most desirable, not only with the Rich, but many times before them? I am dignified with the greatest honours our country affordeth. The heaviest wars are committed to my Charge, I am entrusted with the care of our most holy Devotions, I am call'd into the Senate, my opinion is asked concerning the most weighty affairs, I am commended and cheerfully imitated by many; neither am I of less esteem then the most potent man in the City; I seem unto others an example and pattern of attaining Virtue and Glory; to all this bestowing no cost either of mine own or others. For in other places, where particular mens wealth is great, and the publick stock but small, the Magistrates sustain the dignity and splendor of their office by their own expence: In our City the custome is much different, no private mans fortune being on any side burthened. All this great and glorious pomp, wherewith our Citizens, who are chosen to the administration of grand affairs, are so magnificently set forth, is of publick allowance; which order maketh all men equal, so that the poorest man shall want nothing for the maintaining either the publick or his own grace, neither shall the richest in any thing abound. Wherefore seeing, though I am the poorest of all, yet I do in no good thing yield to the richest of all; why should I complain of Fortune? should I desire to be equal with Kings, who may board up vast sums and heaps of gold? But hitherto I have spoken in reference to my life in Publick, even in private also my indigence is so far from being a burden or inconvenience to me, that contrariwise, as often as I compare my self with the rich ones, my condition seemeth incomparably more happy, and I reckon my self among those few who have attained to as much Felicity as this life admits of, in which regard I mightily rejoyce and give thanks to my Poverty. For it seeming to me idle and foolish to pursue after things superfluous, and that my little ground being rightly till'd and manured yieldeth all necessities; I know not to what end I should be solicitous of greater Riches. My Meat hunger makes sweet to me, and thirst my Drink; after labour my sleep is easie and quiet; my garments, if they defend me from cold, are of proof sufficient; and my household stuff, according as it is apt and fit for those uses it was ordained to, so it very well pleaseth me. So that herein also I should be injurious to accursed Fortune, that it hath not allowed me larger substance then nature desires, which hath neither ingenerated in me a covetousness of what is too much, nor a dexterity of scraping it together. Wherefore with this my poverty I judge my self more wealthy then the richest men, yea then thy self also, for I have so much that I desire no more, whereas unless you thought your self poor notwithstanding your possession of *Epirus*, and all other your Territories, why came you over into *Italy*? But Riches you may object, gives one a fair opportunity of doing good to mankind, and that I in my poverty can be bountiful to no body. Truly this troubleth me no more then that in other things also I do not abound: That the gods have not endowed me with knowledge superexcellent, and the Art of Prophecying and many other the like things, whereby I might benefit those who in these kinds want help. But if I freely communicate to my friends and fellow-Citizens those things which are in my power, and suffer every one in common to participate of what may any way pleasure them, I shall think my self free from that crime of being useless or unprofitable to mankind. Neither would I have you esteem those things small and contemptible, because others seem greater in your eyes, and therefore you are ready to buy men with large bribes. But, if for supplying the necessities of the poor, Riches were altogether to be desired, and that in this respect the possession of moneys were to be reckon'd as a part of Felicity, as you Kings seem to be persuaded, which think you, were the better way of purchasing wealth, that I should now with disgrace receive it at your hands, or that I should, when it was in my power, have long ago gather'd it upon most honest accounts? For my prosperous management of Publick affairs, hath given me fair opportunities of growing Rich, as often at other times, so especially when four years since, being Consul, and sent with an army against the Samnites, Lucanians and Brutians I overcame those large and fertile Territories wasting and spoiling, when being conqueror in many Battles, I took by force and demolish'd wealthy Cities, whereupon the Souldiers being largely rewarded and all debts paid which the Commonwealth had contracted with private men for carrying on the War, there was yet so much remaining that I carried into the Publick Treasury four hundred Talents. Now after I have scorn'd to acquire just and honest Riches by those spoils which were in my hands, and by the example of *Valerius Publicola* (and others who have advanced the Roman State) have preferred Glory before money, shall I receive gifts of thee, and embrace a shameful and dangerous opportunity of growing Rich, having neglected a fair and honourable means? And truly, that wealth I could freely, with pleasure, and good conscience have expended in just and honest uses, which what I receive of you I cannot do: For that money is, rather to be accounted lent then bestow'd which proceeds from another's bounty, and however it be given and received under the specious pretence of hospitality, friendship or good will, is burthenome to an Ingenuous and high Spirit till it be restored. And what do you think will be the issue of this business when it is known (as conceal'd it cannot be) if the Censour, who with ample authority exercise the superinspection of Manners amongst us, shall (according to that power wherewith they are invested to enquire into the Lives of the Citizens, and punish those who deviate from the Institutions of our Fathers) publicly summon me to give an account of the reasons, why I received any Gifts from thee?

Many

Many report that *Pyrhus*, resolving at any rate to winne a man of such Excellent vertue, did yet more earnestly tempt his Constancy, and after other magnificent promises, making a proffer of half his Kingdom could not therewith move him, but that still he persisted to deny the Accomplishment of the Kings desires, For, saies he, if I am an euill man, why doe you court me? If good, why would you corrupt me? adding moreover, That this businesse would proue neither pleasing nor profitable to *Pyrhus* if it should succeed, for if he should make use of his liberty, 'twould be hateful both for the King and his Friends, as for his Justice and Abstinence, if the *Epirots* once had experience of them, they would forsake the King and apply themselves wholly to him. These things, and what hereafter I shall add, being by various Authors related, I thought neither inconvenient nor unprofitable to collect and declare, that the mind and sense of those men may be known, who supported the Roman State in most difficult times, and improv'd it to that incomparable height of Glory and Empire it attain'd to: and that by a clear example it may be apprehended, what Virtues and Manners ought to be practis'd by those men, who would become objects of Admiration, and transmit to their posterity a more flourishing Commonwealth then they received from their Ancestours. These things being spoken and heard on both sides, the King at present contented himself, but on the morrow, causing *Fabricius* to be sent for, he prepared an Elephant before hand to frighten him, who standing at their backs behind the hangings, as they were discouraging, the hangings being on a sudden withdrawn, at the Masters command laid his snout on *Fabricius* his head, making a most horrid noise; but he, being a man of a settled spirit, gravely turning himself about, smiled, saying, *Neither yesterday did your gold entice me, nor to day your beast terrifie me.* Afterwards being set at supper, when he heard *Cineas* discoursing of the *Grecian* Philosophers of the Sect of *Epicurus*, that they esteemed Pleasure the greatest good, and the cares of the Commonwealth the chiefest hinderance of Felicity: That the gods in their opinion took such a life as was free from the care of humane affairs, free from all affections either of anger against the wicked, or favour to the good, giving themselves over wholly to idleness and pleasure: *Fabricius* thereupon is said to cry out, The gods grant that *Pyrhus* and the Samnites would practise this wisdom while they wage War with the people of Rome. These were the manners of those times, this was the Emulation of great men, to excel not in wealth or Luxury, but in Virtue, in Counsel, in Patience, in the Love of their Country. Neither were these sudden Motions and fits, or speeches premeditated out of hypocrisie for the present occasion, but they did confirm the faith of their words by the constant Tenour of their Lives, whereby they are rather to be admired then imitated by our Age. The same *Fabricius* when all his silver plate consisted of one Salt-celler and a little dish, which yet was sustained by an horning foot, the Samnite Embassadors presenting him with a gift of money and very rich household stuff, let his hands to his ears, thence to his eyes, nose, mouth, throat, and at length to his belly, saying, *As long as Fabius commands these, nothing shall be wanting to me, carry ye back your money to those who stand in need of it.*

After the same manner he spent his whole life, in so much as in all his Patrimony there was not sufficient whereby to raise Portions for his Daughters: (an Honourable poverty!) so that the Senate caused money for that purpose to be disbursed out of the Publick Treasury, being ashamed to let those Virgins passe without Dowry, whose Father was not ashamed to leave so. The same vertue and continence was found in other Princes of the Senate; among the rest *Q. Fabius* who had so often been in Chief command, and having once borne the Censourship denied to be made Censour againe, saying, *It was not for the good of the Commonwealth, that the same men should often be chosen Censour;* he died with the same Testimony both of his poverty, and the peoples Love; for after his Death they bestow'd so much money that his son *Q. Gurgus* did bestow a dole of flesh upon the people, & likewise made a publick Feast. *Curtius* out of the same gallantry of mind refus'd the gifts of the Sabines as *Fabricius* did the Samnites: *Emilius Papas*, who was in most offices Colleague with *Fabricius*, also *Tib. Coruncianus*, and many other men of great note, by reason of their likeness in manners, lived together in great love and friendship: So that the Poet seems to me to have conceived in his mind the Idea of those times, when he said, *The Roman State was upheld by men and manners of the old Fashion.* *Pyrhus* seriously considering and pondering these things, was inflamed with a great desire of composing all differences with this Nation, and immediately restored two hundred of the Captives without Ransome, and gave leave likewise to all the rest to go to Rome and visit their friends at the Feast of Saturn now approaching, relying only on the word of *Fabricius*, who promised, That when the Holy dayes were past they should return, unlesse peace were in the mean time concluded.

And such was the Gravity of the Senate, and the fidelity of every single Person, that at a Day by the Fathers appointed, they every man redelivered themselves up to *Pyrhus*, having in vain urged their Country mens obstinate minds to Articles of Peace. For the Crafty King, thinking this to be a nick of time for his purpose, while the Romans being mollified with the sight of their dearest friends, and desirous of retaining them, might happily be the more ready to lay down all thoughts of hatred and hostility, resolved now to send an Ambassage to Rome to Treat of Peace on those Conditions he had propounded to *Fabricius* in Person. He desired, That the *Tarentines* might be comprehended in the League, That the other *Grecians* inhabiting Italy might continue free, living according to their own Lawes: That whatsoever the

Eutropius
Florus.
1.18.21
Ausb. de viris
Ilust. c.35
Zonaras.
Appian apud
Fulvium *Ursinum*.
Plutarch
Pyrhus c.44.

Plutarch
c.43

Cic. Caelius
c.12

Plutarch
c.42
Val. Maximus.
4.3.6

Val. Max. 4.4.3
Florus 1.18
Isid. Hyginus
apud *Agellium*
1.14

Val. Maximus
4.4.10

Ambrosius de viris
Ilust.

Cicero in *Lello*
Ennius apud
Cic. de Repub.
1.5 *Cicero*
Aug. de Civ.
Dei 2.21
Justin. 18.1
Plutarch
Pyrhus c.44

Appian apud
Fulvium.
Florus 1.18.14

Justinus.
18.3

Romans

- Romans had taken away from the Samnites, Apulians, Lucanians and Brutians might be restored; and in Lieu, the Romans should receive their Captives without Ransom. Cineas of whom mention hath formerly been made, was at that time with Pyrrhus, a man as of great knowledge in Civil affairs, so of very honest principles, and who had by exercise improved his natural wit to a marvellous eloquence: For these his qualities he was very dear to the King, who often acknowledged, He had won more Cities by the Eloquence of Cineas, then by his own Armes. This man being sent Embassador to Rome, with much cunning delay'd making his addresse to the Senate, till he had in Pyrrhus his name distributed many gifts in the houses of the principal men. Being then brought into the Court, when he had in many words, Extolled the virtue of Pyrrhus, and his inclination towards the Romans, he discoursed of the Equity of the conditions he brought, insomuch that great part of the Senate were moved to accept them: because besides other conveniencies, he promised, If they would desist molesting his friends, he would furnish them with aid sufficient for the Conquest of all the rest of Italy. But, because the Consultation lasted many dayes (the Fathers being very solicitous in a business of so great consequence) and thereby a suspicion and rumor was spread, that peace would be concluded, Appius Claudius, who by reason of his Age and blindness, had of a long time been absent from the Senate, caused himself now to be carried thither in his Litter, where he no sooner appeared, but his sons and sons in law with all Reverence and Duty receiving him, conducted him to a place becoming his Dignity. Every one being silent both at the novelty of the thing, and with the respect they bore his person, and expecting for what cause, after so long absence and retirement, he should now come into the Senate: he beginning his discourse with the affliction of his sickness, said, *His Blindness* had indeed hitherto been very grievous to him, but now he was not only delighted in it, lest he should behold those things which were doing, but was sorry that his eares also were not deaf, that he might not hear things so sordid and unworthy the name of the Romans. For what is become of your noble minds? whither are your spirits fallen? Ye were wont to be of opinion, when ye heard the Fame of Alexander the Macedonian renowned as of an invincible King, that his glory was more to be imputed to his Fortune then his Virtue; that if the Fates had allotted him a Roman War, both the event, and likewise his esteem amongst men, would have proved far different. But now, behold how ye are degenerated from that your Magnanimity; ye once thought ye were able to conquer the Macedonians, and now ye stand in fear of Molossians and Chaonians, the perpetual prey of the Macedonians. Ye once contemned Alexander, and now are frightened by Pyrrhus, not the servant of Alexander, but his servants servant, who flying from his old enemies rather then seeking new, is come over into Italy with a resolution, should it please the gods, to obtain the Empire of Rome, with those forces wherewith he was not able to keep and defend his little share of Macedonia. Unless therefore we send him back well beaten, laden with great misfortune, assure your selves, any other Party, deservedly slighting and scorning our Power, will greedily venture into Italy, as to a prey ready prepared to their hands. For what can be thought of us, but that we are a cowardly slothful people, if Pyrrhus, being received into friendship, shall carry back a Reward for that Disgrace he hath done us, in as much as by his means it is come to pass that the Romans are become a Laughing-stock to the Tarentines and Samnites?
- This was the main scope of Appius his Oration, which did so inflame the minds of all the Senators, that, following him the Author of a severe Sentence, they with one consent decreed, That the War should be prosecuted, that Cineas should the same day depart the City, that Pyrrhus should be given to understand, That neither he should be admitted into the City, (for that also was desired) neither would they so much as treat of friendship and society, till he had quitted Italy. A like sad decree by Appius his motion was made concerning the Captives, That they should not be led in War against Pyrrhus, neither should they any where be joyned in the same company, but that being sent to several Garrisons, they should, as a note of infamy, change their manner of fighting, that they who before served on horse-back, should now be lifted among the foot, and they who were of the Legions, should now serve in light armature; That no man should recover his former order, till he had brought in the Spoil of two enemies. 'Tis reported, when the Embassadors returned with this sharp answer, the King astonish'd at the wonderful constancy of the Romans, asked, What they thought of the City and of the Senate? and that Cineas answer'd, The City seemed to be a Temple of the gods, and the Senate an Assembly of Kings.
- After these Transactions, some think, Fabricius was sent an Embassador to the King: but they are easily convinc'd of Errour as by the Testimony of other Authours, so by a right Consideration of the Series of Affaires. There being now no hopes of peace, they converted all their thoughts to War, and busied themselves on both sides all winter in making diligent preparations. These I take to be the Times wherein Pyrrhus is reported, (for the avoiding the Dangers of shipwrack, and a more convenient passage of the Italian and Epirot Succours one to the other) to have had thoughts of making Bridges between Hydrunt, where Italy gets farthest into the sea, and Apollonia, a Town situate on the adverse shore, some fifty miles distant: For that is the Breadth of the Sea in those places between the Grecian and Italian shoares. M. Terentius Varro is said afterward to have made the like Attempt, when, being Cn. Magnus his Lieutenant

Plutarch
Pyrrho c.28

Cicero Philip
1.5

Plutarch

Appianus apud
Fulvian Hist.
num.

Ennius
Plutarch

Liv. Epl. 13
b. 2. S. 36 de
O. I.

Eutropius b. 2
B. 1. S. 5 de
Postul.

Zonaras

Val. Maximus
3. 7. 15
Frontinus Strat.

Plutarch
Iustin. 18. 2

Florus 1. 18
20
Liv. 9. 17. 12
Plutarch and
Appian.
Zonaras

Plin. 3. 11

tenant in the warre against the Pirates, he guarded the Sicilian and Ionian seas with his Navy. In the midst of these doings *Tib. Coruncianus* the Consul Triumphed *A.D.* of the Calends of February. This year was a remarkable Cenfourship in that a Lustration of the army was then first made by one of a Plebeian stock. There were celled two hundred seventy eight thousand, two hundred twenty two Citizens. About these times it was that *Q. Fabius Maximus* was wont to be chosen Prince of the Senatè; and by conjecture we gather, his son *Q. Gargus* was Cenfour at that Time. *Cn. Domitius* certainly was, for he lustrated the Army, and his name is famous for enlarging the Priviledges of the People. *Pyrhus* in the beginning of the spring, calling together the Forces of his Confederates, marched into *Apulia*, where he took many Towns, some by Force, some by Composition. Against whom the two new Consuls *P. Sulpicius Saverrio*, and *P. Decius Mus* went forth with two Armies pitching Camp against Camp, neer *Asculum* a City of *Apulia*, of the same name with that City of the Picentes. No doubt was made of Fighting, but they were many dayes hindered as by a deep Torrent running between them, so by mutuall fear on each side. The Romans were troubled with remembrance of the former Battell wherein *Pyrhus* was victorious: The Epirots were daunted at the Roman obstinacy, but chiefly at the name of the other Consul, so fatal to the Enemies Legions: For it was given out that *P. Decius* after the Example of his Father and Grandfather would purchase the Victory with his Death; and the issue of those Battells wherein they died, did make the expectation of the *Decian* Devotion to be terrible to all men.

Pyrhus thinking it a matter not to be neglected, assembling his soldiers together, Thus instructed them. That the Event of Battels was not in the Power either of the Goddesses *Earth*, or the Infernal Deities, who were invoked by that Charme, that they ought not to believe the Gods to be so unjust as to alter the fates of Armies, and bestow conquests for one mad-man's sake; that victories are not obtained by juggling tricks, and superstition, but by fighting onely; as appears by the Testimony of the Romans themselves, who come not into the field with troopes of Priests and Prophets, but with Legions of armed soldiers to oppose the Enemy: But because the ignorant are commonly more terrified with these superstitious delusions, then with true causes of feare, he shewed that this feare might be prevented, by shewing the Habit wherein the former *Decius* had Devoted themselves, and warning the soldiers if they met any Man in the like accoutrement not to assault him with any weapon, but to take him alive. He caused likewise a Message to be sent to *Decius*, That he should forbear playing the fools amongst armed men, neither should his Plot take Effect, that if he came alive into his hands he should perhaps endure more torments then he was willing. 'Twas answer'd by the Consuls, They had Confidence enough in their Armes, neither had any need of so desperate a Design, which that he might be assured of, they gave him his Choice, whether he would come over the River interjacent, or Expect the Romans on his side the water; that they would willingly withdraw their forces to give him a safe passage over, or, if he would retire, they would bring over their men, that on each side encountering with their strength entire, demonstration might be made, that they repesed all their hopes of Victory in their men, and their Courage, and in no other thing: *Pyrhus* was ashamed of betraying any kind of fear or Doubt; he accepted therefore of the latter Condition and gave the Enemy Liberty of fording the River. The Terrour of the Elephants was not now so great to the Romans, as being accustomed to see them, so having had Experience that their snouts might easily be cut off, as one was in the last fight at one blow by *C. Minucius* the foremost Pikeman of the Fourth Legion. But now they bethought themselves of safer guards and Defences; They caused horses cloathed with Iron plates to draw Chariots, which were likewise full stuck with spears fastned in Iron sockets, in the Chariots were placed soldiers who with darts or fire should avert the fury of the Elephants. The Legions with this furniture having passed the River, *Pyrhus* in a singular and Excellent manner martial'd his Army, according to his Custom wherein he was thought to exceed all Commanders of his Time. Observing therefore the Nature of the place, which by reason of the Ruggedness of the Ground, and the multitude of Officers thereabouts growing, would well admit of a foot Army onely; he placed his horse and Elephants in the Reserve. The Right wing he strengthned with his own soldiers and the Samnite Auxiliaries. The Brutians Lucanians and Sallentines he placed in the midst, the Tarentines whose virtue he least confided in, he order'd in the midst. The Consul's main body consisted of their Legions, some of the light Armature being conveniently intermixt; and with the like Discretion they distinguished the Orders of their Reserves. The horse were distributed into the Wings, being no hindrance to the Foot fight, and yet upon occasion offer'd, ready for Action. The Armys being equal, not only in Courage but in number (for they were forty thousand strong on both sides) disputed the business with as much heat and animosity as could be expected, and the Victory inclining to neither side, the night broke off the Fight. The next Morning *Pyrhus* when he had guarded the most difficult places, forced the Romans to descend into a more even and open ground; there he had some use of his Elephants, which being suddenly brought in to that part of the Battell where the Chariots were prepared against them, they frighted the horse (even as it hapned in the last fight) and caused them to fly; but to the Foot they did little harme. The Report of this Fight is much different from that of the former, for some Authors affirm, The Ro-

Appian in *Memorabilia* *Tabula Capitolina*.

Epit. *Livie* 13. *Plinie* 7. 11. *Panvith* in *Festis*.

474 *Eutropius* *Cluverius Italia*, *Zonaras*

Livie 8. 9.

Zonaras

Plin. 8. 7. *Flor.* 1. 18.

Orosius 4. 1. *Vegetius de Re militari* 3. 24. *Zonaras*.

Ammianus Marcellinus *Prim. lib.* 24. *Livie* 35. 14. *Plutarch* *Pyrho* c. 46. *Frontinus* *Strat.* 2. 3.

Plutarch

Plutarch
Zonaras
Frontinus
Eutropius b. 2
Plutarch
Florus. 1. 18
Orosius 4. 1

Justinus.
18. 1
Plutarch

Livie Ept. 13

Zonaras

Tusc. quest.
1. 13
de Finibus 2. 19

Plutarch
Zonaras
P. ut. Pyrrho
c. 20, 24
Plutarch
Diodori Eclog.
book 22

475

Agellius 3. 8
Cic. de Offic.
3. 22.
Val. Maximus.
6. 5. 1
Zonaras
Agellius
Livie 39 51
Agellius
Ammian. Mar-
cel 20. 5
Tacitus 2. 28
Plutarch
Pyrrho c. 45
et in Apoph-
theg
Claudian in
Bello
Gildon v. 271
Florus 1. 18
Eutropius
Frontinus Strat.
4. 4. 2

mans had the upper hand, their Victory being occasion'd by an accident, for the Apulians (who were by the Kings Order sent against those who came to surprize the carriages) by their departure seeming to fly, by a near error and false fear caus'd all the Kings forces to quit the field and fly indeed. The number of the slain is likewise expressed, That on Pyrrhus his side twenty thousand, on the Romans side five thousand were wanting, that the King with a dart shot through his arm was grievously wounded, and that in vain endeavouring to stay the flight of his men, was by his Life-guard brought out of the field one of the last; that on his side three and fifty Colonns were lost, on the Romans eleven, and that Fabricius the other Consuls Lieutenant was likewise wounded. But contrariwise, others say, This Battel had the like event with the former, though the Romans by reason of the vicinity of their Camps sustained not so much loss; but that they did confessedly fly, and lost six thousand men; that Pyrrhus lost three thousand five hundred and five, as is in the Kings Chronicles registered by the Testimony of Hieronimus.

And not only variety but Repugnancy of Authors moves me rather to incline to those who report the event of this Battel to have been doubtfull: for 'tis ordinary after an equall encounter for each part to attribute the victory to themselves, which by the negligence or impudence of others is committed to writing, doing very ill to deliver to Posterity for true and undoubted, those things which are grounded on Idle report only, or for affection are partially related. Wherefore their history seemes more probable who affirmes, That there was but one Fight neere Asculum; and that, after an hot dispute and much blood-shed, the Sun being now set, the Kings wound and the losse of the Baggage did with much adoe breake off the fight: That then both Armies sounded a Retreat, when on both sides there were slaine about fifteen thousand; and that this was the time when Pyrrhus answer'd one who congratulated his victory, If the Romans are thus to be Vanquished we are undone our selves. And indeed the sequel confirms this Opinion, for Pyrrhus retired to Tarentus, and the Consuls, making no pursuite after the enemy, distributed their forces into winter quarters in Apulia, whereas the time of yeare gave them leave, and Reasons of War might well have perswaded them, to have prosecuted so glorious a victory. Moreover I find not that these Consuls made any Triumph, and many think that P. Decimus in this Battel devoted himselfe, who dying as did his Father and Grandfather, yielded himself the Third sacrifice, without intermission out of the same family, for the good of the Commonwealth: Which as I had no thoughts to gain-say, So should I not have related in the general silence of all Historys, but that a grave Author M. Tullius Cicero in his bookes of Phylosophy more then once maketh mention of it. The fight at Asculum thus ended, the rest of the yeare was quiet and free from all warlike Expeditions, only the whole time spent in Consultation and preparations. Pyrrhus, having lost most of his old forces, friends, and Commanders, sent into Epirus with order for a supply of Men and money for next spring. But before that Navy could be set forth, new hopes arising alter'd the Kings Counsels. Pyrrhus had sometime the possession of Macedonia, wresting it out of the hands of Demetrius, and again lost it by the Power of Lysimachus; Now while Pyrrhus waged war in Italy, Ptolomaeus Ceraunus being slaine by the Gaules, there seem'd a new way open into Macedonia, being destitute of a Prince and the state of affaires in Confusion. This Reason perswaded him not to leave Epirus naked of souldiers, lest it should be obnoxious to the injurys of the Gaules who now oppressed the Neighbour nation Macedonia. But Pyrrhus did not as then steere his Course homeward, being upon other Occasions (as shall be related) call'd into Sicily. The winter being past over in these Cares the New Consuls came to the Army C. Fabricius Luscinus, and Q. Aemilius Papus (who before had born a Consulship together) which Pyrrhus understanding drew forth his forces, intending to observe the Marches and Counsels of his enemy. Their Camps being not far distant, there happed an Accident very remarkable, and by most men related much after the same manner; One Timochares an Ambracian, who held a good honourable place in the Kings favour, secretly came to Fabricius, and promised him, if he would give him an answerable reward, to Poyson the King; which he thought was easie for him to accomplish by his sons, who were Cup-bearers to the King. Fabricius, no way delighted with the Treason, informed the Senate of it, the Senate, not discovering the Treason of Timochares, who had (by what means soever) intended the Roman profit, sent Embassadors to Pyrrhus, who should only in general warn him, That he should look well about him, and take heed of what mens service he made use of, and enquire into their faithfulness and honesty. Thus Valerius Antius relates the business. But Claudius Quadrigarius in stead of Timochares make Niceas the undertaker of this Poysoning, and that notice was given not by the Senate but by the Consuls, reciting also the Letter of the Consuls, wherein they discover Niceas his design, That they are unwilling to fight by craft, or with money, and wish the King safe from Treason, hoping he will become an Illustrious Ornament to their Victory and Triumph.

Some Report it was the Kings Physician who treated with Fabricius either in person or by Letter, and that upon his discovery, he was hang'd. As there may be doubt in these Circumstances, so no question they are deceived who say that Curius sent back the Physician to the King. 'Tis said that Pyrrhus at this time wondring at the Experience of so great Vertue in Enemies, cry'd out, This is that Fabricius, who can with no lesse difficulty swerve from the Rules of Justice and Honesty, then the Sun be turned out of his Course. He did immediately, lest he should be Overcome with Kindnesse, return the Romans all the prisoners he had, and sent Cineas again

to obtaine peace and friendship. It seemed dishonourable to receive a gift from the enemy, where- by they might be thought to have abhorred wickedness more for gain then for the love of Ver- tue, they therefore sent back an equal number of Tarentines and Samnites that their captives might not be receivd gratis. This publick abstinence was to their greater Credit seconded by the vertue and resolution of private persons; when the gifts of Pyrrhus (which Cineas in great Number and those very pretious had Carried to Rome for both sexes) were refused not only by the Men but by the women. For when upon the refusal of some, he profer'd them to others, and others again, there was not so much as one man or woman to be found so mean or covetous as to open a door for the Receipt of a Kings gift. The Former answer was now again returned to the Embassadors, *That until Pyrrhus had quitted Italy, they would esteem him an Enemy to the people of Rome.* While Pyrrhus was much perplexed at these passages, not know- ing how to prosecute the War with any cheerefulness, nor willing to depart Italy with any losse of Reputation, the Sicilian affaires did seem to help him, the management whereof (after long and doubtfull deliberation) he resolved to undertake. For so he thought the Roman war might with credit be declined, and the command of a most Rich Island obtained, he had also an earnest desire of being revenged on the Carthaginians, as being first provoked by them. For they suspecting the Kings designs, had a little before hand sent Mago with a Navy of an hundred and twenty ships, saying, *The Romans ought by Forreigne aid to be assisted against a forreign enemy.* And though the Romans used not their assistance, making answer, *That they were not wont to undertake any War but what could be managed by their own forces;* Yet now this fourth time was the League renewed between the two Commonwealths.

To the former Articles it was added, *That whether the Romans or Carthaginians made peace with Pyrrhus, it should be specially excepted, that they might assist one the other, which soever of them were provoked to War; And, that when either had need of the others help, the Carthagi- nians should provide ships, each party pay their own souldiers, the Carthaginians aid the Romans by sea, but not be compelled against their wills out of their ships.* Which being agreed upon, Mago went to Pyrrhus under pretence of treating of peace, but indeed to discover the Kings Counsels, whom the Carthaginians had understood to be invited into Sicily: And they offer'd their Navy to the Romans not so much out of any good will or care of their safety, but further to involve Pyrrhus in his Italian War, lest he should spoil their successes in Sicily which flou- rished so prosperously. They had then also guarded the passage into Sicily with a numerous fleet, pretending the siege of Rhegium, but indeed resolving to hinder Pyrrhus from transmit- ting his Army. For these causes did he wholly apply his mind to the Sicilian affairs, which fil- led him with great hope, as by the state of things, so by the frequent Embassies which came one after another out of the Island, affirmed, *That he was desired by the prayers of all men, as the only remedy of their calamities wherewith they were more sharply afflicted then the most miserable Nation under the heavens.* For after the death of Agathocles, more lamentable then undeserv- ed, one Meno, born at Agesta, a City of Sicily, who had poison'd the King, endeavouring to usurp the government, was by Hicetas the Pretor expelled the City, and fled to the Cartha- ginian forces: Hence arose an heavy war and unfortunatè to the Syracusans, by which ne- ver the less Hicetas in particular strengthened himself, and turning his forces against Phintias of Agrigentum, he held the Island long time in trouble, till by the boldness of one Thanio he was deprived of his Domination which he had held for nine years. Thanio endeavouring to re- tain the Sovereignty, was resisted by Sosistratus a Syracusan Nobleman. These two along time contested, Thanio possessing Nasus, an Island which is part of Syracuse, Sosistratus ex- ercising the Tyranny in the other parts of the City. When at length by these discords they saw nothing but destruction likely to ensue, with one consent they decreed to send for Pyr- rhus, who being the son in law of Agathocles, and next in succession, as having a son by Lanassa, was thought fittest to bear rule, as being able by his courage and his forces to settle their affairs. Moreover, the principal men of Agrigentum and Leontium, offering the Go- vernment of their Cities, and consequently of the whole Island, unanimously intreated him, *To come into Sicily as soon as may be, to succour them with his presence, being wearied with la- bouring under the heavy burden of a Barbarous slavery.* For the Carthaginians having wasted their grounds, had besieged the City of Syracuse, both by sea and land, with a Navy of an hundred ships, and an Army of fifty thousand men. Pyrrhus therefore without delay sendeth Cineas before (whose wisdom and faith he much trusted to) to agree upon Conditions and Articles of friendship with the Sicilian Cities. At his departure he comforted his Italian con- federates, promising, *That if they were oppressed by the Romans he would in speed come out of the neighbour Island much increased with new forces.* But when he was about to leave a Gar- rison in Tarentus, they taking it in ill part, desired, *He would either perform his promised as- sistance on those conditions he was call'd in, or that at least he would leave their City free.* They could obtain neither, Pyrrhus returning no other answer, but commanding them, *To carry his leisure.* The Epirot King being thus employ'd, the Consuls had the easier war against their o- ther enemies. I find they had about this time good success against the Etrurians, Lucanians, Brutians and Samnites. It appears there was no great matter done against the Etrurians, in that there was no Triumph made for that war, neither was the whole nation, but few Cities engaged, who re-assumed against the Romans those arms they had so lately laid down, being solicited by the Samnites, who found themselves left naked by the departure of Pyrrhus. Among the

Livie, 34.4
Justin. 18.2
Val Maximus.
4.3.14
Zonaras
Appian
Justin. 18.2
Val. Max. 3.7
Livie Epir. 13
Polybius 3.25

Gustinius.

Diodori Eclog.
book 22

Diodori Eclog.
b. 21

Diodori Eclog.
b. 22
Livie 25 24

Diodorus
Appianus apud
Fulvium Ursi-
num.
Plutarch
Justin. 18.2
Diodorus
Plutarch

Appian

Plut. Pyrrho
c. 54

Livie Epir. 13

Eutropius b. 2
Cicero pro
Balbo. c. 22
Tab. Capitolina

other nations as the war was more heavy, so was the Victory more Illustrious over them. *C. Fabricius* the Consul (his Colleague, as is imagined, being gone into *Etruria*, inasmuch as upon the Epirots departure one Consular Army was thought sufficient) overcame the *Ducanians*, *Brutians*, *Tarentines* and *Samnites*: Some Cities, among which were *Heraclea*, he drew into Covenants, and over those people he Triumphed before the Ides of *December*.

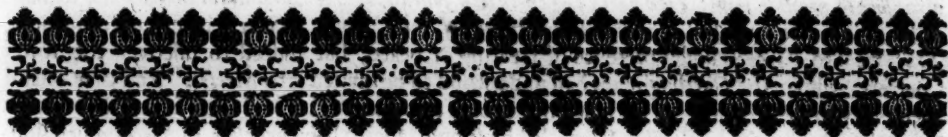
Quintilian 12.1

Dion. apud Valerium.

Cicero de Orat. 2.66

Agellius 4.8

An assembly of the people being held, New Consuls were chosen for the year ensuing, *P. Cornelius Rufinus* again, and *C. Junius Brutus* again. Other Nobles were *Candidatus* with *Rufinus*, but by *Fabricius* his favour he was chosen. Wherein *Fabricius* considering the times; preferr'd the publick safety before private quarrels; For by reason of their difference in Manners there was Enmity betweene these two, *Fabricius* being of prooffe against *Mony* was guided only by his care of the common good; *Rufinus* more greedy of wealth then ordinary, many times order'd his counsels and actions to his private gain. But being otherwise Industrious and a good commander, *Fabricius* judged him to be preferr'd before his Competitours who were far inferiour to him in Marshal affaires. 'Tis reported, when *Rufinus* gave him thanks, That being at enmity with him he had helped him to the Consulship, especially when so great a War was on foot; he answer'd, 'Twas not much to be wondred, if he had rather be pillag'd, then sold to the enemy. For there was great War remaining in *Italy*, and *Pyrrhus* finding all things goe according to his desire in *Sicily* (whether he now was gone) 'twas reasonably fear'd he would quickly return a more formidable enemy by the Accessse of the strength of so Noble an Island.



BOOK IV.

Liv. Ept. 14
Appian.
Diodori Eclog.
b. 22
Dio. apud
Valerium

Diodori Eclog.
Iust. 23. 2



WHILE these things were doing in *Italy*, *Pyrrhus* having shipp'd his Army and Elephants, sailed from the *Tarentine Port* into *Sicily*, after he had continued two years and four moneths in *Italy*. Being conducted by *Thanis*, who met him with his Navy, he was received by the *Sicilians* with wonderful chearfulness, freely delivering up into his hands their Towns, their Forces, their *Mony* and their Ships. Being thus in a short time possess'd of the dominion of the *Græcian Cities*, he did also by force of arms extort from the *Carthaginians* all whatsoever they held, excepting only the City of *Lilybaum*, which the *Carthaginians*

being helped by its convenient situation, defended against all his assaults. Whence justly conceiving great and vast hopes in his mind, he resolved, leaving his eldest son the Patrimony of his Father, to settle the other two, the one King of *Italy*, the other King of *Sicily*. Both the reputation and virtues of this King were indeed at that time very great; and the *Sicilians* having for many years sustained both foreign and civil wars, and a plague worse then both, the tyranny of usurpers, seemed willing with joy to entertain any indifferent Prince over them. But when, a little after, he proceeded to raise moneys against their wills, and put to death some of their Nobles, he contracted much hatred, which was encreased by the covetousness and arrogance of his Officers, whose vices did every where as much wrong him as his own; therefore next to the first and principal care Kings ought to have, of being themselves Egregiously good, 'tis for their honour and safety to make a choice of virtuous Favourites, seeing private men are blamed only for their own faults, but other mens crimes are imputed to Princes. But these things

Plutarch
Pyrrho c. 51
Dionysius

things hapned afterwards. Now at Present, while their Zeal was hot, he was with the highest Honour and magnificence received, first by *Tyndarion* Prince of the *Taurominitans* (for in that part of the Island he landed) then by the People of *Catana*, and so passed with his foot-Army to *Syracuse*. His fleet he commanded to be brought about not farre from the shore, ready prepared for fight, as thinking the *Carthaginians* would not suffer him to approach the City without hazard of a Battell. But it hapned, that a little before Thirty of the *Carthaginian* ships were upon other Employment gone from the Navy, which because they were not return'd the Admirall refused to venture on the Fight with the Rest. Wherefore-Entring without Resistance, *Themion* and *Pisistratus* yielding Possession, he took into his hands the Publick Treasure, an hundred and twenty Covered ships, Twenty open ones, their Weapons, Engines, and all other Furniture for Warre.

*Dionys.
Diodorus*

In the Interim came Embassadours from the *Leontines*, whose Prince *Heraclidas* offered the City and all his Forces, Four thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse. Neither were other Cities slower in their submission, but came in driven as it were by a Torrent of Fortune. *Pyræhus* treating them all with much Humanity, and gaining their Good wills, sent every one back to his own City, entertaining now more Ample Hopes in his mind, intending if affaires proceeded so favourably to pass over into *Africke*. Things went not so well with his Confederates in *Italy*, for *Milo*, who was left at *Tarentus* with part of the Army, was not able to protect them from the hostility of the Romans, now in the absence of the King and his main strength. But as yet it was well for them that the Romans deferring a while the *Tarentine* warre, both the Consuls converted their forces against *Samnium*. The *Samnites* (seeing their Fields burn't, their Castles surprized, the whole burthen of the Warre to fall on them, and that they were forsaken by their Friends) being inferiour both in strength and Courage, forsaking their Townes and Villages, betook themselves to the high and craggy Mountaines, carrying with them their Wives and Children, and what things of most value they could in such a Tumult and feare convey away. Among the Romans besides the Emulation of their Commanders, there was arisen great Negligence and Carelessness (the Inseparable Companion of Prosperity) caused by their own Constant good success, and their Enemies Fear. Hereby they suffered some Loss and more Disgrace; for their souldiers confidently creeping up craggy and difficult passages were beaten back and destroy'd by the *Samnites*, who had possess'd themselves of advantageous places; many were slain, being overwhelmed with stones and Darts, or tumbled down the Precipices; others having no convenience either of retreating or fighting were taken alive. This Accident caused the Commanders to divide their Forces, for each laying the blame of the Misfortune upon his Colleague, boasted he could have managed the business with better success if he had been alone. *C. Junius* with his Legions remained in *Samnium*, *P. Cornelius* drew out his forces against the *Lucanians* and *Brutians*, where carrying about the Terror of his Armes, wasting the Grounds and burning the Villages, he had occasion offer'd of greater Attempts. In the utmost parts of the *Italian* shore, towards the East and the *Ionian* sea, where the promontory of *Lacium* stretcheth forth it self, is seated *Croton* of old very famous, and now also considerable for it's Wealth. Through the midst of it in those dayes ran the River *Esarus*, on each side whereof the Multitude of Buildings were encompassed with a wall of Twelve miles circumference. This City the Consul not daring to beleagure, had thoughts of obtaining by Treachery, for he was put in hopes by many of the Roman faction there, that if he would timely advance his forces to the walls of it, being now destitute of forreign Aide, he might easily take it by the help and assistance of those who were weary of *Pyræhus* his Domination. But it hapned about that time that either out of fear of the Enemies Neighbourhood, or suspicion of Treason, which is seldom long hid, the *Crotonians* had procured aid from *Milo*: *Nicomachus* came to them with a strong band of *Lucanians*, who issuing out upon the Consul (not aware of any thing, but confidently coming up to the walls without fear of Danger) bear him back with the slaughter and wounding of many of his Men. *Rufinus* desiring by Counsell to remedy that loss he had by his Rashness sustained, on set purpose encreaseth the Rumour of his Overthrow, and that he might seem stricken with the greater fear pretends to desert from his Enterprize, commanding the Baggage to be pack'd up as for a sudden Departure. This News was quickly blaz'd about the City (as from a Camp so neer must needs be) and besides a probable cause of the business, their Credulity was help'd forward by their desire to have it so; when on a sudden (their mindes being already thus inclin'd) a certain Captive (being thereunto suborned by the Consul, in hope of Liberty and further Reward) comes into the City, as if in this hasty departure of the Romans he had taken opportunity to Escape; He informes them that *Cornelius Rufinus*, having no strength enough to force *Croton*, was gone to *Locri*, being invited by some who promised to betray it to him. By and by comes another who confirming the former news, added moreover, That the Romans were now on their March. And withall they discover his Ensignes and Troopes moving that way which leadeth to *Locri*. *Nicomachus* being deluded by this Wile, marcheth swiftly with his forces the nearest way to *Locri*, intending likewise to defend it, which when *Rufinus* by secret Messengers understood, he turneth back presently to *Croton*, as upon better advice, so with better success then before. His diligence was made prosperous, not only by the security of his Enemies, but by the favour of Fortune also, for a thick mist chanced to surround him, so that he was almost within the walls with his

Plutarch

*Diodori
Eclog. b. 22.
Zonaras.*

Ovid Metam

*Liv. 24. 3.
Zonaras*

*Frontinus
Strategem. 3. 6.*

Zonaras

Frontinus

Zonaras

Zonaras

Appian apud
Valefium.Diodori Eclog.
b. 22.

Diodorus

Plutarch

Triumph
Capitolini.
Plinie 18. 6.
Et 33 11

Liv. Epi. 14

Aug. de Civ.
Dei. 3. 17477
Zonaras

Capitol. Trium.

Plutarch
Pyrrho c. 2
Iustin. 2. 3. 2

Victorious army before the Crotonians understood he was returned. The joy of this victory, of it self ample enough, was abundantly increased by other as glorious successes; Fortune seldom observing a mean on either hand. For *Nicomachus* perceiving himself to have fallen into a remediless Error, not knowing what to doe, as he returned to *Tarentum*, was met by *Rufinus*, lost great part of his men, and very hardly escaped himself with the Rest; When not being content to defend one Citie he lost two. For the *Locrians* likewise being animated with this success, having slain the garrison *Pyrrhus* left among them, with the governour of it, whose oppression they could no longer endure, betook themselves to the friendship of the Romans. Notwithstanding this Proceffe of affaires, the Samnites and other nations were not so far dejected, but that still they resolved to endure the worst that Fortune could bring upon them, encouraged, beside their own innate obstinacy, with their Hops of *Pyrrhus*'s Returne, hearing the news of his victorys in *Sicily*. For *Pyrrhus* (that we may relate his actions out of *Italy* also, which were performed in those times and places, having influence upon and being joyned with the Roman affaires) having settled things at *Syracuse* and *Leontium*, went about the same time with his Army to *Aggrigentum*, meeting Messengers by the way with News, that the Carthaginian Garison was thrust out of the City, and that the *Aggrigentines* yielded themselves and all they had into his protection; which accordingly at his coming they did. For *Sosistratus* (who had delivered up *Syracuse* to him) together with the Citie, presented him with eight thousand foote, proper young men, and eight hundred horse, a force nothing inferior to the *Epirots* *Pyrrhus* brought with him. Thirty other Cities, which *Sosistratus* had the command of, did by his means submit themselves to the Kings discretion.

These things thus transacted, he sent to *Syracuse* for all sorts of weapons and engines, which were of use in the siege of Cities. For now his design was to assault the Cities under the Carthaginian Jurisdiction, having an army of thirty thousand, besides fiftene hundred horse, and the Elephants he brought over into *Sicily*. The first he tooke was *Heraclea*, where was a Punicke garrison, then *Arone*; After which the *Seluntians*, *Halicyeans*, and *Egestians* following his fortune forsook the Carthaginian party, giving an Example to many other Townes in the same quarter of doing the like. The *Erycines*, confiding in the number of their Auxiliaries and strength of the place, he was resolved with all his power to assault, having therefore order'd his men, himselfe armed, coming up toward the walls, Vowed a Vow to *Hercules*, if that day he should manifest himself to the *Gracians* a Warriour worthy of the Race he came of and the office he bore. After the siege was given, and that the defendants, with a cloud of arrowes being driven from their stations, gave way to the placing ladders upon the walls, the King himselfe first of all men entred into a most noble fight against all opposers, tumbling some down with his sheild, slaying others with his sword, and terrifying all with the greatness of his Courage and strength; neither was this fight more glorious to him, then in every consideration prosperous; for without receiving any wound, with great honour he gained the Citie at that one storm, his souldiers being no lesse animated by his Example then feareful of his danger, for both which reasons they fought with the greater contention. He then did sacrifice to *Hercules* according to his vow, and for many days exhibited Plays and Shows of severall kinds in great Magnificence and Pompe. In this year I find there was a Triumph at Rome over the *Lucanians* and *Brutians* before the Nones of *January*. But I wonder to find it ascribed to *C. Iunius*, seeing *Rufinus* his Province was amongst them, and that he tooke two famous Cities, and that other Authours stile him a Triumphal Man.

Rome being not very secure, considering the progress of *Pyrrhus* his affairs, was otherwise much terrified with Prodiges and Pestilence; The most horrid Omen was, that the statue of *Jupiter Capitolinus* being smitten with Thunder, the head thereof was stricken off and carried quite away, neither could it be found but by the art and care of the South-sayers. The Plague likewise committed great slaughter amongst them, taking away man and beast by a common Murrain, but was most formidable in *Abortion*, for there was no young ones almost of man or beast which came forth safe and entire, insomuch as it was belived the anger of the gods would consume all living creatures. Which Affliction made the other Consulship of *Q. Fabius Maximus* *Gurgis* very famous, wherein he had *C. Genucius* *Chlopsa* for his Colleague. And yet they left not off their war against the Samnites and *Lucanians*, and two certain arguments there are that they made great slaughter of their enemies, for the same year *Q. Fabius* the Consul Triumphed over the Samnites, *Lucanians* and *Brutians* in the *Quirinals*; and those people sent Letters to *Pyrrhus* and Embassadors, declaring, They were intirely and intirely without speedy help; that they could no longer sustain the power of the Romans, but must of necessity prevent the uttermost extremity by yielding up themselves. This thing much inclined *Pyrrhus* to depart the Island and transport his forces again into *Italy*, seeing also his affairs now to be more difficult in *Sicily*, by reason the affections of men grew cold; and, by the consideration of some injuries received, were turned into hatred against him.

Which his resolution, and the series of ensuing affairs, that they may the better be understood, I have thought good more at large to relate his Actions at the present. When therefore he had possessed himself of *Eryx*, and placed a Garison in it, he marched to the City of the *Egins* which is of a very convenient situation, near the Haven of *Panormus*, and well fenced with works; there being received with the good will of the Citizens, he removed his Camp

Camp to *Panormus* it self, which received its name from the fair and ample haven which leadeth to it: This he took by force, and having likewise taken a place called *Epiriste*, seated in a pleasant mountain, but upon hard passages, between *Panormus* and *Eryx*, he had now the possession of all the Carthaginian Province, excepting only *Lilybaum*. This City was lately built by the Carthaginians, as an habitation for the Moxians, whose town *Dionysius* the Tyrant had in the Punick War demolished. Wherefore the Carthaginians, seeing that of all their dominions in *Sicily*, their hopes were confin'd to this only place, resolv'd with their utmost strength to defend it against the preparations they understood *Pyrrhus* made for the siege of it. Wherefore bringing in thither a considerable strength of Souldiers, with plentiful provision, as likewise amunition of all sorts (which they had opportunity enough to do, having the command of the seas) they diligently adhibited all care possible to fence it on every side: Especially where it lay open to the land they erected many Forts and Towers, encompassed with large ditche: Their work was the sooner finished, in regard the town being for the most part of it built upon the Rocks of the sea, needed no artificial Bulwarks in those places. Now, though they made great preparations for the War, and had hired many forces, as from other Countries, so from *Italy* also; yet they sent Embassadors, promising, *If they could obtain peace upon equal conditions, to assist him with money and ships.* *Pyrrhus* would hear no mention of money, desiring only to retain those Cities he had taken, seeming willing to allow them the possession of *Lilybaum*. But the Kings friends, and the Sicilian Princes enforming him, *That so long as the Carthaginians held Lilybaum, (as a ladder ready prepared whereby to scale all the rest of Sicily) the Island would never be void of the fear of them;* caused him to return answer, *That there was but this one condition of peace he would agree to, to wit, That they should clearly quit Sicily, and suffer the sea to be the bounds of either's dominions.* The hopes of peace being thus broken off, he draweth his forces forth with toward the City, and Marshalling his army not far from the walls, in such order as those who were tired might (by turns) be relieved by fresh men, he began the assault. But the Lilybæans having a sufficient number of souldiers to defend them, and being provided of Engines and Amunition kept the City safe. For the Carthaginians had brought into many Catapults and Scorpions that the whole compass of the walls was not able to receive them.

When therefore a shower of all sorts of weapons and darts overwhelmed the Kings Men, slaying many and wounding more, they desisted from their Enterprize. *Pyrrhus* likewise set himself to work to make Engines of Bateria; beside those he brought from *Syracuse*, and digging Mines under ground, he attempted all arts belonging to a siege: But the Carthaginians stoutly resisting, when he had for almost two months wearied himself in vaine, and saw that the besieged having free egress and regress at Sea, the City could not be taken, he broke up his siege and employ'd his forces other where. For some Greek Cities, besides other heavy oppressions, being compelled to pay tribute, implored his assistance against the Mamertines, living upon the sea coast. *Pyrrhus* therefore leading his Army in halt, when he had taken and slain some Mamertines he found gathering Taxes in those places; Encountering their main body proved Conquerour, and took by force and demolish'd many of their Garrison. And hitherto the King by his illustrious performances had obtained great Power and Honour, having beside his other Vertues, with his singular Humanity not only won, but deserved the Love and Affections of the Cities. But this so great Felicity, which one would think so firmly grounded, was in a moment destroy'd, as by that Levity of Mind which was never wanting in this people, and by the Intemperance of his friends, so chiefly by the Kings own fault. Who, being in adversity irreprehensibly good, was puffed up with pride in his prosperity, in which Condition Mens minds are indeed generally found to be weakest. When therefore, as we have said, he esteemed a Fleet necessary for the accomplishment of his undertaking, and that though he had many ships, yet they were not well furnish'd with Sea-men, he very much offended the City with a strict Prefect Sea-men; being now on a sudden changed, and from his former gentleness proceeding to proud commands, threats and extreme punishments; these things nevertheless were tolerated, as having the pretence of publick good. But, when they saw those very men to be slain, by whose good will and assistance chiefly he had obtained *Sicily*, many people, not by degrees, or interposing delays, but on the sudden changing their minds, revolted from his friendship, and applied themselves (as for every one was most opportune) some to the Carthaginians, some to the Mamertines. So that cruelty, which when it is alone is always grievous, doth then become utterly intolerable, when being exercised against the well-deserving, it contracteth (beside the hatred properly due to it self) the detestation of an unthankful and perfidious mind. He seemeth to have brought himself to this necessity of governing by violence, being too much over-ruled by the naughty Affections and counsels of his own men, for unto them (being no whit better) did he bestow the riches which were sequestred from the friends and kinsmen of *Agathocles*. The chief Magistracies of Cities he committed to his Pensioners and Captains, not according to the statutes and customs of the Cities, nor for the due time prescribed, but in what manner, and for as long as he pleased. Law suits, and controversies, and the whole administration of publick busineses he assumed to himself, referring many to his Familiars and Favourites, who were hateful for their avarice and luxury, a like intent upon gaining and spending money by wicked arts, who being greedy to satisfy their own lust, make no distinction between

Polybius 1.56
Dionys. apud
Valerium
Diodorus Eclog

Zonaras:
Plutarch
Pyrrhus c. 1.50
Diodorus

Diodorus

Plutarch
Polybius 1.5
Plutarch

Fezzellus Hist.
Sig. dec. 1. b. 1

Plutarch

Dion. apud
Valerium

between

between Right and Wrong. Mens mindes being hereby incensed they begun first to murmur, afterward openly to Complain, why they had repented of their former Condition, if now the very same things were to be born withall? that in vain was Pyrrhus invited and received; if he studied to imitate those manners he came to punish; that no injury can possibly be of so sharp sense and Apprehension, as that whereof he is the Author who ought to have been the Avenger. And now many began not very obscurely to move sedition, and cause a Revolution of things, whereas he hearkning to pernicious Counsell, chose rather to encrease causes of Offence, then take them away: as if what evil was by Injustice committed, were by Cruelty to be mended. In the meane time the Carthaginians, observing that Pyrrhus was not very strong in his own Country forces, and was daily less affected by the Sicilians, conceiving hopes of recovering their lost Province, had sent over an new Army which found busines enough for the Epirots, many flying over to them who stood in fear of Pyrrhus's cruelty. Pyrrhus under pretence of the Punick War, introducing Garrisons into the Cities, resolved by false accusations of Treason to take away the lives of the greatest men, thinking afterward the more easily to keep the people in awe. At length he aimed at *Thenio* and *Sosistratus*, the principal men of the whole Island, by whose assistance chiefly (as we have declared) he obtained the command of *Sicily*. *Thenio* was slain, *Sosistratus* fled to the enemy, affording him no lesse help and authority to the casting Pyrrhus out of *Sicily*, then he had before to the bringing him in and confirming him there.

Upon this many Cities revolting, greater part to the Carthaginians, some to the Mamertines, Pyrrhus his affairs were reduced from a most flourishing Condition to a very narrow and evil state. In this Conjunction the embassage of his Italian confederates came not unwelcome to him, complaining, That having lost all things, they had very few Cities left which were able with much ado to keep the Enemy from entering their walls. This gave him a faire and honourable Pretence of departing, that he might seeme, not expelled out of *Sicily* by the Carthaginians, But to return into *Italy* for the Relief of his oppressed associates. Being now just going, when he seriously considered the situation and wealth of the Island, and disposition of the Inhabitants, O (saith he) what a fair field do we leave the Romans and Carthaginians to fight in for Superiority! And his Prefage proved true, as was witnessed by the wars suddenly ensuing, wherein so many Navies were destroyed, and Armies routed.

But the Enemies Courage increasing with their Fortune, Pyrrhus had neither a safe departure out of *Sicily*, nor a quiet Voyage to the Tarentines in *Italy*. The Carthaginians assaulting him in his Passage cross the sea, sunk seventy of his ships, and made the rest useles (the Epirots almost utterly unskilful in Maritime affaires, being not able to grapple with men of such Experience therein) so he fled out of the Fight with Twelve ships into *Italy*, who had come thence, with above an hundred, besides a greater number of ships of Burthen. But gathering together those souldiers who made a shift from the Overthrow to escape to shore, he had presently a strength so great that he conceived hopes of taking *Rhegium* by storme. But being beaten off by the Campanians who defended it, he presently fell into a great danger. For as he led his Army through blind and difficult passages, the Enemy out of Ambush fell upon his Reare, and slew a great Number of his Men, with two Elephants. 'Twas no contemptible force, neither for Number nor the quality of the Warriours, which thus assaulted him; they were little less then ten thousand old souldiers, most of them Mamertines, who trusting in their friendship and cognation with the Rhegians, having understood that Pyrrhus intended to return for *Italy*, had crossed the sea before him, and in hope of prey had privily disposed of themselves in advantageous places to make a sudden irruption upon him.

Pyrrhus, according to his wonted Boldnesse fighting in the front of his Battell, received a wound in his head, which when he was gone aside to dress, one of the enemies of large stature, and gallant in his Armour, advancing before the rest of his Fellows, Challeng'd him with a loud Voice, bidding him, If he were a live, to come forth. Pyrrhus burning with anger, and Terrible in Countenance, the blood running about his face, his men not being able to hold him, made a sudden assault upon him, and with a blow on his head struck him to the ground. 'Tis reported, his sword was so well temper'd and his Arme so strong, that at one stroke he cleft the Man in sunder, even from the head to the bottom of his body, his parts on each side divided falling to the ground. The enemy terrified with the strange novelty of this spectacle, and admiring him as above the ordinary Rank of Men, left off the fight. Pyrrhus, being rid of this trouble, had notwithstanding little joy. For, inasmuch as he now lost part of his Carriages, and that the wealth he had gather'd by the spoils of the Sicilians, was lost in his last fight with the Carthaginians, he was in great want of moneys, so that his souldiers murmuring for pay, knowing not how elsewhere to provide it, he was compell'd to seize upon the Treasury of *Proserpine*: Her Church at *Locri* was in those dayes most famous for the Reputation of its holiness; which town, when Pyrrhus had taken by the assistance of his faction within it, he committed many horrid facts by slaughter and rapine, more then the just revenge of his slain Garrison did require. But there being nothing left which men would or could contribute to him, he laid hands on the holy money, being urged thereunto by his worst friends, who had most commonly been the authors of every pernicious counsel: These were *Evagorus* the son of *Theodoros*, *Balacer* the son of *Nicandar*, and *Dinarchus* the son of *Nicias*. They did not only per-

swade

Plutarch

Zonaras

Dionysius
Zonaras
Dionys.

Plutarch

Pyrrho. C. 52.

Illustr. 23
Plutarch
Appian apud
Valefium

Plutarch.

Pausan. b. 1

Appian

Plutarch
AppianZonaras
Plutarch
Pyrrho. c. 53Polyb. 1. 18
Plutarch

Liv. 29. 18

Appian
apud Valefium
Dio. apud Va-
lefium

swade *Pyrrhus*, telling him that all things must yield to Necessity, but were themselves instruments in the sacrifice, digging up a vast summe of Gold, which had many years been preserved in vaults under ground. *Pyrrhus* rejoicing said, *there is nothing more foolish then unseasonable Devotion, and not to accept of Money ready prepar'd to one's hand is the part of a mad man.* And putting it into his ships he gave order to have it carried to *Tarentus*, himself going by land.

But this his fact was not more soule in the Commission, then it was unhappy in the Issue. A storme suddenly arising upon the change of Wind, in the night time, turned about the ships in the dark; breaking some into pieces, and forcing others into the Maine. The ships which conveyed the Holy Money being shatter'd and torne into pieces, were sunk with all the men in them, but the money it selfe lying upon some loose planks, was by the waves carried to the shore very neer the Temple, from whence it was the day before taken. *Pyrrhus* understanding the Accident, commanded the money to be diligently gather'd up and returned to its former place, thinking thereby to appease the Angry Deity. Nevertheless, henceforward he had no better success, Fortune Eluding all his Designs whatsoever, even those which were upon good advice, and Virtuoussly undertaken. Which he did alwayes after constantly impute to the Anger of the Offended Goddess, as *Proximus* the writer of his History, and himself in his Commentary do affirme; and when the thing was newly done, not being able by many Sacrifices to make propitiation to *Proserpina*, he put to death all the Authors of that unhappy Counsell, the instruments of the Fact, and every one who had but lightly consented to the Commission of it. And these being executed according to their Deserts, *Pyrrhus* prosecuting his Design had afterward a quiet journey to *Tarentus*; The Romans being still more afflicted with the Plague, and fearing a new war upon *Pyrrhus* his return into *Italy*, attempted all Meanes both Divine and Humane for their Reliefe. 'Twas an old opinion, that the Pestilence might be stay'd by the Dictatours strikeing in of a Naile; for the Experiment of which hopes 'tis probable that *P. Cornelius Rufinus* was chosen Dictatour, for as the greatness of the Calamity might well provoke them to try all Remedies, so we find that *Rufinus* was the year after taken notice of by the Censours, when he had been twice Consull and twice Dictatour, neither can there be found a more certain monument of, or a more convenient place for that his Dictatourship. Against the sickness providing what Remedy they could, their Chiefest care and diligence was required in matter of Armes, especially in regard of the Difficulty in raising Men. For besides the length of the Warre, the continuance of the Pestilence had made men weary of entering into action, inasmuch as the young Men did with wonderful Obstinacy decline the service. But the severity and constancy of *M. Curius Dentatus* the second time Consull overcame this their wilfulness, for he now had entred the Magistracy with *L. Cornelius Lentulus* his Colleague: When therefore in the Capitoll he first began his Leavy, because no man answered, he caused the names of all the Tribes to be cast into an Urne, and the *Pollian* Tribe coming out first, he caused the first man of that Tribe whose name was drawn to be summon'd, and when he refused to appear, he sequestred and sold his Goods; when afterwards he appealed to the Tribunes complaining of the Consulls Injustice, he sold him also, saying, *The Commonwealth had no need of such Citizens who knew not how to obey.* The Tribunes nevertheless did not relieve him, and afterward the example being judged very wholesom grew into Custome, that when a Leavy was rightly and duly made, he who would not be a souldier should be sold for a slave. Others being terrified by this Precedent did the more readily give in their Names, and having filled up their Legions both the Consulls marched into the Enemies Country; *Lentulus* into *Lucania*, *Curius* into *Samnium*. *Pyrrhus* having intelligence of their motion, mustered his army at *Tarentus*, and found himself almost twenty Thousand strong in Foot, together with three thousand horse.

With these and the choice young men of the *Tarentines* he entred *Samnium*, but found not the Inhabitants so obedient as heretofore, they came not in so freely and readily as they had done, not only because their courage was over-wearied with the great and many losses they had sustained, but because they were justly exasperated, imputing all their calamities to *Pyrrhus*, which they had not suffered, had not he by his departure into *Sicily* betrayed his Italian associates. Nevertheless he gathered together so great a strength, that he sent one part into *Lucania* to busie the other Consul, while himself encountered *Man. Curius*, thinking if he once overcame him, he should easily complete his Victory over the rest. But the Roman very well understanding, that there is no *Battalia* comparable to the Macedonian Phalanx, when it hath Rome to spread and expatiate it self, kept himself in craggy and difficult places; and because he expected help from *Lucania*, and that the Auguries also and Entrails of beasts promised no good success, he declined fight as much as might be: so much the more earnest was *Pyrrhus* to engage before the two Consullar Armies were joyned together. Chusing therefore out of his Army those who were most forward, he resolv'd to assaule the Roman Camp in the night time, when he might not be discovered. But while he prepared all things for his intended purpose, he fell into a deep sleep and dreamt, that the greater part of his Teeth fell out, and that an abundance of blood flow'd out of his mouth, in consideration whereof being much perplex'd, he intended to desist from his enterprize; but his friends earnestly perswading him, *Left he should never again have the same opportunity offer'd him*, he gave order to advance. Near the City of

*Suidas in
"A Cuvat
Appian.*

*Livie. 29. 11.
Appian.
Dionysius.
Livie 29. 8.
Livie 29. 18.*

*Val Max. 1. 1. 1.
Ex.
Suidas in
"A Cuvat
Appian.
Livius
Dion.*

Appian

*Plutarch
Pyrrho c. 53.*

Livie 7. 3.

*Pighius in
Annal. Roman.*

478.

*Varro in Satyra
"A Cuvat
Appian.
Val Max. 6. 3. 4
Livie Epis. 14.*

*Plutarch
Pyrrho c. 54.*

*Frontinus
Stat. 2. 2.*

*Dion. apud
Eulvium*

*Culverius Italia
antiqua 4. 8.*

Male-

Maleventum (for that was the name of it in those dayes) are Mountainous and Woody places, which by degrees stretching themselves into somewhat more even ground, at length end in a very fair and open plain which is called by the name of the *Taurasine Fields*.

Plutarch

Now *Pyrrhus* beginning his journey from the Lower grounds up to the hills and woods, when his lights failed, was wildred for want of knowledg in the wayes, in so much that (the day breaking) he was discovered from the Roman camp. The Romans being moved at the unexpected approach of the enemy, yet, (because there was no doubt made but fight they must, and their sacrifices now proving more favourable) with the Consul's conduct cheerefully issued out, and falling upon the foremost of the enemy, (who were far from the Main body, and not in very good order) drove them backward, killing no small number of men, and taking some Elephants which the enemy left behind. This successe encouraged *Curius*, to follow his Fortune and descend into the open field in Battel-array prepared to fight. Neither did the Epirots make any delay. The encounter was very fierce and furious on both sides, but the Romans having had the upper hand in the late skirmish, were much fuller of Courage and hopes. The Epirots giving back, *Pyrrhus* now again sought Refuge from his Elephants, and thereby (one of his own wings flying) he forced one of the Romans Wings to retire even to their Reserve. There had the Consul placed a strong force (resolving upon this occasion to engage himself) which he commanded, being now fresh, to renew the fight, and beat back the Elephants. Former experience had taught them an easie and ready way to oppose these beasts, that they were sooner diverted by fire then the sword: Against them therefore were provided Iron instruments involved in much Pitch and Tar, which, being set on fire, were darted upon the backs and Towers of the Elephants, and whether they light on the skin of the beasts, or on the wood of the Towers, they stuck fast by reason of their hooked sharp points. These instruments and divers sorts of darts, being flung from the upper ground, drove the Elephants into fury, partly by terror, partly by the pain of their wounds, so that their masters not being able to govern them, they rushed back upon their own battel, filling it with fear and slaughter. The beginning of this Rout is reported to be by a young Elephant, which being wounded in his head, sent forth a querulous noise, at which known voice the Dam was first startled, and she increasing the tumult, at length the rest were all in confusion and turned into flight. Very remarkable was this fight, both for the number of the slain and the fruit of the victory. For *Pyrrhus* being hereby utterly overthrown, neither did the rest of *Italy* long hold out, neither, after *Italy*, was any other Nation and King able to stand against them. 'Tis said the King in that Battel had thrice the number of the Romans, even fourscore thousand foot, and six thousand horse; of these they who report the most say, six and thirty thousand were slain, they who report the least say six and twenty thousand; thirteen hundred were taken prisoners, and eight Elephants. *Pyrrhus* with a few horsemen escaped to *Tarentum*. The Camp of *Pyrrhus* being taken, as it caused admiration, so was it of great use to the Romans. For they heretofore, as other people, ordered their Camp scatteringly by companies in the manner of Cottages: *Pyrrhus* is held to be the first who rightly measuring and dividing spaces, contained the whole Army within one Trench; and by his example the Romans being assisted, and adding what they thought convenient, attained to that most perfect manner of pitching their Camps which afterwards they used.

Orosius

Plutarch

Florus. 1. 8

Zonaras

Plutarch

Florus. 2. 1

Dionys. apud

Valesium

Orosius

Eutropius b. 2

Frontinus Strat.

4. 1

This year was very famous, not only for their happy war abroad, but by reason also of Domesticke affairs, and the notable severity of their City Discipline. *Q. Fabricius Luscinus*, and *Q. Emilius Papus*, being Censors together, took away from many the Publick horses, and passed by many in calling the Senate. But most remarkable was *Cornelius Rufinus* his note of Infamy, who having been twice Consul and twice Dictator, was ejected the Senate by the Censors, and this reason given of his Punishment, *That they found in his house the weight of ten pounds in plate so serve at meals*: And in this Condition not only himself but his Family for a long time remained, whereof not any one attained to the highest honours, before *Sylla* the Dictator.

Plutarch
Sylla. c. 1

Val. Maximus

2. 9. 3

Liv. Epit.

Fasti. Capitol.

Florus. 1. 18

Such was the Parsimony of this Citie in those dayes, and afterward so great the extravagancy, that it was by the Fathers condemned as an argument of intolerable Luxury, what their children would shortly esteem but a base and contemptible piece of household stuffe: Every mans estate being cessed and valued, the Army was purged by sacrifices; there were cessed two hundred seventy one thousand, two hundred twenty four Citizens. Both Consuls entred the Capitoll in triumph, first *Curius*, whose triumph was the more illustrious, as for the same of his Exploits, and great joy of his victory, so did it exceed in Pomp and splendour. For heretofore their triumphs being over poor People their neighbours, were set out only with broken armes and Gallick waggons; nor any spoiles led but flockes and herds of Cattel. But now there was a worthy shew both for the varietie of Nations which were led Captive before the Chariot, and for the Beauty and Magnificence of the spoils. Epirots, Thessalians, Macedonians, Apulians, Lucanians, Brutians were led Bound, there were carried Painted Tables, the works of choice and rare Artificers, Gold, Purple, with other beyond sea rarietie, and the instrument of the Tarentine Luxury. But the most wonderful and joyfull spectacle were the Elephants with their four Towers on their backs, (for the rest were dead of their wounds) This was the first time they were ever seen at *Rome*; the common people called them *Luca-Bulls*, giving them their name from the creature they were hitherto best acquainted with, and their deno-

Seneca de Brev.
vita. c. 13
Eutropius
P. in. 8. 6

denomination from the place they first saw them in; within few dayes after was the other Con-
suls Triumph nothing so gallant; though his performances were not to be despised; he had
overthrown the Samnites and Lucanians, and taken many Townes, but in comparison of *Curius*
his Glory the Esteem of these things were not so high. Among the rest who had Rewards be-
flow'd on them for their Courage, he gave to *Ser. Cornelius Merenda* a Crown of Gold out
of the spoiles, because by his help chiefly a Certain Town of the Samnites was taken. While
the Romans thus enjoy'd the comfort of their Victories, the Enemy was in a far different
posture. They had been long weary of *Pyrrhus* his Domination, but now after this un-
happy fight, their mindes were so filled with fear and Indignation that they could take
no Rest.

Plin. 33. 2.

The King having been a long time averse from the Roman Warre, now utterly despairing of
the Conquest, thought of nothing more then how to get safely and honourably out of *Italy*.
But keeping his Counsell to himselfe, he encouraged his Associates, That they should not be
cast down by one unluckly Overthrow, that they had not received so much loss by the last fight, as
by the former they had caused to the Romans, who notwithstanding could not be perswaded to Peace
upon equal Conditions; That now they should imitate the Roman Constancy, and reserve them-
selves for better fortune, and all would yet go well; That there is yet strength sufficient left, where-
by to maintain a long Warre; That in Greece he had many Potent Friends, from whom he might
certainly expect succour. Neither were these things incredible, For he had already, especially
by *Ptolomy* (who was then King of *Macedon*) been manifestly assisted; he being then in great
Estimation both among Greeks and Barbarians, being much honour'd by the *Etolians* (then
a most powerful Nation) as also by the *Macedonians* and the Kings of *Illyrium*, having obliged
some by Courtesies, others by Fear. Yet all his boasting was more with intent, to retain his
Confederates (now ready to revolt) in Fidelity, till the seas were open for his Returne, then
to continue the Warre in *Italy*, or that he put any Trust in Forreign Aid. Sending neverthe-
less his Embassadors to the Kings of *Asia* and *Macedonia*, of some he craved moneys, of
others Men, of *Antigonus* (who was then King of *Macedon*) he craved both. With these
hopes keeping his associates firme to him (having in the mean time underhand provided all
things for his Departure) his Embassadors now returned from *Antigonus*. Assembling there-
fore his own and the *Italian* Princes, he read unto them not those Letters which now he re-
ceived, but others which came before from *Antigonus*, promising plentifull Assistance sud-
denly to be sent. By this Craft having deluded both his own Associates, as also the Romans
who garrison'd near him, the night following without any hindrance he hoysed saile, and
made the *Cerapian* Mountaines a Promontory of *Ephrus*. But that he might seem not dis-
honourably to have relinquished the war, and ingenerate a beliefe of his Return after he had
accomplished the Design he was call'd aside for, he left behind him *Milo* to defend the Castle
of *Tarentus*, and that he might not only by hope of Reward, but by fear of the like Punish-
ment, continue faithfull, he gave him a seat whose cover was made of *Nicias* his skin;
whom he had put to death for his Treason against him. Leaving therefore with him a garrison
of souldiers, with the Rest (to wit eight thousand foot, and five hundred horse) he returned
into his Kingdom, having been six yeares absent. At *Rome* not knowing but that *Pyrrhus*
would renew the warre, they did at their Assembly choose *Marcius* Consul again, because
he onely having had good success against the King, was thought like to carry on the warre with
greatest Authority, and best fortune, of the Patricians *Ser. Cornelius Merenda* was chosen,
being promoted by his late purchased honour, and the Commendation of his Countreymen,
under whose command he was last year; These being made Consul, converted the heat of the
warre against the Lucanians, Samnites and Brutians, who defending themselves rather by the
Difficulty of Places then by Armes, gave no occasion of any Memorable action like the for-
mer. Neither was *Curius* his Glory hereby diminished; everyone still judging, that that
Valiant K. *Pyrrhus* fled not so much for the overthrow sustain'd, as fearing such a Captain as
Curius now again coming forth against him. To him therefore was attributed the Glory of
having chased *Pyrrhus* out of *Italy*, and finishing the Warre. In that year which followed
Curius his Third Consulship, there came Embassadors from the *Alexandrian* Kings with
gifts to *Rome*, and in the Consulship of *C. Dorso* and *C. Claudius Canina*, *Ptolomeus Phila-*
delphus hearing of *Pyrrhus* his flight, sent to congratulate with the Romans, and to desire to
be Esteemed their Friend and Associate. The Romans thought it very honourable that their
Friendship was sought by Kings so Potent and farre distant, therefore courteously receiving and
entertaining the Embassadors, they agreed to enter League with *Ptolomeus*, for the Confirmation
whereof, and to return the like Kind office to the Kings, they sent Embassadors to him chosen
out of their Principal Men, of the Consuls *L. Fabius Gurgés*, and with him *C. Fabius*
Pictor, and *Numerius Fabius Pictor*, and *L. Ogulnius*. These being gone, the Consuls
had good success against the *Italian* People, who still out of Necessity and Despaire kept up
their Armes. The Triumph which *Claudius Canina* made in the *Quirinalls* over the *Luca-*
nians, Samnites and Brutians, is an Argument, that his Actions were of the greater Conse-
quence: But the Joy of all this Prosperity was somewhat diminish'd by *Sexilia* a Vestall Vir-
gin, who against the Rules of her Order being found guilty of Incest, was thought to provoke
the Anger of the Gods.

Justinus 17. 2.

Dionys. apud
V. l. sum.Pausanias b. 1.
Justinus 23. 2.Polyæus
Strategemat.
6. 6.Plutarch
Pyrrho. c. 57.Livie.
Epic. 14.

Eutropius. b. 2.

480.

Zonaras

Eusebius

Numb. 1729.

Dion. apud

Ful. Ursinum.

Epic. Livie.

Zonaras

Val. Max 4. 9. 3.

Livie Epic.

Capitolin.

Marmora.

Livie Epic.

Orosius 4. 2
Velleius 1. 14
Plin. 3. 5
Strab. 6. 2

481

Livie, 24. 9
Zonar. 11
Livie 31. 31

Liv. Epit.

Plutarch
Pyrrho c. 57.

Pausan.
Plutarch

Strabo

Ovid in Ibi.

Dionys. apud
Valesium
Justin. 25. 5
Justin. 25. 4

Zonaras.

Orosius 4. 1.

But appeasing the gods by Sacrifices and Ceremonies, they turned the punishment on the head of the delinquent, and buried her alive at the Colline Gate. While the same men were Consuls there were Colonies planted, *Cusa* among the Volscians, and in *Lucania Paestum*, which the Greeks call *Pesidenia*; this City the Lucanians had taken from the Sybarites, and from them it lately came under the jurisdiction of the Romans. The memory of the year following is more notable, as putting an end not only to the war of the Samnites and others, but of the Tarentines also. *L. Papirius Cursor*, and *Sp. Carvilius* the second time Consuls, having *Lucania, Samnium*, with the Brutians and Tarentines for their Provinces, did by their wisdom and worthy deeds fulfil the expectation of all men, for indeed this pair of Consuls was on purpose chosen in hope of finishing the War this year. The Samnites being conquer'd by *Carvilius* the seventy first year after the war first began, did now with greater faithfulness receive the conditions of Peace imposed on them. *Lu. Papirius* with great slaughter having overcome the Brutians and Lucanians, compelled them to sue for peace. But (as it happens in one main war against many neighbouring People, the confines of whose Territories were interchangeably mixed) *Papirius* had to do also with the Samnites, *Carvilius* with the Brutians and Lucanians, and both of them with the Tarentines. Neither were the forces only of the Tarentines routed and put to flight, but their City also recover'd into obedience. Which business ought to be the more punctually related, because, besides the Victory of a most famous City, it comprehendeth the death of *Pyrrhus*, the subtilty of the Carthaginians, and the first beginning of emulation between them and the Romans.

Pyrrhus, when two years since he sailed from *Italy*, left a Garrison in the Castle of *Tarentum*, thereby to beget hopes of his return, which afterward being the more confidently expected by reason of his success in *Macedonia*, did strengthen the minds of the Italians against their present losses. For being a man of a fierce stirring spirit, not able long to rest, he had made war upon *Antigonus*, because he sent him no assistance into *Italy*, and overcoming him in a set battel, had almost driven him out of his Kingdom. Whence the Romans were in perpetual fear lest he should return into *Italy* with a more numerous Army, and renew the war more heavily then before. But his unexpected death did suddenly cut off both his hopes and fears of all men. For being insatiably desirous of encreasing his power, under pretence of settling *Cleomenis* in his Kingdom of *Sparta* (being then at odds with *Aras*) he entred *Peloponnesus* with a purpose to keep it in his own hands; and though he did in vain assault their City, yet he afflicted the Lacedemonians with great calamities: In *Argos*, in the mean time, there being two Factions, *Aristippus* the head of the one called in *Antigonus*, *Aristias* Patron of the other invited *Pyrrhus* to his relief and for the putting down his adversary. For *Antigonus* was also come into *Peloponnesus* to assist the Lacedemonians against the common enemy. In the same night at divers Ports were both the Kings forces admitted into the City by the Argives. *Pyrrhus* understanding his men were hard put to it, entred the City himself, and beholding a Brass Statue of a Wolf and a Bull as fighting, was presently possessed with an opinion of his approaching death. For he was informed by an antient Oracle, That that place would prove fatal to him where he should see a Wolf and a Bull fighting; he was therefore resolved to draw back his forces and retreat out of the City. But the Elephants and souldiers coming in to his succour, meeting *Helenus* the son of *Pyrrhus*, quite stopped up the passage, so that some striving to go out, some to come in, the enemy likewise sore pressing upon those who gave back, the Argives, Macedonians, Epirots and Lacedemonians who came along with *Aras*, some Elephants also, all crowding and being crowded one by another in narrow streets, caused great fear and tumult amongst them.

Pyrrhus in the midst of all, every where endeavouring to protect his own, and beat back the enemy (giving advice, crying out with his voice and lifting up his hand) was by a certain young man of *Argos* lightly wounded with a spear. This young man's mother a poor old woman (sitting among others upon the house top to behold the fight) when she saw *Pyrrhus* in fury and violence setting upon him who wounded him, being astonished at her son's danger, suddenly snatched up a Tile, and with both her hands flung it down on the Kings head. So miserable and void of honour was *Pyrrhus* his death, then whom that Age brought not forth any man more worthy, either for Courage of Mind, Soundness in Counsel or Skill in Marshal affairs, besides many other endowments both of Soul and Body. But by his Ambition he destroy'd the fruit of all his Labours, and defaced the Ornaments of his Virtue; he would have been much more happy if contented with his own fortune; and certainly the most potent Prince living had he used as much Wisdom and Circumspection in keeping what he got, as did Valour and Industry in the acquiring.

This news, being brought into *Italy*, did diversly, according to their several Affections, cause joy in some Cities, and sorrow in others. Other People who were at their own disposal, bought their Peace of the Romans upon what termes they could; But the Garrison of the Epirots, and *Miso* governour of the Castle restrained the Tarentines from using their Liberty. Between whom, by degrees from lighter injuries and Reproaches, at length brake out open Enmity; so that the Tarentines being on each hand pressed with great Difficulties, having the Romans their Enemies without the walls, and the Epirots within, sent Embassadors to crave succour from *Carthage*. The Carthaginians, who possessed great part of *Sicily* and wished the Coast-

Coast-Towns of *Italy* rather in their own hands than the Romans, readily came with a mighty Navy, pretending only to cast out *Milo*; but resolving, if they gained *Tarentus*, to maintain it against the Romans. When therefore *L. Papirius* the Consul was also come, *Tarentus* was shut up on all sides, the Romans beleaguering that part of the Citie and Castle by land, the Carthaginians besieging the same Castle by sea. The Romans, in this state of affaires, being no lesse solicitous lest the Carthaginians should take the Castle then that themselves should loose it, subtilly attempting all means of victory, treated with *Milo* by Convenient Messengers, That if by his means they obtained *Tarentus*, they would suffer himself, with all his Men, safely to depart with bag and baggage. *Milo*, sending nothing at present more convenient for him, deals with the *Tarentines*; That joyning Counsels together they might deliberate on their Common safety: and at length perswades them, To send himself Embassadour to *Papirius*, diligently to conclude on Articles for all their Benefits. As they had willingly hereunto assented out of wearinesse of Cares and dangers: *Milo* accordingly, being gone to the Consul, with whom he had secretly contrived his Designe, brings back pretty faire conditions, and a most certain hope of making an agreement not to be repented of. The Credulous *Tarentines* hereupon with much security and confidence lay aside all care and Circumspection, giving *Milo* opportunity of delivering not only the Castle, but also the Citie it selfe up to the Romans. The Carthaginians no whit contented with this Event, neverthelesse pretending, *Themselves friends to the Romans*, and that the only cause of their coming was to Expel *Milo*, hoised sails and returned. Some Authors affirm that the Romans forwarned the Carthaginians, That if they intermeddled in the *Tarentine* affairs, they would make a breach of the League, and that they not only slighted this admonition, but sent Auxiliaries to stand in Battell against them; upon which account chiefly the War brake forth between the Romans and Carthaginians in *Sicily*; though the Carthaginians, willing to cover their fault by Perjury, took Oath, That they did nothing with evil or deceitful intent. As I will not deny but that some such passage might happen between the Generals, or that the people commonly discourse so, while the Romans brooked not the others presence, and the Carthaginian endeavoured to keep close their design; so I think there afterwards arose more probable causes of that War, in that it brake not out on the sudden. And that it was occasioned chiefly upon the *Mamertines* account, while the League was entire between the Romans and Carthaginians.

The Consuls returning home, were received with the joy and salutes of all, and triumphed in great Pompe, with much Goodwill of the People. In the mean time *Q. Fabius Gurgus*, and the others who were sent to *Alexandria*, relate in Senate the Result of their Embassage, That they were received and Entertained with all kind of Hospitality and Benevolence, that great and Magnificent gifts were sent to them at their first arrival, but much greater at their departure, that they thought it to become the Roman dignity and abstinence, modestly to refuse the first, that the other, which were by all means to be received, they had, before they did any other business, added to the publick Treasury; that at *Alexandria*, when being invited to publick feasts, they had Crowns of Gold sent them according to custom, they did for luck's sake receive them, but in the night time put them upon the King's Statues. The Senate wonderfully rejoicing, both at the Success of their Journey, and the Gravity of the Embassadors, giving them thanks, That they had by their Continence rendered the Roman Manners Venerable to Foreign Nations, commanded the gifts they had conveyed into the Treasury to be restored them. The people likewise decreed the like, saying, The Commonwealth would be excellently well managed if the base means of growing rich by Publick employments were taken away: And the Questors, according to command, willingly restoring the money, the Embassadors worthy of the reward of their Abstinence, did with as much credit receive the Egyptian gifts as they had refused them. *Q. Fabius*, who was prime man in the Embassy, was, I believe, in this consideration also preferred before so many Egregious men, and chosen Prince of the Senate by *M. Curius* and *L. Papirius* the Censors, being now, by reason of the Nobility of his Family, his Fathers Merits, two Consulships, and as many Triumphs, Inferior to none in Honour. The same men being Consuls, *M. Curius* the Censor was at cost, out of the enemies spoils, to bring the water of the River *Anien* to Rome: So much scorning to encrease his private wealth by them, that being on a time by some ill-willers taxed of having perverted the publick money, producing a piece of wood which he was wont to use in sacrifice, took Oath, That of all the enemies plunder, he never brought nothing else into his house. He was a man indeed of high deserts, as for the greatness of his Exploits, so for his many Illustrious examples in other Virtues; as we shall be by manifest, by relating some of his Actions and Sayings; For I count it not unworthy or unbecoming the Office of an Historian, to recount those things whereby those who are hereafter to undertake the management of publick affairs may be no lesse instructed to the attaining Felicity by Virtue, then by Military counsels and performances. In the *Sabine* War (when there was such plenty of spoils that *Fabius* the writer of the History, thinketh the Romans then to have had the first taste of Riches) *Curius*, claiming nothing of so rich a victory, but the conscience and fame of it, continued in his former poverty and hardinesse of life.

For when the Grounds of the Enemy were appropriated to the Common wealth, he distributed to every private Person but forty Acres by the Man: And the Senate allotting him a greater portion, he being contented with the same Measure he had meted to others, said, *Ho*

Livie Epitom.
14Frontinus
Strategem 3.3Zonaras
Orosius 4 3

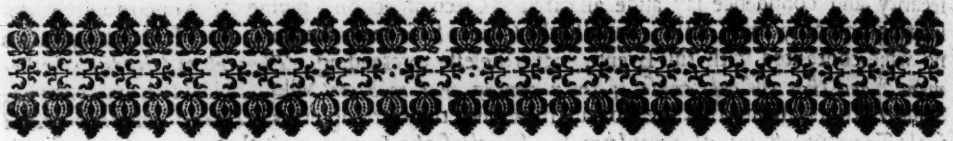
Livie Epitom

Grotefreidus.
Viterbentis
Paulus diac.
Hist. Mis/cel.
2.23Capitolina Mar-
mora.
Inst. 18. 2Valer. Maxim.
4.3.9
Tacitus 2.57.
JustinusZonaras
Val. Maximus.Frontinus de
Aquaductibus
Plinie 7.11

Strabo b. 9

Plutarch
in Apophtheg.
Frontinus Strab.
4. 3
Plinie 18. 3
Plutarch
Auth. de viris
illust.
Cicero Catone
Plutarch
Cato Major

Was no good Citizen who would not be satisfied with as much as others were. This was afterward the Curian Cottage among the Sabines, where when the Samnites (being lately overcome) found him frying of Carrots, and presented him with a vast summe of Gold, I had rather, sayes he, *eate these out of my Earthen platters, and rule over those who are rich in gold.* Near this place Cato the Elder having a Farm, went often thither, and contemplating in his mind the poore Tenement and Little Ground, which so Eminent a Man after three Triumphs, tilled with his own hands, together with the Temperance and abstinence of his Life, did thereby provoke himself, out of the Emulation of his vertue, to the like Constancy and simplicity of Manners. And truly there needed such men to lay the foundations of a future Empire so firm, as it might bear the weight of the superstructure, and not only resist the storms of the Enemy from abroad, but scarcely and with much adoe be ruined by its own inbred Vices.



BOOK V.

Zonaras
Livie Epit. 15.
Polybius 1.7



THE most potent enemy of Rome being now after many battels vanquished, and peace settled throughout all Italy, The Senators entred into Consultation how to make a good use of their Victories. They concluded to fine all Nations who had borne Arms against them; the loss of part of their Territories, taking a more severe revenge of the Tarentines, by how much the more wantonly and intemperately they had offended; they were therefore commanded to resign up all their Arms and Ships, their Walls were demolished, a Tribute imposed upon the City, and nothing granted them but Peace and Liberty. There was

now nothing of an old score more to be intended, then to punish the Treachery of that Legion, which circumventing the Rhegians by craft, had now for ten years possessed their City. They foreseeing that the Roman affairs proceeding so prosperously, their wickedness would not passe unrevenged, had very diligently taken care for whatsoever belonged to strengthening the City, and provided all things for their own defence, being very conscious that what is obtained by cunning and violence, cannot but by the same arts be maintained. Besides their own innate Fierceness, they much confided in the friendship of the Mamertines, and were puffed up with their success against the Carthaginians and Pyrrhus, whereby they had sufficiently made experiment of the strength of their City, and the courage of their own minds, having quickly repulsed the enemies from the siege. They sored therefore to such an height of Rebellion, that daring to take Croton, which was by some betrayed to them, they slew the Roman Garrison and demolished the City. Wherefore L. Genucius the Consul, who was that year Colleague with C. Quinctius, had commission to execute vengeance upon them, and the Rebels being confined within the Walls, the City was besieged. But while they strongly resisted with their own and the Mamertine forces, the Consul having sustained some incommodities, and become in want of necessary provisions, was assisted with Corn and men by Hiero, who was at that time Prince of Syracuse. For he, being offended with the Mamertines, did likewise hate their associates of Rhegium; he was likewise moved by the encrease of the Roman power, to preoblige them to future benefits, as occasion should serve.

Zonaras
Orosius 4.3
482

Zonaras,

Liv. Epit. 15
Zonaras 1.
Orosius

The Citie being at length forced to yield, the Mamertines were by the Consul dismissed upon certaine Covenants, the Runaways and thieves, many whereof had fled thither as to a sanctuary,

ry, were put to death: The Legionary souldiers were carried to Rome that the Senate might passe Judgement upon them. Herein was shewed a notable Example of publick severity, for the Senate decreed first, *They should all be secured in prison, and afterward, be left to Execution*: And when *M. Fulvius Flaccus*, Tribune of the People interceded for them, declaring, *They ought not to take away the Lives of so many Citizens, contrary to the Laws and Customs of their Forefathers*, The Senators persisting in their Resolution neglected the clamours of the Tribune, and Justice was accordingly executed upon the guilty. But lest by so severe an act they might contract an odium, and the sorrow of the vulgar people be aggravated if such a multitude should at one time be put to death, they did every day execute fifty, first scourging, then beheading them. Moreover it was ordered that neither their Bodies should be buried, nor any Mourning made for their Death. *Decius Fabellius* (who had lived unto that day, after the Loss of his sight, that he might die with the more griefe) took away his own life in prison. Following the greatest number of Authours I have reported the whole Legion, even foure thousand men, to have been beheaded in the Market-place at Rome; but I think it more probable what is related by *Polybius*, That but three hundred of that Legion came alive into the Romans power, that the rest, at the taking of the City, desperately fighting, chose rather to be slain, as well knowing that after such hainous villanies, nothing could be expected upon surrender, but more torments and a cruel ignominious death. The City of Rhegium with all its former Rights, Laws, and Liberties was restored to the ancient inhabitants, as many as could any where be found or enquired out.

This act of Justice did much increase the Reputation of the City of Rome, and thereby was gained no lesse Love from all the Italians and neighbouring People, then their armes had caused fear. In the Consulship of *C. Genucius*, and *Cn. Cornelius* there was war with the Sardinates, a people of *Umbria*, inhabiting the *Apennine* Mountains: By what reason provoked, or in what hopes trusting, they now opposed the Formidable power of the Romans (those writings which are remaining making no mention) I am not able to Divine; Likewise the whole Proceedings of the war are utterly lost, and of the memory of these things, nothing else is come to our knowledge, but that *Cn. Cornelius* Triumphed over the Sardinates. 'Tis reported there was a most sharp winter in these Consuls time, in so much that the Sap being chill'd Trees withered; That *Tiber* was covered over with deep Ice, and that the Cattell perished for want of Fodder; so great and vehement was the coldness of the air, that monstrous hills of snow lay unmelted in the Market place for forty dayes together. The thing being unusual in that Climat, and by many look'd upon as a *Prodigie*, perplexed mens minds with wonderful terror, their fear being not long after much encreased, when *L. Ogulnius Gallus* and *C. Fabius Pittor* being Consuls, many strange unheard of sights were seen, and many more reported. At Rome the Temple of *Salus* with part of the walls was smitten with thunder and lightning; three Wolves before day brought a carcase half eaten into the City, and being themselves feared by the noise of men, left it in the market-place torn into pieces limb from limb.

At *Fo-mii* the walls were said to be often struck and cast down with thunderbolts; and news was brought that in the Calenian fields, the earth opened, and fire suddenly brake out, which flaming for three whole daies together, burnt five acres of ground to ashes, insomuch that not only all the fruits on that place were blasted, but even the Trees died at the very Roots. These things caused more feare then misery at Rome; No great matter ensued, but that a War was made against the Picentians, which being the next yeare finished, added likewise that province to the Roman Jurisdiccions. Now in the Citie began the Coining silver, (their wealth being encreased by their victories) whereas before Brasse only was used in all Exchanges; but then pennies and half pennies were made of silver, which went for ten, and five pounds of brasse; there were likewise lesser pieces which being esteemed at two pound and an halfe of brasse, were from their value called, *Sesterces*. It was called, *Moneta*, because it was coined in the Temple of *Juno*, to whom that Name was given, by reason she did *Movere*, that is, admonish the Romans when in the War of *Pyrrhus* and the Tarentines they Consulted about their wants, That money would not be wanting to those, who observed Justice and prosecuted Wars. The Consuls *C. Gallus* and *C. Fabius* went forth to apprehend *Lollius* the Samnite, who having been Hostage at Rome had privily escaped, and now possessing a certain Castle, committed Plunder and Pillage round about, stirring up the minds of his Countrymen to Rebellion, when they were scarce well compos'd by the last peace.

But he with the forces he had gather'd (being for the most part unarmed) could not long resist: The greatest difficulty and danger was in the Province of the Carcines (a part of *Samnium* near the *Frentanes*) where the Romans assaulted a well fenced place, the Receptacle of *Lollius* his spoils, and from great hopes falling into as great fear, did at length obtain the Victory. Some of the Garrison upon condition of Pardon, let the Romans into the walls in a bright Moon-shiny night, and the Townsmen mustring themselves together upon the tumult, when they first began to fight a great drift of snow fell and took away their sight: This accident was a great help to the Carcines against the Romans, who were ignorant of the Passages, in so much that they were in very great danger, and now ready to give back and retreat (which in the dark could not have been done without much loss) when on a sudden the snow ceased and the Moon shone out again, and then being freed from blind fear, they did by their courage make way to

Val. Max. 2.7

15

Frontinus Strat.

4

Appian apud

Valefium

Liv. 28. 28.

Polyb. 1. 2

Appian

Zonaras

Livie 31. 31.

483

Polyb. 2. 16

Columna Ca-

pitolina.

Zonaras

Aug. de Civ.

Dei 2. 17

484

Orosius 4.4.

Eutropius b. 2

Livie Epit. 13

Zonaras

Plin. 33. 3

Suidas in

μωντῶ

Ptoloma

Vi-

Victory. These combustions were the cause why the *Picents* were not vanquished in those Consuls time.

485
Eutropius

Velleius 1. 14
Liv. Epit. 15
Velleius
Livie Epitom.

But the year following *P. Sempronius Sophus*, and *Appius Claudius Crassus* the son of *Caius* being Consuls undertook the War, and happily finished it. About these times was a Colony planted at *Ariminum* in the Picene grounds, which belonged to the Senones of *Gallia*, and another at *Maleventum* in *Samnium*, but changing the Name, which seemed Ominous, they called it *Beneventum*. The Sabines who were many years agoe admitted into the City, had now the liberty of Votes granted them. *Claudius* had also business in *Umbria*, where he took *Camarinum* and sold the inhabitants for slaves. But because the war seemed not very honestly to be managed by the General, the Romans preferring Justice before their own profit, decreed, That the *Camertes* should be sought out and redeemed, that they should be received into the City, have a place of habitation allotted to them in the *Aventine Mount*, and their ground restored to them.

Pighius in an.
485

Greater was the joy for the Picentine Victory, which was thought worthy to be Coined in their new Pieces of silver, that it might the more publicly be known, and the Memory thereof transmitted to Posterity. *Q. Cadius* the son of *Quintus*, by order of Senate, took care for coining the Money, representing on one side *Picus* the son of *Saturne* (for he is thought to be the Father of that Nation) on the other side a Roman Magistrate reaching forth his hand to a suppliant. And that, by subduing of that Country, a great access of strength was made to the Romans is Manifest, in that three hundred and threescore thousand Picentians subjected themselves unto them. For that War the Consuls, as they deserved, did Triumph, but *Sempronius* his Glory was the greater, in that with more dangers and hazzard he had fought against the stronger enemy; For a suddain Earthquake, being very prodigious, happened, as the battles were set in array now ready to encounter; But the Consul composed the souldiers feareful minds, by an oration very fit for the occasion, telling them, *The enemy was no lesse troubled with unnecessary devotion then themselves, that theirs would be the Victory who first, shaking off fear, valiantly charged the enemy before he was well come to himself.* And vowing a Temple to the Goddesse *Tellus*, if she would grant Victory to the Romans, he began the Charge, which was as Couragiously received and so great a slaughter made, that, 'tis reported, the lesser half remained even of the Victorious Army. After this fight (as other the Townes of the Picentians, so likewise) *Asculum* the Metropolis yielded it self to *Sempronius*, and by its example the whole Nation submitting it self in obedience, obtained peace of the Romans. All that part of *Italy* being now subdued, which lieth toward the Sicilian and Jonian sea, there remained onely the Sallentines to be brought in, who live upon the utmost coast where the upper and Ionians seas meet, to these therefore as by a Contagion did the war proceed from the Picentians; *M. Attilius Regulus*, and *L. Julius Libo* being Consuls: The quarrel was pretended because they had received *Pyrrhus* into their Havens and Towns when he came first out of *Epirus*. But indeed the much truer causes of the war were thought to be the Conveniency of the Haven of *Brundisium*, where ships may go in and out with the same wind, the easie passage from thence into *Illyrium* and *Epirus*, and that they esteemed it very opportune to have the same Bounds both of *Italy* and their own dominions. Both the Consuls triumphed for this war in one day, which was the eighth of the Calends of *February*.

Plinie 33. 13

Colum. Trium.

Eutropius

Frontinus
Stratagem 1. 12

Florus. 1. 19.
Orosius 4. 4
Florus
Strabo. b. 6
Livie Epitom.
Flor. 1. 20.

Eutropius
Anno 486
Eutropius b. 6
Zonaras

Colum. Capitol.

Florus 1. 20

487.

Livie Epitom.

Having overcome the Sallentines in a set battel, they took *Brundisium*, the most famous Town in those quarters; other successes also they had, being assisted, as is reported, by *Pales* the Goddess of Shepherds, who of her own accord, as a reward of the Victory, desired to have a Temple dedicated to her in *Rome*. The greater part of the Sallentines being vanquished by these, the war was finished and the victory completed by the next years Consuls, who were *Numerius Fabius C. F. M. N.* and *D. Junius D. F. D. Nepos Pera*: To these both the Umbrians and Sallentines yielded themselves. All *Italy* even between the River *Adriatic* and the seas being generally settled, the Roman greatness began to be famed and taken notice of by the neighbour Islands, and the Continent adjoining to the *Jonian* and *Adriatic* sea, causing in some hopes, in others fear.

Strab. book 7

Livie Epitom.
Dion. apud
Valesium
Livie Epitom.
Dion. apud Valesium
Zonaras
Val. Maximus
6. 6. 5

For they who by violence and injury to their neighbours enlarged their own power, feared the Romans would prove an hindrance to their proceedings, the others contrarywise looking on them as a Succour, sent to them from heaven against the Oppression of their adversaries. The Apollonians were the first, who sending Embassadors to *Rome* craved their friendship; their Citie is seated threescore furlongs from the sea, being built by the Corinthians and Corcyraens, having a very commodious haven, where the neerest passage is from *Brundisium* into *Greece*. The Illyrians and Macedonians are adjacent to them, so that against strong and Covetous neighbours they had much adoe to preserve their own liberty. The message was wonderful welcome and with much Humanity received by the Romans, not so much for the wealth of the Citie which was but small, as for Future hopes in that they thought a way laid open and occasion given them of greater designs hereafter: Insomuch that very severe punishment was inflicted on certain noble young men who upon a quarrel arising had stricken the Embassadors. *Q. Fabius* was not protected either by the Dignity of his office, for he was then *Edile* or the greatness of his Extraction, but was delivered up to the Apollonians for his offence. *Cn. Apronius* who was likewise *Edile*, was given up for the same crime, the Senate decreed, they should by

He.

Heralds be delivered up into the hands of the Embassadors that a Quæstor should go along with them to Brundisium lest their friends and Kindred should rescue them by the way. This was a great testimonie as of their publick faith, so of their wisdom; For having a desire to draw forreign Nations into their friendship by the Reputation of their Justice, it much concerned them most precisly to punish the injuries done to those who first came to enter into their society. Neither would any thing have proved more destructive to their designs then that the Appollonians should have repented themselves of their act, and others of their example. And hence sprung that custom, which was constantly in after times observed, That they who had stricken the Embassadors of a free Citie should be delivered up to it. But the Appollonians, when they were brought into their Citie, wisely considering they should gaine more by Clemency and humanity then Revenge, sent them safe home again. This year each Consul triumphed twice; D. Junius the fifth of the Calends of October, Numerius Fabius the third of Nones of the same Month over the Sarsinates, a people of Umbria. Again they triumphed over the Sallentines and Messapians who had afflicted the Sallentines, Fabius on the Calends of February, Junius on the Nones. And this was the Conclusion of all their Italian Wars; For what was acted in Volunia next year, Quintus Fabius Gurges the third time Consul, L. Mamilius Visulus being his Colleague, was not so much a war against a just enemy, as vengeance inflicted upon slaves in behalf of their associates.

B. 17. ff. de Legatis.
Zonaras

488

The Volunians, the richest people of all Etruria, did implore the Romans assistance against those who were formerly their servants. For by very ill and foolish advice (whether it were, that thereby they thought to increase their strength so much broken in the late wars, or that themselves tumbling in delights were loath to trouble themselves with the labour of Arms) they made their servants free of the City, and committed the Militia into their hands. Afterward they began to be chosen Senators, and to bear Offices of State. In short time oppressing the old Citizens, and usurping the whole power of the Commonwealth to themselves, they did most insolently exercise their Liberty against their Masters who gave it them. It was now grown common to Ravish Virgins and honest Matrons by force, to heap Contumelies and Indignities upon Parents and Husbands, crying for justice according to Law; and all things were confusedly hurried according to the pleasure of the vilest most petulant Knaves. And that we may not pass over in silence a rare Precedent, to what issue the beastly impudence of slavish minds will proceed to when it hath gotten power, they made a Law, That the Libertines might have licence of Copulation with the wives and daughters of their Patrons, and that the Maidenhead of a Virgin designed in marriage to a true Freeman, should first be prostituted to one of their Order. Wherefore the old Volunians being neither able any longer to endure these miseries, nor by their own power to repulse and avoid them, secretly consulting together, resolved to send Embassadors to Rome. They having by private sollicitations prevailed that the Senate would meet in some private house (for they saw unavoidable ruine over their heads if the business was known) they did by a very sorrowful discourse make them acquainted with their sad condition, wherewith the Fathers being moved to compassion, promised them assistance for the recovery of their lost Rights.

Johannes Antiochensis.
apud Vales Florus.

Val. Max. 9. 1. 3
ext.

Zonaras
Aust. de viris
illus. c. 26

But these things which were thought to be agitated in secret, were by a Samnite discovered to the parties complained of; For he, a guest to the master of the house where the Senate met, being then sick, was by forgetfulness left in a place where he overheard all their discourse and betrayed it. Therefore the Embassadors, after their Return from Rome, were called into question, and the whole business being found out, were with other prime Men of the Citie cruelly put to death. The Romans, now having a juster cause of War, sent Q. Fabius the Consul with an Army against them, whom, daring to encounter him in open field he put to flight, and slew a very great Number in the Pursuit: The Rest who betooke themselves into their place of defence, he resolved with counterworkes to besiege. But they making strong Resistance, The Consul (as there were frequent Pickerings and light skirmishes) unwarily venturing too far in the fight, received a wound whereof he dyed, which the besieged understanding, made a Sally with the greatest strength they could, hoping if they suddenly assaulted the enemy now in trouble for the loss of the Consul, to force them to break up the siege. But the event of the battel was contrary, for being roughly received by the Romans, they were beaten in again with losse.

Tulim obsequens
de Prolegis.
c. 27.

In this fight I suppose Decius Mus to have had the Command; for he might happily have been Fabius his Lieutenant, and after his death be chief in managing the War till a successor was sent. And hence I conjecture it comes to passe that some negligent Historians have ascribed to Decius Mus both the beginning and finishing of this War. Cn. Cornelius L. P. Cn. N. Blasio and C. Marcius were created Censors that year, and this last having before born the same Office, was from this his Magistracy called Censorinus. The moderation of this Marcius was very remarkable, who being invested with Power which he sought not after, assembled the people together, and in a grave speech chid them, That they had twice intrusted that Office to the same man, whereas their forefathers did in this very consideration limit the time of it, because the power was too Great. Hereupon a Law was made, That the same man should not be made Censor the second time. The same year the number of the Quæstors was increased; in former times there were but four, two for the City, and two to assist the Consuls abroad in the Wars. But after-

Aust. de viris
illust. c. 36
Capitolina
Marmora
Val. Maximus
4. 1. 3

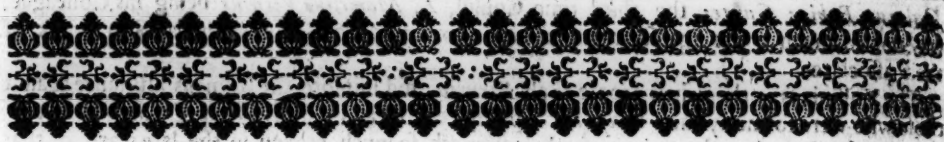
Plut. Corn. c. 1
Livie Epit. 15

ward

Tacitus 11.12.6
489
Agellius 17.21

ward their Taxes and Customs encreasing with the Commonwealth, there was a necessity of doubling the number. *Appius Claudius* who in the time of his Magistracy was surnamed *Caudex*, and *M. Fulvius* were Consuls the year ensuing, which was very memorable, in that then first began the war between the Romans and Carthaginians in *Sicily*. Then first brake out Hostility between two most potent Cities, which after many years, after many bloody overthrowes given and received, could not at length be ended without the utter ruine and destruction of one of them.

But, before we enter upon the History of the War, it will be necessary to relate something of former times concerning *Carthage*; for in the ensuing Narrative many things will occur, hard to be understood and judged of, unless both the Original and encrease of that City be first known.



B O O K V I.



DHAT *Carthage* was built by the Tyrians of *Phenicia* (besides the constant agreement of old Histories) the perpetual friendship of those Cities while they flourished, as also the manifest likeness both of their Language and Manners doth clearly testify. 'Tis reported that *Elisa* (who was likewise called *Dido*) the daughter of *Agenor*, the son of *Belus*, flying out of her Country (by reason of the hatred she bore to her brother *Pigmalion* for the unjust slaughter of her husband *Sicharus*) entred that Creek of *Africa*, and possessed that *Peninsula* where *Carthage* was afterward built; her small beginnings promising little hopes of so great power and wealth as afterwards was obtained. For 'tis believed *Dido* purchased no more ground then might be compassed with the hide of a Bull or Ox, which being cut out into very slender thongs contained a larger space, then the sellers did imagine, and it was sufficient whereon to Erect a Castle, which from thence is thought to be called *Byrsa*. Afterward seeing (many placing their habitation near them for Traffick sake) they began to look like a City, and that the Africans were willing to entertain among them men so rich and very gentle and quiet, they hearkned to the counsel sent from *Utica* (which was also a Colony of the Tyrians) which advised them, *After their example to build a City*. So it was agreed, That the Africans should afford them ground, and that the *Phanicians* in recompense thereof should pay a yearly Tribute.

The work being finished, *Dido* gave it a name in her own Language, *Carthadas*, the Greeks called it *Carchedo*, and the Romans by an error in Pronunciation, *Carthago*. This City having Loving Neighbours, an Industrious people, and what was above all, a Wife Queen, did in a short time wonderfully increase. These things seeme to have been acted some seventy years before the foundation of *Rome*; for about so ancient a Circumstance Authors do not very well agree. But as *Elisa* her life was notable for variety of Chances, so was her death very remarkable. *Parbas* a Petit King of some African Province, sought to marry her, threatening upon refusal to raise war against her. But as she was averse from marriage by reason of her singular Chastity and love of her former husband, so she very well understood that in these tender beginnings of affairs, a war would prove fatal and destructive; therefore taking time to deliberate, as if she had at length overcome her own Resolution, and were inclined to marry the African, caused a

Pile

Iustin. 18.5
Appian
Libyc.

Strabo b. 17

Livie 34.61.

Iustinus.
Strabo

Cato apud So-
lin.

חרשה קרת

Berneggerus
ad Iustinum
18.6.9

Iustinus

Pile of wood to be erected before her intended marriage, whereto sacrifice to the Infernal gods in behalf of her husband Sichæus. And after many Sacrifices offer'd, she did at length ascend the Pile, and killed her self with a sword she brought with her; her love to her Husband and Subjects exceeding the care of her own health. The Carthaginians returned her what honour they could, and while the Commonwealth flourished, worshipped her as a Goddess; raising a Temple in the place where she lived, calling her *Dido*, which in their language signifieth a *Virago*.

When after her death no man was thought worthy to succeed her in the Kingdom, the Citie began to be governed by the Mixed Power of Nobles and Commons. The Name of Kings still remained, but they were like the Lacedæmonian Kings; but that the honour was not to any Certaine families annexed, but conferred on any Prime Man who exceeded others in Virtue and Riches. These had the management of Wars abroad (wherefore the Romans called them Pretours and Dictatours, comparing their power with the usuage of their own Commonwealth) at home they were Princes of all publick Consultations, with their advice the affaires of the Citie were ordered: Things of heigher concernement were referred to the people, their sentence decided all controversie between the Kings and Senatours: They also had authority to alter the Laws made by the Kings and Councel, if they seemed contrary to the good of the Publick, which any man had Liberty to question. Which too great power of the Commons, being augmented to an intolerable height, by flattering Parasites and Orators, did in after time infinitely wrong and obstruct the Carthaginian affaires: Moreover in the Senate there were thirty of the more Antient appointed as a supreme Councel, and these had greatest authority with all Men. There was like wise a Superinspector of Manners, invetled with the same power as the Roman Censors, to maintain publick Decency and Discipline. In proceffe of time, after many victories, their greatnesse being encreased, they chose a greater Number of Commanders for the War: Among which *Mago*, the most Egregious both in courage and fortune, having left behind him two sonnes well educated and instructed in the art of Warre, and they also to their more numerous offspring, as it were by hand, delivering the same skill and knowledge, it was thought fit by some meanes to curbe the too great power of that Family; to this purpose an hundred men were constituted to passe sentence upon the Generals themselves: Their power was very formidable, as for the largenesse of their Commission, so for the continuance, which was during life, whereas even the Kings now, were not for so long a time but yearly created, whom at home they commonly called *Suffetes*, that is to say, Judges, much like to the Roman Consul. But when the *Cenimviri* or hundred men behaved themselves with much insolence, *Hannibal* by a Law reduced them into Order, it being decreed, That the Judges should Yearly be chosen, and that no man should continue in office two yeares together. Their gods and holy Rites they brought most from *Tyrus*, some they did afterwards add. *Juno* they chiefly adored, and *Asculapins* not a little, in whose honour they erected a Magnificent Temple in the Citie; *Apollo's* house was likewise very rich, covered with plate of Gold, wherein was a famous statue which after the Ruine of *Carthage* was carried to *Rome* and placed in the great Shew-place called *Circus Maximus*. But to *Hercules* at *Tyrus* they every year sent a ship, with great care well trimmed, with the Tithes of their yearly fruits, and spoiles gotten in War.

From the same Founders also they derived another most horrid Rite, to offer an humane sacrifice once a year to *Saturnus*, whom they called *Belus*, the Relicks of which Barbarous Cruelty could not be quite abolished by the Destruction of the Citie. The other Manners and Customes of the Citie were more civilized by their conveniency of Commerce and Traffick, to which being by nature, and Education from their Forefathers much addicted, they did apply all their studies and Counsels. Hence by an unavoidable mischief the Love of Riches corrupted their Courts of Justice, made Vertue a servant to money, inflamed the Peoples minds with Covetousnesse, and infected them with a sordid custom of Cheating and Lying, forcing the Commonwealth wholly to give it self up to these arts. Inasmuch as it came to passe that as little Faith was had in Carthaginian Contracts and Covenants, so the chiefest part of the publick strength consisted in ships, their Infantry the main support and pillar of all Empires, was had in no Request. Their Horse in very little: As often as they waged War by Land, they made use of Mercenaries, who had no true Love to the Commonwealth, whose faith was to be bought with money, their discord troublesome and their conspiracies pernicious. Which error was so Capital, that before the utter destruction of the City, no other enemy but those did ever bring them so near to final ruine.

Neither did a lesser crop of misery spring from this, That their Magistrates and Publick Officers did by mutual connivance exercise Extortion and Purloin the state without punishment; so that 'tis the lesse to be wondered, that a war arising between these two Cities, the Romans proved conquerors: when as the Senators in all hard times added their wealth to the publick stock, and the Carthaginians made a gain of the Commonwealth. But these vices grew up together with the City, so that at first being weak and little they were pretty well born withal, afterward for a while the greatness of their Empire, and the singular virtue of their Commanders made them the lesse sensible, by whose means chiefly, I find, was both obtained and established the happiness that ever attended *Carthage*. Their first beginning in Arms was against the Affricans, requiring Tribute for the ground the City was built on; neither could they extort that right out of their hands but by many battels: hereby they enlarged their Empire, and the best planted part of *Africa* was reduced into subjection to them. Their command of the seas gave them

Silius Italic.

4.3

Servius Ful-

sens in Virg.

Æniad. 1. 344

Aristot. Polit.

2. 11

Aristot.

Polyb. 6. 49

Livie, 30. 6

Cornelius Nep-

os.

Amilcar c. 3

Justin. 19. 1

Aristotle

Cornel. Nepos

פסוק

Liv. 30. 7

Livie 33. 32

Virgil. b. 1

Strabo b. 17

Appian Punic

Plusarch

Flaminio c. 1

Polyb. legat.

114. 1

Diodorus

20. 14

Justin. 18. 2

Hieron. in Isid.

c. 46

Plin. 36. 5. 37

Frienhemius

Comment. in

Curt. 4. 3. 19

Arist. Politick.

2

Cicero contra

Rutilium 2. 35

Polyb. 6. 49

Polyb. 1. 67

Polyb. 1. 65

Livie 33. 32

Justinus 19. 1

Justin. 19. 2

fair opportunity of passing over into *Sardinia* and *Sicily*; the one was rude and Barbarous, not able to resist, into the other they were invited by its Beauty and Fertility, which was, by reason of the Inhabitants perpetual discords exposed to the injuries of the most Potent. Out of *Sardinia* into *Corfica* their passage was short, and they did the more easily possess the Island as being not very rich.

Iust. 4. 3
Herodotus 1.
165

Diodorus
13. 43

Diodorus
14. 60

Iustin. 20. 5
Plutarch
Timoleon c. 14
& 30
Ibid. c. 37. &
42

Iustin. 22. 4

Iustin. 22. 8

Iustin 44. 5
Curtius 4. 4
Polybius 1. 10

Polybius 1. 8

Polyb. b. 7
apud Vales.

Livie 24. 4. 4
Polybius

Iustin. 23. 4

But in *Sicily* for a long time they fought with various Fortune, obtaining many victories, and receiving many overthrows: *Amilcar* the son of *Hanno* when he had carried over three hundred thousand men, was vanquished by *Gelo* and slain. With which calamity being terrified, the Carthaginians did abstain from *Sicily*, till being called over by the *Egestians*, who were oppressed by the *Selinuncians*, they sent thither *Annibal* the son of *Geseq* the son of *Amilcar*; he destroying *Selinuncs* and *Himera*, did again encrease the Carthaginians power in *Sicily*. *Imilco* did at sea vanquish *Leptis* the brother of *Dionysius* the elder, and the Sicilians Admiral, he took and sunk an hundred ships, and slew above twenty thousand men, he surprised many Cities, and took also part of *Syracuse*, but a sudden Pestilence arising, which consumed most part of his Army, forced him to return home with very few men. Neither did they yet despair of gaining *Sicily*, but in few years after sent out *Hanno* with a fleet, commanding him to fight *Dionysius*. Afterward *Mago* being invited by *Ictus*, when he was in the City of *Syracuse* it self with threecore thousand foot, he was cast out by *Timoleon*; afterward the same *Timoleon* in a very great battel overcame *Annibal* and *Amilcar*, having in their army seventy thousand men, and forced their Camps likewise. But they had not a quicker and greater turne of fortune in any war then in that against *Agathocles*, who being beaten in *Sicily*, besieged in *Syracuse*, having no manifest hopes of safety, did yet of his own accord carry the war over into *Africa*, where having overcome the Carthaginians in many battels, and caused the Libyans every where to revolt, he brought them into very great danger and fear; and returning home again he expelled them clearly out of *Sicily*; till at length the death of the King, and the confusions which followed upon it, again gave them hopes, and opened them a way to regain possession. After this (as we have said) they variously fought with *Pyrrhus*, proving at length, to be the superiours.

In the mean time some Cities also in *Spain* became Tributary to them, whether being called to the assistance of the Gaditanes against some oppressing Neighbours, they sent relief to their Kinsmen (for *Gades* likewise was founded by the Tyrians) and reduced some adjacent Regions of *Spain* into their own Jurisdiction. This was the posture the Carthaginian affairs were in when they took up arms against the Romans. But the *Syracusans* and their King *Hiero* possessed the greater part of *Sicily* which was not subdued by the Carthaginians; the residue was held by the *Mamertines*. They while they were in League with the Roman Legion at *Rhegium*, and could have assistance from them, were not content to secure their own Territories, but invaded those of the *Syracusans* and *Carthaginians*, forcing many Cities to pay Tribute to them to avoid plunder, wastings of their grounds, and other incommodities of war. But when *Rhegium* was taken, and their companions worthily executed, being bereaved of that help, they were not able to uphold their former greatnesse; and having lost whatsoever they held out of *Messana*, were now at war with *Hiero* for the City it self. Concerning which King *Hiero*, I think it not inconvenient somewhat at large to discourse, because he in these times being first an enemy to the Romans, afterward for many years a companion and friend, was of very great moment in the settling of affairs. For in him was found singular happiness, great virtue, and most eminent wisdom; and in those dayes the power and state of *Syracuse* did with him flourish and with him fall.

This man not being helped forward by any wealth or glory left by his Ancestors, owed all his fortune to himself, promoted from a low estate to vast power, not so many, by accepting great men, or by the slaughter and banishment of his opposers, but by wonderful modesty both in attaining and in exercising his power, as well knowing there is no Kingdom so well and firmly established, as that which is in such a manner order'd, that it more concerns the Subjects to fear the loss of it then the Prince.

Having reigned therefore four and fifty years, in such a time when two most potent Cities on each hand did with most sharp contentions, fight for the dominion of the world, troubled with no War abroad (unlesse in his first year) nor assaulted by any Treason at home, he died being above ninety years old, his senses being at that age entire and his body sound, as a certain argument of his Temperance, being not only beloved by his own people, but had in great Estimation both with the Romans and Grecians; when he would often have divested himself of the Principality, the Citizens did openly prohibite him; And his son *Gelon*, who, at above fifty years of age, died before him, did all his life time, even to the last, with constant faith and obedience honour him, shewing a rare example of Moderation, in that he chose rather for ever to want a Kingdom then lose his Father. This *Hiero* was by his Father *Hierocles* (who derived his Pedigree from *Gelon* an ancient Tyrant of *Sicily*) exposed to the mercy of the world; forasmuch as he being a Noble man was shamed to bring up a child which he had begotten on a servant. But being destitute of all human succour, the Bees for many days fed him, putting honey into his mouth as he lay upon the ground, *Hierocles* being much affected with this Prodigie, and the answers of the Southsayers, who affirmed, That hereby Kingly power was prefignified

signified, took home the Infant, acknowledged it for his own, and in hopes of his future greatness took diligent care for his Education. As he was learning his book among his equals, 'tis reported, that a Wolf suddenly appearing in the midst of the boyes took his book out of his hand. When he first entred into the Wars, 'tis said, An Eagle pitch'd upon his shield, and an Owle upon his speare; which was thought a signe of wisdom and strength; and by reason of the Kingly bird, of highest honour and dignity. But he himself shortly gave more certaine evidence, being of exceeding comelineffe and strength of body, but much more illustrious and beloved for his wit, Temperance, Gentlenesse, Justice and Moderation; having often fought single Combates sometimes in the Battel, sometimes against private Challengers, he was alwayes Victour, and by *Pyrrhus* frequently rewarded with many Military Gifts for his valour; and *Pyrrhus* his Kinswoman *Nereis* was afterward married to *Gelon* the son of *Hiero*. *Pyrrhus* being driven out of *Sicily*, when (according to the ill temper of those times) a dissension arose between the army and Citie of *Syracuse*, *Artemidorus* and *Hiero* were, in the Camp near *Mergana*, by suffrage of the souldiers chosen Commanders. By the advice of *Hiero*, and the help of his friends, some souldiers being privily sent into the Citie reduced it into their Power; where *Hiero* shewed himself a gallant Man, and fit for the government of any Realme whatsoever; For, of the several factions which weretherein, he neither slew nor banished any one Man, but by his clemencie, Moderation and upright Counsel so compounded their differences, that he was chosen Pretor of *Syracuse* with the good will and affection even of those against whom he came, as much as of those men who invited him thither. He with his whole heart as sincerely tending the publick good as his own (having observed an ill Custome of a long standing in *Sicily*, That the General could no sooner lead his forces out of the City but there was either some sedition raised in the Army, or some innovation made at home) began to consult with himself, In whose hands to entrust the City when he should be forced to go out to War. He married therefore the daughter of *Leptis*, who was very popular, of great authority among the Citizens, of eminent honesty and faithful to his trust.

Having thus provided for Domestick affairs, he devised a remedy (very necessary indeed; but not altogether praise-worthy) against the insolency of the mercenary souldiers: For drawing out his army against the Mamertines when they met him near *Centuripa*, he order'd his battel near the River of the *Cyanosiani* with such art, that he left a good distance between the Citizens and the Mercenaries, then commanding the Mercenaries to begin the fight, as if he and the City forces would on some other side Charge the enemy while they were already buied. The Mercenaries by this means being furrounded by the greater number of Mamertines, were slain; himself (having thus employed the enemy) marched fair and softly with his other forces to *Syracuse*.

Having in this manner purged the Army of those who were ill disposed and enclined to sedition; he diligently Traineth his City forces; hireth new Auxiliaries, and now having the goodwill of all (the most insolent being removed and the rest not daring to murmur) he order'd the Government according to his own pleasure. In the mean while, the Mamertines proud of their late victory and grown more fierce, rashly, and without fear invaded and spoiled the *Syracusan* Territories. *Hiero* now confiding both in the City and Army, forthwith marcheth out against them, and pitcheth his Camp near the enemies City, almost empty by reason of having sent out every way so many Troops. The Mamertines understanding the danger, suddenly return home to the relief of their City, with all their forces joyned. *Hiero* removing his Camp out of the Mamertine Fields, taketh the City of *Mila*, and in it fifteen hundred souldiers; thence gaining by the way some Castles, he marcheth to *Amaselum* (which is seated in the midst between *Agrinum* and *Centuripa*) which (though it were well fenced, and protected by a strong Garrison) he forced and demolished. The souldiers he received into pay, and caused to fight under him; the grounds he divided between the *Centuripines* and *Agrines*. Being animated with this success, he again invaded the Mamertine Territories, taketh *Alisum* upon composition; but the *Abacenines* and *Tyndarites* voluntarily surrender themselves to him. Hereby were the Cities on each hand next to *Messana* on both the coasts subject to *Hiero*, (for the *Tindaritan* inhabit toward the *Etrurian* Sea, the *Tauromenians*, who were at this time in friendship with the *Syracusans*, toward the *Sicilian* Sea.) The Mamertines therefore being streightned, send out their forces under the conduct of *Cio* their Pretor to oppose the enemy, who now was lodged near the River *Longanus* in the *Mylean* fields. The battel being begun, and the fight along time doubtful, *Hiero* suddenly sending in fresh Troops upon the Flank of the Mamertines, made the Victory his own. For before the fight *Hiero* had placed together two hundred *Messanian* Exuls, valiant men, who hated the Mamertines, with four hundred choice men of his own Army, commanding them, To go about the hill *Thorax*, and by a sudden incursion to fall upon the enemy on the other side, which they stoutly performing were the cause why the whole Mamertine Army fell by the sword.

Cio, seeing all lost, and desiring nothing more then to dye, was taken prisoner, fore wounded, and conveyed into the *Syracusan* campe: finding the Prediction of the Entrails and Southsayers true in another sense then he expected. For before the Battel the Prophets looking into the Intestines of the sacrifice promised, He should lie in the Enemies Camp that night: Which he esteeming an argument of victory too late found himself deluded by another

Joannes Sarris-
burienfis de nu-
g^{is} curialium.
1.13
Justinus

Pausanias. l. 6.
Justin. 28. 3
Polyb. 1. 8

Justinus 23. 4.
Polybim

Diodori Eclon.
b. 2. 2

Polsb. 1. 9
Diodorus

Strab. b. 6
Diodorus

Polyb. 1. 9

Polybius

Zonaras.
Polybius.

Zonaras

Polybius

Salustii frag.

Cassidorus Va-
riarum 12. 14

Causabon in
Strab.
Strabo b. 6
Macrobius

Interpretation, with grief and sickness cast down, when the next day among other horses, he espied that his son rode upon in the Field, conjecturing thereby his death, he resolutely pulling the cloaths and plaisters off his wounds made way to his own death. The Mamertines, understanding their overthrow, grew full of despair, and were now ready to present their humble supplication to the Conquerours, when an unexpected accident prevented them. It happened that at the same time *Hannibal*, the Carthaginian Pretor, was in the *Liparan* Islands, which are adjacent to *Sicily*. He having intelligence of *Hiero's* Victory, fearing lest (the Mamertines being utterly vanquished) the Syracusan power would grow too great for the Carthaginians, came suddenly oyer under pretence of congratulating with *Hiero* for his Victory; and hindring him from directly marching to *Messana*, did himself make first entrance, and when the Mamertines were now ready to yield, did not only possess them with hopes of retaining their liberty, but left a strong Garrison of his own souldiers amongst them. *Hiero* understanding himself by this craft deluded, & being not sufficiently prepared for a siege, made now more difficult, returned to *Syracuse*, where being received by all with very great joy, he was by an universal acclamation saluted King, which Title he afterward retained with the consent both of the Citizens and others of the Island without.

When *Hiero* was retreated, the Mamertines having a little space of resuming confidence, began to deliberate upon their present condition, but were divided into two Factions, some thought it not to be disputed, 'But that they should commit themselves to the protection of the Carthaginians, which as for many other reasons it was convenient, so having admitted their Garrison, 'twas little lesse then necessary. On the other side 'twas said, 'The Carthaginians were no lesse enemies to the Mamertines then *Hiero*, that without doubt their purpose of sending of the City was not out of good will, but desire of Dominion; That of a long time they had aspired to the Empire of *Sicily*, neither were cast down from their bold hopes by losse of Armies and Navies, no not by wars in *Africa*, and fear of their own state at home; That therefore without exception they must prove Vassals if they commit themselves to those who have so strong a Navy, and possess greatest part of *Sicily* it self. That 'tis therefore no way expedient to desire aid from the Carthaginians, a covetous, unfaithful people, who will lay heavier burdens upon them then they could fear from the Syracusans. If the Punick Garrison came only with intent to preserve the City from *Hiero*, they may now upon fair terms be dismissed having done the work: But if they have some other clandestine design, it behooveth them with the greater care to prevent the danger of their deceitful friendship. That they should rather implore assistance from the Romans, as a people invincible, of unquestionable faith and sincerity, who will have neither occasion nor opportunity of keeping *Messana* under their jurisdiction, as having not a foot of ground in *Sicily*, nor any use of sea affairs, and consequently taking no care therein. That they would be abundantly content to keep *Italy* secure from *Hiero* and the Carthaginians, having made *Messana* strong as an obstacle to their further proceedings. That therefore they should continue to rely upon the Roman faith rather then any other Nation; that indeed they could neither with honesty or any convenience change their former counsels, having already sent Embassadors and obtained hope of succour and relief. For the Mamertines before their last battel with *Hiero*, beginning then to distrust in their own strength had craved assistance of the Romans as their Kinsmen. And the people being perswaded by the Consuls who were desirous of employment in the Wars, had decreed that aid should be sent to them; but the Senate out of shame to be counted authors of the business, did defer it. For they who had lately so severely punished their own Legion for the wicked surprize of *Rhegium*, if they should now assist the Mamertines, who had by the like treachery obtained the mastery of *Messana*, they saw they should clearly loose the reputation of their Justice and Fidelity, which by their former act they had acquired. But now having heard of the Mamertines overthrow, and not doubting but if they were forsaken by the Romans, they would apply themselves to the Carthaginians, with one consent they ordained to send them relief. For in the Senate many had before inclined to this opinion, as foreseeing that otherwise *Messana* quickly, and not long after all *Sicily* would come under the Carthaginian power, which if it were once come to passe, they should be forced to fight with the Carthaginians for their own possessions in *Italy*.

For this danger would prove unavoidable, as well by reason of the insatiable desire of Rule in those who are potent, as by the convenient scituation of the places. For *Italy*, proceeding in a long tract between the two seas from the Ligurians and Venetians, to the Brutians, is there divided from *Sicily* by a very narrow Channel. For there is no doubt made but that these Regions in old times were a continent, afterward divided by the sea, whether the grounds being low were easily overflown, or whether some earthquake or strength of the Tides cut off the *Isthmos*. From hence many think that Town to be called *Rhegium*, because things which are broken, are by some such word nominated in the Greek Tongue. 'Tis therefore very credible that the first inhabitants of *Sicily* came out of *Italy*, as may be conjectured by the very name. For the Opici are said to have built a Citie on the adverse shore over against *Italy*, which because it was scituate in a Creek of the sea bearing the figure of a Sythe, they called it, I beleeve, *Sicilia*, which the Grecians afterward coming, called *Zancla*, both those words in the several Languages signifying a Sythe. From thence, as often it happens, the name was derived to the whole Island, Which was by many called both *Zancla* and *Sicilia*.

This

This Island far excelleth all others in the *Mediterranean Sea*, both in extent of ground, and fruitfulness of Soile, yeelding abundance of Oyl and Wine and Corn of the best; adorned with many, and those very great Cities, even to wonder; and if you consider the Commodity of the Havens, and situation of the whole Island, there is scarce to be found in the world a place more fit for the chiefe seat of an Empire: For, being near adjacent to *Italy*, on the contrary part it looketh toward *Africa*, on another side lyeth *Sardinia*, and on east it hath *Peloponnesus* devided from *Gracia* by the *Ionian sea*: On every hand the voyage is short, and the passage easy for ships whether bound outward or homeward. And truly, though other reasons were alledged, yet the only cause of the War between the Carthaginians and Romans, was, without doubt, the great desire each of them had to be Masters of this Island. The Romans found fault, *That the Carthaginians contrary to the League had assisted the Tarentines*; the Carthaginians on the other side charged them, *for having entred into Confederacy with Hiero against them*. But to so great a power were now both these Cities advanced, that it could not be avoided, but that at some time or other for some cause they must needs find occasion to fall out. For as Trees planted at no great distance, for a while do not much hinder one the other, but being grown to some bignesse bereave one the other of Juice and nourishment from the earth, and at full growth enterwinding both root and branches mutually destroy one the other: So rising Empires cannot long be at Amity and friendship, but, swallowing up what is interjacent between each others Dominions, desire to try the superiority between themselves, neither being able to put a limit to their own ambition or to enlarge their Territories without removing all Opponents.

To these causes may be added the great power the Comminalty had in each City, together with their earnest desire of undertaking the War. In *Carthage* the vulgar sort did much prevail, and now in the encrease of their City, growing rich by many Commodities, were willing for gains sake to have war upon war. The condition of the Roman people was not much different, for having in the former wars sustained damage in their estates, they hoped by the riches of *Sicily* to recompence themselves, and therefore, according to that power they had lately extorted from the Senate, did approve and confirm their sentence who perswaded the war. Hereby *Appius* the Consul being commissioned (whereas otherwise the major part of the Senate had assented, overpowering the votes of those who stood to old Rules) without delay sendeth *Claudius* a Tribune of souldiers beforehand with some few ships, to observe an opportunity, and if any were offered, to waite over into *Sicily*. When he was come to *Rhegium*, not daring to hazard his ships because he saw the seas obstructed with a greater fleet of Carthaginians, he entred into a Fishermans vessel and crossed over to *Messana*; there discomfing with the Mamertines as the present occasion required, being not able to overcome the contradiction of the Carthaginians, he returned without having done his business. But awhile after understanding there was a dissention at *Messana*, some pleading against the Roman assistance, the greater part bearing ill will to the Carthaginian Garrison, he again crossed the sea, and among other things to the present purpose told them, *His coming was only to set the City at liberty, which when he had effected he would immediately return*. The Carthaginians answer'd, *The Romans need not trouble themselves for the liberty of a City which was under their jurisdiction, the Carthaginians had already out of their good will taken care that the Mamertines should not be compelled to be subject to the Syracusans*: That therefore he might depart, or else give some other reason of his being at *Messana*. *Claudius* denied, *The City was free so long as a Foreign Garrison continued therein contrary to their pleasure*.

To this when no man returned any answer, the Carthaginians out of pride, the Mamertines for fear holding their peace, he cunningly and readily proceeded, *'Tis plaine, saith he, by this your general silence, that the Carthaginians cause is unjust, and that the Mamertines are desirous of liberty, otherwise neither would the one forbear to justifie their own Right, and the others, if they consented with the Carthaginians, having no cause to dissemble, would freely and openly speak their minds*. At this there arising a kind of a noise in the assembly, many praising his speech as true, and indeed agreeing with their inward thoughts; he (thinking he had, for the present, sufficiently moved the Mamertines and tryed the disposition of their minds) went back to *Rhegium*. And not long after, having made ready his ships, he attempted to passe over; but being much inferiour to the Carthaginian Commanders, both in number of vessels, and skill in sea affairs, and being beaten back by the violence of the Waves, in a sudden storme arising, he returned to his port, having lost some ships, and hardly saving the Rest. But being nothing terrified with this misadventure, he new trioned his ships, resolving upon a better opportunity once more to make tryal of Fortune: When behold messengers came from *Hanno* (Governour of the Mamertine Garrison, and Guardian of the seas) bringing with them all the ships and men which the Carthaginians had taken in the former fray: *Hanno's design* herein was to cast the blame of the breach of Covenants upon the Romans, he therefore also complained, *That they had by force attempted to sail in those seas which were in the possession of the Carthaginians*; and furthermore perswaded them to have a great care of preserving peace and maintaining the league.

But hearing that *Claudius* would not admit of any conditions unlesse they would withdraw their forces out of *Messana*, and that again he endeavoured to cross the sea, he vaunted, *That he would not suffer the Romans so much as to wash their hands in that sea*. Nevertheless he could not

Diodori Eclog.
book 23Florus. 2.2.
L. Ampelius
c. 46Aristot. Polit.
2.11Zonaras
Polyb. 1.11Livie Epitom.
16
Zonaras.Aul. de viris
Illust. c. 27.

Zonaras

- not prevent *Claudius*, who observing the Nature of the sea, laid hold of an opportunity when the wind happily helped the Tide, and arrived in *Sicily* without opposition. There calling a Counsel of those *Mamertines* he found in the Haven, he persuaded them, 'To call *Hanno* to them, as if they had some business at present to consult with him about. For *Hanno*, not much confiding in the Townsmens doubtful minds, had with the souldiers possessed the Castle, neither was he willing to trust himself in any of their Assemblies: Yet fearing if he betrayed his Diffidence, he might encrease their complaints, and by his absence give them occasion to joyn with the Romans, he came to discourse with them, where the time being spun out with disputation and wrangling, the Romans, with the *Mamertines* their approbation, laid hands on him and cast him into prison. So being circumvented by craft, and frightened with menaces, when no other condition would be accepted, he was compelled to restore the *Mamertines* their Castle, and draw away his Garrison. The *Carthaginians* upon intelligence of the business, were above measure exasperated, and (whereas otherwise they used to punish their Commanders for evil counsels though they prospered) exclaiming both against the folly and cowardize of *Hanno*, miserably crucified him, and immediately sent both sea and land forces to *Messana* with another *Hanno*, the son of *Hannibal*, to order affairs in *Sicily*: He drawing his forces together at *Lybæum*, marched to *Selinus*, where pitching his Camp, he left his foot army and went to *Agigentum*, and (having fenced the Castle there) he drew the people, being friends to the *Carthaginians*, into arms against the Romans: From whence being returned to his Camp, *Embsadours* came to him from *Hiero*, who being no whit content with the Romans arrival into *Sicily*, thought this the fittest season wherein joyning forces for a time with the *Carthaginians*, both they and also the Barbarians in possession of *Messana* might be driven out of *Sicily*. Having therefore had discourse with the *Carthaginian* General, they easily agreed to enter into confederacy against the Romans, who had supplanted both to their equal losse, each of them having failed of their hopes of *Messana*: 'twas ordered they should jointly besiege *Messana*, and suffer no part of *Sicily* to be subject to any power but the *Carthaginians* or *Syracusans*. So the *Carthaginian* Commander with his whole strength moved against the *Mamertines*, having first sent an Herald to charge the Romans, 'If they would be esteemed friends of the *Carthaginians* to depart *Messana*, and within a time prefixed to quit *Sicily*. The ships were commanded to keep their station about *Pelorus*, the foot army fortified their Camp at a place not far from *Messana*, called *Cubilla*, in the Greek tongue *Euyal*. *Hiero* likewise, according to agreement, came with his *Syracusan* Army, and laid siege to the Citie on the other side, about the Hill *Chalcidica*, so the Citie, being round besirt, could not safely receive succour either by land or sea.
- About the same time, when the Herald brought back no peaceful answer from *Messana*, the *Carthaginians*, partly out of anger, partly out of distrust, cruelly put to death all their Mercenary souldiers which were Italians by Nation. These things were no sooner heard at *Rome*, but the Consul *Appian* was forthwith sent with a strong Army to *Rhegium*, thence he sent some before, to treat with the *Carthaginians* and *Hiero* about breaking up the siege, in the mean time, seeing the seas so strongly guarded, he was very solicitous and intent in contriving how to cross over with the least danger. The Consul's Embassadors brought back no friendly answer from the *Carthaginians*, but were by *Hiero* with an accurate oration sharply reprehended, he first having recounted the many good offices he had done the Romans, proceed saying, 'I am in doubt, Romans, whether I should grieve for my self or for you; I indeed have lost friends of you somewhat worse then I took you to be, but ye have lost that Reputation of Justice and Integrity for which ye were so famous among all Nations. With the *Mamertines* ye never had any friendship or society, ye had heretofore League with the *Carthaginians*, and lately entred into one with Me. Being now willing to breake these Leagues, can ye give an account, by what injury from us, or merit of the *Mamertines* ye are thereunto provoked? But because the *Carthaginians* are able to speake for themselves, omitting what concerneth them, I shall at present put you in mind of things in reference to my self alone. The *Mamertines* your good Country men, did, as you know, receive pay under the *Syracusan* Banners, and being dismissed for their Returne for *Italy*, after they had been entertained as friends and Companions by the poore credulous *Messenians*, committed a most horrid fact, as hath not been remembered by man, slaying in the night time their Land-lords, and keeping in their own power, their goods, wives, children and the Citie it self. Which unlesse your selves (being of the same opinion with other men) had judged to be a most vile and execrable villany, you would not so severely have punished the self same fact of the *Campanians* committed upon the *Rhegians*, by the *Mamertines* Example. By the same indignitie therefore wherewith ye were moved to take revenge of wicked villanies, by the same am I moved not to let the *Mamertines* go unpunished, especially seeing they have since committed so many Robberies almost all *Sicily* over, burying as it were the memory of their first offence with others afterward committed. For (to omit other things) in that they destroyed the Cities of *Camarina* and *Gela*, then under the *Syracusan* protection, is reason sufficient why I should with a Just and pious War prosecute the boldnesse of such most impudent Men. If ye therefore undertake to defend them because, being born in the same *Italy*, they are as it were your kinsmen, how much more justly might you have spared the *Rhegians* which were your fellow-Citizens? When in the taking of *Rhegium* I helped you with Auxiliaries and Provisions, how should I possibly then Divine that ye would hereafter hinder
- Polib. 1. 10
- Valer. Maxim. 2. 7. 1. X.
Polybius
- Diodori Eclog. b. 23
- Polib. 1. 11
- Diodori Eclog. b. 22
- Zonaras.
Diodori Eclog. b. 23
- Polybius
Zonaras
- Diodori Eclog. Polybius
- Diodori Eclog. b. 21

* hinder me when I should upon as just causes besiege *Messana*? But what need I use many words? if you have any care left of your reputation and faithfulness, if any sense of honesty, at least if any shame, I ought not to doubt but that you will with your forces rather assist me in my just cause then oppose me. But if the consideration of these things seem light unto you, however the event of war be doubtful, 'tis most certain all the world will plainly understand, That the Romans were incited to bare arms against us, not out of any colour of Justice and Equity, not by any injuries received (for that ye can no way pretend) not out of any pity or good will to the Mamertines, but merely by their own ambition, and inordinate desire of adding this Noble Island to their Empire.

When this answer was returned, *Appius* having observed that so strong a Navy guarding the passage he could not without manifest danger cross over, plotted a very subtil and cunning device, he said, *He did by no means desire that Hiero should be alienated from the Romans, that the war was not decreed against him, neither could be prosecuted without the peoples command.* At a day therefore appointed he commanded his Sea-men to be ready, having their ships prepared for the voyage as if he would sail home. Now he was not ignorant that there were many both Carthaginian and Syracusan souldiers in the Rhegian Port, under the pretence of being Merchants, by whom he thought this news would quickly be conveyed to those who would have it true. And it hapned accordingly as he had foreseen, for he no sooner had entred into his ships on a clear Sun-shinie day, and sailed along the Italian shore but presently news was carried to the Carthaginian fleet which guarded the seas, whereupon they now not fearing the enemy would make any attempt that way, left the passage open, sailing themselves likewise away whither it pleased them. The Consul, who had forethought it would so come to passe, steared his course backward in the night time, and arrived in *Sicily* with his whole Navy, no body so much as observing, much lesse hindring his coming.

It was a bold Enterprize and full of hazard, for an army unskilful in sea-affaires, in the night time, blindly to venture with rude and illbuilt ships through a sea dangerous in it self, though it had not been dark, nor any enemy to be feared: And the exploit was thought worthy to be made known to Posterity, by a new Cognomen thereupon given to the Consul. For, because he made use of many vessels, made of the Trunks of trees, for the transportation of his souldiers, he was, in admiration of the fact, by the simplicity of that age surnamed *Caudex*, which signifieth the trunk of a tree. For the Romans having no use of sea affairs, had neither any covered ship or long boate, or good skiff in a businesse of such concernment as this was; but made use of those *Triremes* which the Tarentines and Locrians had lent the Eleats and Neapolitans, together with little vessels of Traffick of fifty Oars. But *Appius* landing not far from the place where the Syracusans had pitched their Camp, Encouraged his souldiers and declaring to them, *The Victory would be certain if they came upon the Enemy unawares*, immediately proceeded to assault their Camp. *Hiero* being awakened with the sudden tumult, marched out with what forces were ready; for a time the fight was very sharp, the Roman horsemen were beaten back, but the Legions stoutly standing to it, *Hiero* was overthrown, and with his men fearfully retreated into his works. *Appius* having commanded the dead bodies to be plunder'd, entred into *Messana*, freeing the Mamertines from great feare, and filling them with better hopes for hereafter. *Hiero* seeing himself beaten before he could see the enemy (as himself afterwards confessed), and suspecting that the Carthaginians had betrayed the passage over the sea, when he had revolved many things in his doubtful mind, began to be in fear of the main chance, and in the dead time of the next night he drew his army out of their Trenches, and marched directly without halting to *Syracusa*. When he was gone, *Appius* thought fit to make use of the terror of his late Victory in vanquishing the Carthaginians also, and having ordered his souldiers to refresh themselves in time, marched out in the dawning of the day, to assault the Carthaginian Camp, which was pitched in a very safe place, by nature and art, diligently fenced, for on one side the sea, on the other side deep Marshes and Bogs encompassed it in the form of a *Peninsula*: That narrow space of ground where was passage to firm land was fenced with a strong wall against all assaults. Here the Roman souldiers, beginning the storm, could not prevail against the strength of the place and multitude of defendants, but being beaten back with darts and stones (as in the storm of a City) they were forced to retire without having done their work.

Many times it hapneth in war that ill success in the beginning giveth occasion of better fortune, while they who are worsted endeavour with better advice and more courage to make up their losse, and the enemy on the other side being bewitched with a flattering opinion of felicity, and taking no heed against future chances, are carried away with rashness, as at this time it came to passe to the Carthaginians, for they not being content to have repulsed the enemies, issued out of their Camp and pursued them as if they had fled, thinking the Romans had yielded not so much to the difficulty of the place, as to their virtue and courage.

When therefore they were come out of their works, the fortune of the fight changed with the place, and a great number of them were slain, some fled into the Camp, others as they had convenience into the Cities round about, neither durst they any more stir out of their Camp as long as *Claudius* was at *Messana*. The Consul, considering the nature of the place and difficulty of its situation, thought it no wisdom to make a second assault, and seeing his

Polybim
Zonaras

Silius b. 6
Eutropius b. 2

Polybim

Livie Epitom.
16
Zonaras.

Capitol. Colum.

Liv. Epit.

Eutropius 2
Suidas in
Πολύβιου
βίβλιν.
Tacitus 11 24

Dionys. 2. 17

Plut. Ag. 1. c.
49
Plutarch
Cleomen. 41

Justinus b. 34.

Livie Epitom.
Val. Maximus
4. 2. 7

time to be spent in vaine thereabouts; leaving a strong Garrison at *Messana*, Invaded the Territories of the Syracusans and their Confederats; and having without opposition wasted the Grounds, he conceived such Confidence, that he marched up with his army even to *Syracuse* it self: Where the Battel was very doubtful, and at one time the Consul was in great danger, and had certainly been surrounded and taken, had he not suddenly bethought himself and sent to *Hiero*, to treat on Conditions of peace. *Hiero* likewise sent a friend of his to consult about the businesse, and the discourse being on purpose drawn out in length, the Consul had time to bring his men into a place of greater security: The Syracusans likewise following the same example, had many treaties of peace with the Romans, and indeed an agreement had been made, but that *Hiero* was unwilling to be the author thereof. In these affaires the greater part of the year was spent; then the Consul returned to *Messana*, where leaving some forces to protect the Mamertines, with the rest of his men he crossed over to *Rhegium*: From thence he went to *Rome* to his Triumph which he made, over the Carthaginians and *Hiero* King of *Sicily*, with great joy of the People, as being the first over a Foreign Nation. This was the first of the Romans designs by sea, and such was the successe of their undertakings in *Sicily*. But these things and the actions of following times are much corrupted by the ambition of writers, the cheife whereof, *Philinus Agrigentinus*, and *Fabius Pictor*, the one striving to advance the Carthaginians Glory, the other the Romans, they both neglect their duty, and the truth of History: Whose Levity *Polybim* deservedly reprehends. For if even in private causes it be held an accursed Crime to circumvent any one by false Testimony; the author of an history is certainly to be esteemed more foully perfidious if he corrupt the acts of Princes and Commonwealths with falsehood: He ought to value truth more then any earthly Commodity or his own life, and the lesse deserveth pardon in that he cannot alledge so much as any faire pretence for his Lyes, for if he durst not for some causes freely speak all he knew, he might certainly without danger have held his Tongue. While *Claudius* in *Sicily* vanquisheth *Hiero* and the Carthaginians, *M. Fulvius* the other Consul bringeth the Volturnian siege to an Issue, having to deal with men who by despair were hardened and made valiant against all violence, he at length tameth them by famine. Upon delivery of the City, he did with exquisite torments put to death that unthankful and insolent crew of Libertines; the City it self he demolished, the other Volturnians who had not put off the faith of servants, and reverence toward their masters, he distributed into severall seats round about.

This war was likewise thought worthy of a Triumph, which the Consul made in the Calende of *November*, as over the Volturnians. While the same Consuls were in office a Lustration was performed by the Censors, *Qu. Cornelius* and *C. Martius*, and there were registered the names of two hundred ninety two thousand, two hundred twenty and four Citizens; a very great and almost incredible number to one who shall consider how many were lost in the wars, which hardly ever ceased since the foundation of the City; and how many were also swallowed up by the Pestilence and Malignant diseases as raging as the war it self. But indeed the Commonwealth was made invincible and not to be overcome by any calamity or slaughter whatsoever, by the wise advice of *Romulus* (which was constantly observed by posterity) in daily admitting new people into their City, insomuch that neither all the losses received by *Pyrrhus*, nor their many shipwracks in the first Punick war, nor the fights of *Thrasimene* and *Canna* in the second, were able so much to afflict it, but that still she did rise more chearful, free and valiant out of all her troubles.

But in *Greece* the Lacedaemonians who were also very famous for their Discipline and Valour in war, not any whit inferior to the Romans, because they forbade strangers to coinhabit with them, were not long able to uphold their Dominion, nor long after to maintain their Freedom; when in the Leuctrian battel they lost not much more then a thousand men, their Empire presently fell to the ground; and at *Sellasia* with the losse of not quite six thousand, their Liberty was taken away. But the Achaens, inhabitants of the same *Peloponnesus*, admitting freely any neighbours into equal priviledges with themselves, did constitute a very fair and flourishing Commonwealth, and likely to have continued, had not some few of them, to their own and their Countries destruction, madly provoked the Romans, whose power then was grown formidable to all people. Such divers events are necessarily consequent to divers institutions: For as in nature it is agreeable, that those bodies who are to a competent measure daily refreshed with wholeme food, should be stronger and longer lived then those who content with their own natural ingenite moisture despise all nourishment from without: so it stands to reason, that those Cities should better flourish, who admit into themselves and make their own what in any other place they find to be excellent, then those, who by a foolish arrogance, despising whatsoever groweth not in their own soil, deprive themselves of many good assistants in obtaining and preserving their power and sovereignty.

This year gave a beginning to a cruel custom, which afterward was frequently and most intemperately usurped. That the blood of man should become a publick spectacle of pleasure, being profusely shed for the sake of any mean and wanton spectator. The authors of this barbarous custome were *M. and D. Junius Brutus*, who by a strange kind of piety, intending to honour the Ashes of their dead father, did with great favour of the Citizens exhibit a Fencing-Shew. But this injury to mankind was most severely revenged by a Pestilence, which all this

and the next year did furiously rage. Concerning which when they had consulted the books of the Sybills, 'twas found the anger of the gods was the cause thereof. There arising therefore a suspicion that their Religious affairs were not rightly handled, the Priests by diligent observation and inquisition, found that many Chappels and Temples were converted into the use of private men, and that *Capparonia*, a Vestal Nun, was guilty of Incest; she prevented her doom by hanging her self, but he who had corrupted her, together with those servants who were privy to the fact, were executed according to Law. The holy places were redeemed out of private hands to their wonted use. So having cleared the City in matters of Religion, the Fathers applied their minds again to the care of the Commonwealth; and because *Etruria* being appeased, there was no commotion in *Italy*, they ordered both the new Consuls to be sent into *Sicily* with their Legions: the Consuls were *M. Valerius Maximus* the eldest son of *Marcus*, who in the time of his office was called *Messalla*, and *M. Otacilius Crassus*; C.F. M.N. These having safely transported their forces were attended with the same good fortune. For when after their taking the City of the *Adranites* by storm they had laid siege unto *Centuripa*, there came Embassadors to them from the *Alasines*, offering to deliver up their town.

Thence the Consuls, marching through several parts of the Island, sometimes with their forces joyned, sometimes asunder, as they saw cause, overcoming both *Carthaginian* and *Syracusan*, as often as they durst stand to the hazard of a Battel, spread their fame and Terrour round about: And such was their happinesse in following their fortune, and so great their force, that in a while after their were reckoned sixty seven Cities which had committed themselves to their Protection, in which number were the *Tauromenitans* and the *Caratians*: Out of which Cities the Consuls leaving what Auxiliaries they pleased, did daily increase in strength, and, pitching the Camp neere unto *Syracuse* it self, consulted about the siege of it. Which thing *Hiero* maturely considering, when he began to distrust in his own and the *Carthaginian* Forces, and withal thought the Romans were best to be trusted, he resolved to enter into League with the Romans; and in order thereunto sent Embassadors to the Consuls to treat of Peace. Neither were the Romans at all averse from making freindship with *Hiero* to separate him from the *Carthaginians*, especially because thereby they might more easily supply their Legions with Corne for food. For the *Carthaginians* having command of the seas, they could not have Provision from *Italy*, by which incommodity the former Consul reaped more trouble then from the enemy. But, when *Hiero* was once united to them, the Kingdome of *Syracuse* being very fruitful, would plentifully afford them all Necessaries. The Peace therefore was concluded on these Articles, That what places or prisoners *Hiero* had taken from the Romans or their associates he should restore without ransom, and likewise pay an hundred Talents of silver; that he should without molestation raigue over *Syracuse* and all Cities under the *Syracusan* Jurisdiction; the chief whereof were *Acra*, *Leontium*, *Myra*, *Elorus*, *Netini*, *Tauromenium*. The Embassadors being thence sent to *Rome*, the same Conditions were there confirmed, and the Senate decreed that Peace should be maintained with that King, and after a few dayes *Cn. Arius Calpurnius* propounding it to the people, they likewise assented. This League, being made for fifteen years, was perpetually kept enviable: *Hiero* bearing such Respect to the Roman Greatnesse and they so bountifully requiting his good affection, that neither of them had cause to repent of their freindship. *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, being come as far as *Xiphonia* with his sea forces, to raise the siege of *Syracuse*, having Intelligence of the Peace, returned with greater hast then he came. The Romans being now strengthened by *Hiero* their associate and fellow souldier, made no delay, but quickly reduced many Cities from the *Carthaginian* Jurisdiction. From *Adranon*, a fenced village, and *Macella*, after many dayes siege they returned without effecting their Purpose: But the Segeltans they received into protection, when they had slaine the *Carthaginian* Garrison and voluntarily revolted to them: Among other Considerations, they said they Loved the Romans for Kindred sake, deriving their Pedigree from *Aeneas* after his flight from *Troy*. And not long after the *Alienians* came into the Romans; But at *Hilarus*, *Territus* and *Asclius* they were faine to use force and Engines, and therefore dealt the more severely with the vanquished party. Whereupon the *Tyndaritan*, being terrified, seeing themselves next to danger, and help far from them, Entred into Consultation about yielding themselves to the Romans, but were prevented by the *Carthaginians*; for they, suspecting what was in hand, sent away the cheife of the Citie as Hostages to *Lilybaeum*; and took in good store of Corne and wine and other provisions. About this time the severity of *Ottacilius Crassus* the Consul was of much advantage to the Roman Discipline, for those souldiers who being taken by *Hannibal*, had basely, for safeguard of their lives, submitted themselves to bondage, he caused to continue without the Camp to receive the first charge from the enemy, that so, having no fence but their own courage, they might be the more valiant, trusting only in their own courage, and not to any security of the place they stood in.

After these and other exploits of no greater moment, winter now approaching, the Consuls disposing several Garrisons in convenient places, returned into *Italy* and so to *Rome* with the residue of their Armies. There was a Triumph decreed to *M. Valerius* (whose successe and pains had been most remarkable) over the *Carthaginians* and *Hiero*, which was performed the sixteenth of the Calends of *April*. Among the spoils was brought a Clock, which is therefore taken notice of, because it was the first which was seen at *Rome*; it was taken at *Calina*, and by *Valerius*.

Orosius

Aug. de Civ.
Dei. 3. 12.
Orosius

Zonaras

490
Fabula Romana.

Zonaras

Eutropius b. 2

Diodorus

Polyb. 1. 16

Pausan. book 6.

Diodori Eclog.

24

Polybius

Zonaras.

Polybius

Diodori Eclog.

22

Causabon in

Polyb.

Tabula

Messanenfis.

Diodorus

Polybius.

Diodorus

Polybius.

Diodorus

Zonaras

Cicero Verrius.

4. 33

Zonaras

Frontinus Strateg.

4. 1

Zonaras

Festi Capitoli.

ni.

Varro apud Ma-
robium Saturn

Capitolina
Marmora.
Livie Epit.
17.
Velleius 1. 14.
491
Polib. 1. 17

Zonaras

Polybium

Zonaras

Valerius placed upon a Pillar in publick near the *Rostra*: He also on the side of the Court built by *Hoftilius* set up a Table, whereon was painted the Battel wherein he overcame *Hiero* and the Carthaginians, which before his time was not done by any man, but afterward by many. This *Valerius* had his Surname *Messalla* from *Messana*; but I wonder that some Authors of no small note should imagine it was derived from his taking that City, whereas the series of affairs doth evidently demonstrate, that it rather proceeded from his delivering that City from the troubles it sustained (after *Appius Claudius* his departure) from the Carthaginians and *Hiero*, removing the one enemy and reconciling the other.

In the mean while the Pestilence still raging, a Dictator was named for the knocking in of a Nail, who was *Cn. Fulvius, Cn. F. Cn. N. Maximus Centumalus*, he chose for Master of the Horse *L. Marcins, Q. F. Q. N. Philippus*. In the same year the *Aesernian* Colony was planted, whereas the year before one was deduced to *Firmum*, or as some will have it to *Castrum*. After this *L. Posthumus, L. F. L. N. Megellus*, and *Q. Mumilius, Q. F. M. N. Vitulus* were created Consuls, and both of them had *Sicily* allotted for their Province: There were but two Legions allowed them, which were thought sufficient, because now having Amity with *Hiero* the war was more easie; they considered likewise that provisions would be the better procured if the Army were but small. The Consuls having transported their forces into *Sicily*, and being joyned with their associates, passing by things of lesser moment, thought fit with their whole strength to besiege *Agrirentum*, which City the Carthaginians had plentifully furnished with all manner of accommodations, intending it for the Magazine of their wars. For they seeing *Hiero* had forsaken them, and that the Romans made *Sicily* their chiefest care, they thought it behooved them to make the more diligent preparation for the war. In the first place therefore they sent the greater part of their forces into *Sardinia*, to lie in wait against the Italian shore, by that means to divert the Romans from *Sicily*, or at least to compel them to send the smaller forces then otherwise they would have done.

But being frustrated of their hopes (for the Romans had strength sufficient, both wherewith to guard their own Coasts, and invade *Sicily* with a new army) they hired many Mercenary souldiers of the Ligurians and *Gauls*, but more out of *Spain*, whom together with great plenty of provisions, they sent to *Agrirentum*, resolving to make that their Magazine of Corne, and the Receptacle of their Armies; being, by reason of its conveniency of situation, and multitude of buildings, fitter for such occasions then any other Citie of *Sicily* of their Jurisdiction. The onely seat of War therefore being about that Citie, the Romans; having confined the Carthaginians within their works, pitched their Camp within a mile thereof. The grain was then ripe in the fields, and because they foresaw the siege would prove long, the souldiers sent out to reape and bring in Corne, wandered somewhat too far and more carelessly then ought to have been done having an enemy so near. The Carthaginians omitted not to make use of this occasion, and had indeed given a great overthrow to the Romans, but that they regained as much by their courage, as they had lost by their negligence. For, when they who were sent out to forrage were not able to resist the assault of the Enemy, the Carthaginians pursued them even to the Camp, where deviding their forces, some prepared to storme the workes, while the others maintained the fight with the guards without. Then, as often at other times, the Laws of warfare duely observed and the incorrupted Rigour of the Roman Discipline saved them from an hazard tending to the destruction of their whole army. For (it being a deadly crime among the Romans for any cause whatsoever to forsake their station) the guard without, knowing it was to no purpose to fly back, though they were much overpowered in number, maintained the fight with wonderful courage, losing many of their own men, but killing more of the enemies, till the Troupes had time to arme themselves and come to their Relief, so the Enemy being there repulsed, and those who had now almost entred the workes surrounded, the Romans made a very great slaughter of them, and pursued the rest even to the Citie. This accident made both the Enemy more fearful of Issuing out, and the Romans more wary in their Forrage. Henceforth the heat of their Contention being not so great as before, (for the Carthaginians seldom made a sally, and then only in manner pickeering and light skirmish) the Romans thought fit to divide their forces, and plant their Camps on two sides of the Citie, on the one side near to *Esculapius* his Temple, on the other in the high way leading to *Heraclea*. Their Camps were fenced with Trenches on both sides, toward the Citie, against their Sallies, and toward the Country both to secure themselves from any invasion, and to hinder Relief from entering the Citie. The space between the two Camps was guarded with many companyes of souldiers.

In all these affaires they were much assisted by the Sicilians, who lately had made friendship with them, of whom together with the Romans there were an hundred thousand; They brought provisions as far as *Erbessus*, from whence (it being not far off) the Romans fetched it into their Campe. Whereby they had very great plenty of all Necessaries. At this stay the siege continued for almost five moneths, neither much prevailing over the other (for they attempted nothing but light skirmishes) till at length the Carthaginians began to have the worst on't. For a great number of men, little lesse then fifty thousand warriors, having been so long shut up in one town, had spent almost all their corn, and saw no likelyhood of procuring more, the Romans guarding all the passages, so that they were much afflicted both with their present misery,

serie, and expectation of future. Therefore *Hannibal* the son of *Gisco* (who was Commander in chief at *Aggrigentum*) by many messengers craving relief against hunger and other dangers, *Hanno* the elder was sent into *Sicily* with some Elephants and Souldiers which were for that purpose raised. His Army consisted of fifty thousand foot, six thousand horse, and threescore Elephants, with which forces he sailed to *Lilybaum*, thence he marched to *Heraclea*, whither forthwith came messengers promising to deliver up *Erbesus* to him: Being by their means made master of *Erbesus* (from whence the Romans hitherto had all their provisions) he seemed to have effected a business of great moment, as much afflicting the Romans now for want of necessaries as they had done the *Aggrigentines*.

Polybim
Diodori Edog.
b. 23

Polybim

And now the Romans began to consult about raising the siege, which they were very near giving over for a desperate business, had not the King of *Syracuse*, by trying all wayes, made a shift by stealth to convey to them some corn and other commodities, whereby their present want was in some measure relieved. *Hanno* considering the Romans now to be faint with hunger and other infirmities following it, whereas his own men were well and lusty and in perfect strength, approached near the Romans, resolving, if occasion were offered, to fight them. Marching therefore with his fifty Elephants, and whole army from *Heraclea*, he sends his Numidian horsemen before to play about the enemies Camp, to provoke the Roman horsemen, and, if possible, to draw them out into ambush. The Numidians according to order carelessly flying about the Consul's Camp, the Romans issue out, beat back those who opposed, and pursued them as they fled out of order, that way which they knew *Hanno* to be coming. The further they followed the pursuit, the more difficult was their return to their own works, insomuch that many of them were lost after they had met with fresh forces, which caused those who fled likewise to turn and fight. *Hanno* being by this much encouraged with hopes of the main Victory, placeth himself upon an hill called *Torus*, about a mile and a half distance from the Roman Camp; nevertheless the battle was deferred longer then was expected between two Armies so near one the other; sometimes the Carthaginian, sometimes the Roman unwilling to hazard their whole fortune in one battle, while *Hanno* was desirous to fight, the Romans contained themselves within their Trenches, because they were exceeded by the enemy both in number and chearfulness, being themselves terrified and dejected with the losse their horsemen had sustained.

Zonaras

But when they, (seeing their associates troubled and daunted at this their fear, the Enemy on the contrary grow more confident, and thinking it better to fight with the Carthaginians then endure such want) were resolved upon the Battle; then *Hanno* began to fear, and decline the encounter. Two months were thus spent: nothing of greater moment being performed, but light skirmishes which happened every day. At length, being moved with frequent entreaties from *Hannibal*, who had daily sent out Messengers, and by lighted fires given him often notice, That the besieged were no longer able to endure hunger, and that many were thereby compelled to flee to the enemy; *Hanno* was resolved no longer to defer the battle, giving order to *Hannibal* at the same time to issue out of the City. The Consuls having intelligence hereof, kept themselves very quietly within their Camps; *Hanno* the more furiously presents himself in Battle array, marcheth up to their very Works, boldly provokes them to fight, reproaching them with fear and cowardize. They on the contrary being content to repulse the enemy from their Trenches, neither ranged battle against them while they stood, nor pursued them when they retreated. When things had been thus transacted for some dayes together, and the Carthaginians were fully perswaded the Romans durst not venture on any further action, *L. Posthumus* the Consul wisely made use of the enemies security and contempt to his own good. For silently ordering his whole battle within the works, when the Carthaginians according to their custome came up to the works, he issued out with a few and held them in action, with light skirmishes from day break till noon, then the enemy withdrawing themselves, he brought forth his Legions and made a charge upon them.

Polybim

Zonaras
Frontinus Str.
2.1

Hanno, though he saw a necessity of fighting contrary to his expectation, stoutly entering into battle, maintained it doubtful till the day was almost spent. But the Romans, having on purpose well refreshed their bodies and prepared them to fight, were not so much troubled with heat, thirst and Labour as were the Carthaginians, who, before the battle, being weary with fasting and standing all day, the longer they fought, were the less able to resist by reason of the weakness of their Bodies. At length the Mercenary souldiers who stood in the front were no longer able to endure the brunt, and did not only give back themselves, but falling in disorderly upon the Elephants and other Regiments behind, routed the whole battle and caused them to fly before the enemy who so hotly charged them. Things were managed with the same successe in the other place, for *Hannibal*, issuing out to fight, was beaten back with the greater losse, and forced into the City again. The Carthaginian Camp was taken, three Elephants wounded, thirty slain, eleven came alive into the Romans hands: The men had the same fortune, for of so great an Army very few escaped with their General to *Heraclea*, they who were shut up in the City, seeing no way or means of safety left them, were afflicted with very great terror and despair: When *Hannibal* following the best counsel his ill fortune had left him, observing that the Romans, what with weariness of their late fight, and joy of their Victory, kept not their guards so strickt as heretofore, about the third watch of the night went out of the Town with his Mercenaries, and having crossed the Trenches filled up with boats stuffed with

Zonaras
Diodori Edog.
b. 23
Orosius 4. 7
Polybim
Zonaras
Polybim

straw (which he had beforehand prepared for this purpose) he was a good way on his journey before the Romans; at break of day perceiving what was in hand, surprised part of the hindmost Troops; *Hannibal* with the rest betook himself into places of security. The *Agri- gentines* seeing themselves forsaken by the Carthaginians, either out of anger, or to curry favour with the Conqueror, slew many of those who remained in the City. The Town was not therefore saved from destruction, above five and twenty thousand Free-men were sold into slavery.

Zonaras
Polybius
Diodorus

Orosius

Diodorus

Zonaras.

492

Eusebius b. 2

Zonaras

Polybius

Frontinus Strab.

3.1

Zonaras.

Frontinus

Diodorus

Frontinus

Frontinus de

Aqua ductibus

Zonaras.

Cicero de Offic.

Cornel. Nepos

Amilcar c.1.

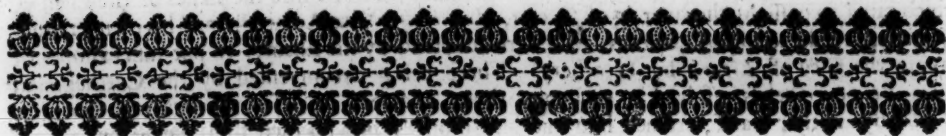
Polybius 1.10

Zonaras

Polybius.

In this manner was *Agri- gentum* taken, in the seventh moneth after it had been first besieged, to the great profit and glory of the Romans, but with the expence of much blood, for of the Consul's Army and his Auxiliaries, there perished by several means above thirty thousand during this siege; for which cause, and by reason winter now approaching, nothing of moment could be undertaken, they returned to *Messana*. These Commanders going to *Rome* in hope of Triumph, the next year *L. Valerius*, *M.F. M.N. Flaccus*, and *T. Otacilius*, *C.F. M.N. Crassus* being made Consuls went into *Sicily*. The Carthaginians having set forth a great Navy as to the plunder and wasting of *Italy*, thought thereby to divert the Consuls from the care of *Sicily*, but they having sufficient guard upon the coasts to repel the invaders, did nevertheless cross over into *Sicily*, where they received many towns which yielded themselves to their protection, being terrified by the late example of the *Agri- gentine* overthrow. The Carthaginians in the mean time made no resistance, for besides their late ill success they were vexed with the sedition of their Mercenaries, the *Gauls* being chief in the Mutiny for want of many moneths pay; for the punishment of whom, *Hanno* devised this stratagem, first soothing them with fair speeches he desires them, *At present for a while to be quiet*, telling them, *He was in certain hopes of suddenly surprising a very rich Town, by the plunder whereof the Gauls should be sufficiently satisfied, both for their pay, as also for the forbearance of it.* Having by this means at present appeased them, and moreover received thanks, he takes a convenient time to treat with his Treasurer, (who was most faithful to him) *That he would, as a Runegado, flee over to Otacilius the Consul, under pretence of having perverted his Accounts, and inform him, That next night he might circumvent four thousand Gauls, who would come to Entellia to take it with the help of some Traitors within.*

The Consul though he gave not much Credit to a Runegado, yet thinking it a business not to be neglected, did send a Choice Brigade of souldiers upon the design; the *Gauls* came accordingly as they had been deceived by *Hanno*; and the Romans suddenly arising out of ambush to receive them, there was between them a very fierce and cruel fight, wherein every one of the *Gauls* were slain and because they died not unrevenge, *Hanno* was doubly pleased, both that he was rid of his insolent Mercenary, and that he had cunningly punished them to the no little loss of the enemy. At *Rome*, in the mean time, *Alibi- cius* the Praetor propounded in the Senate, the bringing of the water of the River *Anio* to the City, which work *M. Curius* the Censor had designed out of the enemies Spoils, but several impediments arising, the business for nine years deferred, was now again consulted about; and two men appointed as supervisors, *Publius* and *Fulvius Flaccus*, but *Publius* dying within five days, the Glory of finishing the work was attributed to *Fulvius* alone. About the same time *Hamilcar* came from *Carthage* into *Sicily* as successor to *Hanno*. For the Carthaginians, when *Hanno* returned after his overthrow, received him with Ignominy; fined him in his six thousand pieces of Gold and removed him from his Government. Some Authors being deceived by the likeness of Names, have delivered, that this *Amilcar* was Father of *Hannibal* who managed the second Punick War against the Romans; but not rightly, for *Hamilcar* the Father of *Hannibal* came into *Sicily* with command, being but a young man, at the latter end of this War, but his great fame prevailed, that the acts of another less known *Amilcar* were ascribed to *Amilcar Barca* the most Noble and Egregious of that Name. *Hamilcar* therefore the successor of *Hanno* seeing the Romans far stronger then himself in their land army, durst not assault any In-Land Cities, nor descend out of the Mountaines and difficult places into the Campagne; but having a strong Navy whereby he was doubtless Master of the seas, made diligent use of those his Forces, and, having sent *Hannibal* againe to plunder the Coasts of *Italy*, himself sailing about the Sicilian shore, easily recovered many Port Townes which had joyned themselves with the Romans. Whereby it came to passe, that the Romans easily taking and defending the In-Land places, the Carthaginians the Matitime; the Feare and hopes were on both sides very equal, and it was hard to Judge to which of these two Nations the Victory of the whole War would chuse.



B O O K V I I.



OUR years were now expired since the Carthaginian war began, neither had the Romans any cause to complain either of their own courage or fortune; for they were Victors in every battel, both over Carthaginians and Syraculans as often as they durst encounter: They had taken many rich Cities by storm, and others upon Articles submitted themselves; but as long as they waged war in an Island, they could not at their pleasure find provisions and recruits when they were required. And the Carthaginian ships with free and unexpected arrival being themselves secure, did not only molest and vex the Sicilian Cities upon the shore, but

likewise wasted the coasts of *Italy*, both to the losse of the Roman Empire, and likewise to their disgrace; whereas the African shore was clear and free from the enemies invasion. The Senate therefore and people of *Rome* diligently consulting upon the matter, did resolve to prepare a Fleet, and fight the Carthaginians not only by land, as hitherto they had done, but to try their fortune at sea also. This was the very first serious thought the Romans had concerning sea affairs, which they accomplished with as much Courage and good Fortune, as they had conceived it with Wisdom and Resolution: Infomuch as the Empire of the whole world might well be judged due to the Romans, who being willing by sea to encounter a people most skilful in sea affairs, wanted neither Boldnesse to attempt it, nor Diligence to manage it, nor Constancy effectually to perform it. For the Romans to that day being so utterly ignorant of sea affairs, that there was not a man amongst them who ever had seen one, neither had any one Man of War of their own, or any Carpenter who knew how to build one, yet having with great confidence undertaken the design, they did in a very short time both learn to sail and venture to fight and overcame those people who for many ages had had experience in sea affairs.

The care of building the ships was committed to *Cn. Cornelius L. F. Cn. N. Scipio Africanus*, and *C. Dardanius*, who had newly entred the Consulship. They had one Carthaginian ship of five Oars, which *Claudius* took with his foot army (at what time he was studying to passe over into *Sicily*) while in heat of fight it came too near the shore and was grounded upon the sands in a shallow place. The Consuls ordered the whole Navy to be built after that Patterne, and so diligently prosecuted the work, that in threescore days after the timber was felled, they had threescore ships standing at Anchor. But the Consuls hastned their expedition no less by their wit, then by their Industry, For, (being neither willing to hazard to fight with men unskilful at the oar, nor yet to streighten the time allotted them for action in training up and exercising men on purpose) they contrived a device, which though it may at first shew seem ridiculous, yet in the use and event proved exceeding Commendable. That, while the ships were in building, their Men should sit on shore and there be taught their office how to Rowe. For being placed in the same order as they were to observe in the ships, and a Boatswaine being set in the midst of them, they were commanded, at his word given, to move their Oars, and again to forbear, even as if they were sailing.

By this exercising themselves in fancy onely they were so improved, that when the ships were ready, after a few daies real paines-taking, the Consuls were willing to trust themselves

Polybius.

Orosius.

437

Aul. de viris

Ilus. c. 37

Plinie 16.39

Florus 2.5

and

Zonaras.
Polybius

Ολυνπ.
Διάγρ.
Πολύβιος
Livie Epit. 17.
Zonaras
Florus

Orosius 4.7

Polyb.

Florus. 2.2.

Florus.
Polyb.

Frontinus
Strata. 2. 3.
Polyb.

Val. Maximus
7.3.7. &c.

and the safety of all their Legions to their care. When lots were cast for the Provinces, the Land Army fell to *C. Duilius*, the Fleet to *Cn. Cornelius*; who, taking along with him seventeen ships, sailed before hand to *Messana*, to make preparation for the coming of the Fleet, which he ordered suddenly to follow him: but before it came, he fell into the hands of the Enemy, which came to passe by the cunning of *Boodes*, *Hannibal's* Vice-Admirall, and his own Credulity, giving credit to some Liparæans, who were suborned by the Enemy, to put him in hopes of taking the City of *Lipara* by Treachery. There being circumvented by the Carthaginian ships, he nevertheless resolved to encounter them, and seek his safety by fighting: but that *Boodes* by another fraud, trained him and his Colonells into his own ship, under pretence of Treating on Conditions of Peace. They were no sooner come but clapt up in chaines, the others being hereby terrified did without blowes yield themselves up; *Boodes* gaining all the Vessels, sent the Prisoners to *Carthage*. Soon after the Carthaginian Commander committed the like fault to his greater shame, in that the fresh example of the Consul's incogitancy did not learn him to be more circumspect. He had understood that the Roman Navy sailing by the Italian shore, was putting forth to sea, and that they could not now be farre off. Desiring therefore, as neer as might be, to observe it, that he might accurately know the number of their ships, their swiftness, and in what fashion and plight their new made Vessels were in, he sailed forward with fifty ships, not foreseeing any danger, his ships being confusedly mixed without any order, as when they ride in Harbour or any safe place: At the turning therefore of a certain Promontory, suddenly falling into the Roman Fleet, which came prepared and sailing in good order; he was vanquished before he could prepare himself to fight, and having lost the greater part of his Navy, himself likewise being in great Danger, he very hardly escaped with the rest. The Victorious Navy, understanding *Cornelius* his mishap, sent Messengers to *C. Duilius* to give him notice of their approach, and prepared themselves for fight, having intelligence that the other Carthaginian ships were not farre off. There while they diligently considered the inconvenience of their own Vessels, that they were rudely made, and farre inferiour to the Carthaginians in swiftness, it came into the mind of a certain ingenious man to invent an Engine, whereby to lay hold and keep fast the Enemies ships; which Engine they afterward called a *Raven*, or *Crow*; the fashion of it was this. There was a straight round piece of Timber, four ulnes long, some nine inches Diameter, having at the end thereof a pully or windlase, to which, being fixed on the foredeck, there was fitted a bridge, six ulnes broad, and four feet long, made of planks fastned together with iron nails. In this Engine there was left a long hole whereby it might be fitted to the piece of Timber, by the space of four ulnes, even the whole length of the Timber. The other part of the bridge or ladder, which was not inserted in the Timber, being of two ulnes long, was so fastned by hinges, that it might be pulled up, or let fall; to the end of the bridge was affixed a strong sharp piece of iron, with a ring at it's head, whereto a rope being tied, through the pully of the timber, it might be drawn down into the Foredecke; Then as they lifted, by the Rope they could draw it up, or let it fall down, with its sharp piece of iron laying hold on and keeping fast whatsoever it fell upon. In the mean time the Consul *C. Duilius*, committing his foot Army to the Charge of his Colonells, came to the Navy, and understanding that the Enemies spoiled the Region of *Mylais*, sailed with his whole fleet to that shore.

The Carthaginians were glad of this, assuredly promising themselves victory over Inland-men, altogether unskilfull in sea affaires; whereby they became an example, That no Enemy whatsoever ought so to be despised, as to cause one to remit ordinary discipline, and grow secure. *Hannibal* the Admirall, who had conveyed his Forces out of *Agrigentum*, was in a Vessel of seven oares on a side, which formerly belonged to King *Pyrrhus*, the other ships followed him: not as to a fight, in any distinct order, but, as every one thought fit, making hast to their despicable Enemy. But, when approaching neerer, they saw the Engines hanging at the foredecks of the Roman ships, wondering at the novelty of the business, they paused a while, at length the most Couragious men laughing at the rude invention of an unskilfull Enemy, the foremost ships with all the violence that might be flew upon them. Then the Crows being let down, into what ships soever they light, so pierced the planks thereof that they held them fast against their wills; The Roman souldiers, if the ships were fastned side to side, did on every part leap in and assault the Enemy; if they were joyned onely in the foredecks, they went two by two over the bridge annexed to the timber, with so much the more facility, because on each side of the bridge a little fence knee high, made their passage safer, and their footing more secure: They who went foremost, holding their bucklers before, defended their faces from the Enemies darts, those who followed held their shields down to the little fence, so guarding their sides, and entering the Enemies ships; so that the fight was not performed with the Beakes of ships, but with swords and hands, like to a set Battell; The Romans therefore excelling in strength and Courage, had an easy victory over men lightly armed, and trusting more in the nimbleness of their ships, then in their hands; They quickly forced thirty Carthaginian ships, among which the Admiralls frigot was taken, but *Hannibal* leaping out of his ship, when it was now taken, into a Cock-boat escaped Captivity, and sending a trusty friend in post-haste to *Carthage*, to prevent the News of his Overthrow, did thereby cunningly decline that Capitall punishment which otherwise had attended him. His friend entring the Senate, as if all things had been well,

well, asked their Advice, whether they thought it fit that the Roman Navy should be fought withall? and every one unanimously agreeing, That there was no scruple to be made, and that the business should not be deferred; he told them, 'Tis already done, and we are beaten; whereupon, no body daring to accuse the Fact, whereof every one in his own Person would have been Author, Hannibal escaped the sentence of Death, but was deprived of his Admirallship. The rest of the Carthaginian ships, (for the greater part was left) after the Flight of the Admirall, were very much troubled and doubtful in Counsell what to do; they were ashamed to fly having received no harm, the Enemy not so much as pressing upon them; on the other side to sit upon the Roman ships they were afraid, by reason of their Engines; At length sailing round about, and finding on every side the foredecks of the ships opposed against them, with those formidable Engines, having used all the art they could, they despairing of the victory went their way.

'Tis reported that fourteen Carthaginian ships were sunk in that fight, one and thirty taken with seven thousand men, three thousand having been slain. With this success did C. Duilius fight with the Carthaginians neer the Liparaan Islands, where the Romans got much prey, but much more ample Glory and Renown. The Consull taking charge again of his Land Army, Marched to Segesta, and delivered it from danger, it having been brought even to the utmost extremity by the Carthaginians; after that he took Macella by storme, Hamilcar never daring to encounter with him: and so having confirmed the mindes of the Associate Cities, Summer being past, he returned to Rome: After his departure the Carthaginian affaires began again to prosper. For first the Romans after seven moneths continuance were faine to raise their siege of Mutistratus, having lost many men before it. When afterward a Dissension arose between the Romans and their Auxiliaries, and that the Associates encamped themselves apart between Paropus and Therma: Hamilcar thought fit to make use of this their madness, and falling on them unawares slew four thousand of them: and it wanted little but that the whole Roman Army had likewise been involved in the same overthrow.

Then again many Townes were taken by Hannibal, some by force, some by Treachery: which though it was no good newes at Rome, yet the loss was counted small in respect of their Navall Victory. For the Roman courage having already approved it self invincible by Land, they had great cause to rejoyce, that by this Fight they had gained reputation of strength by sea also. Whereupon wonderfully encouraging themselves as to the whole Warre, they judged the Author of this their New Glory worthy also of new Honour, Duilius therefore was the First who ever made a Navall Triumph, which was on the Intercalary Calends over the Sicilians and the Carthaginian Navy. They likewise bore with him, when, not content with this Honour, he did without all precedent assume another to himselfe, that coming from supper, a light Torch was carried before him while the Minstrells Sang; A Beaked Pillar likewise was by decree of the Senate erected in the Market-place, of white Parian Marble, which is yet to be seen (but many of the Letters worn out with Age) containing the Number of ships taken and drowned, the Summ and Weight of the Money taken. There were taken of Gold three thousand seven hundred pieces, of silver above an hundred thousand, of heavy Brasse seven score hundred thousand pounds. The Triumph being accomplished, Duilius called an Assembly, wherein L. Cornelius, L. J. Cn. N. Scipio and C. Aquilius M. F. C. N. were chosen Consuls. The Senate ordered their Provinces to be Sicily, and the Navy. The Admirall had permission, if he thought it for the Publick good, to touch upon Sardinia and Corsica. This Charge happening to L. Cornelius, having prepared his ships he sailed away.

This was the first Roman expedition into Sardinia and Corsica; the Islands are so near adjoining that they seem but one and the same, yet much unlike, as in the temper of the Air and Soil, so in the Dispositions of the inhabitants. Sardinia as bearing the shape of a mans footing, was by the Ancients called *Ichnusa* and *Sandalotis*; afterwards 'tis said, That Sardus the son of Hercules of Lybia much frequenting the Island, gave it the name it is now known by. Old Fables affirm that the Grecians came into those places with Ariflaas, and after the Trojan war the Trojans. For extent of ground and fruitfulness of soil, it yieldeth not much to the biggest and best Islands of those seas. It breeds excellent cattel, very fruitful it is of the best Corn, rich in Metals, especially Silver. But the air is not so wholesome, inasmuch as forreign Nations commended not so much its Fertility as they dispraised its Pestilent air; for in Summer it is sickly especially in the most fruitful places. It produceth likewise an Herb, much like the Bee flower of very violent Poyson, being eaten it distracteth the mind, and forcibly attracting the Nerves distorteth the lips as in laughter: the juice of it is mortal, unless after vomiting you drink good store of milk and honyed water: the present force of the disease is so remedied, the other incommodities thereof are cured by the same means as other Convulsions of the Nerves.

Likewise there is a very little creature called *Aspuga*, a kind of Pismire, which is deadly to those who unawares sit upon it, it is so much the more dangerous, because hardly to be seen or taken notice of by those who are ignorant of its nature. The Sardinians being a Nation mixed of divers sorts of Barbarians, when they are left to their own liberty, chuse rather to live by robbery and plunder, then by husbandry: They are armed with a Target and short Sword, their

Zonaras

Auctor de viris

Ihus. 138.

Zonaras

Eutropius b. 2.

Orosius. 4. 7.

Florus 2. 2.

Zonaras.

Polybius.

Diodor.

Eclog. 231

Polybius.

Diodorus.

Eutropius b. 2.

Tacitus 2. 49.

Colum. Triumph

Cicero Cato

2. 12.

Livie. Epis.

17

Plinie. 34. 5. 1

Silius Fin. 6.

Pigibis annalis

494.

Salus. Hist. 2. 1

Plin. 3. 7.

Silius. b. 12.

Salust. Fragm.

Pausan. b. 10.

Ælian apud

Hist. Anim.

16. 34.

Solinus c. 10.

Pomp. Mel. 2. 7

Strab. lib. 5.

Plinie 20. 11.

Marshall. in

Dioscor. 6. 14.

Solinus

Plin. 29. 4.

Lucan 8. 837.

Strab.

Brest.

Elianus
 Claudian de
 bel. Gildonico
 Eustab. in
 Dion. xxiij.
 Salust. Hist. 2.1
 Strabo

Brest-plates they sew together the out skins of their Rams, which they call *Musmones*, bearing not wooll as others, but in stead thereof hair like Goats. Their chiefest City is *Caralis*, looking towards *Africa* and from thence built, with a very fair Haven. *Corfica* is not to be compared with *Sardinia* either for largeness of Territorie, or for Riches, yet is thought to be the third in bigness of all those Islands. The inhabitants derive the name from one *Corfa* a woman, out of whose Heard a Bull crossed over into this Island from *Liguria*; the Greeks called it *Cyrnus*. It is Mountainous and Rugged, in many places almost impassible; and the people like to the earth are very rough, without ordinary civility, as untractable as the wild beasts. When they are taken prisoners they hardly grow gentle, but either out of impatience of labour and servitude kill themselves, or by their contumacy and stubbornness are troublesome to their masters.

Plinie 16.16
 Lycas apud
 Athenienses b. 2
 Martian.
 Capella
 Diodorus
 5.13
 Seneca Conf. ad
 Helvium c. 8

Aristotle
 περὶ ζώων
 σίων ἀνωφε-
 τας.

The Island is plentiful in Honey, but it is of a bitter tast, much like the flower of Box, which tree in great number groweth there; yet it is very wholesome, and many think your Corficans to be therefore long-lived, because they ordinarily use that Honey. Their Towns are not very great nor very populous, yet there is above thirty of them, the principal whereof are *Aleria* a Colony of the Phocæans, and *Nicaa* of the Etrurians. The Air is here very troublesome, and therefore the seas rough. The Carthaginians therefore had long wars with these nations, and obtained the dominion of both Islands, except places inaccessible. But because wild and rude men were easier to be vanquished then tamed, they bethought themselves of many means whereby to keep them under, they likewise corrupted all the fruits of the Island, and under pain of death prohibited the Natives to sow or plant any such thing, that they might be forced to fetch all necessaries from *Africa*, till at length grown somewhat more gentle they learned with patience to bear the yoke.

Erich. ad Flor.
 2.2.16
 Zonaras.

To these Islands at this time did *Cn. Cornelius* steer his course, and first in *Corfica* stormed the City *Aleria*, after which without much labour or danger he took the rest. From thence as he sailed towards *Sardinia*, he met the enemies Fleet, which he presently put to flight before they came to grapple. After this he went to *Olbia*, where seeing many Carthaginian ships in the Haven, and thinking himself not strong enough in foot to storm a City so well situate, and defended by a great multitude, for the present he omitted the business, and sailed home for a recruit of men.

Diodori Eclog.
 b. 23

Zonaras

Grosius 4.7

About the same time a servile Commotion, in the Citie, which was in the beginning happily suppressed, did both afflict the Commonwealth with great fear, and likewise secure it. Many out of the new conquered Nations, were pressed for sea service, whereof there were then four thousand in *Rome*, most of them being *Samnites*, who being oppressed by the Romans, did secretly bemoane their own Condition and so far exasperated one another that they were resolved to burn the Citie and plunder it: They had already drawn in above three thousand accomplices into the conspiracy, which daily gathered more strength, when *Erinus Potelius*, Commander of the Auxiliaries, did by his wisdom prevent all danger. For he feigning himself engaged in the same faction, was made privie to all their Contrivances, he was acquainted with the number of them, nay, with the nation, and name of every particular person in the conspiracy; he knew the place and the time where and when they intended to act any thing. He now wanted nothing to the accomplishment of his own private design, but onely to discover theirs to the Senate, but thither he could not find no opportunitie of going, because the *Samnites* would never suffer him to walk alone; at length having devised this trick, he perswadeth them, That when the Senate next met, they should come by bands into the market-place, and complain that they were cheated in the Measure of their Corn, that then they should have occasion offered of executing their Purpose, or at least understand of what mind and opinion the Fathers will be in upon such sudden motions and stirr. And to gaine the more Credit in the business, he went along with them, manifesting himself not onely a Companion in the Tumult, but the Author and Ringleader of it. Whereupon being called into the Senate he discovered to them the danger of the secret Plot and cause of his own dissimulation. The Fathers, taking no notice of what they knew, sent Messengers with good words to pacifie the Rout, and command them home, assuring them with all, That the Senate would take order for Redresse of their Grievance, and that every one should enjoy his Right. The Conspiratours, thinking their Designs was still kept close, went their way: The night following every Master bound his servants, whom according to *Potelius* his Information, he knew guilty of the treason, the *Samnites* also were most of them seized upon in their Quarters. Either the care of this or some other business, or sickness was an hindrance to *C. Florus*, that he did not goe into *Sicily* so soon as ordinary; whereby *Hamilcar* after his last Victorie had time much to encrease the Carthaginian Power there. For having taken *Camarina* and *Enna* by Treachery, he fortified *Drepanus*, where was a very fair Haven, and enlarged it in forme of a Town, bringing the *Erycines* thither to Dwell, whose Citie, lest it should be servicable to the Romans he totally demolished, excepting the Temple of *Venus*. After this he reduced many other places under his power either by deceit or by force, and was in a likelihood of conquering all *Sicily*, but that *Florus*, for this reason not daring in winter to forsake the Island, carried to oppose him. The other Consul had an Easier Taske with the *Sardinians* and *Carthaginians* at *Olbia*; whether being returned with encrease of strength, he found *Hanno* there, who after the removal of *Hannibal* was made Admiral. The battel wax-

ing vehemently hot, *Hanno* courageously fighting, seeing his own party worsted, rushed in to the thickest of the Enemies and was there slain: After which the Town yielded itself. The Consul much graced the fame of his Victory by his singular humanity toward the Enemy. For he took care to have the Body of *Hanno* to be conveyed out of his Cabbin to Burial, and made a large Funeral for him, laying aside hatred after Death, and rightly judging that virtue is to be honoured even in an enemy. Then not suffering the Terror of his late Victory to grow stale and be forgotten, he took many other Cities of *Sardinia*, furthering his Courage with Counsells and stratagems. For he used in the night time to land some choice bands not far off those townes he meant to assault, who conveniently placing themselves in Ambush lay quiet, till the Consul coming to the walls and giving an Alarm, had under pretence of Flight drawn the Townsmen a good way out of their works, then they in Ambush hastily arising took the Citie void of Defendants: By this wile he obtained many places, and so prosecuted his Atcheivements, that the Carthaginian armies had no abiding place either in *Sardinia* or *Corfica*. For which cause, at his Return there was no doubt made, but a most ample Triumph decreed him, which he made over the Carthaginians, *Sardinia* and *Corfica* the fifth of the Ides of *March*, having brought great store of plunder out of those Islands and many thousands of Captives. But in *Sicily* *C. Florus* besieged *Mysistratus*, which was attempted in vain, neither could it be gained till the new Consul *A. Atilius A.F.C.N.* came thither; For to him was allotted *Sicily* for his Province, the Navy was committed to his Colleague *C. Salpistius Q. F. Q. N. Patreulius*. They understanding that *Panormus* was the Carthaginians winter Quarter, marched thither with all their Forces, and, ordering their Men, presented Battel to the Enemy, but no man coming out against them, they went thence to *Hippana*, which Citie in their journey they stormed and presently mastered. Thence *Atilius* marched to *Mysistratus*, which being stoutly defended, at length the Garrison souldiers, being wearied with the cries and Lamentations of women and Children, forsook it. The Carthaginians went out in the night time, at break of day the Townsmen opened the Gates. But the Romans bearing too much in mind the Inconmodities they had endured in the siege thereof, slew every one they met without distinction of age or sex, till *A. Atilius* the Consul caused proclamation to be made, That both Plunder and Prisoners should belong to those who took them. Then at length Covetousness overcame Cruelty, and the rest of the Citizens were saved and made Captive: The Citie was plundered and demolished. The Army being thence led towards *Camarina*, fell into very great danger, for want of knowledge in the Country. For the Carthaginian General meeting them had first possessed the higher places, and as it were besieged the Romans rashly entred into a disadvantageous battle, ~~they~~ thought they saw before their Eyes the very picture of the *Canine* overthrow, but the wisdom and Valour of *M. Calpurnius Pannus* a Colonell in the army, in their utmost point of dispaire did releive them. For he following the Example of *P. Decius*, who being a Colonell in *Samnum* had done the like, taking three hundred souldiers along with him, went up to possess a certaine Hillock, not out of hope to escape, but both he and his souldiers being animated with the Love of honour, and desire of saving the whole army. His said when he had brought them thither, he thus spake unto them, *Let us die, fellow Souldiers, and by our death deliver the Legions now round besieged.* And so it came to passe, for while the enemy converted themselves wholly upon these men, they being resolved to die, did so long maintain a sharp fight with the greater number, that the Consul had time to explicate himself out of that unhappy place. The Carthaginians having slain those who did indeed on purpose offer up themselves (putting no hope in their ambush which was now discovered) departed. The fortune of *Calpurnius* was next to a Miracle, for he being found among the heaps of his own and the enemies dead bodies, was the only man had breath left in him; and being carried away and daintly fomented (among many wounds having not one mortal) he recovered, and afterward did great and faithful service to the Commonwealth, and proved of great terror to the enemy. If he had among the Grecians performed such a deed of Valor, they would not have known how to have bestowed rewards, or have decreed Monuments enough to his Honor: But being a Roman all the reward of such an exploit was a Garland made of Grass; nay, they were so negligent in the memory of the very Fact, that the name of this valiant man is scarcely known: Most Authors call him *Calpurnius*, but *M. Cato* calls him *Q. Ceditius*; *Claudius Quadrigarius* gives him the name of *Liberius*. But the Consul being freed from those straits he was in, made his error an argument of shame, and his danger of watchfulness and circumspection. Therefore with the greater courage and care he proceeds to the assault of the City, and being not able to prevail against it without Engines of battery, he borrowed some of *Hiero*. With them he brake down the walls, and reduced *Camarina* into his power, the Citizens for the most part he sold for slaves. Thence he marched to *Enna*, and had that by treachery delivered to him; the Garrison souldiers were part of them slain by the Romans after they were entered, the rest fled away and betook themselves to places possessed by their own party. *Sittana* was obtained not by craft but courage, the defendants being driven back and the City stormed. Some smaller Towns in that part of *Sicily* made no delay, but forthwith sent messengers with promise of submission. The Consul placing Garrisons in all places convenient, marched into the *Agrigentine* Territories, and by treachery had the Castle *Camiens* delivered to him.

Val. Maximus.

5.1

Silius b.6

Frontinus

3.9 & 3.10

Florus 2.2

Fasti Capitol.

Europius b.2

Zonaras

Diodorus

495

Polybius 1.24

Zonaras

Diodorus

Zonaras

Agellius 3.7

Frontinus Strat.

4.5.10

Livie Epis. 17.

Orsius 4.3

Auctor de viris

Illust. c.39.

M. Cato apud

Agellium.

Plinie 22.6.

Frontinus.

Agellius.

Diodorus

Polybius. 1.24.

Diodorus.

Diodorus.

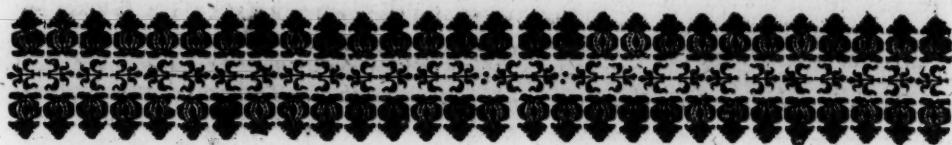
Polybius.

Zonaras.

Diodorus.

Florus. 22.

- Whereupon the Garrison of *Erbesus* being disheartened, forsook the Town. So *Erbesus* came again into the Romans hands. The Consull Encouraged with this success, and thinking that many of the *Liparans* favoured him, advanced with his Army to their City: But there he had not the like Fortune. For *Hamilcar* having intelligence of the Romans Design, privately entered *Lipara*, and diligently expected the time of Action. The Romans being ignorant of this, boldly and unawarily coming up to the walls, were by a sudden sally of the Carthaginians beaten back. Many were wounded in that Conflict, and no small number slain. In the mean time *C. Sulpicius* the Consull had many encounters with the Enemy in *Sardinia*, and all prosperous. And his mind was so erected, that he made bold to sail toward *Africa*.
- The Carthaginians by no means enduring any such Attempt, once more made *Hannibal* Admirall, who since his flight out of *Sicily* had continued at *Carthage*, along with him they sent their best Sea Commanders, with Order, *To chase the Enemies Navy from their Country Shore*. He puts to Sea with a resolution to fight, but a Tempest prevented the Encounter, which being very violent on both Navies, drove them against their wills into more calme places: Both Admiralls fortun'd into *Sardinian* Ports. There lying at Anchor, *Sulpicius* to draw the Carthaginians out to sea, suborned some, under pretence of Runnagates, to perswade *Hannibal*, that the Romans were again sailing to *Africa*. He being deluded by this Craft, suddenly setting sail, before he was aware, met with the Consull who in a convenient place waited for him: Many Carthaginian ships were sunk, before they knew what they were about, the Consull's stratagem being much favour'd by a Mist opportunely arising: At length understanding what was the matter, the other ships went some back into the Haven, others drove themselves on shore, where the men landing themselves, most of the Vessels were taken empty: *Hannibal* despairing to recover the Port, betook himself to *Salei*, where, in a sedition, being apprehended by the Carthaginians, who had fled out of the same fight, he was by them Crucified, saying, that his Folly and Rashness was the cause of their Overthrow. But this Victory of the Romans was an occasion of some loss to them afterwards. For being freed from fear of the Carthaginian Navy, while they boldly and securely wasted the Grounds, they were suddenly routed by an unexpected incursion of *Sardinians* and Carthaginians, one *Hanno* being Commander. *C. Duilius* was this year Cenfour, and built the Temple of *Janus* in the *Herb-Market*. After this two Triumphs were made, the one of *C. Aquilius Flurns* Pro-consull over the Carthaginians, the fourth of the Nones of October, the other of *C. Sulpicius* the Consull over the Carthaginians and *Sardinians*, the third of the Nones. When *C. Atilius M. F. M. N. Regulus*, and *Cn. Cornelius, L. F. Cn. N. Blasius* were Consuls, the Senate ordered sacrifices to be made for avoiding the Omen of some Prodiges. In the *Alban* Mount, and other places, and in the City it selfe many stones fell as Haile; 'Twas thought fit to Solemnize the *Latine Festivall*, and in order to that, a Dictatour was created, *Q. Ogulnius, L. F. A. N. Gallus*. The Master of Horse was *M. Lurcius, M. F. M. N. Plancianus, C. Atilius*, the Admirall having sailed to *Tyndaris* in *Sicily*, when he espied the Carthaginian Navy passing by, out of order, suddenly resolved to set upon it; And commanding the other ships to follow, hastily sets forward with ten, which were Ready, and with all speed both of sail and Oare endeavours to overtake the Carthaginians, still before him. *Hamilcar*, a very considerable Commander, was in that Fleet, who seeing but few ships meet him, others scarce yet out of the Haven, the greater part still at Anchor, steering back, circumvented *Atilius* and his ships with his whole Navy, nine of them he sunk presently, not able to maintain fight with so great a Number. The Admirals Frigate being better manned, and the Mariners encouraged by the presence of the Consull, brake out from amongst them by main strength and saved it selfe. For the other Roman Vessells were now come up, by whose help the Fortune of the Battell was changed. Eight of the Carthaginian ships were sunk, ten with all their men taken; the rest steered to the *Liparan* Islands. These things were done at Sea. The Land Forces were not so quick at their Work, having in vain assaulted the City *Lipara*: But with all hostility they spoiled the open Fields; the same Calamity also attended the Island *Melita*, not farre distant. For these Exploits *C. Atilius* the Consull made a Navall Triumph over the Carthaginians. The same year *A. Atilius* the Pro-Consull Triumphed over the Carthaginians of *Sicily* the fourteenth of the Calends of February. The Romans were then in a very joyfull state and Condition, being Victours not onely at Land, but at sea also; And did now begin to Consult not onely of the Conquest of *Sicily* and the Neighbouring Islands, which they thought sure enough their own, but of invading *Africa* also, and bring the Terror of the War to the Gates of *Carthage* it selfe.



B O O K V I I I.



Afterwards *L. Manlius*, *A. F. P. N.* commonly called *Longus*, did enter upon the Consulship, and *L. Cæcilius*, *Q. F. Q. N.* after whose death, *M. Atilius*, *M. F. L. N. Regulus*, who had been sometimes Consul, succeeded in his Office. Then onely in this year *Africa*, which hitherto had been free from any miseries by an Enemy, began to be sensible of a war, when the Romans had made an invasion therein, after they had in a great Sea-fight gained the Victory over the Carthaginians fleet; which actions, as they were achieved, we shall in this

From the foundation of the City.

497.
Capitolina Tabula.

Book set forth, and both the one and the other fortune of that same *Regulus*; and this end not suitable to the gallantry of the man; The year before when the Carthaginians, *C. Atilius* being Consul, did so strive to get the best in a Sea-conflict, that when they had lost many ships, they first gave over fighting; yet because they had sunk some certain of the Roman Vessels, they would not take themselves to have been of lesser reputation; On the other part, the Romans did judge that event as an undoubted Victory. So it was that the vast multitude on both sides did bend their mindes with greatest emulation to the study of Sea-Affaires. And therefore the Consuls being charged to remove the warre into *Africa*, when they were come to *Messana*, with an Armado of three hundred and thirty ships, and from thence passing by the Coast of *Sicily* on the right hand beyond *Pachinus*, to take in the Foot Forces, they having also some Forts near the Hill *Ecnomus*, they sailed forward. And about the same time *Hamilcar* General of the Carthaginians, and *Hanno* the Admirall, being Commanders of a Fleet of three hundred and sixty ships, having passed by *Lilybaum* in *Carthage*, and then *Heraclæa Minoa*, in that bay they consult of casting Anchor, observing the motions of the Romans, and if they durst bend towards *Africa*, they were in a posture to stop their course; which when the Consuls were informed of, they with good advice make all things ready for either chance; that they might not be to seek for Counsell, whether they were to engage in a Sea-conflict, or to draw some whither for safety: therefore committing the ships to some of the stoutest Souldiers, they make four Squadrons, as so many parts of the whole fleet; the choicest men they set in the first Squadron, the two next Squadrons they place in their order, in the Reare-guard they put their chiefeest men for strength, the Triarii, these forces they dispose of in such array, that each ship did carry 300 rowers, and six score Souldiers. So the Muster-Roll in the whole Navy did amount to an hundred and forty thousand men.

Polyb. 1. 23.
Orosius 4. 8.
Polyb.

The Carthaginians did somewhat exceed that number, leading more souldiers then an hundred and fifty thousand. And indeed the Consuls did scarce esteem of any other sort of souldiers in comparison of their own. There was so much the more consulting, when it did appear, they must needs fight in the deep Ocean; where the swiftnes of the ships, and the skill of the Pilots are of much advantage, to the fit ordering the front of the battell-array against that danger; finally they consider of placing the whole Fleet aright. They set two Gallies wherein the Consuls themselves were carried, very even in the Van, to both those Gallies they joyn on this side the first Squadron, on that side the second in a long continued row; the ships being placed in such manner, that the fore castles of them all were turned outwards, and

the Gallies did move almost joyned together, the ships next to those did keep from each other more apart, and so consequently the space left between the opposite ships did grow wider according to their being set in order. So when the form of the Van in manner of a wedge was shaped, with small distance between the first ships, and with great spaces between the last, then did they cause the third Squadron to advance, which bearing that open space between the two first ships, did meely by their order, exhibit a triangular form of the whole array; behind this, at the third Squadrons back, the long boats were drawn by a Barge with Cables to pull with, reaching to the ships of the *Tersian* souldiers. The *Triarii* the souldiers set in the Rear-ward, did so environ the former, the ships being stretched out into a halfe circle, that from each Wing they did appear; So the whole body with a deep hollow front, the hindmost parts being firmly solid, did resemble the snout of a ship, not less able to receive a violent assault, then fit to give one.

But the Carthaginian Captains having intelligence by their Scouts of the approach of the Roman fleet, when they considered, the passage to their City was not difficult, the common sort were nothing manly, the bordering Neighbours inconstant, and very prone to fall from their fidelity, they conclude to go out to meet them: being resolved first to try all that might be, rather then they would suffer, that the Roman Vessels should have a safe Voyage into *Africa*. Therefore they betake them to their ships, incouraging their men in short, *That they would undertake the fight with mindes firmly bent and chearfull, well remembering they were to fight, not only touching things present, but in reference to all things, which each one held precious at home*; and with their own good hope, and that of their fellow Seamen, they launch forth out of the Harbour; nor was the Romans fleet far distant, therefore not far from *Herculea* they give the shock against each other with equall stoutness; The Carthaginian Captains did so provide, that *Hanno* should charge on the Right Wing, (but it was he that had been unfortunate at *Agrigentum*) *Hamilcar* should be Commander over the rest. And they also divide their ships into four Squadrons, having observed the array which the Romans had made use of; Of these, that which was the left Wing of the whole array being crooked like a bow, did make towards the shore, the rest were extended in their plain order, and turned upon the first Squadron of the Enemies ships. Hereupon the Right Wing in which there were very swift Vessels with snouts and five oares in a seat, *Hanno* did stretch it out all he could towards the main Ocean, being ready to surround the Enemy, if the skirmish should begin at any other part. And the Consuls not staying long did venture themselves with their two Squadrons into the midst of the Carthaginian ships; *Hamilcar* that he might break the array of the Romans did charge his souldiers, when the Conflict began, they should presently take their flight, which being done, and the Romans only pursuing them, the Carthaginians indeed had no hurt by their flying, in regard their ships were swift: but the array of the Romans, as *Hamilcar* wished, and had foreseen, was rent asunder, when yet the *Triarii*, and the third Squadron did keep their places, which, when he saw it performed, he suddenly gives a sign out of his own ship, that their fore-castles being turn'd, they should encounter those that did pursue them: the fight was doubtfull, the Carthaginians excelling in swiftness, and in skill for Navigation. The Romans being farre transcendant in the stoutness of their souldiers; Therefore so long as the fight rather of the ships, then of the men, did last, the Carthaginians had the better clearly: But when they began to fight hand to hand, the ships being fastned close with grappling irons, then the Victory did certainly incline towards the Roman party: When the souldier full of confidence through his hand-strokes, and fighting before the Consuls, did strive to approve his valour to them with a more notable endeavour: while the skirmish was so managed in that part, *Hanno* with the Right Wing, which hitherto he kept unmov'd, made a fierce assault, being carried by the tide amongst the ships of the *Triarii*, and did create them much troublesome work, when they were brought to great distress; At the same time almost, the Left Wing also of the Carthaginians, the first posture being changed, and with a front made even, does assail with dangerous beaks the third Squadron of the Romans, which drew their long boats by a Barge. The Romans having slipt their Cables, did prepare themselves for resistance; Here also they shew much Gallantry: So in three places, there do happen even just so many Sea-fights, far distant from each other.

Zonaras
Polybius, i. 7.

Zonaras.
Polybius, i. 28.

When they had fought so hard, the Victory long enough inclining to either side, at last it changed, as needs it must, where there is fierce bickering in sundry places at once, with equall force and vehemency, that the selfe-same part which is first routed, should cause the whole Victory. For when *Hamilcar* was utterly unable any longer to withstand the Violence of his Enemies, his single flight did immediately disperse even the whole fleet of the Carthaginian. For *L. Manlius* one of the Consuls, being very much busied about bringing together the ships that were taken, and chaining them to his own, *M. Regulus* espying the fight to begin afresh in another place, he made halte to relieve his own side, taking to him the ships of the second Squadron, all that escaped out of the former fight safe and unshattered; The *Triarii* did soon perceive that relieve, and recollecting their Spirits, which had even failed them in extremity of Danger, they began to oppose their Enemies with great undauntedness. *Hanno*, when he saw that both those before him made stout resistance, and that himselfe was so over-charged on the Reare with fresh supplies, hoisting up sail he did his best to avoid his approaching overthrow. And when *L. Man-*

lius

lius amidst these tryalls beheld the third Squadron of the Romans to be enforced towards land by the Carthaginians Left Wing, he steer'd that way, and *M. Regulus* overtook him unawares, who had even now set the long boats and the *Triarii* out of harmes reach. So the state of things is soon quite changed, and they are surrounded very close, who but just before had hemmed the Romans in. Whom indeed being strangely encompassed, and in a manner straightly besieged, they might e're this have utterly destroyed, unless not daring to go near them for fear of the iron raven-beaks they were wont to grapple with, they gave the Consuls time enough, that themselves being safe they might even secure their own side, and the Carthaginians, that were environ'd by a sudden surprizeall, had leisure to take, as with a net, fifty ships, and all that were therein, so the other few stealing away by the very shore side did make their escape.

This Sea-conflict as well in regard of various ill accidents, and the eagerness of the encounter, as also for the number of ships lost on both sides, was of fair remark. Of the Carthaginian ships sixty and three were taken, above thirty were sunk. The Conquering Romans lost four and twenty by reason of foul weather, but not one of them did fall into the hands of the Enemy. Orosius 4.3

When this victory was over, returning to *Messana* they allotted certaine daies to mend their ships, and refresh their men, and to take in store of new provision. Amongst which, *Hamilcar* when he would not yeild by any means, the Romans should go to *Africa*, but wanted strength to stop their march, he betook himself to stratagems, and sought, by sending *Hanno* to them to sue for peace, to prolong the time, till the arrivall of the forces which he lookt the Carthaginians would send him. *Hanno* when he made his addresse to the Consuls, and heard the exclamations of the people, that the same decree ought to pass against him, which five years before the Carthaginians had design'd against *Cornelius Asina* then Consul, he shifted off the threatned mischief with a subtill answer, *Verily if ye shall do so (saies he) ye shall not be better at all then the very Africans*; and presently the Consuls well resenting what he said, commanding those to be silent that had voted him to chains, and there was a voice heard well becomming the gravity of the Roman stock, *O Hanno, the faithful dealing of our City does quit thee from that fear*. It was in vain to move for peace because the Carthaginian did not deal sincerely, and the Consuls did rather aim at Victory then at Peace. Therefore they had no mind to defer any longer their intended voyage to *Africa*; Neither did the Carthaginian Commanders crosse the design, though they engaged to each other, not to endure the enemy should march without disturbance, but to infect him from sundry quarters, and to bar his passage. But *Hanno* making hast to *Carthage* beforehand, *Hamilcar* not daring to attempt ought, carries at *Heraclea*. The Romans ships made a safe voyage free both from enemies and from tempests. And there wanted not some that did strangely abominate any travelling far by sea, and the enemies coast, and the very name of *Africa*. *Mannius*, an Officer among the souldiers, did first begin to speak ill of government, but *Regulus* was so incensed against him, that he threatned him that scourges and the axe should be his lot, unless he would submit. So at length the Consul was obeyed, and the nearer and the greater fear did expel the dread of travelling by sea. The Promontory is called *Hermann* which from the bosome of *Carthage* does stretch very far into the Sicilian sea. That coast was first found out by the Roman ships, then after a little stay while the whole fleet came up together, the Consuls having passed by the coast of *Africa*, they arrived at the Citie *Clupea*. Here the souldiers are exposed to hazard, and when the ships were put into harbor, there was a Trench drawn round for the more security. The Citie because it refused to surrender, was besieged, and presently through the timorousnesse of the Citizens it being either yielded or deserted (for 'tis reported either way) it was reduced to the obedience of the Romans. Zonaras
Polybim
Zonaras
Val. Max. 6.6
Zonaras
Polybim
Zonaras
Florus. 2.3
Polybim

But the Carthaginians though they did endure things truly harsh, and very strange, yet they rejoiced at their weal, that they fared somewhat better then they expected: for when they heard what issue the Sea-fight had, they were sore afraid, least presently the conquering forces would have been drawn even against *Carthage* it self. Therefore re-assuming some courage after their former fright, they were fully bent to make what strength they could to defend their City and the Suburbs thereof. Mean while the Consuls having sent messengers to *Rome* which would acquaint the Senators what exploits had been achieved already, and should beseech their advice touching new attempts, they make *Clupea* a Garrison, that they might make use of that seat of war. And having set a guard to defend the City and field adjoyning, they marching a great way forward with all their other forces, they utterly waste a very fruitful Country, which from the dayes of *Ayabuctus* had not seen the sword of an enemy; they destroy many goodly Villages, they force away whole droves of cattel, moreover they lead away by force above twenty thousand men, no man daring to gainsay; they also take many Towns by storm or by surrender, wherein they apprehend several Revolters, and set free many Roman Captives, that were taken in the late wars, amongst whom I believe even *Cn. Cornelius* to have been, that was chosen Consul again after two years were expired. While things are thus acted, they that were sent to *Rome* by the Consuls, return with Orders from the Senate. One of them was commanded to quarter in *Africa*, with such considerable forces as they held needful to be kept there. The other was required to bring back the rest of the fleet, and the residue of the army Zonaras
Polybim
Zonaras
Polybim

- Zonaras* Polybius
Zonaras
Orosius 4. 8.
Capitolin Columna.
In the Year
From the founda-
tion of the
City 498.
Livie. Epit. 18
Frontinus
Stratagemat.
4. 3. 1.
Val. Max. 4. 4. 6.
Seneca ad Hel-
vid.
Dionys. apud
Valegium
olybius.
Zonaras.
Florus. 2. 2.
Livie Epitom.
Val. Maximus
1. 8. 19
Orosius 4. 8.
Tubero apud A-
gellium.
Plin. 8. 14.
Orosius
Silius lib. 6
Val. Maximus
Zonaras
Plin.
Polybius
Zonaras
- to Rome. So Winter now drawing near, *M. Regulus* continued there with almost fifteen thousand foot, five hundred horsemen, and with forty ships, what remained of the Fleet being richly laden with Captives, and other booty *L. Manlius* having safely passed by the Coasts of Sicily, he carried back to Rome. I find he led along with him to Rome twenty seven thousand Captives, and the Navall Triumph over the Carthaginians was ordain'd for him. Afterwards *Ser. Fulvius*, *M. F. M. N. Patinus* the more noble, and *M. Aemilius*, *M. F. L. N. Paulus* were made Consuls.
- The Government of Sicily and the Command of the Fleet are committed to the charge of those two: They were not minded to call back *Regulus* from amidst his Victories, while he went on prosperously in Africa; and he was ordered by the Proconsul to manage the War there: That decree of the Senate no one did worse resent, than he himselfe, for whose honour it was made. Therefore in his Letters to the Senate he made that his grievance, and set it as the main ground of his suit, that another might succeed him in his Office, upon the death of his Bailiffe (he undertook to manure a piece of ground of seven Acres, which his Master had in *Pupinia*) having gained an opportunity, he thence delivered up his Commission, and left his charge, wherefore he must needs depart, least in his absence, when his ground lay untill'd, his wife and children should want bread. And the Senate did ordain, that *M. Regulus* his ground should be dressed at the Publick charge, that what damage he had sustained should be made good, and fair provision should be made for his wife and children. Such good orders were then in use! But when I read of or relate these things and the like, I cannot chuse but recollect with my self, which is the more lasting recompence for virtue, a reward by Coin, or by commendation; by pounds, or by praise. *M. Regulus* his renowne does endure many ages after his death; the wealth of others hath perisht with their Masters, and oftentimes before them: In the mean season the Carthaginians having chosen two Generalls at home, *Asdrubal*, *Hanno's* sonne, and *Bostar*; they sent also for *Hamilcar* their third Commander in chief to come out of Sicily. Who with five thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse came in all haste from *Heraclea* to *Carthage*. These having called a Councell do decree, that the Army should not be kept within Walls, as the manner heretofore had been, neither should the Roman souldiers be permitted to do what they list'd without any punishment. So when they were encouraged to wage War, the Army was drawn out.
- In the mean time *M. Regulus* did march to all places near adjoining, through which the River *Bagrada* does slide, subduing all before him, not far from which the Romans that held certain Castles, were smitten with a sudden pestilence, and lost many, and were fore amazed. A water-Serpent of huge bigness did set upon the souldiers, and they being much affrighted, and resisting all in vain, the Serpent did swallow down many of them with his wide yawning jawes, others he bruised to pieces with his furious windings, and with the strokes of his tail, some again he poysoned to death with the blasting of his pestiferous breath, and he made so much ado for *M. Regulus*, that with all his forces he must fight with the Serpent for the possession of the River, which when it was done with the loss of many souldiers, and the Dragon could neither be overcome, nor wounded, he with his extream hard crust of Scales easily repelling, what ever darts they did throw at him, they must make use of Engines, and without great Guns and Mortar-pieces, like a well fenced Tower, the Enemy is not to be overthrown; After severall hurlings that were made in vain, a great stone being cast, did break his back-bone all to shivers, and did dissolve the vigorous violence of the formidable Monster. And the business was effected with so much difficulty, and with so great terrour to Horse and Foot, that the souldiers did averre they had rather oppose *Carthage* it selfe, then such another Monster. And the Camp could stay there no longer, but must shun the infected waters, and all the Country round about, which was blasted with the contagious stink of his lying there. This was some shame to the pride of men, which are wont to think very fondly, that they can Conquer all things. Truly when *M. Regulus* was Generall, that had been Conquerour by Sea and Land, one single Serpent when he was alive, did hold the whole Roman Army in plea, and being killed, he made the Army draw off. And therefore the Proconsull did hold it no immodesty to send the spoils even of this very Enemy to Rome, and to acknowledge with a publick Monument the greatness of his own fear, and his rejoycing at the victory. For he took order the skin of the beast should be taken off and carried to Rome, which is reported to have been an hundred and twenty foot long, and being hanged up in a certain Temple to have lasted even till the Wars at *Numantia*. When the Camp was remov'd from *Bagrada*, the Consull commanded the Army towards the City *Adis*, all Towns and Castles being won and demolisht that lay in their road.
- But to *Adis*, which was hard to take, there was a certain way of laying siege by the help of warlike engines. To the crossing of which, when the Carthaginian Captains did speedily make haste they fate down on a certain hill, but full of wood and full of other impediments that was very near the Roman Camp. *M. Regulus* having well considered the nature of the place, and what manner of enemies he had to deale with, when he saw their foot were not comparable to his, but that they put much confidence in their Elephants and horsemen, but such forces being very formidable in open fields by the inequality of the places would not be come at, and would be made very useles; he wisely taking some advantage by the folly of his enemies, before they could perceive and correct their error, determines to fall upon them in their own Tents. Wherefore

fore encouraging his souldiers, and diligently observing what reason did suggest, he goes out of his Camp before the dawning of the day, and does cause his army to advance towards the hill directly opposite, where the Carthaginians had pitcht their Tents. First of all, the audacious confidence of the Romans did even amaze the Carthaginians, which being far lesse in number did set upon such a vast army even in their own trenches, from a low place, and of great disadvantage. Then they were in the greater confusion even in this respect, because the horsemen and Elephants, from which they did hope for most assistance, were not only of no advantage, but did extremely hinder and disturb them, and the very time did augment their trembling, that the Romans did set upon them unawares, and most of them, as yet, being fast asleep, therefore many of them are put to the sword even in their huts, the others stragling in their amazed flight, and not knowing where to hide themselves, were taken by parties set on purpose to way-lay them.

Nevertheless the Carthaginians Mercenary souldiers, the Spainards and the French, being instantly in a good posture, and fighting Couragiously on the other side of their bulwark it was doubtful a great while which would get the upper hand. The forlorn hope even now being put to the run, the whole Roman army had been overthron, if the horse from another quarter that were commanded to wheele about had not in the very nick of time charged the enemy on the reare that were pursuing those which fled. Then they also which a little before had deserted their station might now be rallied up and encouraged to fight afresh. So the enemy being set upon on both sides, when he had for a long time with much gallantry made resistance, he was constrained to cry quarter. When the Carthaginians saw what was done, immediately they fling themselves out of their Scences, and fall to running with all the speed they could make, and indeed the Elephants and the horsemen when once they came into plaines they could retreat well enough and safely too. The Conquerors having pursued the infantry somewhat far, they turn back at length to throw down their fortifications. In this Battel there were seventeen thousand of the Carthaginians that were slain, five thousand are reported to be taken prisoners, and eighteen Elephants. The successe of this battel did purchase the Romans much friendship not only from all the Countreyes round about, but even from people that were most remote. And in few dayes about fourscore walled towns vowed fidelity to the Romans. Whereas upon the newes that Tunis such a fenced City was taken by *Regulus*, did even astonish the Carthaginians that were greatly straitned before, and which was built twelve miles from Carthage, least it suffer what ever they did there to be kept secret from the enemy, then being a fair prospect both to the very City it selfe, and to the sea hard by.

And the terrible dead of their war with the Romans did not only dance round the Carthaginians, but the Numidians also, out of an old grudge being stirred up by a fresh opportunity took up arms, and by spoiling and firing the Carthaginian towns, brought more terror and misery upon them, then the Romans did. And the Boores from all parts flying for refuge to the City, did cause not only a huge dread, but also a great dearth, when such a multitude of people did devour a world of provision, and the avarice of the owners did conceale the plenty as yet in store, who gaping greedily for gain by that Common Calamity were full of hope the price of victuals would raise daily according to the decrease of their most necessary food. Whereupon it followed, the Embassy of *Marcus Regulus* was hearken'd to with greater heed, who aiming at the honor of finishing the war, and fearing least some one that might succeed him with a new commission from Rome should prevent him, he moves the Carthaginians to Conditions for peace. To that purpose some of the prime Senators are sent unto him, but when they saw strange harsh conditions offer'd, and their businesse at a stand, they took their leave of *M. Regulus*, who was verily perswaded he had Victory by the hand. *Sicily* forsooth, and all *Sardinia* were commanded to yeeld, to send freely home what Romans they had taken, to ransom their own men, to bear the whole charge of the war, and to pay besides a pension by the year. They had other impositions, full as burthenesome as these. That they should be confederates with the Romans for offence and defense, that they should use but one great ship. But the Romans they should assist with fifty gallyes well appointed as oft as they should be required. The Embassadors being transported with wonder at such Articles, and that *Regulus* might grant his vanquishd suppliants more milde conditions, he made this answer, *Men must either Conquer or crutch to those that subdue them.* By the return of which words the Carthaginians were much incensed, though they had often made suite for peace, yet they are fully bent, rather to endure the worst that could happen than to embrace those Conditions, which they held no other than the bondage and servitude of their Citie.

In that state of affairs certain ships which were sent to waite some souldiers into Greece, did return when they had gathered up no small body of Mercenary souldiers; Among these there was one *Xanthippus*, by race a *Lacedemonian*, who did couple the noble exercise of warfare with the discipline of his Country, wherein he had been well trained up from his youth. He sufficiently understanding what feats had been done already, and having insight enough into the other furniture of the Carthaginian forces, of the Elephants and Horsemen, he made bold to speak a proud word openly, that the Carthaginians were not subdued by the Romans, but by themselves, by the weakness of their Commanders, that knew not the duty of their places. This rumor being soon dispers'd, when *Xanthippus* was call'd before the Magistrates, he does produce

Zenar

Polyb

Orosius.
Eutropius. b.
Zenar

Orosius.

Livii, 30.3

Zenar

Dio. apud
Fulvium
Ursinum,Didori, Eclog.
b. 23

Polyb. l. 31

Polyb

Florus. 2.5
Polyb

such

Zonaras

Polybius

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such evident reasons of that his judgement, that scarce ought could be more manifest; he shews them that in all their expeditions, in making their Fort, in joyning Battell, it was their manner still to pick out places utterly unfit, if they would listen to his advice, he does assure them not onely of safety, but also of Victory. When severall of the Chief Citizens do approve of his judgement, and the very Commanders also themselves, and with becoming modesty preferring the welfare of their Country before his single opinion, they agree and ordain that the guidance of his Army should be committed to a foreigner. *Xanthippus* having undertook his charge, daily drawing his souldiers out of the City, he does accustom the field Forces to observe and change their ranks, and instantly to do what they are commanded, and the confidence of better success does fill the souldiers with admiration of him; the whole City being cherished even in desperation, is raised up to expect joyfull things to come. When the Commanders behold this Universal Cheerfulness, they also taking heart thereby, resolve to give the Enemy another charge, and encouraging their souldiers, as opportunity did require, they march out against the Romans, even with almost twelve thousand Foot with four hundred horse, and well high as many Elephants; that thing alone did perplex the Romans, that they saw the Carthaginians make their inroads through the plain fields, having changed their first design, avoiding all steep and craggy places: But being puffed up with pride through their constant felicity, they let at nought the souldiers that were wont to vanquish, and *Grossus* their Leader. And *Regulus* was not corrupted with that sawning poison of fortune waiting on him. When he well considered that he had routed the Sea Forces of the Carthaginians, and the foot Souldiers too, that he had taken almost two hundred Townes, two hundred thousand men, and that *Carthage* being sore straitened, might be enforced to surrender, he denied them peace when they sued for it on reasonable termes, and wrote to *Rome*, That the very Gates of *Carthage* which he had begun did tremble at him. So also moderation hath oftner deserted great Spirits in prosperity, then constancy in adversity. But the Carthaginians having pitched their tents in a plain field, *M. Regulus* whose chiefest strength was in his infantry, and thither he could not be followed but over Mountainous and steep difficult places, thinking it all odds to his Valour where he fought, he was not afraid to trust himself in the Camp, even to the greater vantage of his confidence, passing over the river that was in the midst, and distant from the Enemy even two hundred thousand paces. *Xanthippus* perceiving the indiscretion of the Roman Leader, did avouch this would be the very time, wherein he would performe what he had promised the Carthaginians, for he had got the Romans even tired with long Marching, where his heart could wish them; he nothing doubted the Victory would be certainly his own; the time also did seem most commodious for the fight, because the day now drawing towards the evening, the Africans knowing well all places thereabout, if they should be overcome, they might escape better in the night, or if they should conquer, the night would not hinder the pursuit of the Victory. Therefore the Carthaginians consulting what was to be done, *Xanthippus* calling for the help of Gods and Men, that they might not lose such a singular opportunity, he did earnestly perswade his men to undertake the Battell so much the easier, because the souldiers themselves crying out to *Xanthippus*, they did of their own accord with universal cheerfulness desire to encounter with the Enemy, therefore the charge of the main affair is granted to the *Spartan*, he draws out the Army, and does exercise them after this manner. A four square body of 8000 Carthaginians, which were the prime Chosen men of all their foot, was set for a reserve; before this body, a convenient space being left between, the Elephants are set in order, being drawn up as broad as that square body, on either Wing the Horse are placed, behind these on the Right Wing stands the main body of hired souldiers. The Army being set in such array, he commanded the skirmishers, that having thrown their darts, they should stand in open order for the advantage of their own side, and when their main body should joyn with the Enemy, they should violently break out again from the Wings, and should on a sudden furiously flank the Romans, when they were charging the opposite reserve. On the contrary part *Regulus* having well drawn up his Army, when he saw the Elephants in the Front of the Carthaginians, he soon takes advice, he brings his souldiers lightly armed to the Van, he sets the well Compact foot Companies in the Reserve, the Horse are drawn up in the Wings, the Army is firme in respect of depth, but much narrower then before; so that the chief danger being feared from the Enemies Elephants and Horsemen, they did indeed take a right course against the Elephants, but being in an open and Champaign Country, there was room sufficient for the Horse to surround the whole Army being so close compacted. The Fight was begun by the Elephants, which *Xanthippus* commanded to be led against the opposite Regiments, and the Romans making a great shout set forward to meet them. The Horse were likewise engaged in both Wings, but there the Romans being much inferiour in Number, and not able to resist the Enemies charge, fled away. But the Foot which were of the Left Wing, (whether it were to avoid the Elephants, or that thereby they thought the more easily to obtain the Victory) charged the Mercenaries, and putting them to flight, pursued them to their very Camp. The rest of the foot had an harder taske against the Elephants, by whose vast bodies their ranks were disordered, themselves trodden under foot, and whole Companies like a falling house, struck down to the ground, yet the very thickness of the Battell hindered them from breaking through; till at last they were distressed on all parts, for the Flanks and Rear were galled by the Horse, the foremost who made a shift to break through the Elephants, were slain by the Enemy.

Frontinus

Strabonem. 1. 2.

Polybius.

Frontin. 2. 3.

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Enemy standing yet Entire, and the light-armed men flying in upon them. There was no less execution done in the Flight, the Elephants and Numidian Horse pursuing them in an open plain place. *Regulus* with almost five hundred souldiers was taken alive by the Enemy; of the whole Army there escaped but about two thousand (who had charged and put to flight the Mercenaries) who beyond all Hope, by their halt, got safe into *Clupea*; of the Romans and their Associates were slain about thirty thousand. Of the Carthaginians there were not many wanting beside eight hundred of the Mercenaries, who had fought against the Left Wing of the Enemy. When the Army returned to *Carthage* after so great a Victory, carrying the Roman Generall Prisoner, a multitude of Citizens came out to meet them, others standing in the streets, or in their houses, beheld the spectacle with wonderfull Pleasure, which they durst lately scarce hope for; their mindes being not capable to believe so great an Happiness attending them; nor being of late so near despair, giving not onely their Country, but very City for lost, they durst scarce believe so great a Change, though they saw it with their eyes: But they took most speciall notice of the Generalls, every ones eye and thought being settled on them, looking sometimes on *Xanthippus*, sometimes on *Regulus*, Extolling the greatness of their own Commander, by the Estimation they had of the other. *He must of necessity be a gallant Man who hath overcome so stout a Generall, so fortunate a Warriour, a proud Conquerour, an implacable Enemy, the Terror and Plague of Carthage, now of a sudden bereaved of a numerous Army, having lost his ancient Fame and Liberty together.* Their Admiration was encreased by the habit and Garbe of the Man, who under a small body, and none of the best lookes, carried a large and virtuous mind. For this Exploit *Xanthippus* had much glory, and withall as much envy, to avoid which he used as much art as in finishing the Warre, for whereas he might justly expect an everlasting reward of his good service at *Carthage*, yet he resolved to leave those doubtful hopes and full of Treachery, and return home, before other mens affections, or his own fortune were altered. For this is for the most part the disposition of men, that openly they profess the love of their Country, but really study their own private good; as long as their City being in safety, they can obtain and quietly enjoy Honour and Riches, they pretend mighty love to their Country: But where there is danger lest they should bestow the same benefits on others for their egregious merits, they had rather want a man who doeth good to the Common-wealth, then have him in the least way hinder their private commodity: As long as they think themselves able to equall others, their envy is hidden and more remis; but when they see themselves farre exceeded, and that Honour duly given to others which they desired for themselves, then what they were not able by virtue to obtain, they seek it by Calumnies and Criminations. So that the best men have ordinarily most Enemies and are most subject to Treachery; But a Native of the Country hath some remedy against this Evill in his Friends and kindred: A stranger being voide of all helpe and assistance encreaseth the malice of degenerate mindes by his being easy to be hurt, in that he is more exposed to Treasons, and may without any great labour or danger be offended, affronted and undone. That *Xanthippus* apprehended and considered these things, the sequel doth evidently demonstrate, 'Tis reported he was drowned by some sent after him from the Carthaginians, who after so great a benefit received, hated the Author of it, who being once dead, they thought it would quickly be forgot that their Countrey was preserved by a Foreigner.

Others deny *Xanthippus* thus to have perished, yet confesse the Treachery of the Carthaginians, who at his Departure allotted him an old ship, full of Leakes, fairly pitcht over as if it had been sound, but that he discovering the Cheat, went aboard on another ship and escaped the danger. About the same time they committed another fact of no less Treachery, but much more cruell, by reason of the number that perished thereby. The Mercenariys in somewhat a tumultuous manner claiming a Reward of their paines taken, and happy Valour, were put into ships being made believe that in some other place they should have their Desire: But the Captains of the ships who had such private Order, landed them and left them in a Barren Island, where being destitute of all helpe from man, without food, without ships, having famine on one side, and the Sea on the other, they pined away and perished; a fowl and horrid kind of Death. Others referre this Fact to former times, when there was warre between the Syracusans and Carthaginians, and that the Island was thereupon called *Offides*, or the *Bonie* Island, it lieth in the main Sea beyond *Lipara* Westward. These deeds whensoever and howsoever performed, do nothing disagree with the Carthaginians usuall Cruelty. And if thus they served their Friends and Associates, it is no wonder, they were more then ordinarily severe against their Enemies. Other Prisoners indeed were somewhat tolerably well used, for they likewise had many Captives at *Rome*, for whom they intended to make an Exchange. But against *M. Regulus* they could neither cover nor moderate their Anger, but vexed and afflicted him all manner of wayes; they allowed him food which was neither pleasant to the Palate, nor strengthening to the Body, but which with much adoe by a stitgh nourishment served to produce his Miserable life. But more grievous were the Contumelies and Reproaches daily heaped upon him, amongst the rest, they would frequently on a sudden introduce an Elephant, to fright him with the noise and ugly shape of it, not suffering him to rest neither in Mind or body, and being thus miserably handled, and brought low, they cast him into the common Gaole.

Florus 2. 2.
Polyb.

ΟΛΥΜΠ.
ΔΙΟΔΩΡ.
ΕΥΡΟΠΙΟΣ
Polybius

Diodori 23.
apud Varronem.

Silius. 6.
Polyb.

Orosius 4. 9.

Polyb.

Zonaras
Appian
Zonaras.

Livie 28. 2.
Zonaras

Diodor. 5. 11.

When

When these things were heard at Rome, the City was filled not only with great grief but with fear also; for they mistrusted least the Carthaginians, provoked with the sense of their own calamities, and encouraged by this victory, should recompence them in the like kind, and dare to come even to the walls of Rome to inflict on them the same mischiefs themselves had suffered. The Senate therefore commanded the Consuls, *To strengthen Italy as diligently as might be with sufficient Garrisons, themselves with a vast Navy to sail into Sicily, and thence if they thought fit into Africa, to divers the Carthaginians from any expedition into Italy.* But the Carthaginians in the first place made it their care to reduce those Cities which the Romans had possessed, to punish those Africans who had revolted from them, and by strength of arms to vanquish those who persisted in rebellion. *Clupea* was indeed by the Romans stoutly defended, but in *Numidia*, and over the other Africans (though their war was great) their victory was easie.

In the mean time, understanding that a great Fleet was preparing in *Italy*, they left the Siege of *Utica* which they had commenced, trimmed up the old ships, built new ones, and studiously endeavour'd to prevent the Romans from landing on the African shore. The Consuls used such incredible diligence, that by the beginning of Summer they had three hundred and fifty ships ready fitted and laden, with which sailing to *Sicily*, when they found all things safe there, and no danger, but that they were full of expectations and fears, they left Garrisons where most need was, and with the rest of their army steared towards *Africa*. But being by a tempest forced upon *Cossura* (an Island between *Africa* and *Sicily*, near the Promontory of *Lilybæum*) they waited the grounds there, took a City of the same name, and placed a Garrison in it. Then they set forward to the Promontory of *Hermæus*, which being in the mid-way between *Carthage* and *Clupea*, shutteth in one side of the Carthaginian Gulf. At this place the Carthaginian Navy met them, and a very sharp fight was entred into on both sides, when help came to the Romans from *Clupea*, which totally inclined the victory, being before doubtful. An hundred and four of the Carthaginian ships were sunk, thirty taken, and fifteen thousand soldiers lost; on the Roman side eleven hundred men were lost, and nine ships. The fleet then sailed to *Utica*, where they landed their men, and pitched their Camp near the City. The Carthaginians likewise brought their forces thither under the conduct of *Hanno*, where in a land fight they were overcome with the loss of above nine thousand men. There were some Noble men taken prisoners, whom the Consuls reserved whereby to redeem *M. Regulus* and others who were in the like condition. They then consulted on present affairs, and conceived great hopes they might keep *Africa* in possession: Nevertheless the country round about being plunder'd and spoiled, they, fearing a famine, thought fit to return into *Sicily*, together with those Romans who had defended *Clupea*. They carried away very vast and rich spoils, which had been laid up in *Clupea* in the time of *Regulus* his prosperity, and much increased by late victories. They had a safe Voyage into *Sicily*, and sufficiently fortunate had been the Consuls if they would have set a bounds to their happiness. But because in their return to *Italy* they thought by the by to take some Port towns of *Sicily*, not regarding the ship-masters counsel (who advised them, *Not to sail in those dangerous and rough seas against the coast of Africa, new Orion and the Dog Star were rising*) they suffered such shipwrack by tempest as hath hardly been heard of, of three hundred threescore and four ships, scarce fourscore, having cast out all their lading, were saved; much about the same number of horse-boats and other sorts of vessels were lost, insomuch as the whole shore, even from the coast of *Camarina* (where the storm began) to *Pachynus*, was filled with the Corps of dead men, and horses, and pieces of broken ships. In this their hard distresse the humanity of King *Hiero* was no small comfort to them, who bountifully entertained them, furnishing them with cloths, and victuals, and tackling for their ships, and conducted them safe to *Messana*. But the Carthaginians made no delay to take advantage of this their misfortune, they presently regained the Island and City of *Cossura*; and forthwith crossing over into *Sicily* besieged *Agrirentum* under the command of *Carbalo*, and no relief coming, they took it and demolished it: A great multitude of persons were here slain and taken prisoners, the others, who escaped through the midlands into the territories of *Syracuse*, planted themselves in a Village near the Temple of *Jupiter Olympus*. Neither were they out of hopes of recovering the whole Island, but that the Romans associates confirmed and strengthened themselves against present fears, hearing what diligence was used in preparing a new Navy; for the Consuls were so intent upon the work, that with wonderful speed, in the space of three moneths, an hundred and twenty ships were built. With these *Cn. Cornelius L.F. C.N. Scipio Afrina*, and *A. Attilius A.F. C.N. Calpurnius* being Consuls again, having made a new levy of stout soldiers, were commanded with the first opportunity to set to sea. This *Cn. Cornelius* was a great example of the Inconstancy of Fortune, and of Patience in Adversity, for having seven years agoe, when he was Consul, been circumvented by the craft of the Carthaginians, and suffer'd captivity, imprisonment and chains, and whatsoever misery is incident to mankind, he now resumed not only the other Ornaments of his degree, but likewise the Consular Dignity with so much the more joy, by how much the sadder misfortune he had been before bereaved of them.

The Consuls having arrived at *Messana*, and joyned to themselves what ships they found there, being chiefly the Relicks of the last ship-wrack, sailed with two hundred and fifty ships

to the mouth of the River *Himera*, and took by treachery the Town of *Cephalædium*, some eighteen miles distant upon the same shore: From *Lipæanum* (for thither they had steered their course) they departed without effecting their purpose, being not able to take it on the sudden, and *Carthago* having sent thither supplies in case of a siege. Being not thereby discouraged from farther attempts, they happily accomplished another design of greater moment. They directed their course to *Panormus*, the principal City of the Carthaginians jurisdiction, and possessing the Haven, fate down under the very Walls, and the Panormitans refusing to yield, they encompassed the City with a Ditch and Bulwark. The nature of the ground favour'd their intendments, yielding plenty of materials and wood for their works, which being finished, they began the assault, and battered down with their Engines a Tower by the sea side, and the souldiers entring by the breach, with great slaughter of the enemy, took the outward City, which was called *New Panormus*; the old City did not long hold out, for a great number flying thither out of the new City, bringing along with them more terror then provisions, they were dejected with consideration of their present danger, and fearing sudden scarcity, sent messengers to the Consuls with proposals to yield up all but their bodies; the Consuls knowing the wants of the besieged, accepted not the conditions unless they would redeem themselves at a certain price. Every head was valued at two *Mina*, fourteen thousand persons were ransomed, the rest, being thirteen thousand were sold together with the plunder. This Victory was very glorious, of great and sudden concernment, for hereupon many Towns on that coast, some also far distant, cast out the Carthaginian Garrisons and submitted themselves to the Romans. The Jetines began, and their example was followed by the Soluntines, Petrinæ, Tyndaritans and others. Affairs being thus transacted, and a Garrison left at *Panormus*, the Consul returned to *Messana* and so to *Rome*. The Carthaginians lying in wait for them at their return, surpris'd some ships of Burthen with money in them.

At *Rome* there was two Naval Triumphs made immediately one after another, by the former year Consuls (whose command was prorogued) over the Corsicans and Carthaginians; *Serv. Fulvius* triumphed the thirteenth of the Calends of *February*, and *M. Aemilius* the day after. The five hundredth year after the foundation of the City a fruitless expedition was made into *Africa*. *Cn. Servilius Cn. F. (n. N. Capio)*, and *Cn. Sempronius Ti. F. Ti. N. Blasus* being Consuls, crossed over into *Sicily*, where having in vain attempted *Lilybaeum*, they directed their course to *Africk* with two hundred and threescore ships, and sailing along the coast and sometimes landing, they took many Towns and got great plunder. They effected nothing of greater moment, being hindered of entring into the most convenient Towns by the Carthaginians who every where met them with very good courage, having recovered whatsoever *M. Rigulus* had possessed, and punished the revoltors. For *Hamilcar* having ranged through *Nubidia* and *Mauritania*, had reduced and quieted all that Tract, imposing a fine of a thousand Talents of silver, and twenty thousand Oxen, and punishing the prime men who were thought to favour the Romans, three thousand whereof were Crucified. But the enemies encounter was not so formidable to the Romans as their own ignorance in the places, and their dangers in the sea; for sailing to *Meninx*, an Island of the *Lolophagi*, near unto the lesser *Syrtis*, they struck upon shallow places, the Tide going out, and were detained till the ships being emptied of their burthens, were by the Tide coming in again relieved from extreme danger. Having therefore escaped so great a distresse, and fearing those dangerous places, without delay they sailed away as if they fled, not that no lesse a calamity attended them then what they had avoided. To *Panormus* indeed they returned very safe, but in their Voyage to *Italy*, as they sailed about the Promontory of *Palinurus*, which reacheth out into the sea from the Lucanian Mountains, a terrible storm arising sank above threescore great ships, together with many horse-boats and vessels of Burthen. The City being exceedingly grieved at such frequent losses, as if the very winds and water denied the Romans the Sovereignty of the sea, the Senate decreed that their Navy should consist but of threescore ships, for the guard of *Italy* and transportation of provisions to their Army in *Sicily*. Neverthelesse this misfortune hindered not one of the Consuls *C. Sempronius* from his Triumph over the Carthaginians on the Calends of *April*, ten days after *Cn. Cornelius* Proconsul had made the like Triumph. There were Censors that year created at *Rome*, but *L. Posthumius L. F. L. N. Megellus* (who was likewise then Pretor) dying in his Office, the other Censor *D. Junius D. F. D. N. Pera* did also lay down his Office.

The next Summer *C. Aulus L. F. C. N. Cotta*, and *P. Servilius C. F. Cn. N. Geminus* being Consuls, crossed over into *Sicily*, and amongst other Towns took *Himera* (upon the River *Himera*) but void of Inhabitants, whom in the night time the Carthaginians had carryed away. Yet it was a great advantage to have the possession of so considerable a place, and hereby the Romans wiped away that disgrace they had heretofore received at this City; for they had failed of their expectation of taking this City (named likewise *Therma*) by the covetousness of their souldiers. [For a certain Captive within the City, to whom was committed the custody of one of the Gates, that he might thereby recover his liberty, did upon an appointed night give admittance to the Roman Souldiers, who were sent to take possession of the City. When the chief of them were entred, they desiring to ingross the richest spoils unto themselves, gave order, To have the Gates shut again and no more men to be let in. Whereupon the Thermitans receiving an Alarm took arms, and the Romans by reason of their small number not able to resist,

Diodorus
Culverium Sici-
lia antiqua
Diodorus.

Polybius
Diodorus

Zonaras
Diodorus

Polybius

Zonarus

Marmora Ca-
pitolina.

500

Polybius
Zonarus
Orosius. 4. 2.

Orosius.

Appianum apud
Fulvium Hrb-
num.

Polybius

Solinus c. 30

Diodorus

Orosius

Diodorus

Zonaras

Eusebius

Polybius

Fasti. Capitol.

501

Diodorus

Zonaras

Frontinus

Stratagem 4. 1.

Val. Max. 2. 7. 4.

Zonaras

Val. Maximus

Ολυμπ.

ἀναγρ.

Livie 5. 28.

Diodorus

Zonaras

Appianus apud
Fulvium.Livie Epitom.
18.Tabula Roma-
na.Val. Maximus.
2. 9. 7.Frontinus
Stratagemat.
4. 1.
Columna
Capitolina

502

Orchus 4. 9.
Polybius
Enitopius

resist, and having no reliefe from their Friends, whom they had shut out, were rewarded according to their Folly, being every man of them slain.] *Himera* being thus reduced into the Roman Power, (*C. Aurelius* the Consull thinketh of besieging *Lipara*, which had been so often in vain attempted; And in order thereunto gathereth together the choicest souldiers they had in all *Sicily*, and borrowing ships of *Hiero*, transporteth them into the *Liparean* land. From whence having occasion to return to *Messana*, to consult the Entrails of Sacrifices, he deputed his Lieutenant in the siege his Kinsman *P. Aureolus Pecunniola* (some say *Q. Cassius* a Colonell) with order, diligently to defend the Workes, but otherwise not to fight at all: But he, not observing the Consulls advice, and thinking it would much redound to his Credit, to take *Lipara* in his absence, made an Assault upon the City, and that to his Cost; for, not being able to Master it, he lost many men, and by a fall out of the Town had one of his Forts set on fire, having also much adoe to defend his Camp. But upon the return of *Aurelius*, Fortune wheeling about, there was a very great slaughter made at the taking of the City, after which he proceeded to the punishment of the Colonell, whom he commanded to be beaten with stripes, and take pay among the common souldiers; a very remarkable severity, whereof he made some other proofes in the time of his Consullship. When *Lipara* was taken, an Immunity was granted to the Posterity of *Timasitheus* (once Governour of these places) that they should for ever be free from all Taxes and Tribute; wherein the Romans manifested the constancy of their Thankfulness, not to be outworne by time; because when the Pirates of *Lipara* had taken a Golden Cup, which they had sent to *Apollo* of *Delphos*, *Timasitheus* caused both it, and the Embassadors who conveyed it, to be safely conducted into *Greece*, and the Men back again to *Rome*.

The Romans afterward besieging *Eriza* a very strong Castle, with forty thousand foot, and a thousand Horfe, were neither able to take it, neither durst they fight with the Carthaginians: For since the misfortune of *M. Regulus*, the Romans stood so much in fear of the Elephants that they alwayes avoided Battell. Oftentimes within the Territories of *Lilybæum*, and often in the *Selinuntian* fields, they have stood in Battell-array about halfe a mile from the Enemy, yet durst neither venture according to their wonted Courage, to begin the Charge, or descend into plain and open ground, but still kept themselves in craggy and difficult places. The Carthaginians hereupon erecting their Spirits, (seeing they now had Confidence in their land Army, and knew the Romans had had greater losses by tempests at Sea, then themselves by unluckie fights, especially having intelligence of the Senates Resolution to set out no more Navies) conceived hopes of recovering *Sicily*, if they did but send good store of land and sea-forces thither. But their main impediment was want of Money, the late continuall Warres having exhausted their Old store, and consumed their new raised Taxes. They sent therefore Embassadors to *Prolomy* King of *Egypt*, to borrow two thousand Talents of Money. The King being loath to offend either them, or the Romans (being both in League with him) offered himself as a Mediatour of Peace between them: But notwithstanding all importunities he denied the Carthaginians Request, saying, *He would willingly helpe a Friend against an Enemy, but thought it not fit to assist one Friend against another*. About the same time at *Rome* *Tib. Coruncianus* was the first of the Plebeians who was created Chief Priest. The same year also Censors were created, because the Duties of that Office could not last year be performed, one of the Censors dying, and the other laying down his Commission, *M. Valerius M. F. M. N. Maximus Messalla*, and *P. Sempurnus P. F. P. N. Sophus* made the seven and thirtieth *Lustration*. Two hundred ninety seven thousand, seven hundred ninety seven Citizens were rated. This was a sad and severe Censourship, for in taking a view of the Senate, Thirteen were degraded, four hundred young Knights had their horses taken away, and made common stipendiarie souldiers. This came to pass by the Complaint of *C. Aurelius* the Consull, who informed the Censors, *That in Sicily, when need required, being commanded to their Duty, they had refused to obey*. The Consull, not content with this Revenge for their contempt of Discipline, prevailed likewise with the Senate to keep back their Pay. And truly as times then went, the consideration of his severity and strictness of Discipline, as well as his exploits performed, was occasion of his Triumph made over the Carthaginians and Sicilians upon the Ides of *April*. The next year was fuller of Threats, then action: For great preparations being made on both sides, and each standing in some fear of the other, the whole summer passed away without any considerable thing done. *L. Caelius L. F. C. N. Metellus*, and *C. Furius C. F. C. N. Pacilus*, being Consulls, transporting their Legions over into *Sicily*, neither themselves much provoked the Enemy, or were provoked by them, though *Asdruball* a new Carthaginian Generall was lately come thither with two hundred ships, an hundred and forty Elephants, and twenty thousand Horfe and Foot. This business caused the Senate to enter into Consultation of preparing another Navy; for the Publick Treasures began to be exhausted by protracting the Warre, and since the Misfortune of *M. Regulus*, the Legions degenerated from their wonted Valour, and though all things should succeed prosperously at Land, yet 'twas manifest, the Carthaginians could not be kept off *Sicily*, so long as they had the sovereignty of the Seas. Resuming therefore their former resolutions, they began to put confidence again in their ships, and with all care to trimme the old, and build new ones. In the mean time *L. Metellus* being left at *Panormus*, *C. Furius* returned to *Rome*, to the chusing of the new Consuls, who were *C. Asilius M. F. M. N. Regulus*, and

and *L. Manlius A.F. P.N. Uniso*, to these was committed the charge of preparing the Navy and men for the ships; *L. Metellus* was continued in his Command, with Commission to manage the War in *Sicily* as Proconsul.

Asdrubal understanding that one of the Romans Generals was absent with half their forces, and computing with himself, that though the Armies had long stood in Battel-array one against the other, the Romans had out of fear declined fight, being now no longer able to bear the complaints of his own souldiers who accused him of cowardize, he drew all his forces out of *Lilybeum*, and after a long and difficult march through the Selinuncian Territories, he invaded those of *Panormus* and there pitched his Camp. It fortun'd, that the Proconsul, with the remainder of the Roman strength was then at *Panormus* to guard their Associates, now harvest grew on, in reaping and carrying in their grain. He, having intelligence that some of the enemies spies lay secretly at *Panormus*, commanded every man in the City to meet together in an Assembly, then giving order they should examine one another, and question those who were least known, *What they were; or what business they had at Panormus*, found out the spies and seized on them. By them he understood the enemies designs, and observing there was more rashness than good counsel in their expedition, pretended great fear, and kept himself within the works of the City, that so he might encrease their foolish confidence. Whereupon *Asdrubal* growing bolder, advanced his forces, spoiling and burning all the corn in the fields, and marching up even to the walls of the City. The Proconsul regarded neither the loss sustained nor the disgrace thence redounding, foreseeing that if he did a little longer forbear, the Carthaginians would sufficiently satisfy him for both with good Use. Above all, he thought good to expect till they crossed the River *Orestus*, which runneth on the South side of the Town, and then he had contrived a sure and sudden Victory. To effect this, as all other things were ordered to signify his fear, so he placed but few souldiers upon the walls, desiring that the enemy should not understand either the courage or number of his men. This counsel succeeded according to his expectation, both the enemy by his confidence, and fortune by a sudden chance furthering the design: For *Asdrubal* Forded the River with his Foot, Horse and Elephants, and planted his Camp close under the walls of the City, with so much contempt of the enemies Cowardize, that he pitched his Tents without any works of defence about them, thinking there was no need of ditch or bulwark.

Thither the Suters and Merchants bringing great plenty of Corne and Wine, the Mercenaries drank stoutly, and elevating their voices according to their several dialects, in much noise and confusion gave good notice of their present temper, that they were not very sober. Then did the Proconsul think the fittest time to send those his men who were ready armed to provoke the enemy to fight, and it succeeded so happily, that still sending out by degrees fresh supplies, *Asdrubal's* whole Army at length came out of the Camp. *L. Caelius* the Proconsul placeth part of the light armed men before the Trench, giving order, *If the Elephants approached to sling their darts at them, and if they found themselves sore pressed to retire into the Trench, and shance come out again to a fresh charge.* The mean Artificers and common rout he commanded to carry darts and weapons, and sling them over the wall that the light armed men should not want plenty of them. Himself with his companies completely armed, stood in Rank and File within the gate over against the enemies right Wing. They who were already engaged sometimes being overpower'd in number retreated in good order, sometimes being assisted by supplies from the Town did maintain the fight. When the Rectors of the Elephants desiring in emulation to seem Authors of the Victory as well as *Asdrubal*, and advancing with their beasts, beat back those who opposed them, and rashly pressing upon them (as they retired toward the City) came up even to the Trench. But then a shower of Arrows flying from the walls, and fresh light armed men assaulting them with Spears and Darts, the Elephants being wounded began to rage, and basking themselves which way soever anger and pain led them, turned upon their own men, trampled under foot, routed and disorder'd whole companies of armed men.

Whereupon the Proconsul crying, *This is the time of the long look't for Victory*, issueth out, and being fresh and in good rank had an easie victory over the confused multitude of the enemy; there was a great slaughter made both in the field and in the pursuit, their calamity being encreased by a sudden chance which one would have thought of advantage to them: For about the same time the Carthaginian Navy appearing at shore, the whole multitude trembling and blind with fear, promiscuously ran thither as to the only refuge, in which hurly burly many were trodden under feet by the Elephants; many venturing to swim, and many too hastily scaling the ships and tumbling down perished in the sea. Neither before this time nor after it, amongst all their prosperous exploits, had the Romans any Victory more glorious; whereby the Romans resumed their former confidence and courage, and the enemy was so disheartened with fear, that they cast off not only all hopes but all thoughts of a land Army so long as that War lasted.

Twenty thousand Carthaginians are said to be slain, six and twenty Elephants were presently taken, and afterward all the rest. For the Proconsul thinking it hard for his ignorant men to catch the beasts being loose and enraged, commanded a Cryer by Proclamation to promise Liberty and safety to any prisoner by whose means the Elephants should be taken; hereby laying

Diodorus

Zonaras

Polybius

Flaccus de rebus Siculis, Frontinus Strat. 3.17

Diodorus

Polybius

Frontinus Strat. 2.5

Polybius Diodorus Zonaras

Florus. 2.2 Orosius 3.9 Zonaras

Frontin.

Stratagem. 1. 7.

Zonaras

Plin. 8. 9

Zonaras.

Orosius

Zonaras.

Appian apud
Fulvium Ursi-
num.Dio. apud
Fulvium
Ursinum.
Cicero de Offic.3. 27
Dionys. apud
Fulvium.
Ursinum.
Liv. Ept. 18
ZonarasSilius b. 6
Cic. de Offic.
3. 27

first hold on those who were most gentle and familiar, by their help they easily brought in the rest. *L. Metellus* sent them all to *Rome*, having invented a pretty way for their transportation; for his ships not being fit for the purpose, he gathered and bound together many Hogf-heads, fastning a Rafter between every two that they should neither dash together nor yet part one from the other, then planking them over, spreading earth and dirt upon them, and erecting walls on each side in the form of stables, the Elephants otherwise very fearful of sailing by water, entred them and were safely conveyed to *Rhegium*.

Alcibiades from this overthrow escaped to *Silybann*, but being condemned at *Carthage* while he was absent, and afterward upon his return apprehended, he was accordingly executed. The Carthaginians now considering their Armies were routed, their Elephants taken, all *Sicily* lost except *Silybann* and *Drepanus*, that the Romans having again set out a Navy, were very potent both at land and sea, began to think of Peace, willing to accept of it on any tolerable conditions. Whereupon they remembered *M. Regulus* and the conditions he once propounded to them, and perswaded themselves that by his means they might prevail either for peace or at least for what they next desired, an exchange of prisoners; nothing doubting but that for his own sake he would effectually interpose himself in such a business: *For what man can be imagined so obstinate as not to free himself from the miseries of a Gaole, and desire to see his dearest relations, and enjoy his Liberty, Country, Dignities and Honours?* *M. Regulus* hath a wife and children at *Rome*, friends and kindred in the Senate and publick offices, a Cousin German now Consul, he is both much beloved by the Senate and people of *Rome* for his former victories, and pined for his afflictions; if therefore he beareth any good will to himself, or findeth any respect from his friends, no man certainly will be more earnest in prosecuting, or is more likely by favour to effect such a design. He accepted the employment, not out of any hope or desire to do himself good, as afterward appeared, but that he might in person the more effectually move the Senate to have a care of the Commonwealth. So being joyned with the Carthaginian Embassadors, when he was come to the City, he would not enter the Gates though much entreated by the Romans, alledging, *The Custome of his Country to give Audience to the Embassadors of an enemy without the City*. The Senate being accordingly assembled, he amongst the Carthaginian Embassadors delivered his Message, *That himself also being by the War a servant to the Carthaginians, had command from his Masters to propound chiefly, That the war may be concluded upon what terms should seem fit to both parties, or that at least an exchange of prisoners would be granted*. The Embassadors presently withdrawing, he likewise accompanied them; neither, though he was earnestly solicited, would he be present in the Senate at the debate of the business till the Carthaginians assented to it. Then sitting silent till his opinion was required, he thus expressed himself, *Consul's Fathers, I am still a Roman: my Body indeed, as Fortune would have it, is in the power of the enemies, but my Soul, not subject to Fortune, is still the same*. Following therefore the reason of my Soul, which is my own, rather than the inclinations of my Body, which is anothers, my advice is, You would neither exchange prisoners nor conclude a peace. For to restore the Captives, while the war continueth is disadvantageous: They have no Commanders in hold but my self who am an old man, you have many, and those young, amongst which are some no way to be despised. And to finish the war, unless upon very ample terms, or without a complete universal Victory, as it becometh not your Wisdom, so it is pernicious to the Commonwealth. I know you meet with many difficulties in managing the war, for no great affairs can be transacted without great pains and cost: But if you rightly consider the state of *Carthage*, you will find all things tending to victory to be much the better on your part. We were indeed once overcome in a great Battel, whether it were my fault or fortunes; but we have so often routed their Armies, that the confidence they had assumed upon my overthrow is now, by the Victory at *Panormus*, pressed down to the utmost despair. They have lost all *Sicily*, except one or two Cities, and in the other Ilands their condition is naught. You have a Navy which they dare not encounter, so that in that part of the war ye are also superiours. And the losses ye have sustained by Tempest hath not bereaved you of so much strength as it hath taught you Circumspection. The want of money perhaps is equal on both sides; but the Italians are more obedient to you then are the Africans to the Carthaginians, whom as they never truly loved, so have they of late learn't to hate more perfectly. For not being provoked by any such injury they revolted freely to me, but now since their former masters have wasted their Grounds, plundered their Cartel, exacted their Monies and slain their Nobles, what do you think they can more desire, then that a new Army would come from hence into *Africa*? But that your leavies of men are easie and large, that your souldiers are valiant, of the same Language, the same Mind, the same Manners, Religion, City and Kindred, I take to be so great an advantage, that if in all things else ye were exceeded, this one only thing would be sufficient to balance the war, and make the Victory doubtful on the enemies side, for what help is there in a company of Mercenaries against such a force? and if there were any, the Carthaginians have bereaved themselves of it by their cruelty, and they have made it now as difficult to hire strangers, as it was before to govern them. *Xanthippus* to whom *Carthage* is indebted for its preservation, having been so ingratiously and treacherously used, is sufficient warning to others how they lend their assistance to such a people who know not how to recompence the greatest desert but by the greatest injuries. Nay, the very common and meanest

Bar-

Barbarians, a Brutish and slavish sort of men, will be deterred by Cruelties so often exercised upon their Fellowes, who have been sometimes murdered by hangmen, or their fellow Soldiers, sometimes exposed into barren and uninhabited Islands, receiving instead of the pay they have fought for, most inhumane punishments, and horrible deaths. And this Conscript Fathers is my Opinion, that neither Peace is to be made with Carthage, nor yet an exchange of Prisoners granted.

This Counsell displeased not the Senate, if it could have been executed with the safety of him who gave it; but the more he neglected himself for the Common good, the more they pitied him, and manifestly inclined upon any termes whatsoever to restore so Gallant and Generous a Person to his Country. And voices were given out, *that seeing he was now so happily returned from foreign Captivity, he might lawfully tarry in the City, or be detained there.* The High Priest likewise affirmed, *that he might stay, without incurring the guilt of Perjury.* But he to the Amazement of the Senate it selfe, with a fierce Spirit, and severe Countenance, proceeded, saying, *why do ye not resolve this doubt? follow my Advice and regard not me.* Ye in vain attempt that which will be neither pleasing to your selves, nor profitable to the Country, nor honest in me. For suppose, for a while ye would be willing and joyfull to see me amongst you, when once the short spurt of this affection is vanished, the Baseness of my Return will make me more odious to you, then my absence made me desirable. For my part I am resolved not to live in that City, where after an African slavery, I cannot maintain the dignity of an honest Citizen, and if I should desire it, my fidelity would hinder it, the remembrance of my sacred Oath would hinder it, and my Reverence of the Gods, by the Invocation of whom I assured the Carthaginians of my return. And should I forswear my selfe, I fear that Revenge would be taken not only on me, but on your selves, and the whole Roman People also. The Gods, believe me, are no vain things, and will not without Punishment be affronted by the Perjuries and Contempts of Man. If any one be of opinion that in Religion I may be absolved, that the bookes of the *Augurs* mention expiation of such crimes, and that Attonement may be made by Ceremonies and Sacrifices for Perjury and Treason, I would have him understand the Majesty of the Gods is more severe, then being offended by Perjury, to be appeased by any Inventions of Men, neither is it agreeable to Reason, that a Guilt contracted by the sins of man, should be washed away with the blood of Beasts. As for my selfe, I am not ignorant that great and exquisite torments are prepared for me at Carthage. But to deceive a trust, I think to be worse then all of them, for this would indeed hurt me, as for the Torments they hurt only something about me. Think not that man miserable who is able to endure misery. Slavery, Reproach, Contempt, Griefe, Hunger and Watching, I never yet esteemed evil, but now by a long custom they have left off to be troublefom to me. That they are tollerable, I have learn't by suffering them; and if once they be intended to that degree, as not to be born by Man, Death will quickly free me not only from them, but from all other Calamities. Nothing therefore is to be feared for him who feareth not Death, which is easie at any time to obtain, and truly I had inflicted it on my selfe, but that I thought it the part of a man rather to overcome sorrow then to avoid it. I have spoken these few and confused words, that ye may understand, I am not to be perswaded from my Opinion, and withall that you should not bewaile me as an unfortunate and miserable Man: My Resolution is easy and constant: 'Tis my care to return to Carthage, what I shall there suffer I leave to the Gods.

'Tis reported that the more effectually to move them he affirmed, *that before he was dismissed from Carthage, they had given him a gentle Poison, which by slow degrees feeding on his vitall spirits, should consume him after the exchange was made.* Wonderfull was the constancy of this Man, who, rather then swerve from the Rule of Honesty, did with more earnestness pursue Contumelies, Torments and Death, then others avoid them; a true and profitable Lesson to Posterity, That those men only are prepared to endure any Torments, and are constant in their honest resolutions, who have a sense of their own nobility, and think themselves borne not onely for this world. For certainly *M. Regulus* would not willingly have undergone so great miseries; if he had not thought that after Death there are great Rewards for the Virtuous, and great punishment for evil men. The Senate therefore having made a Decree according to the opinion of *M. Regulus*, he with a settled countenance followed his Sullen and angry Matters, by whom it appeared that they would cruelly revenge the indignity of their repulse upon his Person, inso-much as many were moved to detain him against his will. Moreover his Wife *Marcia*, and his Children making Lamentable complaints, the Consuls said, *if he carried they would not deliver him up, neither would they hinder his going.* So he refusing to discourse with his Wife, and avoiding the Embraces and kisses of his little Children, was carried back to Carthage, where with cruell torments he was put to death. For cutting off his Eyelids, they kept him awhile in a dark place, then in the heat of the Sunshine they suddenly brought him out, and forced him to look up into the sky, at length they put him into a Wooden chest (right over against the Sun) full of nailes on the inside, and so narrow that he was forced alwayes to stand upright; if at any time he lean't on one side to ease his weary body, he was pricked and goaded with the nailes, and so in torment and continuall watching yielded up the Ghost.

This was the end of *M. Asilius Regulus*, much more glorious then his Life, though long led with

Facili Metaphrafi in Eutropium.

Eutropius b. 6

Silius b. 2

Zonaras.

Tuditanus apud Agellium.

Silius b. 6

Zonaras.

Silius.

Dio. apud

Fabo. Wfsa.

Horas. car. 3. 1

Pyplan

punic.

Livie Ept. 18.

Autor de viris

illuf. c. 40

Aug. de Civ.

Del. 1. 19

Silius

Val. Maximus.

2. 1. ext.

Tubero apud

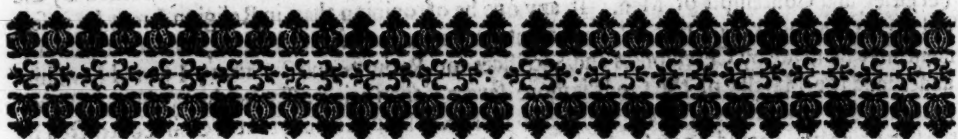
Agellium.

Cic. de Off. 3. 27

Dio. apud
Valefium.

Zonaras.
Tuditan. apud
Agell. 6. 4
Diodorus b. 24
Valef. apud

with great honesty and Honour: He was a man of great Integrity of Manners, of an Invincible Spirit, and for his Counsell not to be despised, wherein neither his own nor after ages could accuse him, but that he seemed not very moderately to bear his prosperous Fortune, and that by denying the Carthaginians request he was the occasion of the wars continuance for many years after to the great detriment of both Cities. But he wiped off this his fault by his other many egregious virtues, and chiefly by his wonderful constancy at his death, being more happy in suffering calamitie then if he could have avoided it. The Senate hearing the news of his death, and the Barbarous cruelty of the Carthaginians, delivered up the Noblest of the Captives to *Marcia* and her children, whom they shut up in an Engine thrust through with sharp irons, resolving to put them to the like death as *Regulus* had suffered; for five whole daies they had no food allowed them; in which *Bostar* with grief and hunger pined to death; *Hamilcar* being stronger in body continued five dayes longer, shut together with the carcasfe of *Bostar*, with sustenance sufficient only to prolong his miserable life, Till at length the Magistrates understanding what was in doing, did restrain their cruelty, commanding that the Ashes of *Bostar* should be conveyed into his own Country, and that the other prisoners should be handled with more mercy. Whereby appears a remarkable difference of manners in the two Cities, in that the one being not unjustly offended, nor able with security to offend, with horrid punishments extinguished that virtue they ought to have revered; the other mitigated a most just revenge not regarding their own enraged grief, but the Rules of Humanity, and that moderation which becometh Illustrious Empires.



BOOK IX.



Polyb. 3. 41

Etymologicum in
Kapnys.

UPON the departure of the Carthaginian Embassadors the Consuls having Order from the Senate to transport their Army into *Sicily*, did very readily obey, being highly incensed against the enemy for *M. Regulus* his sake, and likewise provoked with emulation and conceiving great hopes from the Victory of *L. Metellus* Proconsul. For they measured not the greatnesse of the businesse so much by the losse of the Carthaginians, who were much weakened by the losse of an Army and so many Elephants, but chiefly they were encouraged because the souldiers, having successfully fought against the beasts, did now no more stand in fear of them. And hopes were conceived the war might suddenly be finished if opportunities were not neglected. The Consuls therefore with a Navy of two hundred ships, and four Legions sailed to *Panormus*, where taking in likewise the other forces and ships (unless what were left for the guard and security of some places) they went to *Lilybaum* with 240 Beaked ships, threescore Barks of a shorter size, called *Cercursi*, and many other vessels of all sorts, with resolution to make an assault upon it. This is that famous siege of *Lilybaum*, which beginning the fourteenth year of this war, lasted full ten years, and at length was ended, neither with the surprise of the City, nor with its surrendry, but together with the whole War. For both the Romans and Carthaginians well understanding of what concernment that City was, either to the Guard of the *African* Coast, or the Empire of *Sicily*, did with all their might, the one

one assault, the other defend it. The Triumph of *L. Metellus* did somewhat comfort the City of *Rome*, after their sorrow for *M. Regulus*, not only with the memory and consideration of their successes, but with the sweetness of Revenge also over so cruel and inhumane a People: He Triumphed Proconsul over the Carthaginians, the seventh of the *Ides* of *September*, thirteen of the Enemies Commanders were led before his Chariot, and a great troope of Elephants, even an hundred and Twenty; some reckon many more. These being afterwards produced when the Games were celebrated, were chased up and down the *Circus* with speares headed with iron, that the People might accustom themselves to contemne those beasts they had heretofore so terribly feared. *Fabius Placcus* affirms they were all slain, the Romans not caring to make use of them themselves, and thinking it no way for the advantage of the Common-wealth, to make a Present of so considerable a strength to any Prince. The same year Corn was very cheap at *Rome*, a bushell for a penny, at the same price was sold a gallon of wine, thirty pound of dried figgs, ten pounds of oile, and twelve pound of flesh. For there was greater store of these Commodities then of money, which by the long continuance of warre grew very scarce. While these things hapned at *Rome*, the Consuls in *Sicily* assaulted *Lilybaeum* with all their strength, and the besieged as stoutly resisted. The first attempt was against a Tower, which stood farthest toward the *Libyan* sea, this being demolished, they did by degrees proceed to those which were next, till they had destroyed six. For the more easy battering of the rest they began to fill up the Trenches, that they might draw over and plant their Engines. Though the labour were very great, for the ditch was threescore cubits broad, and forty deep) they did readily set upon and diligently promote the work. The Carthaginians to hinder their design, made holes on the inside of the Trench, out of which they cast the rubbidge again, but, the heapes still encreasing, and the ditch at length made even with the ground, (by reason of the multitude of Labourers) they changed their Counsell, and erected another wall within the former: *Himilco* being at all Workers indefatigable, who besides the multitude of Inhabitants in the City, had ten thousand Mercenaries, and did by his wisdom, Vigilance and constancy elude and overcome all the Enemies force and Stratagems. He suffered nothing to be out of order among his own men, nor any thing to be secure on the Enemies part; he built Work against Work, digged Mine against Mine, opposed Armes to Armes, sometimes he issued forth, fighting with such resolution, that in these tumultuary skirmishes there were sometimes slain little fewer, then usually fall in set Battells.

The Romans undermining the Foundation of the Walls, *Himilco* made his countermine over against the place where he observed the Romans to cast out earth, and opening their Mine he sent in forthwith a Band of Armed souldiers, who set upon the naked Romans busie at work, and slew a great number; and as many were burnt with brushfaggots (thrown into the Trench and set on fire) while they approached the Walls to help their fellows. Notwithstanding feare and consternation of mind encreased among the besieged, whereby some Mercenary Commanders taking advantage, and pretending want of pay, plotted to betray the City to the Romans, nothing doubting but that they could easily induce every man his souldiers to approve of the design. On a certain night therefore slipping out of the Town into the Roman Camp, they declared the state of the City, and what they had intended; Amongst the other Mercenaries at *Lilybaeum*, there was one *Alexon* an *Achaian*, a Man not unskilfull in Martiall Affaires, and of singular Integrity: He understanding the Traytors design, without delay discovers it to *Himilco*, *Himilco* as in a great and imminent danger, immediately summons together all the Mercenary Commanders, who were yet in the Town, declares to them what was in agitation, and by whom, and vehemently inveighing against them, he exhorteth those who are present, not to become partners in the rashness and Treachery of others, that persisting in their Duty, they should find all fair dealing from the Carthaginians, their Pay should be certain, and great Rewards moreover accumulated, that if they tainted themselves with the infamous crime of Treason, they would be hateful to God and man; withall, as much money as in hast and fear he could at present raise, he distributes among them, promising that himselfe would take care to see the Common souldiers payed as may be discharged.

An Oration made in season, hath certainly great power over the Minds of men, especially if the gravity of the speaker be mixed with truth and sincerity to be relied upon. Every one assented to what *Himilco* spake, and chearfully offered their utmost endeavours to continue their souldiers in their Duty. *Himilco* commending them, and furthermore encouraging them with hopes, commands every one to apply himselfe to his own Company, and endeavour to keep them in subjection: He sendeth likewise along with them *Hannibal*, the son of *Hannibal*, who perished in *Sardinia*, and *Alexon* the *Achaian*; *Hannibal* to the Gauls, with whom he was acquainted, and very gracious, by Reason of his former conversation with them in the Wars; *Alexon* to other Mercenaries of severall Nations, by all whom he was equally beloved. These engaging their Words, that whatsoever *Himilco* had promised should be performed, so effectually made up the business, that the Traitors a while after returning to the Walls, were not onely kept out, but beaten back with darts, and reproached for their Villany. So they returning to the Consuls without effecting their Design, were nevertheless rewarded with Gifts, and had Land in *Sicily* bestowed on them.

Thus did the fidelity of *Alexon* at that time support the Carthaginian Affaires, brought al-

- most into a desperate condition by this Treason. He had before likewise preserved the Agri-
gentines, whom the Mercenaries of Syracuse had by the like wickedness plotted to betray, and
therefore deserved to have his memory and praises recorded in History.
- The Besieged were afterward much encouraged by the coming of new Auxiliaries. For the
Carthaginians, though they were ignorant of what happened at Lilybæum, did judge it fit to car-
ry on affairs with much Vigour; therefore they commanded *Adherbal* the Admiral to provide
a Navy and convey Men, Money, and Corn to Lilybæum. By him was sent *Hannibal* the son
of *Hamilcar*, who having a fresh gale of wind from the *Egean* Islands, sailed directly into the
port of Lilybæum, his men ready armed for fight, and resolving to break through all opposi-
tion. The Romans had from the beginning of the siege stopped up the mouth of the haven by sinking
fifteen ships, which they had for that purpose laden with stones, being therefore suddenly over-
taken with the Enemies' host, and fearing lest themselves might by the force of the winds be
driven into the Port, a place made unsafe for Navigation, they did not at all oppose the Enemy.
Hannibal safely entered the Harbour, and landing his men to the number of ten thousand, was
received into the City with very great joy of the Lilybæans. The Romans seeing they could
not prevent the Enemies' Arrival, entered into Consultation how to defend their Works, which
they thought *Himilco* would not delay to set upon, having so great a recruit of fresh souldiers;
neither were they deceived, for *Himilco* intending to make use both of his new firenght and of
the Courage of the others now revived, summons all his forces together, and by hopes of Victo-
ry and ample rewards persuades them to make *Wallie*, and having disposed his Companies as
the Occasion required, by break of day he assauleth the Romans works in many places. The
Romans were provided for them, and where they feared most danger had placed strong Guards,
with these a very sharpe fight was begun, many fell on both sides, for they fought with great
Courage and Resolution, and the number of men was great on each part, no less then twenty
thousand issued out of the City, and were opposed by a greater Multitude of the Besiegers.
For the Consuls having raised Auxiliaries from their friends in Sicily, were above an hundred
thousand strong, whereof threescore thousand were employed in the siege, the Residue being
sent abroad to bring in Provisions. The fight therefore being very hot in every place, the
sharpest Contention was about the Engines, both striving to spoile them, other to defend them,
with so great Vehemence, that they spared their own lives no more then their Enemies. A great
number of slain men lay in that station where the Assault first began, the Clamour and noise of
the Warriours, and Terror of the Battel were much increased by another Company which brake
out with links and torches, rushing through all dangers and Deaths to set fire on the Engines,
and the Roman souldiers were very near giving place to the Superiority of the Enemy, as no
longer able to defend their Engines. But *Himilco* seeing many of his men perish, and the Ro-
mans as yet nothing to remit of their Courage in resisting, sounded a Retreat, and went first
out of the Battel. Neither did the Romans pursue him, being content they had preserved their
works which were almost given for lost.
- The next night *Hannibal*, while the Enemy was weary after the fight, and observed not his
Motion, secretly stole out of the Harbour with the ships he came in, and went to *Adherbal*
at *Drepanus*, carrying along with him the Horsemen, who being of no use to the besieged in a
close place, he rightly judged might otherwise be better employed. These making frequent ex-
cursions from *Drepanus*, infested the high ways, obstructed the Conveyance of provisions, sur-
prized many foragers who straggled far from the Campe, afflicted the Roman Associates with
all kinds of misery, and very much confounded the counsells and designs of the Consuls. *Ad-
herbal* likewise much perplexed them at sea, suddenly falling sometime on the Sicilian, some-
time on the Italian shore, leaving nothing unattempted whereby he might mischief the Romans.
Hence it came to pass that there was great scarcity in the Roman Camp, for they had almost no
food left but onely the flesh of beasts, many died of Famine, and many more, as is usuall in
such cases, of Diseases; whereupon many thousands perished, and therefore it was conclu-
ded that one of the Consuls with his Legions should return to Rome to the Assembly
of the People, that the other Besiegers might have the greater Plenty. After this the
Romans again with greater pains and diligence endeavoured with earth and stones to stop up
the mouth of the Haven, fortifying the Damme on both sides with strong pieces of timber
joyned together cross wayes, and fastned with iron Anchors, to containe the heap of earth and
stones from washing away. But their labour though great proved fruitless, for the sea
was so deep, that whatsoever was sung in, was carried aside before it lighted right, and
upon the arising of Tempests, the Tide being very violent, destroyed their Work.
- But the very fame of the Work did for a time keep the Haven block't up, which very much
troubled the Carthaginians, that they could now by no means hold intelligence with their
friends, neither durst any man undertake to visit the Lilybæans and give an account of their
Condition, till at length one *Hannibal* surnamed *Rhodius* ingaged himself to enter the City,
and having viewed all things, to returne with a faithfull Account. The promise pleased the
Carthaginians: But they had little faith in it; because they knew beside the heapes of rub-
bish, that the Haven was watched and warded by the Roman ships at Anchor there: But he
having rigged a private ship he had, sailed to one of the Islands over against Lilybæum, and the
next day having a favourable wind, at ten of the clock in the day time, openly in the face of
the

the enemy wondring at his confidence entred the Haven. But the Consul to intercept him in his return, in the night time placed ten choice ships on each side the Haven, five as near the mouth as might be. *Hannibal* trusting in the swiftness of his Vessel came out in the day time; the Romans were ready in the expectation of him, and with all their endeavours set forward against him, but he was so much too quick for them, that not contenting to escape he moreover insulted over them, sometimes sailing, sometimes wheeling about as if he would challenge them to fight. When he had often used this bold exploit, it proved of great advantage to the Carthaginian affairs, in that the Besieged were infinitely comforted with messages from their friends, in that at *Carthage* they daily understood the state and progresse of things at *Lilybaeum* as occasion required, and in that the Romans were so much ashamed and maddened at the rashness of the men which they could not revenge. He was much helped in his design by his knowledge of the Channel and the passages thereabouts; for between those Fenny and moorish places whereby is the passage to *Lilybaeum*, he diligently observed a very safe and sure course for his ship. For when he came from the main Sea within sight of the City, he so turned his ship, that the Stern of it was toward *Italy*, and from the Foredeck the Tower of *Lilybaeum* which was upon the shore, hindred the sight of all other Towers toward *Africa*, and this is the only safe way of entring the Harbour with full sail.

And now many more being encouraged by the boldness and success of *Hannibal*, began to correspond with *Lilybaeum*, till at length by a certain chance a vessel of great swiftness was taken. For though in other places the Romans Dams were carried away by the winds and water, yet in one place, where the Sea was somewhat shallow, they stood firm; there the ship striking and being detained was taken by the Romans, and being furnished with stout souldiers and good rowers proved the ruine of *Hannibal* also. For having entred the City in the night time and returning in the open day, he spied this ship every where waiting upon his motion, whereupon apprehending danger, at first he fled; but that being in vain, he made some opposition and was taken by the Romans.

The Romans being possessed of this ship, and observing the same course of entring the Haven, did afterward easily hinder any other vessels from sailing to *Lilybaeum*. The Besiegers began now very fiercely to intend their main business, and assaulking one of the Works near the Sea, drew the whole company of the besieged to defend that side where the storm was made, whereby opportunity was given to other forces who were reserved for that purpose to make an assault upon the contrary part and take the outward wall; but this proved in vain, for the Carthaginian General seasonably coming with a supply of choice men, beat the Romans out with great slaughter. Another great success gave the Besiegers hope of the universal Victory; there arose by chance very great gusts of wind, which as it were on set purpose blew hard upon the Romans works, shaking their very Rampires, and tumbling down the Towers built thereon. The townsmen were not ignorant of this, and thought now an opportunity given them by the gods of firing the Romans Engines, which they had so often in vain assaulted. The substance of the Engines was very apt to take fire, having been long felled and dried with the heat of the Sun. The Romans were not slack in defending themselves, but not to much purpose, for the enemy was directed by the light of the fire which had seized on the Engines, and assisted with the strength of the wind to cast their darts more surely and with greater force, the others received no less hinderance and danger thereby, then by the weapons of the enemies, for the wind being fierce and against the Romans blew smoke, and flame, and ashes into their mouths and eyes, and brought the enemies darts with greater violence upon them, whereas themselves by reason of darknesse were uncertain whither to direct their strokes, and by reason of the vehemency of the gusts were not well able to stand. So that all the Roman Engines and works either for digging of mines or battering the walls were every one consumed by this fire.

Then was all hopes laid aside of taking *Lilybaeum* by force, and the siege had been presently raised but that *Hiero*, sending plenty of Corn and provision, perswaded the Romans to stay; where not intending to make any more storms upon the City, they did on every side fence their Camp, resolving to commit the issue of things to Time and Fortune. The Besieged likewise building up what part of their walls had been battered, were now the more encouraged to endure the siege hereafter. These news were very sadly entertained at *Rome*, nevertheless they determined by war to make up what losses by war they had sustained: and their resolution herein was so immoveable, that, 'tis said, a Senator was slain in the very Court because he made mention of Peace.

Great preparations were now made, and a new leavy of ten thousand Rowers sent into *Sicily*, for they had sustained a great losse of them. The Consuls were *P. Clodius Ap. F. C. N. Pulcher*, and *L. Junius C. F. C. N. Pullus*. 'Tis falsely by some delivered, that this *Clodius* was the son of *Cecus*. He, when he was come into *Sicily* and had taken possession of the Army at *Lilybaeum*, assembled the Souldiers together, and sharply reprehended the former Consuls, That by their idleness and luxury they had trifled away time before *Lilybaeum* more like men besieged then besiegers, without any fruit, and to the losse and dishonour of the Roman Majesty. He was a very crabbed fowr man, and being Violent by Nature, and Arrogant by reason of his Nobility, he was apt to let fall Speeches and perform Actions not well becoming a serious sober man. He was very severe in punishing, letting passe no crime with pardon, but prosecuting even the

Diodorus 24. 1

Diodorus

Polybius
Diodorus
Polybius

Zonaras.

504

Plinie 15. 1.

Diodorus 24

apud Valis.

Polyb. 1. 49

Diodorus.

24. 1

Polybium

Polib. 1. 46

Polyb. 1. 49

very smallest with too great severity; himself in matters of the greatest moment miserably failing, even to madness. For he followed the former Consuls course which he had so sharply condemned in damming up the Haven, and (what argued greater folly) he rashly and inconsiderately assaulting Drepanus lost a very gallant Fleet, no less by his own indiscretion than by the valour of Adherball. He persuaded himself and his souldiers, that the enemy not having intelligence of what supplies were come from Rome, might be unawares surpris'd at Drepanus; not believing that the Romans had either courage or strength sufficient to provoke them at sea. So that making choice of two hundred and twenty of the best ships with the stoutest Rowers, and most valiant men out of the Legions (for they offered themselves freely as to a short businessse and certain prey, Drepanus being not above fifteen miles from Lilybaeum) he privately set sail about the third Watch, and had in the night time a prosperous Voyage, not being seen by the enemy. But at day break the ships being discovered not far from Drepanus, gave an Alarm to Adherball, because such a fight was there unusual, insomuch as no doubt was made but that it was the enemy who approached; the Carthaginians were forced either presently to encounter and enter fight, or to suffer themselves to be surrounded and besieged by the enemy; this latter they resolv'd against, because as it would have involved them in much trouble and danger, so it would have been imputed as a crime upon their miscarriage. Adherball therefore on a sudden called together his Sea-men, and by a Cryer summoning the Mercenaries to an Assembly, in a short but very pithy speech, admonish'd them what hopes there were of victory if they would readily and cheerfully take Arms, and what danger of a siege was imminent if they declined battel. When every man with one consent had agreed to follow his counsel, Adherball commending their obedience, forthwith gives order that they should take ship, and observing what course the Admiral Recer'd (wherein himself failed) to follow it. Whereupon he before the rest sail'd toward the main sea, going out of the Haven just under the Rocks hanging over it at the same time when the Roman ships entred on the other side. P. Clodius finding the enemy no whit dismay'd, or declining fight, as he had hoped, but stoutly prepared to defend themselves, was much troubled, and retreated back with his ships to encounter the enemy in the open seas. But his were in no good order, but as chanceably they had outfail'd one another, some were entred the Haven, others were making toward it, and some were just in the mouth of it: Whereupon it came to passe, that while they all endeavour'd to make a sudden return, they dash'd one against another, and struck their Oars together, till being got out of the Haven as well as they could, because they wanted time, they rang'd themselves in Battel-array just under the shore.

The Consul, who had fail'd in the Rere before, now changing his position, came before all and plac'd himself in the left Wing; but the Carthaginians sailing by the enemies left Wing with five Beaked ships, tack'd about facing the Romans, and had the open sea on his back, or ther ships as they came he command'd to place themselves at a convenient distance, and when all were order'd according to his mind he setteth forward against the enemy. And now sign of Battel being given from both the Admirals they fiercelly encounter on all sides, at first with equal hopes, but afterward to the Carthaginians better fortune. For though they had the lesser number of ships, to wit, but ninety armed; in other respects they did exceed, for their ships were better and their water-men more skilful; they had likewise made choice of a most convenient place of fight, for as often as they were hard put to it they had free egress into the open sea, where they could easily by their swiftness avoid the enemy, or if he long pursued them, return and encompass him. But the Romans being so near the shore had not the like convenience, they could neither sail into the main nor with safety well retire, but as often as the enemy press'd upon them, they either stuck in the sands or endanger'd themselves upon the shore. Being therefore unable to break through the enemy by force and charge him in the Rere, by reason of the slowness of their ships and unskilfulness of the Rowers, and being coop'd up in a narrow place not able from the Stern to help their fellows who were in danger, they were beaten to the Carthaginians little loss.

Diodorus 24. 1

Polybium 1. 51.

To these difficulties was added another cause of despair from their Religion, and they thought themselves worsted by the anger of the gods, because the Consul undertook to fight contrary to the indication of the Birds, adding likewise a Jeer to his neglect; for because the Chickens did not eat, he command'd them to be flung into the sea, *that they might drink though they would not feed*. This occurrence made the souldiers more slack and faint-hearted, fighting, as they thought, with the ill will of the gods. But the author of all this calamity, when he had lost every thing else, he wanted neither wit nor boldness to preserve himself; for when he saw his ships in such numbers sunk and taken, he slips away between the shore and the enemy with thirty ships which stood next him. And that he might safely arrive to his Army at Lilybaeum, being to sail by some of the Carthaginians Guards, he adorn'd his ships in token of Victory. The Carthaginians therefore imagining the Consul had been victorious, and that his other ships would suddenly follow, suffer'd him safely to passe by, being themselves much terrified and dejected. The enemy took all the ships the Consul left behind, even ninety and three, together with the Souldiers and Rowers, except only those who striking upon the shore, cast themselves on land and fled. But in the fight a great number were sunk; for Clodius brought above two hundred from Lilybaeum. This great victory cost the Carthaginians very little, for they lost not

Eutropius b. 2

Cicero de natura deorum

2. 3

Florus 2. 239

Val Max. 1. 4. 5

Sueton Tiber.

c. 2

Polybium

Frontinus

Strat. 2. 31

Polib. 1. 51

Eutropius.

Diodorus.

24. 1

not a man, much less a ship, and very few are said to be wounded; of the Romans eight thousand men were slain, and twenty thousand taken.

About the same time likewise the Carthaginians took some ships laden with Corne from *Panormus*, and carried them to *Drepanus*, and carrying provisions into *Lilybaeum* from the Territories of *Drepanus*, did plentifully relieve the besieged with accommodation of all sorts. Neither here did this yeares fortune make a stop, but afflicted the Romans with another great calamity, whereby they lost not onely the present possession of the seas, but all hopes of regaining it. For the other Consull *L. Junius* coming out of *Italy* with many ships of burthen, laden with Corn for the Army, and fifty beaked ships arrived at *Messana*, where he met with a great number of other Vessells, from the Army, and other parts of *Sicily*. Joyning himself with these, he made up a Navy of an hundred and twenty long ships, almost eight hundred ships of burthen, and saileth to *Syracuse*. Being arrived thither, he sendeth the *Quaestors* before with part of the Navy to *Lilybaeum*; himselfe remaineth at *Syracuse*, expecting those others from *Messana*, who were not able to overtake him, and taking in grain which his Midland friends brought down to the sea side. In the mean time *Adherball* having sent the Roman ships and Captives to *Carthage* (Fortune and Glory putting him forward to action) delivered thirty ships more to *Carthalo*, who had brought seventy, with as many ships of Burthen from *Africa*, and sent him to drive out the Roman ships from the Haven of *Lilybaeum*, or to fire or sink them. He at break of the day entring the Haven with great Terrour, some ships he boarded, and others he fired; in the mean time *Himilco* Governour of the City, made a sally with the Mercenaries upon those Romans who went to defend the ships, which caused great fear in the Camp. In fine *Carthalo* having destroyed not very many, carried away five, and directed his Course to *Heraclea*. Lying there in wait to obstruct the Romans Voiage to *Lilybaeum*, he heareth newes of a considerable Navy of all kinds of ships sailing by.

He therefore joyning other Commanders with himselfe, made up a Navy of an hundred and twenty good ships, confiding in which strength, and animated by former success, he presently maketh out of the Haven to meet the Enemy. By the shore of *Gelus* the Navys came in sight one of the other, but the Roman *Quaestors* fearing a disadvantageous encounter, diverted their course to *Phintiades*, a Town in League with the Romans, at *Phintiades* there is no Haven, onely the rocks running out into the sea afford a pretty safe riding for ships. Here the Romans landing, prepared themselves for the Enemies coming, having brought Engines of offence out of the Town, and placed them on the shore for safeguard of the ships. The Carthaginians at first resolved to have besieged the Enemy, thinking that out of fear they would have fled into the Town, and have left their ships for a Prey. But when the Romans stood stoutly to their own defence, and that they found the fight full of danger, likewise not much trusting in a place somewhat inconvenient for the ships they desired; and having taken a few Vessells laden with provision they sailed to the River *Halycus*, not farre distant, there they healed their wounded men, observing the motion of the Enemy. Other Writers following, I believe, *Philinus*, affirm, that the Romans sustained greater loss; that the *Quaestors* being daunted at the first fight of the Enemy, in their flight to *Phintiades* left behind their ships of burthen, and all other Vessells but men of Warre, that in the fight fifty round Vessells, and threescore long ships were sunk, and thirteen so split and shattered that they were made unfit for service.

Not long after the Carthaginians still abiding at the River *Halycus*, *L. Junius* the Consull, having done his business at *Syracuse*, sailing toward *Lilybaeum*, about the Promontory of *Pachynus*, was discovered by some of *Carthalo* his ships, who thereupon with all speed makes out to meet him (being ignorant of all passages at *Phintiades*) that he might fight him as farre from *Quaestor's* Navy as might be, lest they should come in for his succour. The Consull seeing the Enemy make up toward him, not daring to fight, nor being able to avoid them, drives his ships into a rough and troublesome creeke, near *Camerina*, a greater fear overcoming this lesser, lest his whole Army should fall into the Enemies Power. *Carthalo* not daring to venter into the same place, takes up his station at a certain Promontory, from whence he might equally intend himselfe against either Navy. A while after, when the Winds blew high, the Carthaginian shipmasters (skillfull in such Affaires) foreseeing a tempest, perswaded *Carthalo* to forsake that station, and steere to *Pachynus*, and so the Carthaginians; but not without great paines, avoided the force of the Tempest; But both the Roman Navys utterly perished upon the Rocks, insomuch that of the whole shipwrack there remained not a piece of board of any use, excepting onely two ships, wherein the Consull with the small remainder of his men arrived at *Lilybaeum*. All the ships of provision were lost, and above an hundred long ships; but part of the Armie was saved, leaping into the sea and swimming to shore. The Senate, who had lately called home *P. Claudius* the Consull, for his miscarriage in *Sicily*, hearing also of *Junius* his misfortune, gave over all confidence in the seas, resolving nevertheless with all their strength and Counsell to prosecute the Warre by land. They thought good to continue the siege of *Lilybaeum*; appointing certain men to take care of conveyeing necessary accommodations in good season, to the Army there. Though the Carthaginians were Masters at sea, yet they were encouraged, in that at land they were superiour, and that almost all *Sicily* was either under their power, or in League with them: But they were not pleased with their Confalls this year, neither did they think that things would succeed prosperously under the Confalls

Orosius. 4. 10.
Diodorus

Polyb. 1. 51

Diodorus

Polybius.

Diodorus
Polyb.
Diodor.

Polybius.
Diodor.
Polybius.
Diodor.
Polyb.

Diodorus
Polyb.
Diodor.

Polyb. 1. 54.

Diodor.
Polyb.

Orosius 4.
Polyb.
Diodor.
Eutropius 2.
Livie Epit. 19
Polyb.

Cicer. de nat.
deor. 2. 3.

Livie Epitom.

Sueton in Ti-
ber.

Fasti Capitoni

Polyb. 1. 32

Cicer. de nat.
deorum.

Val. Max. 8. 1. 4

Livie Epitom.

Fasti Capitoli-
ni.

Plin. 7. 43.

Dion. 36.

Zonaras

Polyb. 1. 55.

Diodor. 24. 1.

Polyb.

Diodor.

Zonaras.

Cicero de nat.
deorum.

Livius Valeri-
us.

Antias

Austin. de Civ.

Dei.

Plin. 15. 1.

505.

Fasti Capit.

Zonaras.

Diodor 23. 67.

24. apud vilesf.

Orosius. 4. 1.

Polyb. 1. 56.

Appian. apud

Fulv. Ursin.

Barclay's Ar-
genis.

command, because they had profaned the Rites of Religion; for 'tis said that *L. Junius* did likewise set aside neglecting the Indication of the Birds. They fled therefore to a new and unusual Refuge, and created a Dictatour to go into *Sicily*; whereas, before this time, never any one so impowered, had led an Army out of *Italy*. The Insolence of *P. Clodius* the Consul was then very notable, and almost incredible; For being commanded by the Senate to nominate a Dictatour, he named *M. Claudius Glycias*, who was either his Scribe, or one of his Sergeants; as if he had not sufficiently offended his Countrey, by what losses he had brought upon it, unless he had likewise abused the Majesty of the Empire with such a scoffe. Whereupon the whole Senate being justly incensed against him, he was forced to resign up his Office, and was referred to the censure of the People. What Authors *Cicero* had read, report he was condemned, but others have observed, that when no Question was to be made but that the People would condemn him, he escaped by a sudden chance, a storme then arising which dissolved the Assembly; And is seeming hereby that the Gods interposed themselves, they thought not fit to ordain any other meeting for the purpose. But *Glycias* being forced to disclaim his Office, in that the City was ashamed to see a man of mean ranke to be in Supreme Dignity, was nevertheless admitted to all spectacles after this time in a Noble Man's Robes. In his room *A. Atilius A. F. C. N. Calatinus* was nominated Dictatour, who made *L. Caelius L. F. C. N. Metellus* Master of the Horse, he who had Triumphed over the Carthaginians. These two went indeed into *Sicily*, but performed no very memorable action there.

In the mean time *L. Junius*, much troubled at his cross fortune, and desirous to wipe away the blot of his shipwracke, by some noble Exploit, watching all opportunities of Action, did at length find a way to take *Eryx*, by the Treachery of some within it, whom he had corrupted by gifts and promises. *Eryx* is the highest Hill in *Sicily* except *Aetna*, situate between *Panormus* and *Drepana*, in that part of the Iland which lieth towards *Italy*, being more craggy toward *Drepana*. In the top thereof there is a Plaine whereon standeth the Temple of *Venus*, therefore called *Erycina*, the Richest in all *Sicily*, just under the Top of the Mount, in the midst of the Assent, is a City of the same name, very hard to be approached unto, the way to which with much difficulty is overcome by long and narrow passages from the foot of the Hill. *L. Junius* therefore well understanding the nature of the place, appointeth a strong guard both upon the Ridge of the Mountain, and likewise in the narrow passages below, being very safe himselfe, and having the advantage with much ease to repulse the Enemy. He also encompassed *Ægisballus* with a wall, and strengthened it with a Garrison of eight hundred men. But *Carthalo* landing his men there in the night time, stormed that Castle, and took and killed part of the Garrison souldiers, others escaped to *Eryx*.

The other passages concerning *L. Junius* are very doubtfully reported by Historians, some affirm he was taken by *Carthalo* at *Ægisballus*: Others, that he killed himselfe fearing to be condemned for the loss of his Navy. There is no less uncertainty whether the *Secular* sports were celebrated this year, or fourteen yeares after, when *P. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *C. Licinius Varus* were Consuls. I think it more probable they were celebrated this year, the fear conceived from their late overthrowes, and hope of better fortune, inviting them thereunto, if their Religion were diligently performed. This was a very fruitfull year, inso much as twelve pound of oile was sold for an *Assis*; In the mean time the Dictatourship being expired, or *Atilius* having resigned it up, *C. Aurelius L. F. C. N. Cotta*, and *P. Servilius L. F. C. N. Geminus* were chosen Consuls. The Consuls were prettie successfull in *Sicily*, yet obtained no great Victory, nor reaped any great profit for the Common-wealth. They kept in the Carthaginians of *Lilybanum* and *Drepanum*, that they could make no large Excursions, nor so often as they had done, and took their Garrisons which were remote from the sea. *Carthalo* having made many attempts against them in vain, resolved at length to waste the *Italian* Coasts, that thereby he might divert the Consuls from *Sicily*; or if they refused to come back to succour their Country, depopulate their grounds, and take Cities. But fortune did not herein favour his designs. For the *Prætor* being sent out with the City-forces for defence of the Countrey, compelled him to return to *Sicily* without effecting his purpose.

Where when the Mercenaries mutinied for want of Pay, he exposed many of them in barren Ilands, and sent others to receive their Punishment at *Carthage*. The rest being incensed hereby, began manifestly to revolt, so that a new warre was feared from them: But *Hamilcar* who succeeded *Carthalo*, coming in season, set upon them in the night time, slew some, and drowned others; the remainder submitting themselves, and begging pardon he received into Grace. This is that *Hamilcar* surnamed *Barcas*, one of the best Commanders *Carthage* ever bred, and indeed without compare, but that *Hannibal* was his son. From this time the Warre began to be more difficult on the Romans side; For having suddenly appeased the Mercenaries, he sailed to *Italy*, and in very great compais spoiled the *Locrian* and *Brunian* Territories.

But the Romans having found the faith of *Hiero* King of *Syracuse* very constant toward them, and his merits great, freely remitted unto him that yearly Tribute they had in the former League compounded for, and made a perpetual band of friendship and society with him. In the interim *Hamilcar* being returned out of *Italy* landed in the *Panormitan* Grounds, and pitched his Camp between *Panormus* and *Eryx*, in a place by nature very strong, it is called *Epeiræ*, an Hill craggy and full of cliffs on all sides, exalting it self from the circumjacent Region to a very

very great height. The top of it is not sharp, but continueth a plain of above an hundred furlongs, of a very profitable soil for the feeding of Cattel and bearing of Fruits, being open to the winds from sea, and void of all harmful and venomous creatures. Therein is a certain hillcock which supplieth the place of a Tower, from whence may be viewed all the grounds round about. Near it is a very convenient Haven for those that sail from *Drepanus* and *Lilybæum* to *Italy*, with store of fresh water. There are three wayes of ascending this Mount, two from the Land, one from the Sea, but all very difficult and full of obstructions. Here did *Hamilear* plant his Camp with much confidence having no confederate City near him, and being in the midst of his enemies: But trusting in the strength of the place and his own courage and skill in Marshal affairs, he found the Romans work enough, and very well settled the Carthaginian affairs, which now began to succeed well at home also. For another Carthaginian General, *Hanno*, who had a great emulation of *Hamilear's* Virtue, to obtain honour, and employ the Army without the Commonwealth's cost out of the enemies Country, invaded a port of *Lybia* about *Hesatompylos*, and having obtained the City, sent three thousand Hostages to *Carthage*; yet they had some alay of this their prosperity. For *L. Caelius L. F. C. N. Metellus* being the second time Consul, and *Nun. Fabius M. F. M. N. Butto* being his Colleague, a Navy was built at the charge of private men, which wasted the Coast of *Africa*. For though the Senate had again resolved against sending out of a Navy, yet at the Citizens request they gave leave to have one prepared, upon this condition, That they should safely restore those ships which were built at the publick Charge, reserving the prey to themselves; so that a Fleet was set out very considerable, which brought much terror and damage to the Coasts of *Africa* and assaulting Kings: *Hippo*, none of the meanest Cities, they fired the ships of *Hippo* and many buildings. In their return finding the mouth of the Haven chained up, by art and counsel they devised a way to explicate themselves out of present danger, for sailing with all the force they could, when they came near the Chain, all the men retired to the Stern, and so the Fore-Deck being lightened easily waisted over the Chain; then suddenly running to the Fore-Decks and depressing them, the Stern likewise slid over, and they had free liberty of sailing having delivered themselves from imminent danger.

After this escape, they fought with the Carthaginian Navy, and prevailed against them. The Roman Consuls divided their forces, *L. Metellus* besieged *Lilybæum*, and *Nun. Fabius*, *Drepanum*. Not far from *Drepanum*, toward the South, lyeth an Island, or rather a Rock, which the Grecians call *Pelias*, we *Columbaria*, which the Consul stormed in the night time, and slew the Carthaginian Garrison there. *Hamilear*, who came to defend *Drepanum*, made no delay, but at break of day set forth to recover the place again, which the Consul observing, being not able to relieve his own men, with his whole strength assaulted *Drepanum*, whereby drawing *Hamilear* from his design, he kept the Island in possession, and afterward made much advantage of it in besieging *Drepanum*, for he dammed up the sea, and joyned it to the Continent; and because the Walls of the City were weakest on that side, he there began his assaults. But the encounters between *Hamilear*, and these, and the Consuls of the following years, *Polybius* thinks impossible to be described because they were so many, and judgeth it unfit, lest it might give an occasion of the like. For *Hamilear*, having his Camp at *Eptis* for almost three years together, had almost daily encounters with the Romans, especially when their Camp being before *Panormus* was scarce five furlongs distant from the enemy. For neither did they refrain from skirmishing, having their Armies so near; Neither did they ever come to the trial of a main battel having many hinderances, especially because their forces being equal and their Camps alike strong, they were likewise on each side protected by the vicinity of their Camp, to which the party worsted might quickly retire. Hence it came to pass that as in fight some were alwayes slain, so when the battel declined they had a safe refuge to their Works. But while *Drepanum* was besieged, the Carthaginians Fleet infested not only the *Sicilian* but the *Italian* shores, and *Hamilear* plundering as far as he could, waisted the *Italian* territories even to *Cuma*. Many of the Romans Citizens being fallen into the Carthaginians power by these incursions, and the *Sicilian* fights, the Roman Commanders agreed with the Carthaginians for an exchange of Prisoners, which party received any overplus back, was to give two pound and an half of silver for an head, and the Carthaginians receiving more then the Romans paid down the money accordingly.

I find two Colonies planted in *Italy* this year, one at *Asulum* the other at *Alifum*. There was likewise a Lustration made at *Rome* (being the eight and thirtieth) by *A. Atilius A. F. C. N. Calpurnius*, and *A. Manlius T. F. T. N. Atticus* being Censors; and there were rated two hundred fifty one thousand, two hundred twenty two, whereas in the former Lustration there were found little less then three hundred thousand; so great a number of Citizens were consumed by War and Shipwracks. Nevertheless the Sicilian army was duly recruited, the supply being led by the Consuls *M. Octavius C. F. M. N. Crassus* (the second time Consul) and *M. Fabius C. F. M. N. Licinus*. These had a very busie and difficult warfare, but not being able to dispossesse *Hamilear* of his strong holds, they performed nothing memorable. Which happened likewise to the succeeding Consuls for the same reason, as likewise because new Generals (being on the sudden every year elected against an old experienced Commander) spent more time in making their preparations, chusing their ground, and insinuating themselves with the soldiery,

*Fasti. Capitol.
Sueton Tiber. 2
Val. Max. 8. 1*

Livie Epit.

Suetonij

*L. 29. 19. seq. ff.
de Legibus*

L. 1. ff. de V. S.

*Seneca de be-
nific. 6. 38*

diery, then was left for the management of Affairs. It was therefore this year concluded (when the time of assembling the people drew nigh) rather to chuse a Dictator then to recal either of the Consuls out of *Sicily*. *Ti. Cornucianus* *Ti. F. Ti. Nepos* was chosen to summon the Assembly; he nominated for Master of the Horse *M. Fulvius Q. F. M. N. Flaccus*. In the mean time the two Tribunes of the people, *C. Fundanius* and *Ti. Sempronius* appointed a day for *Claudia* the daughter of *Appius Cacus* to plead her cause before the people, being accused that returning from a Play, and her Chariot having no easie passage through the crowd of people, she let fall a wicked speech, *Oh! that my brother were alive again and had Command of the Fleet.*

There was hardly any Noble Family in *Rome* but had had some relation to the Claudians, either by Cognition or Affinity, so that she wanted not Patrons to defend her, declaring, *The Nobility of her house, the merits of Appius her father, the frailty of her sex; that it was a thing unheard of for a woman to be called into Judgment: Neither was now the cause so great why a new custome should be begun against Claudia, which had not by any plot or practice offended the Majesty of the people; but only in a few words.* On the contrary, the Tribunes alledged, *What an impious and execrable speech she hath vented, ye are not ignorant, O Romans, neither is there any need of Witnesses, she her self confessing it; neither indeed can she deny it if she would, because she spoke openly and in publick, not reverencing either the Gods or the multitude of Citizens round about her.* When therefore the crime is manifest, why should we doubt of the punishment? Have not the Laws made sufficient Provision? Or while we read the Letter of the Law, shall we suffer our minds to be deluded in the Sense of it. 'Tis objected, That it is unusual thus to accuse a woman; if it be so, why it is unusual likewise for a woman thus to offend: Neither hitherto did our Commonwealth ever afford so wicked and impudent a woman. And we wish that there were now no need of making a new Precedent, being desirous that (offences being avoided) the Law might lie hidden and quiet, rather then be made use of against the guilty with a profitable severity. But a City that intends its own establishment, must of necessity observe the Laws, which they of all men ought least to pervert who would be esteemed the Princes and Pillars of the Commonwealth; who being skilful in the Laws can not be ignorant, that though in most of them there be no mention expressly made of women yet in these words, *If any One*, and the like, both sexes are equally comprehended. What wonder is it then if we believe the Law against Treason to concern both sexes, seeing this very *Claudia* is an example that both sexes may offend against it? But they Extenuate the businesse, and would have the crime seem small, because it was only in Words. What? this yet was wanting; she did not join her endeavours, counsels and actions with the Carthaginians, she did not raise Troops, arme Slaves, seize on the Capitol, nor actually with her hands effect that wickedness against the City which in words she expressed; Notwithstanding this the Laws provide not only for the punishment of Deeds but of ill Counsels and designs also; if indeed a mad man or an infant do hurt to any, the Law layeth no hold on their actions: yet the mind and intentions of others in many causes is made as manifest by Words as by Deeds. She who made so detestable a wish, what would she have done if it had lain in her power to have brought it to pass? Unless we despise the Judgment of other men (which we have no reason to do) we shall find that in other places wicked wishes are accounted Crimes. At *Athens*, which for reputation of Wisdom exceedeth all Cities of *Greece*, there was a man whose office was to provide necessary accommodations for Funerals, condemned, because he wished he might make great gains, which could not be unless a great number of Citizens died: Yet those words might admit of a more favourable Interpretation. But *Claudia* plainly, and without any ambiguity wished Destruction to the Citizens, Overthrow to the whole Army, and Calamity to the whole Commonwealth. *Would my Brother were alive again!* A naughty wish it is, if she had made it only for her brothers sake; for why should life be restored to him by whose means so many Citizens lost their lives? who no lesse affronted the Commonwealth by his Arrogancy, then he did afflict it by his Rashness? who being by the votes of all men precondemned, avoided not the infamy of his judgment, but by accident escaped the punishment? Would you, if you were wise, have this man to live again, whose memory if you could hide in the same Grave with his ashes, it were your duty to do it? For as other Matrons do not vainly glory of the Egregious virtues and merits of their Brethren, so would he be a shame to you if any shame or modesty be left in you. But let a Noble Lady be pardoned, though perhaps foolishly she hath desired her brothers company, if she did it out of any pious and charitable consideration. Yea, clearly absolve her, if the cause of her wish be not more abominable then the wish it self foolish and insolent. For why did you wish your brother alive again? that you might be comforted with the countenance of a near Kinsman, that his labours might redound to your profit, his Authority be a protection to you, and his Honour a grace? None of all these. And what then? Even that he might command the Navy again: This, this, wicked wretch, was the reason why you desired, as much as in you lay, to raise the Dead, to reduce Nature to its former habit, and unlock the Cloisters of the Grave that you might find a man by whom we might be destroyed! This is the Woman, Romans, whose impunity is craved by those who while they approve themselves good Kinsmen, regard not though they be esteemed ill Citizens. And truly no man is against it, that (according to their desire) ye should have mercy

mercy on her, had she had any mercy toward you. But seeing she hath wished the death of some, the grief of others, that they should be childless and fatherless, nay, the general calamity of all: who will be so foolishly tender as to judge her hostile, cruel, inhumane, not worthy of any mercy? What great lamentations and complaints were made when the Censors upon the last Lustration gave in the number of the Citizens? Though many things these years last past succeeded prosperously, yet good men thought the Commonwealth in no very safe or good condition by reason the number of the Citizens was so much decreased. But this woman nothing moved at the loss of those who perished, therefore only grieveth because any are remaining. She complaineth of the two great crowd in the City, she wisheth him alive by whose fault chiefly the number of Citizens is so small. But it may be said, The woman her self being indeed unworthy your mercy, will ye not yet pardon her crime for her Ancestors, for her Father's sake? Shall we then establish such a Law in our City, That if any man by any means do good to the Commonwealth his posterity shall have the liberty to offend it without punishment? Truly our Fathers were not of this Opinion, when they precipitated *M. Manlius* from the Rock, whereas the Capitol, the Romans last hope and refuge was, not by his Father or Grand-father or any of his Progenitors, but by himself defended from the Gauls. For saving or assisting the Commonwealth there ought no other reward to be required but the conscience of the fact: But *Appius*, if ever he did good to the Commonwealth received abundant reward, being much enriched and full of honour, in which state he continued flourishing even to his last old age. Though perhaps it were safer not to make any mention of *Appius* and the former *Claudii*, then to put you in mind of those injuries, very high and bold ones, which that Family (from its first Original never well affected to the people) hath committed against you. For what *Appius* is it they would have you remember, but him who alwayes with an enemies mind, crossing your designs, chose rather to perish with his Army then be saved by his Colleague, being a Plebeian? who against the will of all the Decrees and Tribes persisted in his Censorship beyond his due time? And now let them reckon up the merits of the *Claudian* Family, even from the time of the *Decemviri*, or from the first Original thereof, they shall find matter whereby to prove this woman like her Ancestors in pride and contumacy, rather then to make it appear she ought to be pardoned for their sakes. What cause therefore have these, or can any other man alledge why this woman ought to go unpunished, unless it be feared the City should loose a woman of so good example? of which opinion if ye also are, O Romans, keep her, keep *Claudia* amongst you, that when our Matrons kneel at the feet of the gods, supplicating them for the Commonwealth in time of trouble, she may hinder their devout Prayers by her Curses; that while they wish for Salvation for our Armies, she may wish Destruction; while they desire to see the soldiers return safe and sound, she may desire to hear they are vanquished, captivated and slain; that while they solicit the gods that few or none may fall in battel, she may repine and accuse Providence if any return home. Keep the woman, that as other Matrons provoke and encourage their children and kinsmen, in emulation of Illustrious men, to Virtue, Courage and Love of their Country, she may instruct hers by the example of *P. Claudius* to fight rashly, to run basely, wickedly to destroy the Citizens, and arrogantly to have the Commonwealth it self in contempt. Let her propound these things unto young Nobles to be resolved upon from their Infancy, to be practised in their Youth; so let those men be educated to whom you must hereafter commit the charge of your Navies and Armies.

Such speeches being frequently vented *Pro* and *Con*, the People assembling in judgement, condemned her, in a fine of five and twenty thousand pound of heavy brads. With this and other fines, *T. Sempronius* the *Aedile* built and dedicated the Temple of Liberty. After this *M. Fabius M. F. M. N. Buto* and *C. Atilius A. F. A. N. Bulbus* were made Consuls. There was a Colonie this year planted at *Fregena*, a *Maritime* City of *Etruria*, nine miles from *Alsum* whither one was led two years since. These Consuls fought a very great Sea battel, the issue thereof was profitable to neither Party, for the Carthaginians lost a multitude of ships and men; And a tempest bereaved the Romans of their rich spoils: In *Sicilia* affaires were managed with the same advice, and the same fortune as the year before; The Romans having an hard task not onely by reason of the Cragginess of the places, but of *Hamilcar* his boldness and subtilty in martiall stratagems, whereby he so equally opposed the Romans, that he not onely defended what places he had possessed, and by frequent incursions vexed the Enemies associates both on the *Sicilian* and *Italian* Coasts; but minding other things also, did every where support the Carthaginian Power even ready to fall, being very industrious, of a resolute minde, and of excellent judgement in takeing seasonable Counsells. Desirous therefore to relieve the Lilybatans from fear and want, being more closely besieged by land, he commandeth part of his Navy to appear in the main sea, as steering their Course to *Lilybæum*, which while the Romans sailed out to Encounter, he slipped himself into the Haven, with some ships he had for that purpose placed where they could not be discovered, and so strenghtned and encouraged the besieged with his presence, and abundance of provisions which he brought. While the war was in this manner continued in *Sicilia*, *A. Manlius T. F. T. N. Torquatus Atticus* and *C. Sempronius T. F. T. N. Blasus* being againe Consuls, came and tooke charge of the Army. About this time the manner of their war was changed, not so much as ordered more closely and in

Agell. 6. 10
Liv. 24. 14. 16
508
Fasti. Capitol.
Livie Epir. 69
Valleius 14. 18
Florus. 2. 2. 10

Frontinus
Strab. 3. 10

509
Fasti Capitol.
Nat.

Polyb. 1.58.

Diodorus 4. 2

Vellei. 1.14. 8.

Livie Epit. 19.

*Ολυμπ.
ἀναγρ.

510.

Zonaras

Polybius 2.7.

Polyb. 1.77.

Zonaras.

Polyb. 1.59.

511.
Livie Epitom.
19.

Tacit 2.71.5.

Val. Maximus

1.1.12.

Cicero Phil. 11

8.

Tacitus

Val. Max. 1.3.1

Livie Epitom

Eutropius 6.2

Diodorus 24.3.

Polybius 1.59.

Zonaras.

narrower bounds. The Romans (as hath been already declared) had planted a Garrison above the City *Eryx* upon the Top of the Mountaine, another below at the foot of the Hill. The natural strength and situation of the place, with the helpe of these guards, seemed sufficient to secure that City from fear of any surprize. But the boldness and Valour of *Hamilcar*, making any thing possible, which he list to undertake, in a very short time reduced it into his Power. For he in the night time, setting forward with his forces, and without noise ascending thirty furlongs up the Hill, himself marching in the head of the party, surprized the Romans unawares, and having slaine greatest part of those he found in the Towne, he sent the rest to *Drepanum*. From this time the face of things was very strange, and the warfare very hard and severe, for *Hamilcar* being now in the midst of two of the Enemies Garrisons, was himself besieged by them below while he besieged those above; both the Romans and the Carthaginians undergoing incredible paynes and danger, did for almost two years next insueing performe the office of most Valiant souldiers; For the Camps being so neare there passed not a day, nay scarce an houre without alarmes and skirmishes, neither party all this while fainted or yielded, neither did Victory or overthrow part them; but still they continued, equall and unvanquished, designeing in the mean time to prosecute the Warre at Sea also.

This year a Colonie was planted at *Brundisium*, in the *Salentine* Territories, twenty yeares after that Countrey was subdued by the Romans. About this time *T. Cornucianus*, who was the first High Priest of the Plebeians, died in a great old age, and in his place succeeded *L. Caelius Metellus*. The next Consuls were *C. Fundanius C. F. Q. N. Fundulus*, and *C. Sulpicius C. F. Ser. N. Gallus*. By them the war with *Hamilcar* was managed in the same manner, and with the same fortune as before, onely the Mercenary Gaules, and others who kept Garrison in *Eryx*, being discontented for want of Pay, and other injuries, endeavour'd to betray the City to the Romans, but not being able to effect it, they revolted to the Consuls, and these were the first Forreigners the Romans ever entertained into society of Armes. Notwithstanding this access of strength, they were not able by their Land-forces to finish the War, chiefly by reason of *Hamilcars* virtue, who could neither be circumvented by craft, nor vanquished by Force.

Once more therefore they consulted about setting forth another Navy to Sea; For by no other meanes could the Carthaginians be kept from *Sicily*, unless they were mastered by Sea. And they were much encouraged in their resolution, by reason of their former success, when the Navy was set forth at the cost of private men: But money was wanting, the Treasury being long ago exhausted with the charge of a continuall War. Then did the Noble Roman Spirit seasonably relieve the wants of the Common-wealth. In *Carthago* were the *Scuatores*, that in a time of publick danger they scorned to spare their private purses, out of which on the sudden more money was raised then the building of a Navy required. Those who were richest did every man undertake to build a *Quinquereme*, setting it forth compleatly manned and arm'd; others according to their estates joyned two or three together in the same design, upon this condition, that when the Common-wealth was restored to a better Condition, every man's money should be paid back again. By this meanes two hundred ships of five Oares on a side were made ready, according to the pattern of that Gally they had taken from *Hanniball Rhodius*. Great was now the expectation of all men, for being put to their last refuge, they resolved with this Navy of Necessity to hazard the Fortune of the whole War. While these thing were in doing, *C. Lutatius C. F. C. N. Catulus*, and *A. Posthumus A. F. L. N. Albinus* entered the Consulship. *A. Posthumus* was then Priest of *Mars*, and therefore when he desired to cast lots for his Province, *L. Metellus* the High Priest would not suffer him, pronouncing it unlawfull for a Priest to depart from the place of his Office, and leave the Ceremonies unperformed, which was likewise allowed of, and agreed upon by succeeding Generations. The Senate likewise at the same time shewed a like Example of defending their Countrey's Religion, for they forbad *C. Lutatius* the Consul to ask counsell at *Preneste*, and manage the Affaires of the Common-wealth by direction of outlandish Auguries. Then intending their minds upon the War (because both the Consuls could not be spared with safety of their Religion, and one seemed not sufficient to bear the whole burthen) they ordained one of the *Prætors* (this being the first year wherein they began to create two) to accompany *C. Lutatius* and it fell to the Lot of *Q. Valerius Falto*. These gathering together all the Publick and private ships, to the number of three hundred, with Ferry-boats, and other Vessells to the number of seven hundred, as soon as Winter was over, sailed to *Sicily*, whither being come, they find both the *Lilybanan* and *Drepanitan* Havens open for them; For the Enemy not expecting any Navy from *Italy*, were returned to *Africa* with all their ships. The Consul animated with this prosperous beginning, being by nature full of spirit, hating Idleness, and desirous of Action, besieged *Drepanum*, raising Workes against it; in the mean time not omitting to train up his Sea-souldiers, daily exercising them (as foreseeing sudden use of them in fight) insomuch as they who were utterly ignorant of Maritime Affaires and chances, seemed sufficiently prepared for any Encounter.

The City of *Drepanum* being fiercely assaulted both by Sea and land, and now reduced even to the utmost danger, part of their Wall being battered to the ground; It chanced that the Consuls

Consull Valiantly fighting in the head of his men, received a deep wound in his thigh; whereupon his Souldiers troubled at his fall, and running in to him, missed the opportunity of taking the place, when it was even almost in their hands: Before the Consull had recovered the use of his foot, newes was brought of a great Carthaginian Navy approaching, to the number of four hundred ships, stored with provision for their Army, with a very great strength of souldiers, and abundance of Armes and Money. *Hanno*, a Carthaginian Noble Man, was Commander in Chiefe; his chiefe care was to get safe to *Eryx*, ease his ships of their burden, and so manning them with stout Souldiers from *Hamilcar*, to return and fight the Roman Navy. His design was well contrived, but prevented by the wisdom and circumspection of *C. Lutatius* the Consull, who knew it would be of great moment to the Victory, to encounter the Carthaginians while their ships were heavy laden, and encombred with the burthen of their own provisions. Therefore upon the Ides of March, filling his ships with choice souldiers, he saileth to the Islands *Egates*, over against *Lilybaeum*, where he discovereth *Hanno* coming from *Hierosus*; then encouraging his Sea-men and souldiers he appointeth next day for the fight: But at break of day he began to doubt, because the wind was arisen favourable to the Carthaginians, and contrary to himselfe. Weighing then the Reasons on both sides, he thought it safer to fight with the winds, and *Hanno* while he was alone, and had his ships laden, then suffer him to pass by to unlade his ships, and bring back into battell the flower of their foot Army, and also *Hamilcar* himselfe, who at that time was very formidable. Observing therefore the Enemies ships as they passed by with full saile, he setteth forth out of the Haven, and to encourage his men, causeth himselfe to be carried into the Admirall-Gally, having not recovered the use of his limbe: signe of battell being given on both sides, *Q. Valerius* performed the Office of Generall, by reason of *C. Lutatius* his infirmity, not suffering to supply the place. The fight lasted not long before it plainly appeared on which side the Victory inclined; for the Roman ships being light and nimble, did on every side, at their pleasures assault the Carthaginians, being heavy and almost immoveable; they were likewise in every thing else superiours, being taught by experience to avoid and amend whatsoever heretofore they had found inconvenient; and harmefull; Their ships were built after the best fashion, they had carefully laid aside all lumber which was of no use in fight, their Rowers were lusty, and well trained up, and they had a very considerable strength of Legionaries; All these were very great advantages toward the Victory. On the other side, the Carthaginian ships were heavy with burden, their Rowers newly leaved, and their men negligent, as being in security; for they had hoped the Romans would no more have tried their fortune at Sea. Therefore, as it must needs be, where the difference is so great, the Victory was not long in obtaining, the Carthaginians lost an hundred and twenty ships, seventy whereof were taken, with all the men, the remainder escaped, the rest upon a happy change of winde in the time of fight, escaped to *Hierosus*. This was that famous battell at the Islands *Egates*, as it is chiefly described by *Polybius*.

For other writers affirm, that seventy three ships were taken, an hundred and twenty five sunke, two and thirty thousand men taken prisoners, and thirteen thousand slain, the Prizes taken were very great, not only in Provisions and Armes, but in gold and silver also. Of the Roman Navy twelve ships were lost. 'Tis reported that from the beginning of the fight a fiery meteor was seen in the aire, threatening as it were the Carthaginian Navy with it's point directed against it, presignifying the event which presently ensued. *Hanno*, with the rest of the ships which escaped out of the Fight, except those which fled to *Lilybaeum*, returning to *Carthage*, was put to death for this his Misfortune. *C. Lutatius* the Consull went to the Army before *Lilybaeum*, where, while his wound was in curing, he spent his time in taking an account of the ships, and Captives, and ordering how they should be dismissed. Thence he went to *Eryx*, where he fought *Hamilcar* with good successe, having slain two thousand Carthaginians. The Carthaginians at home understanding what a great Overthrow they had received, though their Spirits were great, yet found that they wanted strength and meanes, to renew and carry on the War. For they were not able, so long as the Romans were Masters at sea, to supply their Army at *Eryx* with necessary accommodations; and, if that Army miscarried, they knew not where to raise any more souldiers, or find a Generall they durst confide in. Being by this Necessity driven into despair, they sent to *Hamilcar*, empowering him with full Commission to do what he himself should think fit or convenient for the Republick: He having hitherto performed the Office of an excellent Generall, did now no less behave himselfe as a good Citizen. For having duely and seriously considered all arguments on both sides, when he found there was no other means but Peace, whereby to preserve the Common-wealth, he sent Embassadors to the Consull to treat with him thereabout. The mention of Peace was not unwellcome to the Consull, for being now shortly to lay down his Office, he could not by any meanes hope for the obtaining of a greater Glory, then that, of having finished the War, and to transmit that to his successor which was in his own power to accomplish, and most properly belonged to him, he thought both unreasonable and unadvised. He was the more forward, as being very well conscious of the wants of the Common-wealth, and that he thought it fit his Countrey, after so many years continuall labour, should enjoy some rest. Wherefore after a long dispute of Articles on both sides, it was agreed, that the Carthaginians should totally depart Sicily; that they should not wage war against *Hiero*, and the *Syracusans*; or any of their

Orosius 4.10

Eutropius
Florus. 2.34.

Polyb. 1.60

Livie 22.14,15

Eutropius
Diodorus
Liv.
Polybius.

Eutropius

Val. Max. 1.8.1

Florus
Polyb. 1.61.Florus
Polyb.
Diodorus 24Eutropius
Orosius. 4.10.
Eutrop.
ZonarasOrosius
Zonaras.

Orosius

Polyb.

Cornel. Nepos.
Hamilcar. 1.3.
Polyb.Cornel. Nepos.
Zonaras.

Polyb.

Appianus apud Ennium Ursum.
Polyb. 8. 27 & 29
Associates; that they should forthwith without ransom restore all Captives, and deliver up all Runagadoes; that they should in the space of twenty years, by equal portions, pay two thousand and two hundred Euboican Talents of pure silver: That the confederates of each party might live secure and unmolested; That neither party should exercise any command, or make any publick building, or raise any souldiers within the others jurisdiction, nor admit the others associates into friendship and confederacy. 'Twas added, that these Articles were firmly concluded, if the people of Rome would agree therunto.

Livie 21. 41. 6
Zonaras
Polyb. 1. 63
Zonaras.
Polybius
Auf. de viris Illust. c. 12.
 But it could by no means be obtained (though the Consul earnestly insisted upon it) that the souldiers within *Eryx* should resign up their Armes; *Hamilcar* protesting, *That he would rather sacrifice himself and his country to destruction, then yield to such a disgrace: Nevertheless he condescended, That every man at his departure thence should pay eighteen pence.* Hereupon messengers were sent both by the Consul and the Carthaginians to inform the Senate and People of the Conditions agreed upon. The people did not allow of the peace, but sent ten Delegates to take an exact account of all circumstances, who being returned, they heightened the Conditions, *That the Carthaginians should presently lay down a thousand Talents, and within ten years after pay two thousand two hundred, that they should clearly quit not only Sicily, but all other Islands between that and Italy, that they should not sail in a long ship either into Italy or any of the Romans Islands, nor hire any souldier from thence.*

Zonaras
Liv. Epit. 19
Polyb. 1. 66
Zonaras
Polyb. 1. 64
Polybius 1. 63.
Appian. apud Ennium Ursum.
Polybius
 The Carthaginians, so they might have peace, refused nothing; *Hamilcar*, before the Articles were sworn unto, laid down his Command and went to *Lilybæum*, and from thence to *Carthage*, having approved himself, without comparision, the most excellent of all their Generals in that War, both in Courage and in Counsel. After this manner was managed and finished the first Carthaginian War, which lasted for four and twenty years with various chances and great losses, but to the greater damage of them who at last proved Victors. For they who have made a particular Account, report about five hundred Carthaginian ships to have been lost, and seven hundred of the Romans; which is a great argument of the Romans Constancy and Resolution, that, not regarding so many losses by fight, or shipwracks sustained, they did yet with patience bear and overcome the power of their Enemy, the frowns of Fortune, the tedious labour and pains, and the poverty of their Treasury.

512
Fasti Capitol.
Zonaras
Polybius 1. 7
Appian
 After this the Government of *C. Lutatius* the Consul was prorogued, that he might settle affairs in *Sicily*; thither likewise was sent his brother one of the new Consuls, *Q. Lutatius C. F. C. N. Cerco*, whose Colleague was *A. Manlius T. F. T. N.* These did by their wisdom order the *Dracenis*, and settled all things in peace and quiet, deciding all controversies and taking away all causes of quarrels and tumults; which after so great motions and alterations were unavoidably remaining. They disarmed all the Sicilians who adhered to *Hamilcar*, as likewise the *Gauls* who had revolted from him; furthermore the *Gauls* were commanded to depart out of the Roman Empire; because, besides other offences, when they were in the Garrison on the top of Mount *Eryx*, they plundered the Temple of *Venus*. The Sicilian Cities according to their several abilities were forced to pay Tribute and Custom; and it was made a Province, whither a Pretor was sent to command and govern yearly.

Eutropius b. 2
Orosius. 4. 10
Aufin de Civ. Del. 18
 In the mean time Embassadors came from *Carthage* to intreat, *They might redeem their Captives*, and by Order from the Senate they were all restored without Ransome, as many as were in Publick custody; they who were prisoners to private men were redeemed at a certain rate, the greater part whereof was by command of the Senate paid out of the Treasury. But unlucky accidents at home did much diminish the joy of the Roman people. The River *Tiber* did this year flow higher then ordinary, and filled all the lower parts of the City with large Pools of Water. Many buildings were by the first force thereof washed to the ground, and others, having their foundation rotted (for the Inundation continued many dayes) after the fall of the water, did much decay.

Val. Max. 1. 4. 4
Orosius
Val. Max.
Livie Epit. 19
Aufin
Dionysius 1. 67
Orosius
Plinie 7. 43
 After this there happened a greater calamity by Fire, which suddenly beginning in the night time, and running through many streets of the City, destroyed an incredible multitude of houses and men; and, not content with private harmes, consumed all the buildings in the whole Circumference of the Forum. At length it seized upon the Temple of *Vesta*, but then *L. Cecilius* the Chief Priest, seeing the *Holy things* and secret Pledges of the Roman Empire to be in danger, behaved himself worthy of his Office, for he leaped into the midst of the fire without any care of himself, so he might but rescue the *Holy things* which the Virgins had forsaken and left behind them, which accordingly he performed. Himself having his Arme half burnt and his Eye-sight spoiled, beside the comfort he received from his good act, was eminently rewarded by the people of *Rome*, who Decreed, That as often as he went to the Senate he should be carried in a Chariot, which from the Foundation of the City was never granted to any man before.

In the mean time *Q. Lutatius* the Consul, with his brother *Catulus* and *Q. Valerius* the Proprætor, having settled affairs in *Sicily* returned home to the City and made each of them

them their Triumph; *C. Lutatius Catulus* on the fourth of the Nones of October, and *Q. Valerius* on the day before the Nones of the same moneth. There was a memorable strife between these two concerning the Triumph of *Valerius*; for *Lutatius* his Triumph being without dispute agreed upon, *Q. Valerius* contending that his pains and labour were equal in the Victory desired the like honour as he had undergone the like care and danger. *Catulus* on the other side alledged, That the lesser authority should not be equalized with the greater in the distribution of honours.

The question being hotly argued, *Q. Valerius* challenged *Catulus* to stand to arbitration, Whether or no the Carthaginian Navy were not overcome by his conduct? *Catulus* refused not to answer him; whereupon *Atilius Calatinus* was chosen Arbitrator, who asked *Valerius*, Whether the Consul's authority or the Pretors ought to have prevailed in case they had dissented in their consultation about fighting? and in case their Auguries had been different whether of the two ought to have been followed? To which when *Valerius* answered, That in both cases the Consul's authority ought to have prevailed above the Pretors; *Calatinus* not expecting till *Catulus* spake, passed sentence on his side. But *Q. Valerius*, though he was cast by the judgment of the Arbitrator, did yet obtain liberty to Triumph, his virtue and courage having been very famous in that War. This year *C. Aurelius Costa*, and *M. Fabius Buteo* being Censors, made the nine and thirtieth Lustration. There were numbered two hundred and threescore thousand Citizens; two Tribes being superadded, the one called *Voluna* the other *Quirina*, the number of Tribes was made up five and twenty, and so continued. Sicily being now wholly subdued, as much as belonged to the Carthaginians, and peace with them concluded, all things seemed not only quiet but very safe and secure; when behold a sudden war, arising from whence it was least feared, did for a few dayes astonish all Italy both with the terror and fear of an intestine broil, as likewise with wonder at the speedy dispatch and issue of it.

The *Falisci*, I know not upon what account, grew so mad as to rise up in arms against the Romans; but the Consuls being sent with the Legions quelled them within six dayes, and reduced them to subjection. In the former battel, for 'tis reported two were fought, the Victory was doubtful, for their force prevailed though their horse were routed. But in the latter the victory being on the Romans side complete, caused the *Falisci* to humble themselves and beg peace, having lost fifteen thousand men: upon their yielding they were fined with the losse of their arms, horse, household-stuffe, servants and half their Territories. Their City in whose strength they confided, was translated from a craggy difficult place into plain open ground. The people of Rome were meditating a more severe revenge, out of anger against a City which had so often rebelled; but restraining their wrath by the advice of *Papirius* (who had written the form of submission by the Consuls own command) they chose to spare the City, but the Faith of the Romans: And so much did the sacred name of Publick Faith prevail with them all, that they adjudged the conquered party to no severer punishment then was agreed upon. This war gave occasion to have this year ended with the Triumphs of the Consuls; *Q. Lutatius* Triumphed on the Calends of March over the *Falisci*, *A. Manlius* the fourth of the Nones of March.

Agellius 13. 14
Valer. Maxim.

Pigbii Annals
Euseb. num.
772
Livie Epit 19

Eutropius b. 2
Livie Epit.
Polyb. 1. 65
Zonaras

Orosius 4. 17
Eutropius
Zonaras
Val. Max. 6. 5. 1

Falst Capitol.

BOOK

BOOK X.

Anno 513.
Ages. 17. 21.
Livie 7. 2. 6.
Cic. Bruto
c. 18. & Cato
14. & Tu. 6. 1. 2
Cassiodor. Cron.
Velleius 1. 14. 8
Plin. 18. 29
Ovid. Fast. 5.

Ovid. Varro da
ling. Catina.

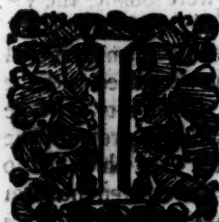
Ovidius
Tacit. 2. 49. 2.

Livie. Epit. 20
Valei. 1. 14. 8.

514.
Fasti Capitolini
Marc. Varro
apud Cicero.
Bruto c. 18.
Livie Epit. 20
Orosius. 4. 11.

Zonaras

Sirius Capito
and Festum
vece. ad ve-
nales.



Taly being now once more at Peace within it selfe, their Publick Pleasures, and Delights did likewise encrease with their Power and security. When the Roman Games were exhibited, *G. Claudius A. P. F. C. N. Centus*, and *M. Sempronius C. F. M. N. Tullianus* being Consuls, *L. Livius Andronicus*, in imitation of the Græcians Comedies and Tragedies, reduced the Stage Plays, which heretofore were onely Satyrs into Fables, and feigned representations. The same year likewise beganning to encrease in wealth, On the fourth of the Calends of May, the *Floralia* were instituted out of the *Sabina* books, to avert the blasting of fruits and plants then springing forth. *L. and M. Publicius Mægalus* Brothers and Aduiles of the People did exhibit publick shows out of the Fines raised from Herdsmen who had fed their Cattel on Commons. The Magistracy of these Brethren was in another respect very memorable; in that they caused that Cliff (which from them received the name of *Publicius*) to be made plain and even, for the more commodious passage of Carriages into Mount *Aventine*, whereas before the Rock in that place was craggie and almost impassable. They likewise built the Temple of *Flora* in the great shew-place.

These things were acted at home, while all things were quiet abroad, onely there was a suspicion that the Gauls and Ligurians had a designe for War. That these Provinces therefore were assigned to the Consuls, and war then commenced with the Gauls, is rather a Conjecture, then a true History, there being no antient writer extant which accurately describes those things; This one thing is Certain, that a Latine Colonie was planted at *Spolegium* in *Umbria*. The next year also 'tis easier to say, there was no Peace because the Temple of *Janus* was not shut, then to declare where or with what successe the war was managed. And the Consulship of *Q. Mamilius Q. F. Q. N.* and *Q. Valerius Q. F. P. N.* is hardly known by any other passage then that *Ennius* the first Elegant Roman Poet was that year borne. But the year after, when *Ti. Sempronius Ti. F. C. N. Gracchus* and *P. Valerius Q. F. P. N. Falto* were Consuls, the Gallick wars brake out again, and the Ligurians a new Enemy, were then first invaded by a Roman Army. This Province fell to the lot of *T. Sempronius*. *P. Valerius* encountered the Gauls, at the first with ill success, having lost three thousand five hundred men: But, entering fight again he obtained a signall Victory, wherein fourteen thousand Gauls were slain, and two thousand taken. But, by reason of the loss sustained in the former battell, the Consul was denied the honor of Triumph, especially seeing his prosperous fight was rather to be attributed to the Fortune of the Common-wealth, then to his wise management of the business. For after the first fight, understanding that assistance was coming to him from *Rome*, he said, he had rather perish with all his Army, then obtain Victory by the helps of others; and in this fury he cast himselfe and the Roman Army into the hazard of a battell. *T. Gracchus* had better and more happy success, for having overthrown the Enemy in a set battell, he depopulated great part of *Liguria*; From thence he crossed over into *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, and bringing back a vast multitude of Captives, gave occasion to that proverb of *Sardi Venales*, whereby is signified any thing that is plentiful, and at an underrate to be sold.

But

But to confess the truth, the Romans had at this time rather a good opportunity than a just cause of possessing *Sardinia* and *Corfica*. The Carthaginians after the *Sicilian* Peace, were involved in a very troublesome war with their Mercenaries, and reduced even to the utmost extremity; whereupon other their Hirelings, who were in a Garrison in *Sardinia*, slew *Bostar* the Carthaginian General with all his men: *Hanno* being sent from *Carthage* to punish their Villany, they inveigled his Army into a society of Rebellion, and apprehending him, nailed him to the Cross, and having slain all the Carthaginians, they had possessed almost all the strong holds throughout the Island, till upon a falling out between them and the *Sardinians*, they were expelled the Island, and betook themselves into *Italy*. Then did they accomplish that which while they were in *Sardinia* they could not, for at that time they had invited the Romans to the Dominion of that Island: But being now present either by the importunity of their Entreatys, or by plainly demonstrating what an occasion was offer'd of encreasing the Roman Power, they prevailed with them to sail over into *Sardinia*. For it is a virtue of no ordinary strain, to abstain from other mens goods when they may with ease be possessed, neither can covetous or ambitious men well or long dissemble their greedy desires: But 'twill not be amiss for the better understanding of this business, to relate some foregoing circumstances. The Romans, that they might gain the Reputation of Humanity, did in the beginning of this Warre, very much favour the Carthaginian cause. And, though they sent them no assistance as was desired, yet they refused to entertain the Uticans, or any others who revolted to them: They commanded their Merchants out of *Sicily* and *Italy* to accommodate the Carthaginians with all necessary Provisions, prohibiting all traffick with their Enemies; and gave licence of hiring men out of *Italy* for this war. They sent likewise Embassadors, though in vaine, to compose the strife: A little before there arose a controversie, because the Carthaginians had taken some *Italian* Merchants conveighing Commodities to the Enemy, and secured them in publick Prisons, and they had now five hundred of them in chains, and having slain not a few, had cast them into the sea to prevent the discovery of the thing; whereupon the Romans declared themselves agrieved, and began to threaten War: But the Carthaginians restoring those whom they had in custody, so pacified the Romans, that they in answer sent back without Ransom all other Prisoners taken in the *Sicilian* war. Yet at length Ambition prevailed, with a desire to crush that People, with whom they had for four and twenty yeares together waged war with various success, and foresaw, that unless in time they prevented it, they must be forced to fight again. Wherefore when the Carthaginians, (having against their wills lost *Sardinia*, and now finished their war with the Mercenaries) meditated Revenge upon the Authors of Rebellions and Revolts, the Romans laid hold of this occasion, and decreed, that War should be proclaimed against *Carthage*, unless they laid down their Arms, which they first refused, promising to assist their Rebels, but indeed and really against the Romans. Whereupon the Carthaginians unwilling in an unreasonable time to undertake so great a War, did not only quit *Sardinia*, but upon the Romans demand, added likewise twelve hundred Talents of silver, to their former fine. This injury did most of all incense the minds of the Carthaginians, and is thought to be the only cause of that war which was soon after commenced, and prosecuted by *Hanniball*. For *Hannibals* constant Hatred of Romans (to which the second Punique war is chiefly imputed) was not by any other means more hotly exasperated, or strongly fomented. But these things happened afterwards.

In the mean time *L. Cornelius L. F. T. N. Lentulus Claudinus*, and *Q. Fulvius M. F. Q. N. Flaccus* being made Consuls had *Gaul* on this side the *Po* for their Province. That a Colonie was this year planted at *Valentia*, though many affirm it is no constant and general opinion, unless there be another *Valentia* besides *Vibo*, which Authors of better credit affirm to have been peopled fifty years after in the Consulship of *Quintus Flaminius* and *Cn. Domitius Aenobarbus*. The Consuls in *Gallia*, while they kept their forces united, had a safe and prosperous Expedition, but after they had divided their Legions out of greediness to waste more places, the Camp of *M. Fulvius* was in the night time assaulted and very hardly defended. The Gauls departing without effecting their design, did afterward return with greater terror having their forces much augmented. For the prime men of the *Boii* taking counsel secretly together, raised a vast power of *Transalpin*es against the Romans. In the mean time *L. Lentulus* the Consul, who had marched with his Army into the *Ligurian* Territories, obtained there a great victory. It was ordered therefore he should make a Triumph, which accordingly he did on the Intercalary Ides. Some Authors report, That these Consuls were the first who led the Roman army over the *Po*, and that in divers fights were slain four and twenty thousands, and taken five thousands of the *Ligurians* and *Insubrian* Gauls. But I rather believe, that the *Po* was crossed over and the *Insubrians* first encountred in their own Country in the next Gallick commotion. About this time Embassadors were sent to *Ptoleme* King of *Egypt* to profer him assistance in his wars against *Antiochus* and the *Syrians*; The King returned thanks, telling them withall, That he had now no need of assistance inasmuch as the quarrel was compounded. After this *Hiero* came to *Rome* to the great joy of the Romans, who entertained him with all the respect as befitted them to do, being a confederate Prince, having deserved much of them, and a companion in their greatest Victory. He bestowed on the people of *Rome* two hundred thousand Bushels of Wheat; he came to behold the sports which were prepared against next year.

For according to some Authors the secular Sports were celebrated in the Consulship of *P. Cornelius*

Polyb. 1.65

Polyb. 1.83

Polyb. 1.88

Zonaras
Polybius. 1. 83
Cornel. Nepos.
Hannibal.
Appian, apud

Fulv. Urfin.

Zonaras
Appian
Polybius.
Zonaras.
Appian
Zonaras
Polyb.
Appian
Fulv. Hispan.
Polyb. 3.28.
Zonaras.
Appian apud
Fulvium Urfinum.

Polyb. 1.88

Zonaras

Polyb.
Polyb. 1. 88.
Cornel. Nepos.
Hannibal.

316.

Fasti Capit.
Velleius 1. 14. 8

Livie 35. 40. 5

Zonaras

Polyb. 2.21.

Eutropius
Sanctienses
M. S. quem vidit
Pigius.

Eutropius 6.3.

- Fasti Capitolini** 417. **Cornelius L. F. T. N. Lentulus Caudinus** and **C. Licinius P. F. P. N.** The Masters of the Revells were **M. Aemilius M. F. & M. Livius M. F. M. N. Salinator**. In the mean time the Boian Princes, confiding in the multitude of Auxiliaries they had from beyond the *Alpes*, sent to the Consuls demanding, That *Ariminum* with it's Territories, which without doubt of right belonged to the Gauls, should be restored them, otherwise a terrible and destructive War would ensue. The Consuls, having not drawn their forces together, durst not hazard those few they had in the fortune of a Battel, neither could they consent unto the Gauls their demand, they answered therefore, They should send Embassadors to the Senate, to signifie their minds. The Gauls accepted of the condition, and a truce was concluded on for some days, while the Embassadors could go and return again. The Ambassadors at *Rome* received a denial from the Senate, and greater preparations were made for this War, whereof there was afterward no use, in asmuch as Fortune without the expence of Roman blood put an end to it. While the Embassadors returned, the Boians fought a set Battel with their *Transalpine* Auxiliaries, upon this Occasion; The Auxiliaries without the knowledge of the Boian people, had marched as far as *Ariminum*, whence a suspicion arose, that their maine Errand was to possess that Territory themselves; the Boians therefore were so enraged, that having slain their Kings *Ates* and *Galatus* as Traitors, they endeavoured by force to expell these strangers out of their Land, whereupon a Battell was fought with much slaughter, and both sides being thereby much weakened; the *Transalpines* returned home, the Boians bought their Peace of the Romans with part of their Grounds. This war being so quickly dispatched, the Consuls went into *Liguria*: where **P. Lentulus**, having in a set Battel Overthrown the Enemy, led his Army through the whole Region, taking Castles, some by storme, some by composition. **C. Licinius** intending to saile over into *Corfica*, not having boats enough to transport his whole Army, sent **M. Claudius Glycias** before, with a Party; who, being vainly arrogant, when he saw that the *Corficans* were terrified at his coming, without any respect to the Consull by whose direction he was sent, or consideration of his own office and duty, made a league with them, upon certain Conditions, in his own Name; thinking thereby to attain unto himselfe the Glory of having reduced that Island. But the Consull following with the Residue of the Army, forbore not to prosecute them with armes (notwithstanding they alledged in their own behalfe the *Claudian Peace*) till he brought them into subjection. The Senate to clear the Commonwealth from the Imputation of Breach of Faith; ordered *Glycias* the Authour of that dishonourable peace, to be delivered up into the hands of the *Corficans*; and they refusing to take him, he was put to death in the Common Gaole. This year were Censours **L. Cornelius L. F. T. N. Lentulus Caudinus** & **Lutatius C. F. C. N. Cerco**, who made no Lustration because **Cerco** died in his Censourship. For all *Claudius* was delivered up to the *Corficans*, and then executed as a Malefactor, yet the Barbarians could not by any means be perswaded, that the Roman war afterward was just against them. Their minds therefore being agrieved with the memory hereof were easily tempted to break out in armes, in imitation of their neighbour Island *Sardinia*. For the Carthaginians by secret promises had incited the *Sardinians* to Rebellion, who readily entertained the motion, as not too much hating their old Masters, nor loving their new ones.
- This news being brought to *Rome*, filled the City both with fear and indignation, not that they much regarded *Sardinia*; but because they perceived the Carthaginian war would break out again; which because they believed the sooner it was begun would prove the easier; (The Carthaginians having not well recovered themselves since the last war) they resolved to prepare themselves, and commence it as soon as might be. The Carthaginians, willing at that time to endure any thing rather than a Roman war, were hereupon so terrified, that having once and again sent Embassadors in vaine, they did at length send ten of their Prime Nobility, most humbly entreating, That they might enjoy the Peace they had obtained. Nevertheless they could not receive any mild Answer; till *Hanno* the youngest among the Embassadors, but of an undaunted mind, and a free tongue, replied, If you are preptorily determined to deny us that Peace which we have bought, not for a year or two, but for ever, at least restore us our price we gave you, *Sicily* and *Sardinia*: In private contracts 'tis no honest man's part, when the bargain is made void, to receive his Commodities back, and not return the money laid down for them. Then the Romans, being ashamed to seem the Authors of an unjust war, dismissed the Embassadors with a better Answer. So one of this yeares Consuls **C. Atilius A. F. A. N. Bulbus** (now the second time Consull) remained in *Italy*, the other, **T. Manlius T. F. T. N.** went according to his lot into *Sardinia*. He, in many places encountering the Enemy with good success, appealed the whole Island, subdued the *Sardinians*, and triumphed over them the sixth of the Ides of *March*.
- These things being accomplished, and the Roman Armes laid down, as having no Enemy, the Temple of *Janus* was shut; an unusuall sight in *Rome*, and not seen, after the dayes of *Numa*, for the space of about four hundred and forty yeares. In which respect I account the City of *Rome* very unhappy, that being perpetually employ'd in great and difficult labours, could never obtain the fruits thereof. For, whereas no wife man wagheth war but to procure Peace, this City after so many and great warres happily finished, sometimes could not obtain: but never could long keep Peace. For even then new Rumours of War, after a few moneths, were heard of

of, which bereaved them of the sweetness of that Peace, which they had scarce well tasted of. The Sardinians, who had lately been subdued, shake off the yoke, and the Corsicans brake out in Rebellion, and the Ligurians raised Tumults, even in Italy it self. Therefore *L. Posthumius A.F. A.N.* *Albius* and *Sp. Carvilius Sp. F. C. N. Maximus* being Consuls had order to levy new Armies, which being disposed of in three bodies to prevent the enemies from helping out the other. *L. Posthumius* assailed the Ligurians, *Sp. Carvilius* the Corsicans, and *P. Cornelianus* was designed for Sardinia. This Island being of a very unwholesome aire affected his Army with the Plague and other diseases, whereby many mortals with the Pretor also himself perished. Hereupon the Sardinians grew bold and high, but were soon quelled after the arrival of *Sp. Carvilius* in a great set battel; the Corsicans were likewise subdued by him. For which exploits it was decreed he should Triumph, as he did on the Calends of April. In Liguria likewise affairs succeeded well by the management of the other Consul with his Army. At Rome *Turia* one of the Vestal Virgins being condemned of Incest which she had lately committed with a slave, slew her self with her own hands. After this *C. Attilius A.F. A.N. Balbus A. Posthumius A.F. A.N. Albius* being Censors, made the fortieth Lustration. 'Tis probable the number of Citizens was this year lesse then heretofore (though I find not the number recorded) because the Censor, in order to the increase of Citizens, compelled every man to swear *That he would marry for the Procreation of children*. This year *Cn. Nevius* a Campanian who had received pay in the Carthaginian war, did first add Fables to his Scenes. In the mean time the Ligurians and Sardinians again rebelling, were allotted Provinces to the new Consuls; *Q. Fabius Q.F. Q.N. Maximus Verrucolus* managed the Ligurian War, *M. Pompilius M.F. M.N. Marbo* the Sardinian; whereas it was reported *That the Carthaginians were the cause of this commotion, by private messengers stirring up the Barbarians to Rebellion*. There were Embassadors sent to Carthage with very harsh instructions, *To require the tribute due, to command them to abstain from all Islands under the Roman jurisdiction, adding threat of war unless they performed what was required at their hands*.

The Carthaginians had now since their former calamities gathered strength and courage chiefly by the industry of *Hannibal*, who did not only reduce those who had revolted in Africa, but had farther extended the Empire. They had likewise by his conduct acquired great Dominions in Spain. Wherefore they answered the Embassadors roughly enough to all particulars, but when they, according to their instructions, propounded to the Carthaginians a Spear and a Caduceus, offering them their choice of which they pleased, they answered, *That they would choose neither, but would accept of which soever the Legates should think fit to leave behind*. Henceforward a cruel hatred began to burn between these two people, but neither party being willing as yet to commence the war, they continued in a show of friendship, rather because they did not fight, then that the peace was firm.

Both the Consuls, returning to Rome and declaring what they had done, obtained leave to Triumph. *Q. Fabius* had slain many Legions in battel, and had compelled the rest to contain themselves upon the Alpes, and made the skirts of Italy secure from their plundrings. He Triumphed over the Ligurians on the Calends of February. Upon the Ides of March afterwards *M. Pompilius* Triumphed over the Sardinians, whom he had overcome. Nevertheless the Sardinians did not abstain from War, but being by their losses rather incensed then broken, they renewed the Rebellion with much greater strength. Therefore both the Consuls, *M. Amilius M.F. M.N. Lepidus* and *M. Publicius L.F. L.N. Mallonius* were sent into Sardinia: they gathered together great store of plunder and spoil in that Island, which when they carried over with them into Corsica they utterly lost, the Islanders there taking it from them. At home likewise there were very vehement tumults at this time, for *C. Flaminius* Tribune of the people propounding an Agrarian Law, *That the Picene and Gallick grounds which belonged to the Senones should be equally divided amongst the people*. The Senate opposed it, and not being able to persuade the Tribune by entreaties or threats, at length gave order to the Magistrates to raise an Army for defence of the Commonwealth. *Flaminius* could not yet be drawn from his resolution, obstinate against all force, and inexorably by intreaties. His father likewise admonished him *To submit himself to the will of the Senate, and not be esteemed an author of sedition*. But he still persisting in his design, called an Assembly, intending to recite the Law. But then his father *Flaminius* in grief and anger came to the Pulpit, and taking his son by the hand pulled him away.

A wonderful Example was there shewn with what Piety and Reverence all men held esteem of the power of a Father: For he who had contemned the indignation and cruel threats of the whole Senate, now in the heat of work, in the view of all the Roman people, to whom the Constitution of Law would have been most acceptable, suffered himself by the hand of one only old man to be drawn down from the higher place. The Modesty of the Assembly in this business is not to be forgotten, who though they saw all their hopes frustrated by the Tribune's departure, did not by the least murmur signify their discontent at his fathers action. But the Law was by this means rather deferred then avoided. *C. Carvilius* the other Tribune assiling his Colleague, this as it caused corruption of manners amongst the Commons, so it gave beginning to that most grievous Gallick war which brake out the eighth year after the division of the grounds.

Flor. 2. 3.

519

Zonaras

Livie Epl. 20

Capitol. Colum.

Zonaras

Livie Epl.

Mariusus Sc.

tus.

Agellus. 4. 3

Agel. 1. 7. 21

Zonaras

520

Fasti Capitol.

Zonaras

Dio. 49. 4

Valefium.

Polyb. 2. 1

Cornelius Nep.

in Hannibal

Plut. Fabius. 3

Capitol. Tabul.

Aust. de viris

Illus. c. 43

521.

Zonaras

Polyb. 2. 12

Cicero Bruto.

c. 14. & Acad.

Quest. 4. 5

Val. Max. 4. 4. 5

Cicero de Ju.

ven. 2. 17

Val. Max.

Cic. Cicerus a.

pud Sospitruum

Charil.

Polyb. 2. 22

Fasti Capitol.

522.
Zonaras.
After this *M. Pomponius M. F. M. N. Maior*, and *C. Papirius C. F. L. N. Maf*, being Consuls, had for their Provinces *M. Pomponius Sardinia*, and *C. Papirius Corsica*. In both places the Enemies gave back, betaking themselves into woods and craggy Mountains, defending themselves more by the situation of Places than by Arms. Therefore *M. Pomponius* seeing it more hard to find the Enemy, then to overcome him, caused hounds to be brought him out of *Italy*, who by their scent conducted him to the men, whom he surprized like wild beasts in their dens and kennells. *C. Papirius*, having overcome the Corsicans, pursued them into the mountains, where both his labour and danger was very great, and many of his souldiers perished either by thirst, or by the sudden incursion of the Enemy, till having found water and refreshed his Army, the Corsicans fearing the issue hearkned to the Consul's counsel of submitting themselves.
- While the Consuls were detained by these Employments, a General Assembly was called by *M. Duilius M. F. M. N.* who was made Dictator for that purpose; he nominated *C. Aurelius L. F. C. N. Cora* for Master of the horse; there were likewise Censours *T. Manlius T. F. T. N. Torquatus*, *Q. Fulvius M. F. Q. N. Placcus*, but being not Legitimately made, they resigned up their office. Written doe to this year assigne the Original of a new Customs, not unworthy to be mentioned. There had been no divorce from the beginning of the City to this time. *Sp. Carvilius Ruge* first of all dismissed his wife because she was barren, being by the Censours bound in Oath, to *Marry a Wife for procreation of Children*. The people were much displeased, not so much at the Novelty as cruelty of the things, for wives being joynd in a perpetual society of life, they thought it unjust and inhumane for any cause whatsoever to repudiate them. They likewise ever after hated *Sp. Carvilius* though he was of necessity compelled by the judgment of his friends to dismiss his wife who was much beloved by him, and very agreeable in her Manners. From this time there was more knots in the Law, and more suits in the Prators Courts, then being invented the Marriage Cautions, of which coming there was no need before Divorces were in use. This year likewise began a new custom concerning the Honours of their Generalls; *C. Papirius* perswading himselfe he had performed Actions worthy of a Triumph (having now at length firmly settled *Corsica*) and being denied that honour by the Senate, he did toward the End of his Consulship make a Triumph in Mount *Alban* on the third of the Nones of *March*. It pleased many to imitate this Example when they were denied a Triumph to make one in the *Alban* Mount, henceforward he was present at all sports in a mirtle Crown in memory of the Action, that he had overcome the Enemy in the Mirtle Fields. All things being at quiet in *Sardinia* and *Corsica*, the *Ligustians* still held out against whom were sent *M. Aemilius L. F. Q. N. Barbula* and *M. Junius D. F. D. N. Pera*, then Consuls. They, in their March understanding that the Gauls began to stirre, eased their Territories with the Army. For they being incited and provoked by the *Flaminian Law*, the Romans feared lest being Warlike, and angry men, they should raise any Commotions; it was therefore forbidden by the Magistrates to accommodate any Gaul with Gold or Silver; for the Boians, and other Gauls by selling of slaves and other Commodities had gathered a great bank of Money, and a suspicion was raised, that it was for a Roman War. Wherefore being more incensed, 'tis said that they understanding the Consuls were designed for *Liguria*, did in private meetings conclude, while the Roman Armies were far abroad, to March up to and assault the City it selfe. But, being terrified with the coming of the Consuls, and not prepared to make head against them, they entertained the Romans with all shew of Peace and friendship, and counterfeited Respects. The Consuls likewise being contented they had prevented the War, fained another cause of their coming thither; that through the *Gallick Territories* they might have a more commodious march to *Liguria*. The last year the Censours renounced the office; This year therefore *Q. Fabius Q. F. Q. N. Maximus Verrucosus*, and *M. Sempronius C. F. M. N. Tudiscanus* made the one and fourtieth Lustration, While these things are acting in *Italy* and at *Rome*, a new war was occasioned with the *Illyrians* upon their ground. The *Illyrians* exercising Pyracie, a cruell and greedy kind of theft, had taken many Italian Merchants coming out of the Haven of *Brundisium* and had slain some; at the first the Senate hearing this, among other complaints, did not much regard it. But the Pirates boldnesse encreasing by their impunity, and complaints more frequently and earnestly made unto them, they thought fit to send Embassadors, to demand satisfaction; as also to plead the *Illyrian* cause who had lately committed themselves to the faith of the Romans; for they inhabiting an Island in the *Ionian* sea, were daily prosecuted with all manner of injuries by the *Illyrians*, from whom they had revolted. *C. & L. Cornucanius* were sent on this Errand: While they were in their journey, *Agron* (the son of *Plenratus*) King of the *Illyrians*, called *Ardayi*, to whom their message was directed, departed this life leaving a son under age, by name *Pinnus*, and the Kingdom was governed by *Teuta*, Step-mother to the young Prince, with the advice of her friends: She being proud, and puffed up with Prosperity, having given Audience to the Roman Embassadors with some contempt, answered, That she would take care that the Romans should receive no publick injury from the *Illyrians*; but that it was not the custom of the *Illyrian Kings*, to prohibit private persons from making what gain they could by sea. *Cornucanius* the younger could not refrain his anger at this arrogant speech, but using an unseasonable liberty, though not unjust, replied, That 'tis a custom with the Romans, *Teuta*, to prosecute private wrongs with publick
- Capitol. Mar-
mora.
Plutarch
Nume. c. 48.
Agell. 4. 3.
Val Maximus.
2. 1. 4.
Dion. 1. 26.
Agell. 17. 21.
Agell. 4. 3.
Servil. Sulpici
us.
de dotibus apud
Agellum.
Columna Tri-
umphalis.
Pul. Max. 3. 6. 5.
Plinie 15. 29.
10.
523.
Zonaras
Polybim. 13.
Capitol. Mar-
mora.
Polyb. 2. 8.
Dion. apud
Fulvium. 2. 1.
Polyb.
Dion.
Zonaras.
Appian
Illyr.
Polyb. 2. 4.
Livie 22. 33.
Polybius.
Polyb. 2. 8.

lick vengeance, and relieve the injur'd party; and we will endeavour, by the assistance of the gods, to compel you gladly and quickly to mend and reform your Kingly Customs. The woman was above measure offended at these words, but, for the present, dissembling her mind, when the Embassadors were departed, sent some Pirates after them, who slew *Coruncanius* the younger with part of his Retinue, burnt the Governours of ships with fire, and clap the rest in chains. *Coltemporus* also the Ambassador of the Illyrians was slain by the same Pirates.

The Romans understanding these things, did erect statues of three foot long in honour of *Coruncanius* the younger, and *P. Junius*, and decreed war against *Tenta* and the Illyrians. *Tenta* ignorant in government, having not learnt either by Reason or Custome to correct the Vices of her Feminine wit, behaved her self as timorous in bearing the anger of others, as she had been headlong in provoking it. Having therefore intelligence that a war was preparing against her, she promised, To restore those who were living, as for the dead, whom the Pirates had slain without her command, it lay not in her power to restore them. This Embassie (though it offered little satisfaction for so great injuries, yet because the Romans hoped to compose the Illyrian broils without a war) was entertained, only they required, That those who slew the Embassadors should be delivered up to them.

The woman seeing the war, she so much fear'd, to be deserr'd, out of the lightness of her mind returned from fear to her former insolence, denying to deliver up any one, and that she might confirm her words with as much fierceness in action, sendeth forces presently to besiege *Issa*. Whereupon the Romans thought fit to make no more delay, but sent both the Consuls thither with land and sea forces; the Consuls were *L. Posthumius A.F.A.N. Albinus*, and *Cn. Fulvius Cn.F. Cn.N. Centumalus*. *Cn. Fulvius* had the command of the Navy consisting of two hundred ships; *L. Posthumius* was General of the Legions. Then again *Tenta*, being terrified, sent *Demetrius Pharins* to the Consuls to crave Peace. And they agreed upon a Truce, In case the Illyrians would quit *Coreyra* which they had lately possessed. The Romans being gone to take in *Coreyra*, *Tenta*, as if all fear were now far from her doors, returned to her former counsels, and sent Deputies to besiege *Dyrrachium* and *Apollonia*. Others report, That *Coreyra* was not surrendered with the consent of *Teuta*, but by the private design of *Demetrius*, who, knowing that he was secretly accused of some crimes before *Teuta*, thought by betraying that place he was Governour of, to find a sure refuge and protection amongst the Romans against her fury.

The Illyrian Garrison was no sooner surrendered, but the *Corcyrians* by publick consent submitted themselves to the Romans, seeing no other means left for their safety, but to be protected against the injury of the Illyrians by the power of so illustrious a City. From *Coreyra* the Consul sailed to *Apollonia*, where he met *L. Posthumius* having waisted over his Army from *Brundisium*, which consisted of twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse. The *Apollonians* greedily entertained the Romans, and committed themselves to their Faith. This being relieved they went to *Dyrrachium*, which presently became the Romans: The Illyrians who had began the siege thereof, running away for fear upon the first intelligence of the Consul's coming. With the same hast also the *Ardyzi* were forced into subjection, and Embassadors came from divers Nations of the farthest *Illyrium* with promise, To obey their commands if they might be admitted into Friendship; in which number were the *Parthini* and *Asintanes*. *Demetrius Pharins* was a great help and furtherance in these Achievements, for being carried up and down with the Consuls, he extolled the Strength and Integrity of the Romans, accused the Rashness and Inconstancy of *Tenta*; and some by reason and counsel, others by his authority he perswaded into a society and confederacy with the Romans. After this they steered their course to *Issa*, and in their passage landing at many places, they took most Towns without any great difficulty. *Nutrins* was stoutly defended by the Illyrians, and cost much blood before it was taken, some Collonels also and a Questor being slain there. The Romans grief for this was the lesser because they surpris'd twenty Vessels coming from *Peloponnesus* with money and great spoil. When they were come to *Issa* it happened as it had done at *Dyrrachium*, the siege was presently raised upon the approach of the Roman Navy: The Barbarians flying this way and that way into several places, except only the *Pharians*, who for *Demetrius* sake with the safety both of body and goods, were received into protection, forasmuch as he was born in the same Iland, and had the Government of it under King *Agron*. The news of these did diversly affect the instable mind of *Tenta*, sometimes dejected with fear, sometimes again very confident, as she considered the occasion. For as she was possessed with fear when she remembered so many Towns taken and demolished, that the sea coasts were plunder'd and waisted, that the Illyrians every where turned back and fled: On the other side she was encouraged at the stoutness of the *Nutrins*, and her hopes increased, considering Winter drew nigh, and that the Romans for fear of storms would suddenly depart; wherefore with a small Retinue she retired to *Rhizon* situate upon a River of the same name, expecting what remedy time would afford.

Her vain opinion was confirmed by the actions of the Consuls, who having committed to the Government of *Demetrius* the greater part of the Country they had taken, retired to *Dyrrachium* with the Navy and Army. But when she saw that *L. Posthumius* stayed behind with forty ships, and leaved an Army out of the Neighbour Cities to protect the *Ardyzans* and

Appian

Polybim.

Appian

Illyric.

Dio.

Zonaras

Diodorum b. 25

Livie 27.2.5

Polyb. 2. 13

Livie 26.4.2.6

Polybim.

Appian Hisp.

Polibius

Florus. 2.6.4

325.

Zonaras

Polybim

Appian Illyr.

Thucid. 7. 10. 8

Zonaras.

Tab. Capitolina

Flor. 2. 5. 4

Eutropius b. 8

326

Livie Ept. 26

L. 2. S. 32. de

O. I.

Solinus c. 11

Sextus Rufus

Zonaras

Polyb. 2. 28

Livie 22. 37. 8

Orosius 4. 13

Fasti Capitol.

327

Zonaras

Plin. 3. 20

Eutropius 3

Diodorus 25

Orosius 4. 13

Livie Ept. 20

Polyb. 2. 24

and other Illyrians who had revolted to the Romans, then *Tenta* began utterly to despair and thought of buying her peace upon any conditions whatsoever. At the beginning of the spring therefore she sent Embassadors to *Rome*, excusing what was past as being done by the Command of *Agron* whose Acts it was necessary for her to maintain. The Romans granted peace, not to her, who had no proper power of administering affairs, neither had deserved any favour at their hands, but to *Pinneus* the son of *Agron*, on these conditions, That he should duly pay what tribute was imposed on him, that he should quit all Illyrium, some few places excepted, that he should not sail beyond *Lissus* with above two Boats, and those unarmed. By this peace *Corcyra*, *Pharus*, *Issa*, *Dyrachium* and the *Asintanes* became wholly the Romans; what else was under *Agron* his jurisdiction being left to *Pinneus*. *Tenta* either for shame or by the command of the Romans left off the Government of the Realm, which *Demetrius* undertook under the name of Protector.

Thus being ended the Illyrian Quarrel, and the Limits of the Roman Empire extended even to *Greece*, the Commonwealth on the other hand was perplexed, for the Gauls were ready to rise up in Arms, and the Carthaginians power did mightily increase in *Spain*, which could not be established without great danger to the Romans. *Hasdrubal* the Son-in-law and successor of *Hannibal*, having revenged the death of his Father-in-law, did, partly by Arms, but more frequently by his Wisdom and Eloquence, wherein he excelled, reduce many Nations to the Carthaginian subjection; and built another *Carthage* called the *New*, in a gulf of the sea by a most commodious Haven. But the Gallick affairs being of nearer concernment, hindered for the present their designs against the Carthaginians: They endeavoured therefore to stop the proceedings of the Gauls by leagues and Covenants; They sent likewise Embassadors to *Carthage* and to *Hasdrubal*, warning them, To contain themselves beyond the *River Iberus*, and permit the *Saguntines* to enjoy their liberty, and live according to their own Laws. Those things happened in the year when *Sp. Carvilius Sp. F. Cn. N. Maximus* and *Q. Fabius Q. N. Maximus Verrucosus* were again Consuls. About the sametime *E. Posthumius* Proconsul, who wintered in *Illyrium*, sent Embassadors from *Corcyra* to the *Aetolians* and *Achaians*, declaring what he had done, For what causes the war was undertaken, with what success managed, and upon what conditions finished. They were kindly entertained forasmuch as those Nations and all other the Grecians did vehemently hate the Illyrians by reason of the continual Pyracies exercised by them under *Agron* and *Tenta*.

The Senate hearing this, did allow of what the Proconsul had done, and moreover decreed another Embassie in the name of the Commonwealth, to the *Corinthians* and *Athenians*, declaring, The people of *Rome* good affection towards them, and their equity towards all men. Hereby the Romans purchased great good will amongst those people, and the *Corinthians* forthwith decreed this honour to the people of *Rome*, That they should be Partners in the *Isthmian Games*, which was one of the four greatest Solemnities in *Greece*. They were chiefly moved hereunto because the Romans had set at liberty, as *Apollonia* and other Grecian Cities, so *Corcyra* likewise, which was a Colonie of the *Corinthians*; the *Athenians* also embraced the Roman Society, and decreed, They should have the liberty of the City of *Athens*, and of the *Eleusian Mysteries*. In the mean time *Cn. Fulvius* Proconsul made a Naval Triumph over the Illyrians on the Calends of *Quintilis*, and beheaded the Illyrian Nobles whom he led in Triumph. This was the first Triumph over the Illyrians.

The next year *P. Valerius L. F. M. N. Flaccus*, and *M. Atilius M. F. M. N. Regulus* being Consuls, the number of Pretors was doubled, and they thought fit to create four that they might send some with command into *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. Amongst these *M. Valerius* was Pretor of *Sardinia* and *Corsica*, *C. Flaminius* of *Sicily*. At this time there was very great fear of a Gallick war, for 'twas reported that the *Boians* and *Insubrians* consulted not only one with the other, but with the *Transalpine* people, and had hired a great strength of Mercenaries of the *Gatata* a people of *Gallia*. They used therefore not only ordinary remedies against this evil, but such as a severe Judge would by no means excuse, but that the love of one Country makes some things pardonable which in themselves are horrid. For when (besides other prodigies they were terrified with) they found in the *Sybill's* books, That the Gauls and Grecians should one day possess the City of *Rome*; That they might by craft avert the threats of the Prediction, by the advice of the Priests, they buried alive two Gauls, of each sex one, and likewise two Grecians a man and a woman, in the Beef-market, that so they possessing part of the City, might seem to have fulfilled the Prophecy. This was done when *M. Valerius M. F. M. N. Messalla* and *L. Apustius L. F. C. N. Fullo* were Consuls. This year, amongst other no considerable occurrences, was most of it spent in making preparation for the Gallick War. There was raised a most incredible number both of horse and foot, toward this war all Italy in general joining with the Romans. *Q. Fabius* the Historian, who was present at the transaction of these affairs, reports, There were in arms eight hundred thousand men. That the number of the Romans and Campanians amounted to the number of two hundred forty eight thousand and two hundred footmen, and six and twenty thousand and six hundred horsemen. All the other multitude were Italians. The *Ventii* also and *Cenomani* afforded the Romans the help of twenty thousand men, who by frequent alarms and incursions might compel the neighbouring *Boians* to tarry to the defence of their own Country, and not join themselves with the other forces of the

the Enemy, because they refused to hearken to Terms of Peace which the Romans propounded. For the *Veneti* and *Cenamani* being perswaded to renew friendship with *Rome*, the *Insubrians*, *Arab. h. 5* and *Boians* persisted in Hostility: nevertheless their strength was not great, their Kings not daring to lead out all their armed men: but being forced to leave some at home to defend their Countreyes, with the rest (to wit, fifty thousand Foot, and twenty thousand Horse) they began their march through *Etruria* towards *Rome*.

In the mean time *L. Amilius*, *Q. F. C. N. Papius*, & *C. Atilius M. F. M. N.* had *Sardinia* and *Ariminum*, with the adjoining *Gaules* for their Provinces. For the *Sardinians* being aggrieved at the perpetuall presence of a *Prætor*, with his *Virges* and signet of Authority, did again move Tumults: but *C. Atilius* the *Consull* soon quieted them without any great difficulty. *L. Amilius* had more to do with the *Gaules*, having broken through *Etruria*, and marching to *Rome*. The *Prætor* of *Etruria* being not able to hinder their passage, overtook them at *Clusium*, and late in the Evening planted his Camp not farre from them. The *Gaules* invented a stratagem whereby to entice the *Romans* out to battell. In the dead of the night they marched with all their Foot to *Fasula*, leaving the Horse behind with instruction at break of day only to shew themselves to the Enemy, and presently betake themselves to the Foot Army, where should be reception for them in a convenient Camp, from whence likewise they would on the sudden charge the *Romans* unawares.

The *Romans* were hereby deceived, and pursued the horse as if they had fled, and about *Fasula* were received by the Enemy, fresh and ready prepared, being themselves weary and void of Counsell, as in an occurrence not foreseen by them. Their only course was either by fight to defend themselves, or to sell their bloods at a dear rate: But the *Gaules* exceeding in number, besides other advantages, slew of the *Romans* six thousand upon the place, and put the rest to flight. The *Gaules* endeavouring to take a fenced place upon an hill, (whither the greatest part of them which fled had betaken themselves) finding their strength to faile with their last nights march, the dayes fight retired to cure and refresh their bodies, leaving a party of horse to besiege the hillock, not doubting to reduce it into their power the next day, either by force or composition. In this very nick of time came *L. Amilius*, rather to be wished for, then upon any reasonable ground expected. For upon the first newes of the *Gaules* setting forward, he was sent to *Ariminum*, to defend the Coasts upon the *Adriatick* shore, but hearing their intention was to march to *Rome*, he marched by very great journeys from *Ariminum*, and by good luck came to this very place, and pitched his Camp not farre distant from the Enemy. The besieged seeing fires in the night time from that part, judging, as was true, that the *Roman Army* was come, sent out some of their men unarm'd, that they might the easier pass the Enemies Guards. The *Consull* by them understanding the state of Affaires, without any long deliberation, which the time would not permit, at break of day set forward with his horse to the hillock, giving order to the *Tribunes* to follow him with the Legions. The *Gaules* likewise were informed by the same fires, that the *Romans* were come, and entred into counsell concerning the present affaires. King *Anousius* advised, that they should not encounter the Enemy, nor their soldiers were laden with rich spoiles, but to return home, and lay aside their plunder, and then, if occasion were given of fighting, to return empty and nimble. Every one approving the counsell, they departed before night, taking their journey through *Etruria*, by the sea side. *L. Amilius* having taken in those who fled to the hill, and having intelligence of the Enemies march, would not fight him in a set battell, but resolved to follow them, laying hold of what opportunity time should afford.

In this conjuncture of Affaires fortune once more dispenced an unexpected accident. The other *Consull* *C. Atilius* arriving at *Pisa* from *Sardinia*, and there landing his Army, marched toward *Rome* along the very same *Etrurian* shore where the *Gaules* were returning. Neer *Talamone* a Port of *Etruria*, the Scouts of each Army first met one the other, and the *Consull*, by some Prisoners who were brought to him, understanding of the *Gaules* march, and his Colleague following them, wondered at so unusual a chance, and being confident of Victory, having the Enemy cooped up between two *Consular Armies*, gave order to the Colonells, To array the Army as well as the ground would permit, and lead their Regiments in a square body, and a slow marche. Himselfe, observing a piece of high ground, opportunely overlooking the way the *Gaules* most of necessity pass, set forward with a Party of horse to prepossess it. For he made what hal he could to fight the Enemy, being assured, if he were any thing worsted, to be relieved by his Colleague, if his undertaking succeeded, to carry away the chiefe Glory of the Victory. The *Gaules* seeing a troop of Enemies in the higher grounds, conjecturing it was a party of horse, sent round about in the night time by *Amilius*, sent out likewise some of their own horse, with the assistance of some light armed men, to open the passage. But being informed that the other *Consull* was come, he was forced to array and marshall his foot, with their spears each way toward the Enemy, having in the middle their backs joyned one to the other: For they saw *C. Atilius* before them, and well knew that *L. Amilius* followed them behind. Against *L. Amilius* they placed the *Transalpine Mercenaries*, in the front (who from their weapons are denominated *Gastæ*) behind these for a reserve were the *Insubrians*. Against *Atilius* were opposed the *Pœnicians* and *Boians*. The Waggon and Carts were placed as a rampire about each Wing: all their plunder, with a sufficient guard, was laid aside upon a neighbouring hill.

Zonaras

Polyb. 2. 23.

C. 27.

Polyb. 2. 25.

Polyb. 2. 23.

Polyb. 2. 5.

Diodorus 25.

Polyb.

Polybius. 2. 23

Polyb. 2. 26

Glosser. Ital.

Aniq. 2. 2.

Polyb. 2. 26.

Livie. 26. 6. 4.

Orosius 4. 13.

Polybius.

hill. The fight was now begun at that hill which *C. Atilius* had possessed, whereby *L. Amilius* conjectured that his Colleague was there, of whose journey he knew nothing certain, only he heard that he was arrived at *Pisa*. Taking Counsel therefore on a sudden he commandeth some of his own horse to ride to the place of fight. There the horse on both sides had a very hot encounter wherein *C. Atilius* the Consul was slain; and his head carried to the Gallick Kings. At length the Romans fighting with all might and main, kept the place, and repulsed the enemy. The Horse-fight being thus managed, the Foot charged each the other. There was to be seen a very terrible encounter, as for the number & strength of both parties, so for the strange ordering of the Battel; for the Gauls being included between two Roman Armies turned their faces on each side to battel; it being very doubtful whether this posture were a greater advantage to them; in that (having to deal with two enemies) they kept their Rear secure, and were of necessity compelled to stand to it having no way to flee; or that it were a greater disadvantage to be hemmed in by two Consular Armies. But the Romans were partly terrified with the very aspect of the men who stood in the front with stern countenances and vast bodies; partly encouraged not only with the sweetness of praise, but of plunder also, for among the former ranks of the Gauls there was not a man, but glistered with golden bracelets and arme strings. The fight being begun, the light armed men made a great slaughter of the Enemy, especially where the *Gasatae* stood, who in a barbarous ostentation had flung away their garments and fought naked in the front. For the gallick shields being long and narrow not able to cover the whole body, they stood like so many marks exposed to the Roman darts: and they fell without revenge, being not able to strike the enemy, not to come to pel-mel with light armed men. Wherefore growing desperate some running rashly upon the enemy were killed with darts before they could come to handy-strokes; others by degrees retiring backward disordered their own Battel. The *Gasatae* being thus vanquished by the light-armed men, the compleat armed did on every side charge the Boians, Insubrians, and Tauriscans and slew a great number, nevertheless the enemy stood with resolute minds, being in nothing inferior but in their weapons; for neither did their shields defend their bodies, neither did their swords much offend the Romans, for being made only to hacke and hew they had no good paynts; they were likewise made crooked at the first blow, and unfit for a second, unless they be straightened againe by your foot on the ground. The Romans having already the better, were assured of the victory by the returne of the horse, who, having put the Gallick horse to flight, riding down the hill made an impression upon the flank of the enemy; so much the more irresistible as coming from the higher ground. After this manner *Polybius* describeth the Battel of the Gauls in *Etruria*; from whence others with little reason do dissent. For who can easily believe, that the Gauls were compelled by a tempest to fly in the night time fearing the anger of the Gods? And that *C. Atilius* seeing upon their Rear was slain? That afterward, each party for some dayes kept within their defences, *L. Amilius* fought happily with them? neither are they any more to be credited, who relate the Battel as fought, not on the sea Coasts, but, in the Aretine Territories. There is no question made but that forty thousand Gauls were then slain, little lesse then ten thousand taken, with *Concelitanus* one of their Kings: the other King *Anerostus* who was of greater reputation for power and courage, escaping with a small company, in his flight cut the throats of all his Kindred and his own also. There was great plunder found, which the Consul caused to be restored to those from whom it was at first taken, every master owning his own goods. Then marching with his own Army and that of *Atilius*, through *Liguria* into the Boians Country he gave it in plunder to his souldiers as a reward of their pains taken, and they in a few dayes being sufficiently laden with spoils, he returned to *Rome*, to the greater joy of all, because the war was formidable. Scarce any mans Triumph was ever so much celebrated with acclamations of the people; being otherwise of it self very gallant and memorable as for the glory of his noble performances, so for the number of the Captives and the worth of the spoils. There were many military Ensignes, and abundance of gold Chains and Bracelets, the ornaments of valiant men amongst the Gauls. But all mens eyes were cheifly intended upon *Britomarus* and the other Gallick Princes, whom *Amilius* by way of scoff led girt and armed into the Capitol, as if thereby he tooke care they should fulfil the vow they had made, *Never to loose their Girdles or Belts, till they had ascended the Capitol*. *L. Amilius* made this Triumph over the Gauls on the third of the Nones of march. This year was made the one and fortieth Lustration by the Censors, *Q. Claudius Ap. F. C. N. Censor* and *M. Junius D. F. D. N. Pera*. The fear of the Gallick war was over, but the desire of revenge remained, and both the next years Consuls had *Gallia* for their Province; the Consuls were *T. Manlius T. F. T. N. Torquatus* and *Q. Fulvius M. F. Q. N. Flaccus* again. The people cheerfully decreed them Armies and whatsoever accommodation belongeth to the Commencing or prosecuting a War. For it was hoped, that after so great a victory, they might easily drive away the Gauls from about the *Po* if they minded their business. The Consuls being gone with their Armies presently terrified the Boians into submission; their expedition afterwards was not so quick by reason of the Pestilence and so many showrs which fell. Others affirm, That these Consuls crossed the *Po*, and in a few battel overcame the Insubrians that they slew three and twenty thousand and took five thousand. But I rather follow the authority of *Polybius* in these affairs.

Diodor. b. 35

Polyb. 3. 33

Polyb. 2. 30
Zonaras
Polybius

Zonaras

Orosius 4. 13
Eutropius 3
Polyb.
Diodorus 25
Polyb.
Zonaras
Polyb.
Diodorus.
Polyb.Flor. 2. 4. 3
Zonaras
Florus
Fasti Capitol.529
Fasti Capitol.
Polyb. 2. 31
Zonaras
Polyb.
Orosius 4. 13

In the mean time because the Consuls being in a far Country, and were hindered either by action, or by showres, so that they could not return to the general Assembly: *L. Cælius L. F. F. 1st Capit.*
C. N. Metellus was Created for Dictatour, who consecrated for Master of the Horse *M. Fabius M. F. N. Butro*, by the Assembly, and *Flaminius C. F. N.* and *P. Furius Sp. F. M. N.*
Philus were made Consuls. These as I think were the first Romans, who making an invasion into the Insubrians Countrey, crossed the Po with their Army, where the River *Padusa* falleth into the Po.

This boldness cost them much labour and some blood; for in their passes over the River, and while they pitched their Campes, the enemy fiercely falling in upon them slew a considerable number. The Romans trouble and care upon this News, was mightily increased by many Prodigious related, as that in the *Picene Territories*, a River ran blood, that in *Etruria* the sky was seen to burn, that at *Ariminum* in the night time light appeared, and three Moones were seen at the same time; also a Vultur was said to sit many dayes together in the Forum at Rome. For though about the same time *Caria* was shaken with an Earthquake, and the *Rhodian Colossus* fell down, these things were not thought to concern the Romans at all. Concerning the other Prodigious, the *Augurs* being asked their advice, answered, that the Consuls were not rightly chosen, whereupon letters were sent after them to recal them back to the City. In the mean time the Consuls having made a Truce, had quitted the Insubrians Countrey, and afterward having raised Auxiliaries in the Countrey of the *Cenomanni*, had again begun to infest the grounds lying under the Alps, whereupon the Insubrians enraged with anger, carried into the field the golden ensignes (out of the Temple of *Minerva*) which were called *Immoveable*, because it was not lawful to stir them but in the time of Extreem Necessity; and had now met the Romans with an Army of fifty thousand men, ready to enter battel. At this very time came the letters from the Senate. *C. Flaminius* either guessing at the substance of the letters, or being pre-informed by his friends, perswaded his Colleague, not to open them before battel.

Being resolved to fight, they consulted about their Mercenary Gaules, lest if they were neglected, they might have cause to quarrel; and if admitted to the fight, they might have occasion of doing harm. For they feared their inconstancy, especially fighting against Neighbours and Kinsmen. At last they thought fit to place them on the other side of the River, where the bridges being beaten down, they neither could do any harm to the Romans, nor have opportunity to flee, but to trust in their courage. After a sharp dispute the Romans obtained the Victory, to the greater praise of the *Tribunes* then the Consuls. For *C. Flaminius* had ordered the Battel so near the brink of the River, that there was no space left to receive the Troopes in case they had been forced to Retire; which without doubt would have proved the ruine of the whole Army. But the *Tribunes* having had experience by former battels, that all the Gallick Valour consisteth in the first charge, which is very hot, but short, and if the brunt of it be once borne, there is no more to be feared from them; did divide the spears of the *Triarii* among the first ranks, that with them they might receive the first onset, and afterward flinging them away, draw their Swords when the fight began; the Gallick Swords were presently blunted, and made crooked at the first stroke upon the spears; and while they were busie in making them straight, the Romans advancing with their drawing Rapiers, took from them the use of their Weapons: For this inconvenience is in the Gallick Swords, that being made only to hack, some time is required in lifting up the hand, and preparing for the strokes, which if it be denied, they are of no use. But the Romans thrusting with the point could do their business in a moment, and so pressing forward to the bodies of the enemies, they did securely thrust them into the face and breasts.

It is reported that nine thousand Gaules were slain, and double the number taken. After the Victory they spoiled the grounds round about, and gathered much Plunder. Then at length they thought fit to read the Senates letters, the contents whereof *Philus* was ready to obey: But *C. Flaminius* insisted, that this was the envy of some Senators, and not the fault of the *Auspices*, whereof there could be no more certain argument, then the Victory they had obtained; he said also he would not return till either the War was finished, or his Magistracy expired: adding moreover, that he would cause the Romans to leave off the foolish observation of *Auguries*, and such other superstitious. Nevertheless *P. Furius* persisting in his resolution, the Army of *Flaminius*, fearing that after his departure they should not be very safe in the enemies Countrey, perswaded him to tarry for some few dayes; but he did utterly abstain from all actions; *Flaminius* taking in the mean time some Castles, as also a City of no small renown among those people. The spoiles he gave to his souldiers, to prepare their minds for his defence in that quarrel he knew would arise between him and the Senate. This City indeed was so moved with indignation, that none went out according to the custome to meet the Consuls, and not only *Flaminius* but for his sake *Philus* also was denied the honour of Triumph. At length *Flaminius* by the peoples favour entred the City triumphing on the fourth of the Ides of *March*. Many rich spoiles were to be seen in that Triumph: Great store of Armes, and chains of Gold, out of which *Flaminius* dedicated a Token of Victory to *Jupiter* in the Capitolum, inverting the Gallicks Vow, who had promised one of the Romans spoiles to dedicate a Chain to *Mars*. Afterward the other Consul triumphed over the Gaules, and the Ligurians on the fourth of the Ides of *March*. The Senates ill will being hereby rather intended then overcome, did

F. 1st Capit.

530

Liv. Ept. 10.

Zonaras.

Polybius. 2. 23.

Zonaras

Orosius.

Plutarch. Mar.

el. c. 4.

Zonaras

Marianus.

Orosius

Plutarch.

Zonaras.

Polybius.

Strab. b. 5. p.

149.

Liv. 2. 63.

Zonaras

Polybius

Orosius 4. 15.

Plutarch. Mar.

cell. 6. 4.

Zonaras

Liv. 2. 63.

Zonaras

Liv. 2. 63.

Plutarch.

Zonaras.

Colum. Capitol.

Liv. 23. 14.

Florus. 2. 4. 4.

Colum. Capitol.

Plutarch

not

not cease till they were both forced to disdain this their second Triumph: about the same time, by the like severity, two very eminent persons were deprived of their Priesthood, *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, because he had not a right laid open the Entrails, and *Q. Sulpicius*, because in the time of sacrifice his cap fell from his head. When these Consuls time was out, the Assembly was held by an Interrex, where *M. Claudius M. F. M. N. Marcellus* being made Consul, assumed for his Colleague *C. Cornelius L. F. L. N. Scipio Calvus*. These Consuls denied Peace to the Insubrians though they petitioned for it, *M. Marcellus* chiefly refusing all Conditions, out of his desire to Triumph. And the Gauls themselves seemed to meditate war rather than Peace, for having a new hired thirty thousand *Gasata*, and overcome the Alpes, they had gathered together a far greater number of Insubrians.

The war being thus begun, the Consuls set out in the beginning of the spring, and besieged *Acerra*, a Town between *Ps* and the Alpes. It seeming difficult to drive the Romans from the siege, *Britomarus* with ten thousand *Gasata*, resolved to go forth, and waste the Regions about *Ps*, which the Consuls understanding, so divided their Forces, that *Cn. Cornelius* might with part of the Army prosecute the siege, while *Marcellus* with two thirds of the Horse, and a choice company of light armed men, went about to succour and defend their Associates. Having chosen the lightest and nimblest, not above six hundred, with these and his Horse he marched day and night toward the Enemy, whom having overtaken at *Clasidium*, he presently encountered before he could refresh his men, not of his own good will, but forced by the fury of the *Gasata*, who being superiour in number, and arrogating to themselves the mastery in horsemanship, hearing the Consul had brought but few foot along with him, left off their siege of *Clasidium*, and forthwith spurr'd on to crush him. *Marcellus*, having drawn out his battell at length, that he might not be encompassed by the multitude of his Enemies, marched forward to meet them. Their bodies were now not far asunder, when the Consul intending to begin the Charge, his Horse affrighted with the clamour and shouts of the Gauls, started aside and carried him back. The Consul fearing least this accident being esteemed an ill Omen, should daunt the courage of his men, as his horse wheeled about he addrest the Sun, as if he had turned about his Horse for the same purpose, according to the ancient custom, men using to turn themselves about when they worshipped the Gods. 'Tis reported, that before the first onset, he vowed to *Jupiter Feretrius* the fairest of the Enemies Armes. And presently espying *Britomarus* in the head of his Troopes, his armour glittering with Gold and Silver, and other colours, he judged these to be the Armes which he had vowed. The King also, having seen the Roman General, advanced far before his men, and by voice and gesture challenged him to Combat. *M. Marcellus* accepted, and immediately having run him through the breast-plate, wounded him with the spear, and with the force of his horse casting him to the ground, reiterating his strokes he slew him in the place, whereupon leaping off his horse and holding the armes in his hands, he lift up his eyes to heaven, saying, *Jupiter Feretrius, who beholdest the deeds of Valiant Commanders in battell! Behold, I the third Roman, as thy self canst witness, a General having slain a General of the Enemies, doe consecrate the Royall spoils unto thee: Doe thou suffer our affaires prosperously to succeed even to the issue of the War.* *Marcellus* taking horse again, they entred battell with all might and main, the Romans fighting most courageously; the Consul's boldness and good Fortune having filled them no less with Valour for the Encounter, then with hopes of Victory. Wherefore neither the Gallick horse nor yet the Foot which came to their reliefe could endure the brunt; so that a few men, which is rarely seen, carried away the Victory from a numerous Army. The spoils being gathered up, the Consul returned to his Colleague, who having taken *Acerra* where he found great store of Corne, being now about *Mediolanum*, had much ado to defend himselfe from the Enemy, for while he was busie in the siege of their strongest and most populous City, the Metropolis of *Insubria*, they had as it were round besieged him with great multitudes. But *Marcellus* his approach quickly altered the Scene. For the *Gasata* being informed of their Kings death, went away, and *Mediolanum* being by them forsaken, was not able to defend it selfe. So that many of the *Insubrian* forces being slain, *Mediolanum*; and after that *Comum* taken, the other Cities together with the whole Nation submitted themselves to the Romans, being fined in a summe of money, and part of their grounds, having otherwise good Conditions of Peace. *M. Marcellus* being returned home, made a most illustrious triumph over the *Insubrian* Gauls, and the Germans on the Calends of *March*. This is the first mention of the Germans in the Roman History, who being hired, came from the Nations beyond the *Rhene*, under the conduct of *Virdomarus* their General. These and the Gallick Captives, men of vast stature of body, with other rich spoiles were led before the Triumphant Chariot. The Consul followed, with the rarest spectacle, carrying the armes of the slain General to *Jupiter Feretrius*; after him marched his souldiers harnessed with glittering Armes, making shouts, and Military Acclamations. In this order being come to the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, *M. Marcellus* descending from his Chariot, dedicated his Royall spoils to *Jupiter*, being the third after *Romulus* and *A. Cornelius Cossus*, who had done so; and after him no man ever did the like. The people of *Rome* beheld these Armes with the greater pleasure, in that the Enemies were said to have vowed the Roman Armes to *Vulcan*. So great was the Joy of this Victory, that the Romans out of the spoiles, sent a Golden Cup to *Apollo* of *Delphos*; and of the Gallick Armes to their Associate Cities round about

Demetrius observing what was done, took a good Counsel as in such a dangerous case could be, for declining the present skirmish, and calling his souldiers together, *Pulian* men, *he*, it appears that *Demetrius* was not so much to be trusted for, because themselves to *tragedies*, they declare little trust in their force of arms. They have made use of the night season to creep into this Island, of which, if I be not deceived in you, they shall possess no more, then what they can cover with their bodies having payed for it with their lives. Only you, my Country-men of *Pharac*, and young men of *Illyria*, be mindful of your Country, of your honour, and make the Romans know, 'twas neither their valour nor our cowardize, which gave them occasion once to Triumph at *Rome* over the *Illyrians*. It was not *Fulvius* or *Poss*, *Illyria* with all their Comets and strength, but *Tarsa* which conquered *Illyria* by her rashness and impotence of affection. And, to omit other things, ye are not ignorant, that at that time their victory had not been so easie, but that *Tarsa* chose to have me rather her enemy then her Protector. But because I firmly trust to you, and the time requires rather deeds then words, I shall say no more. Ye have courage, ye have weapons, ye see the necessity, which is able to make a coward fight, danger is imminent both to your selves, and your Citie unless by your valour ye repel it. Let us on then and with happy fortune charge these men who are newly crept out of their hiding places. We shall do well enough with those who are landing, if we once overcome these, the others will flee to their ships in greater haste than they have them.

Having thus for the time encouraged his men, he leads them on to charge those who were possessed of the Hill, and they as diligently ordering themselves sustained his charge, till they, who in the meane time had landed, coming upon his Rears utterly routed his whole body with great slaughter. Some few by flight escaped to the Town, others by blind paths slipped away. *Demetrius* who in certaine by-places had boates ready prepared for all adventures, getting aboard one of them fled to *Phillip* King of *Macedon*, by whom being entertained, he did by flattery, and Tyrannical advice corrupt the young man's manners, which before were laudable, and likewise was author unto him of the Roman War and many other Calamities. After this fight *Pharac* was taken, and by the Consul's Command plunder'd and demolished. The *Illyrian* affaires being afterward settled to his own liking the Consul now at the end of Summer returned to *Rome* to obtaine his Triumph. In the narration of this War I have likewise chosen to follow *Pollux*, being not ignorant that others attribute the glory of finishing this War to both the Consuls, who having summoned *Demetrius* to appeare before them, did, upon default, War with him in the Island of *Issa* by the same acts as I have related, and then taking *Pharac* by Treachery expelled him out of the Dominions. Concerning whose end likewise they differ from *Polybius*, who lived neerer these times and these places, but those that lived after this time I shall pass by. *King Philip* who years declared him innocent of these designs, did spare the *Illyrians*, and renewed the league with him, with addition of some Articles. *L. Aemilius* made most glorious Triumph over these people, and I find also that *M. Livius* Triumphed for this War, but most wisely mention it not, 'tis likely because the performances of *L. Paulus*, being the more eminent, did obscure the glory of his Colleague.

More notable a while after was the Judgment and condemnation of the same *M. Livius*. He and *L. Paulus* being out of Envy accused, That they had not equally distributed the spoils among the souldiers, but had converted many things to other uses, did undergoe the sentence of the people. *L. Paulus* hardly escaped, *M. Livius* was condemned by all the Tribes except only the *Mecian*, which despite and indignity he took so heavily, that departing the Citie, he avoided all meetings, till the Commonwealth's occasion recalled him to his former course of life. But these things hapned in the Consulship of *P. Cornelius Scipio* and *Tib. Sempronius Longon*. But in the same year when *M. Livius* and *Paulus* were Consuls, one *Archagathus* the son of *Lysanias* came out of *Troas* to *Rome*, who professing Physick was made free of the Citie, endowed with all the privileges of a Roman, and had a shop bought for him at the Publick charge in the *Acilian* street, adding not so much worthy taking notice of, but that then first was the name of the Medicinal faculty heard of and known at *Rome*, they having to this time preserved their health by temperance and remedies not bought. In the same Consulship *Cochin* were deduced to *Placida* and *Cremona* in the *Gallie* Territories. Being none of the least causes of anger which moved the Boians and Insubrians to incline to *Hannibal*, who, now assailing *Suguntum* which all might did by the ruin thereof prepare his way to the Roman Wars. But these and other commotions, which in great numbers, and with no lesse Terror and violence presently assailed the Romans, will the better be understood by relating foregoing Circumstances.

A Catalogue of those Authors Names on whose Authority this Supplement relieth.

A Liannus	Entropius.	Pighius.
Agellius.	Fasti Capitolini.	L. Piso.
Ammianus Marcellinus.	Fazellus.	Plinius.
E. Ampelius.	Festus.	Plutarchus.
Appianus & ejus Excerpta d	Florus.	Polyannus.
Falvio Ursuo & Henrico	Frontinus.	Polybius & ejus Excerpta
Valerio edita.	Guesfridus Viterbiensis.	Pomponius Mela.
Aristoteles.	Herodotus.	Ptolomæus.
Atkins.	Hieronymus.	Quintilianus.
Author de Viris Illustribus.	Horatius.	Sextus Rufus.
Augustinus.	Joannes Antiochenus.	Sallustius.
Berneggerus.	Joannes Sarisburiensis.	Seneca.
Bongarsus.	Julius Higginus.	Servius.
Capitolina Marmora.	Julius obsequens.	Sigonius.
Cassanbonus.	Jus Justinianum.	Silius.
Cassiodorus.	Justinus.	Simnius Capito.
Cato.	Livius & ejus Epitome.	Solinus.
Conserianus.	Lucanus.	Strabo.
Cicero.	Lycus.	Suetonius.
Claudianus.	Macrobias.	Suidas.
Cluverius.	Marianus Scotus.	Ser. Sulpicius.
Cornelius Nepos.	Martianus Capella.	Tabula Veteres.
Cælius.	Matthias.	Tabero.
Dio & ejus Excerpta.	Origenes Origenes.	Tadiantus.
Diodori Excerpta.	Orsius.	Valerius Antius.
Dionysii Excerpta.	Otto Frisingensis.	Valerius Maximus.
Dionysius Periegetes.	Ovidius.	Varro.
Ennius.	Pacianus.	Vegorius.
Etymologici Authores.	Pavinius.	Velleius.
Eusebius.	Paulus Diaconus.	Virgilius.
Eustathius.	Pausanias.	Zonaras.

FINIS